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- Understanding medieval society in a global and overarching way, beyond current academic divisions, by publishing unedited research articles covering different fields within Medieval Studies.
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- In order to ensure that a rigorous level of quality is maintained, all articles submitted for consideration are subject to blind peer review by at least two leading experts who are not part of the editorial board of the journal. If necessary, dialogue will be established with the authors, and the editorial board will make sure that no article is accepted for publication until it meets the qualitative requirements specified by the referees.
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- The journal puts great emphasis on a global approach and, consequently, on the promotion of internationalisation. In order to maintain a geographical balance we seek to ensure that no more than half of the articles published in any issue proceed from the same country.
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I PART

THE PAST INTERROGATED AND UNMASKED



THE *RECAPITULATIO*: AN APOCALYPTIC PATTERN IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the evolution in medieval English literature of the *Recapitulatio*, an organizing narrative principle often used in apocalyptic writings, starting with John's *Revelation*. This structural pattern combined a repetitive but expanding series of correlations with a centripetal fragmentation of discourse to convey revelatory messages in which prophecy involved past and present to unlock the future. In Middle English, the recapitulation technique evolved from eschatological concern to social and moral teaching, but its apocalyptic undertone was still evident in the confluence with futurist judgment. The article attempts to show the traces of this narrative model in spiritual and allegorical works of the late medieval period, especially *Piers Plowman* where social criticism is reinforced by the eschatological significance of this device.

KEYWORDS

Recapitulatio, Middle English Literature, Apocalypticism, Rhetorical pattern, Apocalyptic structure.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Recapitulatio, Litteratura Anglica Media, Litteratura Apocalyptica, Typus rhetoricus, Structura apocalyptica.

1. Introduction

One of the discursive techniques that most often hinders a contemporary reader's approach to ancient texts is continuous repetition, either structural, visual or strictly lexical. As modern readers, we are familiar with modes of thought in which narrative economy is regarded as synonymous with excellence, and repetitive elements perceived as cumbersome anomalies. Thus, the characteristic habit of systematic revision in pre-Renaissance texts presents a major barrier to our enjoyment. Structural repetition is currently relegated to paraliterary genres (from folk songs to children's stories) or postmodernist experiments in fiction (as in the novels of Alain Robbe-Grillet or Ernst Jünger), either due to the immediacy of oral narrative patterns or the implicit connection to old-fashioned folk forms. Nevertheless, structural or verbal repetition stood for centuries as one of the predominant discursive techniques, mainly in pseudo-epigraphic and biblical narrative. It gave stylistic distinctiveness not only to scriptural texts but also to their literary sequels throughout the Middle Ages, including many writings influenced by early apocalypticism.

Apocalyptic texts are credited for the frequency of reiterative resources, the different varieties in their use and the multiple levels in which these may be applied. Apocalyptic writings usually foretell a potential event from a present perspective, and then move to a hypothetical future to confirm the original prospect, that is, they validate through repetition. This double process, dismissed in contemporary apocalyptic literature (which regularly suppresses the second revelation) was described by Alter as one of the main features of biblical texts, as it was used as a means of ratification through dialectical divine power.¹

However, even more important than the recurrence of spatial-temporal references is the reiterative method of organization in apocalyptic narrative. The architecture of the central Millenarian corpus of writings, rooted in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, has frequently been described as "redundant" or "iterative" at different levels. Many scholars consider the core eschatological texts in the Bible in the light of structural recurrence and build their organization around a series of visionary episodes which successively embrace the elements of previous units.² Thus, apocalyptic literature cannot formally be defined as a linear story of a sequence of events but as a succession of similar subdivisions repeating the same

1. "The constantly reiterated pattern, then, of command or prophecy closely followed by its verbatim fulfillment confirms an underlying view of historical causality; it translates into a central narrative device the unswerving authority of a monotheistic God manifesting Himself in language". Alter, Robert. *The Art of Biblical Narrative*. New York: Basic Books, 1981: 91.

2. This approach will be adopted by Michael E. Stone to analyze 4 Ezra in: Stone, Michael E. *A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990: 343-7; by Joseph Ziegler for *The Book of Daniel* in: Ziegler, Joseph. *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954: 16; by Ralph J. Korner dealing with 2 Baruch and *The Book of Enoch* in: Korner, Ralph J. "And I Saw...: An Apocalyptic Literary Convention for Structural Identification in the Apocalypse". *Novum Testamentum*, 62 (2000): 167-70; or by John J. Collins for other writings in the pseudo-epigraphic tradition in: Collins, John J. *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1998: 158.



facts differently so that they amplify or modify the preceding series. Either through collation, chiasmus, parataxis or inclusion, eschatological writings present complex networks by recycling passages and themes over and over.³

2. The *recapitulatio* as an apocalyptic narrative device

Among the repetitive methods of organization, the *recapitulatio* stands out as the most extensively used in the Book of Revelation. The term *recapitulatio* derives directly from the Greek *ανακεφαλαίωσις* and explains the progression of John's Apocalypse by establishing connections between septenary units which occur repeatedly in the text at linguistic, visual and thematic levels.⁴ Each of these sections (letters to the Seven Churches, opening of the Seven Seals, sounding of the Seven Trumpets, revelation of the Seven Spiritual Figures, pouring of the Seven Chalices by the Seven Angels, etc.) recapitulates the predecessor and reproduces a parallel passage in multiple textual categories. On the one hand, a fourfold argumentative correlation, consisting of a military threat, a fight, a victory, and a leadership, is repeated in each block along with the inclusion of the previous testimony. Furthermore, the images are displayed in allegorical parallels, so that the same visual sequences are rearranged in different typological degrees: either in the description of the Asian congregations, in the categorization of beings after Creation, in the expression of punitive disasters or in the portrayal of the Promised Kingdom, there is constantly a clear correspondence between the imagery used in each section and that presented before and after.⁵ Symbolic lines can be outlined among the different parts of the

3. Compare to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's concept of *literary Gattung* and its pervasive presence in apocalyptic literature in: Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. "Composition and Structure of the Revelation of John". *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 39 (1977): 352 and following.

4. The term *ανακεφαλαίωσις* can be found in ancient Greek literature (among others, Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) but was first used to describe John's structure in Revelation by Irenaeus of Lyons in *Adversus Haereses*, V.1. On this pattern in early exegetical writings, see: Matter, E. Ann. "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis", *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Richard K. Emmerson, Bernard McGinn, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992: 39.

5. The literature about the structural characteristics of the *recapitulatio* is extensive, and it is outside the scope of this paper to review it in detail. For those interested in the pattern, the magnificent essay by Biguzzi, Giancarlo. *I settenari nella struttura dell'Apocalisse. Analisi, storia della ricerca, interpretazione*. Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane Bologna, 1995, offers an exhaustive analysis of its components and overviews its progress in the apocalyptic tradition. Other relevant works include Michaels, J. Ramsey. *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992, though this author permanently uses the term "reiteration"; and Steinmann, Andrew. "The Tripartite Structure of the Sixth Seal, Trumpet and Bowl of St. John's Apocalypse". *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 35/1 (March 1992). Ground breaking studies, such as Hendriksen, William. *More than Conquerors*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967; Collins, Adela Yarbro. *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976; or Farrer, Austin. *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1986 (esp. chapters 2 and 3), defend this pattern over other structural designs in John's Revelation. A genuinely linguistic approach to the technique appears in Thompson, Leonard L. *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990: 37-92. Finally, the impact of this technique on previous



text through the reiteration of visual effects so that it becomes a multivalent image as it has been regarded repeatedly.⁶ Finally, a parallel model of communal fall and soteriological recovery is conveyed and revalidated in each septenary unit, which amplifies the point of application of previous blocks. The rhetorical structure of *recapitulatio*, beyond mere repetition, advances through the progressive recycling of previous elements. Its schematic form is not the concentric circle but, as many scholars have suggested, it resembles a spiral staircase in its constant progression of development and interpretation.⁷

The *Recapitulatio* requires a fragmentation of discourse as a preliminary step to developing further. Before the network of connections between the different components can be considered feasible, a fracture of discourse is necessary so that the different elements may be presented as isolated and appear as semi-independent units. Therefore, the first impression in the Apocalypse is the absence of linearity, a prolonged lack of a continuous argument from beginning to end. In a preliminary approach, the text looks more like a paratactic succession of visual impacts than a literary plot arranged as a formal narrative. The action evolves from unit to unit without perceptible transitions and sudden changes in settings, characters and groups of events frequently take place. Nevertheless, the book is never perceived as incoherent or devoid of structural rationale since a complete dislocation in the development does not really occur. The fragmentation in the Book of Revelation is centripetal; it enables a cyclic recovery of its components so that they are elucidated by progressive repetition and reinforced by cumulative imagery.⁸ Austin Farrer's analysis of the structural composition of the Book questions the real existence of a unified core:

It [the Book of Revelation] formally bears the promise of consistency, of a continuous grand architecture spanning the whole book, into which all the visionary detail is to be fitted. Yet, as we advance, it does not appear to us that the promise is fulfilled. The lines of the schematic architecture elude us, and the

eschatological views has been considered by Collins, John J. *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1984: 211-245; and Smith, Christopher R. "The Structure of the Book of Revelation in Light of Apocalyptic Literary Conventions". *Novum Testamentum*, 36 (1994): 373-393.

6. Visual and symbolic explanations of the *recapitulatio* have been attempted by Wheelwright, Philip E. *Metaphor and Reality*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962: 92; Ricoeur, Paul. *The Symbolism of Evil*, transl. Emmerson Buchanan. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969: 15; Perrin, Norman. *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976: 29; or Rowland, Christopher. "The Apocalypse in History: The Place of the Book of Revelation in Christian Theology and Life", *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*, Christopher Rowland, J. Barton, eds. London-New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002: 160.

7. Descriptions of the spiral progression in apocalyptic writings can be found in: Mazzaferri, Frederick D. *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989: 393 and following; Gentry Jr., Kenneth L. "A Preterist View of Revelation". *Four Views on the Book of Revelation*, C. Marvin Pate, ed. New York: Zondervan Press, 1998: 38; or Pippin, Tina. *Apocalyptic Bodies. The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image*. New York: Routledge, 1999: 43-64.

8. For a step by step description of this process in Revelation, see Thompson, Leonard L. *The Book of Revelation...*: 39-44.



work seems in danger of disintegrating into a mere pile of visions and oracles. Then architectural elements reappear, yet not in such order as plainly to make up the unity of a single edifice. We are left unable to reconcile ourselves either to the hypothesis of formal order or to the hypothesis of its absence.⁹

In such a way, discursive fragmentation leads to narrative consistency. The juxtaposition of structural sections becomes a revelatory method, which goes beyond the author's verbalization or the reader's perception, by creating a significant system that ensures formal consistency at any level. As the text develops, John's human-limited account renovates and completes itself: it shifts dialectically and distills into a purified meaning through constant interplay. Progression, spiral-shaped, is slow but extraordinarily effective in proclaiming the eschatological message.

As prophetic disclosure represents the ultimate goal of this discursive strategy, many hypotheses have attempted to explain how *recapitulatio* is inherently linked to apocalyptic thinking. The simplest explanation posits that the cyclical repetition in the Book of Revelation is in consonance with the historical view embedded in the basic form of the eschatological doctrine. Northrop Frye affirmed that "[the Bible] presents a gigantic cycle from creation to apocalypse, within which is the heroic quest of the Messiah from incarnation to apotheosis",¹⁰ a statement that takes us back to some fundamental eschatological texts from St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* to John Bale's *The Image of Both Churches*, not to mention Joachim of Fiore.¹¹ The topic of an ongoing review of past history as a method of predicting the future was associated with apocalyptic thought from its earliest manifestations. The theory of a cyclical time underpinned many eschatological traditions during the first millennium and lost strength only as the Middle Ages declined: "The cyclical concept continued to appear in various forms while the Platonic affirmation of unchanging reality riding high above the fluctuations of time haunted the medieval mind".¹² The defense of not merely a deterministic but rather a repetitive concept of history was too often an excuse for early medieval apocalyptic prophets to attire themselves as exegetes in the eyes of their audiences and to abandon the increasingly discredited *Visio Spiritualis*. Thus clad, visionaries contended that they simply recognized signs in the past that would later be replicated given the cyclical condition of history. The

9. Farrer, Austin. *A Rebirth of Images...*: 86. On the ongoing debate about the organic consistency of the Book of Revelation, see: McGinn, Bernard. "Revelation", *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, Robert Alter, Frank Kermode, eds. London: Collins, 1987: 524.

10. Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957: 316.

11. Joachim of Fiore's division of human progress in three *status*, which repeat the same events in a spiral-like progression, rests on the same eschatological basis of the *recapitulatio*. In fact, his *concordia*, historical correspondences between the second and third status and the time of the Old Testament, developed a model of history shaped on the same structural principles of the recapitulative literary scheme. For an in-depth study on Joachim's cyclical vision of time, see: Reeves, Marjorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future. A Study in Medieval Millennialism*, London: SPCK, 1976; and Daniel, Randolph E. "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse", *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Richard K. Emmerson, Bernard McGinn, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992: 72-88.

12. Reeves, Marjorie. "The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes", *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, C.A. Patrides, Joseph Wittreich, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984: 40.



recapitulatio, therefore, offered a temporal concept in which prophecy was naively displayed as a revealing review of past and present, rational tools to unlock the future.¹³

In addition to this, the *recapitulatio* was in perfect agreement with the scriptural character of the Johannine Book of Revelation (brimming with references to previous texts in the Bible) so it was easily associated with the prevailing exegetical trend of the Middle Ages. The conviction that the Old Testament prophetic character is repeated and validated in the New, and the New Testament must be explained with the help of the Old Testament, was already manifest in some early Church Fathers (Irenaeus, Cassiodorus, Primasius, etc.) and remained an axiom among late medieval Bible commentators: *Novum in Vetere latet in Novo Vetus patet*.¹⁴

Consequently, the Book of Revelation would be a work which decoded itself through the parallelistic pattern of the *recapitulatio* by a set of hermeneutic commentaries of previous sections. Any potential claim in the first units of meaning is ratified in subsequent blocks and creates a successive explanation, not necessarily adding new information but amplifying the antecedent.

Other interpretative considerations of the *recapitulatio* by recent literature highlight its lethargic, almost hypnotic, potential for intensification of persuasive messages¹⁵ or the prophets' search for an alternative model of organization, an aspect that sacrificed part of its literary quality to articulate a direct mental process.¹⁶ More historically-focused, Collins revealed the use of similar structures in pseudo-epigraphic texts of apocalyptic strain scattered among some Jewish-Christian communities from the fourth century BCE on, as a means of cathartic release. The basic emotions of the oppressed, fear and resentment, could be intensified to reach a cosmic dimension through cyclic repetition and provide an escape for the alleviation of the common affliction. In the Book of Revelation, therefore, the impotence produced by the yoke of the Roman Empire motivates a need for catharsis verbalized mainly through the technique of the *recapitulatio*, so the formal features of the work are ultimately due to political motivations.¹⁷

13. On the gradual withdrawal from the apocalyptic prophecy to more moderate historical schemes of salvation using this reiterative pattern, see: Bornkhamm, Günther. "Die Komposition der apokalyptischen Visionen in der Offenbarung Johannis". *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 36 (1937): 142-143.

14. *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera, Quaestiones in Heptateucum*. ed. J. Fraipont. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958: 25.

15. "It [the *recapitulatio*] exhibits the flashback/flashforward carácter of dreamy, semiconscious thought", in Smith, Christopher R. "The Structure...": 389.

16. Such is Nancy Partner's interpretation of the paratactic mode of composition which precedes the complete recapitulative scheme in the Book of Revelation and other eschatological writings: "Parataxis seems to have been the stylistic expression of a generalized inability, or humble reluctance, to order experience. [...] One quickly sees how motif repetition and thematic words work in biblical prose and how variations on conventional scenes 'register' as subtle variations in meaning; but even Alter's resource and knowledge really cannot make parataxis, except in select cases, seem like a technique which is 'there' as opposed to an artistic and intellectual vacancy". Partner, Nancy F. "The New Cornificius: Medieval History and the Artifice of Words", *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, Ernst Breisach, ed. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985: 18.

17. "Revelation produces a catharsis not only by means of individual symbolic narratives but by the structure of the book as a whole. Feelings of fear and resentment are released by the book's repeated



3. Early historical development

Whatever the reasons behind the use of this model to express his eschatological hopes, John of Patmos had employed a formula that would end up inextricably linked to apocalyptic thinking as it can be seen in subsequent text from post-apostolic and medieval times. The *recapitulatio* existed as a rhetorical device before Revelation: it had been described by Quintilian in his *Institutionis oratoriae* (6,1,1) and it was probably used by St. Paul in some of his letters.¹⁸ However, only after the first century it seems inevitably tied to literary expressions of apocalyptic character. From the middle of the third century to the late 13th century, the prime use of the *recapilatio* was intended as an interpretative method for the Revelation and only Joachim of Fiore's works partially separate from that exegetical function.¹⁹ The first to explain the method in the third century, Irenaeus of Lyons in his *Adversus Haereses* (5.1-15), used Eastern millenarian traditions which would eventually depart from canonical traditions. In this treatise, he discarded an exclusive connection with the biblical *Book of Revelation* and initiated a tradition which multiplied its eschatological implication beyond John's vision. Other early uses of the *recapitulatio* from the fourth to the seventh centuries, by Tyconius (*Liber Regularum*, XVI-XVII, and probably in his now lost *Commentary on the Apocalypse*), Primasius (*Commentarius in Apocalypsin* 2, 18-24) and Apringio of Beja (*Tractatus in Apocalypsin* 4, 1), despite taking *Revelation* as a starting point, mixed millenarian trends from different origins to complete a scheme which added alternate layers to the central hermeneutic purpose. Hence, when it came to later medieval commentators such as Bede (*Expositio Apocalypse*, prol.), Beato (*Commentarius in Apocalypsin* I, VI, 31) and Alcuin (*Commentariorum in Apocalypsin*, Lb. V), the *recapitulatio* was regarded as a literary tool for the expression of eschatological concerns rather than merely the organizational scheme of the Johannine tradition. When Joachim of Fiore employs it to articulate his soteriological view of human history (*Expositio in Apocalypsim* 15.d.) in the twelfth century, the use of this technique was commonplace, and a number of prophetic writers show evidence of having internalized its apocalyptic connotations.²⁰

presentations of the destruction of the hearers' enemies. The element of persecution represents the present, conflict-ridden, and threatened situation in which the author invites the hearers to see themselves. The second two elements in the repeated plot, judgment and salvation, represent the resolution of that situation: the persecutors are destroyed by divine wrath and the persecuted are exalted to a new, glorious mode of existence". In Collins, John J. *Daniel with an Introduction...*: 154.

18. Dufort, Jean-Marc. "La récapitulation paulinienne dans l'exégèse des Pères". *Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, 12 (1960): 22-23, identifies the repetitive structure of some of St. Paul's epistles with the *recapitulatio* in the Revelation.

19. Joachim's particular reinterpretation of the apocalyptic *recapitulatio* was exhaustively analyzed by Kamlah, Wilhelm. *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie: Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joahim von Fiore*. Berlin: Ebering, 1935.

20. A comprehensive survey of this development in the Early Middle Ages is provided by Biguzzi, Giancarlo. *I settenari...*: 48-79; and Vanni, Ugo. *La struttura letteraria dell' Apocalisse*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 1980: 11-21.



Therefore, from the seventh century on, especially after the 13th century, it was common to find complete original writings, or specific parts within determined literary works, structured according to that biblical *recapitulatio*. In certain rhetorical environments, medieval narratology seemed to have developed a natural propensity for fragmentation of the chronological order of the events described and for repetition of discursive elements. St. Augustine's doctrine was thus embraced when he tried to simplify Tyconius's use of the technique: "For certain occurrences are so related, that the narrative appears to be following the order of time, or the continuity of events, when it really goes back without mentioning it to the previous occurrences, which had been passed over in their proper place. And we make mistakes if we do not understand this, from applying the rule here spoken of" (*De Doctrina Christiana* Lb.III.36.52). This configuration matches, for instance, the technique Mildred Pope observed in some French epic poems (the most notable being the *Chanson de Roland*) and named *le procédé de laisses similaires*.²¹ This "poetry of interlace", as Eugène Vinaver baptized it years later,²² does not appear to be present in classical literature and will rarely be found after the Renaissance, suggesting that it might be exclusive to medieval Christian spirituality. It contains the essential components of the apocalyptic *recapitulatio*, though considerably less interlocked in its articulation. Moreover, though in early Chansons de Geste the *laisse similaire* seems limited to prosodic aspects, in the Vulgate cycle and late epic, it is clearly identifiable as a resource for linking structural components, as is the case in the Book of Revelation.

4. The *recapitulatio* in Middle English Literature

In England, the *laisse similaire* maintained through units of meaning ostensibly appears in romances of continental origin, such as *The Romance of Horn* or *Amis and Amiloun* (12th century), and might be traced to many others such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.²³ Still closer to eschatology, this interlaced design is largely observed in Anglo-Saxon narrative, especially in *Beowulf*. In his seminal study, Klaeber described formal and structural entanglement as "the very soul of the Old English poetical style",²⁴ as it characterizes many prominent texts in Old English,

21. Pope, Mildred K. "Four Chansons the Geste: A Study in Old French Versification. Part I". *Modern Language Review*, 8 (1913): 353. In this article and the following parts (1914 and 1915), Pope developed the concepts of *laisse similaire* and *entrelacement* for the metrical and structural aspects of the *chansons de geste*, respectively, equivalent to the ancient apocalyptic *recapitulatio*. An extensive analysis of these terms can be found in Vinaver, Eugène. *The Rise of Romance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971: 68-98.

22. Vinaver, Eugène. *The Rise of Romance*...: 9.

23. Prior, Sandra Piers. *Poet of the Word: Patterns and Images of the Apocalypse in the Works of the Pearl-Poet*. Ann Arbor: Columbia University (PhD Dissertation), 1983: 271-272.

24. Klaeber, Frederick. *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburgh*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936: lxxv. Though too enthusiastic in his statement, Klaeber was following prior foundational studies which had pointed in that direction, such as Worringer, Wilhelm. *Form Problems of the Gothic*. New York: G.E. Stechert & Co, 1920; or Collingwood, W.G. *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*. London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927.



from Aldhelm to the *Blickling Homilies* (10th century). This pattern extends to other art forms such as sculpture, being manifest in the spiral design of the Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland; or illumination, as is found in the magnificent illustrations of the Lindisfarne Gospels from the late seventh century.²⁵ In this respect, Leyerle's description of the technique in *Beowulf* is reminiscent of the aforementioned apocalyptic formula:

Events are fragmented into parts and are taken with little regard to chronological order. They weave direct statement and classical tags together to produce verbal braids in which allusive literary references from the past cross and recross with the present subject. [...] It involves multiple statement of a subject in several different words or phrases, each of which typically describes a different aspect of the subject. When variation on two or more subjects is combined, the result is stylistic interlace, the interweaving of two or more strands of variation.²⁶

Beowulf, which has been analysed from the apocalyptic perspective on several occasions,²⁷ but never, to my knowledge, from a structural point of view, reinforces the concept of cyclical time with an architectural pattern grounded in grammatical parataxis, juxtaposition of narrative blocks and reiteration of archetypal scenes, not far from the recapitulation scheme. This *appositive style*, as it was renamed by Robinson,²⁸ would be a direct heir to the millenarian tradition through previous exegetical models and it tallies with the multitude of references to the apocalyptic, both visual and conceptual, which populates the poem.

After the millenarian revival led by Joachim of Fiore in the twelfth century, the number of writings with recognizable traces or unequivocal use of the apocalyptic *recapitulatio* considerably increases, though not necessarily in connection with

In modern scholarship, the most comprehensive study on this subject is Leyerle, John. "The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*", *Interpretations of Beowulf: A Critical Anthology*, Robert Dennis Fulk, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

25. Meador Jr., Prentice A. "Interlace Structure in the *Blickling Homilies*". *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 57 (1971): 183-185.

26. Leyerle, John. "The Interlace Structure...": 146-149.

27. The apocalyptic facet of *Beowulf* has been discussed frequently after the seminal study by Crawford, S.J. "Grendel's Descent from Cain". *Modern Language Review*, 23 (1928). Among others, it has been analyzed from this perspective by McNamee, Maurice B. "Beowulf: An Allegory of Salvation?". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 59 (1960): 198-202; Chickering, Howell. "Lyric Time in *Beowulf*". *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 91/4 (1992): 489-509; Green, Martin. "Man, Time, And Apocalypse in 'The Wanderer', 'The Seafarer', and 'Beowulf'", *Old English Shorter Poems. Basic Readings*, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994; and Ridsen, Edward. *Beasts of Time. Apocalyptic Beowulf*. New York: Peter Lang, 1994.

28. Robinson, Fred C. *Beowulf and the Appositive Style*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985: 24. Though Robinson never establishes a link between this "appositive style" in *Beowulf* and a possible eschatological stance in the poem, he describes an organic structure which runs similar to the apocalyptic *recapitulatio* and envisages a transcendent significance in it: "From the smallest element of microstructure —the compounds, the grammatical appositions, the metrical line with its apposed hemistichs— to the comprehensive arc of macrostructure, the poem seems built on apposed segments. And the collocation of the segments usually implies a tacit meaning". Robinson, Fred C. *Beowulf and the Appositive Style...*: 24-25.



the eschatological message but rather, with diverse spiritual or moral teachings. The manifestation of this pattern in fiction became somewhat sporadic as if the authors may have been timorous of the significant apocalyptic implications this structure involved. In this regard, it is understandable that readings of penitential service, such as books IV, V and VI in the 13th century *Ancrene Riwe*, resorted to an iterative scheme similar to the *recapitulatio* to reinforce the confessional tone the author wanted to convey mixed with the eschatological message urging repentance. Other writings belonging to the ascetic *Katherine Group* also show repetitive structural patterns, particularly noticeable in their semantic recurrence, elements which confirm the intention to supplement the devotional with the eschatological function.²⁹

Two prominent examples of this technique in the fourteenth century are Michael of Northgate's *Azenbite of Inwyt* and the anonymous *The Pricke of Conscience*. In both cases, the initial disposition sets an allegoric storyline, as customary in penitential writings. However, the discourse swiftly fragments into brief treatises, which juxtapose with a brief transition between them. Either using allegorical connections or numerical, structural and visual repetitions, this kind of iteration generates a parataxis which averts any risk of structural collapse: each symbolic or thematic unit reflects a previous one and builds upon it. In *Azenbite of Inwyt* (c. 1340), for instance, each of the initial "Godes Heste" will be retaken and expanded in the depictions of the deadly sins, the traits of the cardinal virtues, or the *benes* of the Lord's Prayer. Thus, continuous recycling of fundamental subjects takes place in order to deepen in meaning and reinforce original messages. *The Pricke of Conscience*, meanwhile, is constructed out of quaternary divisions anchored in the doctrinal Last Things (Death, Judgment, Hell and Heaven, occasionally Purgatory). These fourfold units will be intertwined by an endless repetition of admonitory content and the correspondent imagery, which gives the treatise a cyclical appearance based on paratactic patterns. In both texts, the authors were obviously aware of the *recapitulatio* as an apocalyptic formula since, though primarily devotional, they constantly rely on eschatological conventions to strengthen their doctrine. In the same way, the presence of this model has been detected in diverse mystical and ascetic writings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in different degrees but with similar consequences.³⁰

29. Schaffer, Ursula. "Twin Collocations in the Early Middle English Lives of the *Katherine Group*", *Orality and Literacy in Early Middle English*, Herbert Pilch, ed. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1996: 179-198.

30. On the possible presence of the *recapitulatio* in these and other penitential texts, see Szittyá, Penn. "The Antifraternal Tradition in Middle English Literature". *Speculum*, 52 (1977): 301-8; and Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Urzone Publishers, 1991: 151-237.



5. The *recapitulatio* and *Piers Plowman*

Among the literary creations that employ the recapitulative structure, *Piers Plowman* stands out for its pervasively cyclical organization of elements with a direct connection to its apocalyptic message. Langland's social vision is articulated by a set of correlations going forward and backward, where each thematic unit holds a paratactic relationship with the previous and the next and elaborates on its content to reach significance at a deeper level.

Repetition in *Piers Plowman*, clearly linked to social criticism and backed by the eschatological message, is present even at the lower level, in the smallest elements of the text. It is not difficult to find examples of *adnominatio* (verbatim repetition of the root of a word with different inflections) in the same line or stanza: "And til prechoures prechyng be preued on hemselu" (B.4.122).³¹ Similarly, we find multiple uses of keywords in strategic parts of the poem, internally tying together each unit while connecting them to different episodes of the story. The case of the word *mede* in passus 3 is symptomatic since it is not only repeated up to twelve times in a passage,

It bicometh to a kynge that kepeth a rewme,
To ȝiue *mede* to men that mekelich hym serueth,
To alienes and to alle men to honouren hem with ȝiftes;
Mede maketh hym biloued and for a man holden [...]
And *medeth* men hem-selu" to meyntene here lawes.
Seruauntz for her seruise we seth wel the sothe,
Taken *mede* of here maistre as thei mowe acorde.
Beggeres for here biddynge bidden men *mede*;
Mynstralles for here murthe *mede* thei aske.³²

but it also creates a link with the allegorical figure this faculty incarnates in passus 2 and with the same *personae* afterward in the same chapter (B.3.230ff). Later, the doctrine about *mede* will be recycled in passus 6 (discussing the Wasters) and 19-20 (in the criticism to friars and innkeepers), though the issue seemed to have been resolved in the third chapter. In *Piers Plowman*, none of the thematic units is definitely concluded. It simply finishes in the co-text of a certain structural block and it is resumed later to be amplified *ad infinitum*.

Another example of repetition on a larger scale may be found in the notion of *Activa Vita* Langland develops after Haukyn's speech (passus 12), which will eventually be the doctrinal basis of *Dowel*. This character's beliefs on how to conduct oneself in life to attain salvation (passus 7) are merely a paratactic expansion of Resoun's dogmas in a previous chapter (B.5.24-60), which in turn had recaptured Holicherche's soteriological doctrine at the beginning of the work (B. 1, 94-101 and

31. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland, together with Richard the Redeless*, ed. Walter W. Skeat. London: Oxford University Press, 1886 [repr. 1968]: 110. All subsequent references from this work are taken from this edition.

32. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland*...: 82-83 (B.3.208-219).



173-201). Additionally, the subject will not be completely settled until the following chapter in the famous scene of the “Tearing of the Pardon” (B.7.119), as it was analyzed from this perspective by Rosemary Woolf and Denise Baker.³³ Closely examined, Dowel’s teaching in passus 7 has evolved slightly from the early advice of Holicherche:

And alle that worche with wronge wenden hij shulle
 After her deth day and dwelle with that shrewe.
 Ac tho that worche wel as holiwritt telleth,
 And enden as I ere seide in treuthe, that is the best,
 Mowe be siker that her soule shal wende to heuene”³⁴
Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam;
*Qui vero mala, in ignem eternum.*³⁵

What happens with *mede* or Holicherche’s teachings could be extended to other matters and visual icons into a “continuous process of linking and cross referencing of sound and idea”.³⁶ From relatively small units of meaning, as in *Liberum Arbitrium*’s speech (C.17.65-70), to complete thematic units (like Truth’s controversy on *kynde knowynge*), this pattern of recurrence and continuous development allows for the deferral of the initial concerns of the poem. Thus, as we approach the end, especially the part concerning *Dowel*, *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, the original messages have changed greatly from their inception while the different thematic blocks have advanced centripetally. The entire poem leads to a cohesive, salvific message which is in agreement with the eschatological meaning inherent in the *recapitulatio*.³⁷ Schematic repetition, consequently, exceeds simple structural categories and enters the semantic level, breaking its original formal barrier.

Langland’s narrator himself establishes a first connection between the recapitulative technique and the apocalyptic expectation in the prologue, the section where the use of eschatology to express social criticism is most perceptible. From the very first verses, we find several remarks about the characters of the “fair felde ful of folke” in which fragmentation is employed as an ironic device:

33. Woolf, Rosemary. “The Tearing of the Pardon”, *Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature*, Heather O’Donoghue, ed. London: Hambledon Press, 1986: 146. Baker, Denise N. “From Plowing to Penitence: *Piers Plowman* and Fourteenth-Century Theology”. *Speculum*, 55 (1980): 715-725.

34. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland...*: 30 (B.1.126-1.130).

35. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland...*: 242 (B.7.112-113)

36. Salter, Elizabeth. *Piers Plowman: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1962: 57-58. Salter identifies this schematic process several times throughout the poem.

37. The idea of a thematic organization of the poem leading to a soteriological, not apocalyptic, culmination of Piers’s journey was presented by Robert Worth Frank in: Frank, Robert Worth. *Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation. An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.



Thei went forth in here wey with many wise such,
 And hadden leue to lye to here lyf after".³⁸
 Heremites on a heep with hoked staues
 Wenten to Wasyngham, and here wenches after;³⁹

This way of introducing the pilgrims, first as virtuous and then suddenly, condemning them for their corruption, means a first step in narrative fragmentation due to both its syntactic harshness (without adversative connectors, in absolutely paratactic structures) and a clear thematic dislocation. Through these segmentations, Langland advises distrusting any conventional view of the world and its social types, revealing a direct link between fragmentation and corruption, and concludes with an apocalyptic threat reminding of the need for unity between all beings of Creation:

Ac sutth charite hath be capman and chef to shryue lordes,
 Many ferlies han fallen in a fewe 3eres;
 Bote holy churche and charite choppe a-down swich shryuers,
 The moste myschif on molde mounteth vp faste.⁴⁰

A similar combination, social criticism through discursive fragmentation and apocalyptic menace, will be repeated twice more in the prologue. A paratactic staging of the ecclesiastical authorities and their abuses (B.prol.83-86) is followed by an eschatological warning about the Final Judgment unless they mend their ways and work towards the common good (B.prol.97-99). Some lines later, the royal entry, which is performed amidst a multitude of fragmented and disjointed images of ironic intention (B.prol.112-122), gives rise to the appearance of an angel, entrusted with the observance of Common Law, who utters an eschatological threat in Latin (B.prol. 132-138). In all three cases, Langland proclaims the salvific value the apocalyptic promise offers when men work together towards the same goal, placing it in diametric opposition to the disparity visible in their society. This contrast is not only dialogical but also structural: criticism of social types is disjointed, it lacks inner connection, whereas apocalyptic images are internally cohesive thus creating a network of links to reinforce meaning. From the beginning of the prologue, the recapitulative model is explicitly accredited with the eschatological significance the poet wants to convey.

Once this ideological correlation is established, Langland will repeatedly resort to the *recapitulatio* to develop his message. The following scene, the Parliament of Rats (B.prol. 146-207), breaks abruptly into the story and introduces a fable atmosphere very different from the gravity of the previous teaching. This radical fragmentation strikes the reader, as it has not been preceded by any transition, unless he notices that the dispute reproduces and amplifies the prior debate between the angel, the

38. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland*....: 6 (B. prol. 48-49).

39. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland*....: 6 (B.prol.53-54).

40. Langland, William. *Piers Plowman by William Langland*....: 6 (B.prol.62-65).



“lunatik”, the “goliardeys” and the “commune” about the issue of secular governance (B.prol.128-45). Actually, none of them talks about monarchs or felines, but the four views resume the discussion on the Cardinal Virtues (B.prol.102-106), adding a practical or social application to the doctrine. The debate about how to use the Virtues for common salvation, the Social Covenant allegory in *Piers Plowman*, has been used at least three times within the space of a few verses, changing its focus of action though maintaining its significance. The same subject will be treated even a fourth time in the C version with the episode of the Commons submitting a petition to the Lords (C.1.158-1.164), which manifests Langland’s adherence to the *recapitulatio* even in that late version of the poem. Similarly, the rest of the thematic elements in the prologue (social criticism, ecclesiastical abuse, teachings of the Cardinal Virtues, and eschatological expectations) have been intertwined through this pattern of increasing repetition, which provides structural coherence to an apparently dislocated story and adds a tone of apocalyptic transcendence from a formal point of view.

The Social Covenant allegory is by no means limited to the prologue. It will be recurrent in the court scenes of passus 2 (B.2.148-56), 3 (B.3.35-42) and 4 (B.4.70-3), with focus on the main political and economic concerns, especially once the character Mede has appeared. It will also connect with the reaction of the people discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, which recycle, in turn, the debate of the rodents in the prologue shifting the focus from the “oppressors” to the “sufferers” but still maintaining the argumentative basis. It will also be refreshed in the position the clergy occupies in the scheme of salvation described in the Prologue (B.prol.45-111), discussed later in passus 6 (B.6. 249-254), and continuously revisited in the last four visions of the poem. As in a spiral curl, the pivotal role of the Cardinal Virtues in life is unremittingly restated and constantly amplified in association with frequent apocalyptic overtones.

Any other structural-thematic archetype in *Piers Plowman*, such as the search for St. Truth (passus 5), Patience’s riddle on *Caritas vincit omnia* (passus 13), or the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins (passus 14), will also set reiterative connections throughout the text. The scenes in the poem transcend forward and backward because they all reproduce a transformation or an amplification of a previous unit. Nothing in *Piers Plowman* is disjointed though, figuratively speaking, the discourse is in continuous fragmentation. Langland follows the principles of the apocalyptic *recapitulatio* as it contributes to a common eschatological goal where the rest of the elements of the poem converge. Though the use of direct imagery from Revelation is tenuous, *Piers Plowman* stands out as one of the great millenarian works, amongst many other things, for its use of this apocalyptic structure.



6. Conclusion

Though not always eschatologically oriented, the use of the *recapitulatio* is clearly manifest in medieval texts. Szittyá stated that “[t]he Apocalypse cannot be responsible for this narrative mode, of course. The non-linear recapitulative mode in secular narrative is historically, culturally and generally widespread, even in works that show no thematic relationship to the Apocalypse, and to some extent it derives from unrelated factors, like oral tradition”.⁴¹ Nevertheless, this same scholar also defined this structure as a tool inspired by biblical style with unquestionable eschatological principles, which might have served spiritual authors to conceptualize their literary creations. Many poets in the late Middle Ages may have been aware of the apocalyptic stance the *recapitulatio* introduced in their language and consciously used it to organize their material.

After the medieval period, the *recapitulatio* loses much of its presence in English literature, probably due to a gradual shift to the theological dimension in spiritual writings and a change of preferences of the readers, who were more interested in linear plot developments rather than reiterative ones. However, it is still visible in various masterpieces of the Renaissance (evident in certain sections of *The Fairie Queene*, for instance), and some traces are still recognizable in contemporary texts, such as Pound’s *Cantos* or Dos Passos’s *USA*, yet not through the lens of apocalypticism.⁴² The Middle Ages meant indisputably the heyday of the *recapitulatio*, not only for its use in different forms of art but, above all, for the existence of an audience who unequivocally recognized the apocalyptic significance of the pattern.

41. Szittyá, Penn. “Domesday Bokes: The Apocalypse in Medieval English Literary Culture”, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Richard K. Emmerson, Bernard McGinn ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992: 392.

42. For a general review of this pattern in modern English literature, see: Klein, Michael L. *Fragmentation and Contradiction in Piers Plowman and Its Implications for the Study of Modern Literature, Art and Culture: The Apocalyptic Discourse*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992.



HAGIOGRAPHY AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: THE CASE OF SAINT BEUNO OF WALES

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ABSTRACT

This article looks at ways in which the political situation in medieval Wales was reflected in the writings of native authors, and in particular in the medieval Welsh hagiography. It discusses how native Welsh saints were used, on the one hand, as tools of propaganda and portrayed as defenders and protectors of their land in the face of the foreign, English adversary, and on the other, how they served to promote and justify the native Welsh church and emphasise its antiquity and its primacy vis-à-vis the advancing Anglo-Norman church. Focusing on one popular figure among the multitude of Welsh saints, the case of Saint Beuno, who is little-known outside Wales, the article then explores the ways in which this holy man's *vita* was constructed and used as a 'nationalist' device, tying it in with other examples of 'nationalist' Welsh literature composed during times of political crises.¹

KEYWORDS

Wales, Saint Beuno, hagiography, propaganda, England.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Wallia, Sanctus Bonus, Hagiographia, propaganda, Anglia.

Wales in the Middle Ages was a region characterized as much by its political fragmentation as by the multitude of its saints, and this paper aims to demonstrate how both of these aspects are indeed closely related. This is a topic that has long generated interest among scholars of medieval Wales, and was addressed particularly well a decade and a half ago by some of the contributors to Jane Cartwright's superb volume on *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, notably Elissa Henken, Nerys Ann Jones and Morfydd Owen, J. Wyn Evans, and Jane Cartwright.² The present article looks at just a couple of examples to further illustrate the relation between hagiography and politics in medieval Wales. It takes as its focus the *vita* of the popular Welsh saint Beuno, whose cult is, however, little-known outside Wales. St Beuno's *Life* is used here to exemplify a series of observations regarding the ways in which the written culture of the country mirrors the political events of the later Middle Ages on the one hand, and represents a reaction to the impact of the Norman Conquest on the native Welsh church on the other.

1. The medieval kingdoms of Wales

Throughout almost the entire medieval period, the political history of Wales was marked by the rivalry between its small kingdoms, a rivalry that was played out especially between the northern, the southern and the eastern regions of Wales in the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Deheubarth and Powys.³ The power balance among these three principal kingdoms was periodically changing and being redefined throughout the Middle Ages, alternating between the growth of one or other kingdom through conquest, and the reduction of the same, following the division of kingdoms between heirs, sometimes several of them. Thus it was in the thirteenth century, under the northern Welsh prince Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd (d. 1240), known as *Llywelyn Fawr* (the Great), who extended his territories to the south and east and at some point referred to himself as *dominus Wallie*,⁴ that medieval Wales came perhaps closest to something approaching political unity and achieved its widest territorial expansion.⁵

1. This paper was written within the framework of the research project *Expresividad, sentimiento y emoción* (s. XII-XV) (HAR 2016-75028-P), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

2. Cartwright, Jane, ed. *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.

3. On the political formation of medieval Wales, see for example Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest. Wales 1063-1415*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991: 24-81; Carpenter, David. *The Struggle for Mastery. The Penguin History of Britain 1066-1284*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004: 164-167, 186-188, 300-327, 382-386; Turvey, Roger. *The Welsh Princes, 1063-1283*. London: Longman, 2002.

4. Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 246. Llywelyn had already used the title *tocius norwallie princeps* ("prince of the whole of north Wales") as early as 1199: Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 239.

5. On Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, note especially Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...* and Carr, A.D. *Medieval Wales*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995: 54-60.

And it was under the rule of his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d.1282), who succeeded in partially reuniting the lands of his grandfather,⁶ which had been divided between himself and his brother Owain, that comparative calm was temporarily re-established in the region. The Welsh *Chronicle of the Princes* (*Brut y Tywysogyon*) notes under the year 1264, “that year the Welsh lived in peace with the English, with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd prince over all Wales”.⁷ But Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, as well as reasserting Gwynedd’s position as the predominant Welsh kingdom, and in part on account of his territorial supremacy in the region, had a difficult relationship with the English crown, like many Welsh rulers before him.⁸ In his case, however, his repeated confrontation with Edward I of England was to have grave and lasting consequences, both for himself, and for Wales. By 1282 Edward I had mounted an unrestrained military campaign into Wales that led to the defeat and death of Llywelyn and the loss of Wales’s independence. The administration of the country was taken into the hands of English royal officials. Edward’s military conquest was accompanied by a large-scale building programme in the north and west of Wales that resulted in the erection of such magnificent structures as the castles of Harlech, Caernarfon, Conwy, and Beaumaris, all still visible and still impressive to this day, and standing as visual reminders of the supremacy—or, as has been argued, of the struggle of asserting its authority—of the late-thirteenth-century English crown in its newly-conquered territories.⁹ The impact of Edward I’s conquest of Wales was to have a long-lasting effect on the land and its people, not only in practical terms on the administration and political supervision of the country, but also on the sense of the political and social identity of its people.

2. Politics and literary production in medieval Wales

What is notable during this time of political upheaval and external government of Wales by the English crown, combined with the uneasiness and discomfort caused by the war, is the (sometimes overt) anti-English sentiment among part of the Welsh population, expressed both in the native literature of the time and visible in the Welsh chronicles and in the formal documentation concerning the region.¹⁰ It is striking

6. Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 309. On Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, see also Carr, A.D. *Medieval Wales...*: 62-66.

7. *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest version*, ed. Thomas Jones. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955: 255.

8. On the delicate relationships between Welsh princes and English kings, see for example Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 289-330.

9. Morris, John Edward. *The Welsh Wars of Edward I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901; Pounds, N.J.G. *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1990.

10. The most famous of the Welsh chronicles is the *Brut y Tywysogyon* or *Chronicle of the Princes*. On the formal documentation, see for example the *Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales*, ed. William Rees. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975. For a sense of the administration of Wales by the English crown, note also



how times of political crises tended to be reflected in the literature of Wales: we might consider the revival of Welsh folk heroes from bygone centuries, or the increased literary production in the Welsh language in the fourteenth century, to represent a direct reaction to the current political circumstances.¹¹ Rees Davies reminds us that “in a past-dominated society, historical lore was also a political statement”.¹² And what stands out among this lively literary production are, on the one hand, the creation of *vitae* of native and local saints, as well as the translation from Latin into the Welsh language of *vitae* of saints, including two Welsh saints; and on the other hand, the great quantity of Welsh poetry composed during this period. Both could be decidedly political, even outright hostile in tone against the unwelcome English presence in the country. Thus the fourteenth-century bard Dafydd ap Gwilym, perhaps the best-known of all the medieval Welsh poets, speaks in one of his poems dismissively of *drisais mewn gwely drewsawr* (“three Englishmen in a stinking bed”).¹³

In one sense, then, we need to consider the production of the Welsh *vitae* as a reaction, at least in part, to the country’s political circumstances, and in this sense as elements of propaganda for Welsh supremacy. Simultaneously in this context we need to take into account also the role of the church and its promotion of the native saints’ cults, and in order to do so we ought to look back as far as the eleventh century and the arrival of the Normans in Wales, and the great impact this event had on the Welsh church.¹⁴

3. The Norman Conquest and the Welsh church

The Norman Conquest in Wales was in many ways unlike that of England and the famous events of 1066 and their aftermath. Following the death of King Harold and the defeat of his army at the Battle of Hastings, England swiftly came under Norman control and government.¹⁵ In Wales, by contrast, being a politically fragmented country, the conquest of the Normans was more piecemeal, more gradual, and less complete.¹⁶ It did, however, have a considerable impact upon

the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer relating to Wales, a useful catalogue of which is the *List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls, 1282-1343*, ed. Natalie Fryde. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974.

11. A point that has been made by Glanmor Williams in his magisterial work on: Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976, among others.

12. Davies, R. R. *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000: p. 44.

13. *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979: 328 (l.48).

14. On the Norman impact on the Welsh church note Williams, Glanmor. *Yr Eglwys yng Nghymru o’r Goncwest hyd at y Diwygiad Protestannaidd*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1968, and by the same author: Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 1-32, and Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 172-210.

15. See for example Daniell, Christopher. *From Norman Conquest to Magna Carta: England 1066-1215*. London: Routledge, 2003; Chibnall, Marjorie. *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

16. Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 82-107.



the Welsh church and ecclesiastical organisation.¹⁷ Thus the church in Wales saw the introduction of new diocesan and parish structures along the lines of those familiar on the Continent and in England.¹⁸ New religious orders arrived in Wales and brought about profound changes to native Welsh monasticism.¹⁹ The first to arrive were Benedictine monks, mostly brought to Wales from mother houses in England and France and established alongside the new Norman castles and as such regarded as a foreign element and not always very enthusiastically welcomed by the native population.²⁰ Other important monastic “novelties” in post-Norman Wales included, crucially, the Cistercians, and the Augustinian canons, of whom the former were more favourably received among the Welsh population, while the latter played a key part in the repopulation —and thereby continuation— of some of the ancient Welsh monasteries.²¹

Confronted with this new reality and new administration (both ecclesiastical and political), the Welsh clergy sought to defend and consolidate their positions within this reformed church. In many ways it was a struggle, facing, as they were, the often fundamental changes that were being imposed on the ecclesiastical life of their country. Thus the Welsh church was put under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, in England, as well as that of the pope in Rome, though the created memory of a native Welsh archbishopric at St Davids, superior in importance to all other archbishoprics on the island, persisted in the imagination of the native clergy.²² The important offices within the church hierarchy were increasingly granted to Anglo-Norman clerics, and even within the first century of Norman presence in Wales there was a high incidence of men of Anglo-Norman origin among the bishops of the Welsh dioceses.²³

4. The promotion of Welsh saints’ cults

It was in this context of alienation within Wales and the Welsh church that the multiple cults of native Welsh saints began to be reinstated and promoted in the

17. Burton, Janet; Stöber, Karen. *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015: 7-13; Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 1-32, and Davies, R.R. *The Age of Conquest...*: 172-210.

18. Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 14-17.

19. Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 14-22; Burton, Janet; Stöber, Karen. *Abbeys and Priories...*: 9-15.

20. On the Benedictine foundations in Wales and their reception by the native population, see Burton, Janet. “Transition and Transformation: the Benedictine Houses”, *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, Janet Burton, Karen Stöber, eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013: 21-37. Note also Burton, Janet; Stöber, Karen. *Abbeys and Priories...*: 7-10.

21. Stöber, Karen; Austin, David. “Culdees to canons: the Augustinian houses of north Wales”, *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, Janet Burton, Karen Stöber, eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013: 39-54.

22. Note for example Davies, R.R. *The First English Empire...*: 45.

23. Cf. Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 23-24.



literature; first and foremost among them the cult of St David,²⁴ and just over two centuries later, the cult of St Beuno.²⁵ The aim of the promotion of these saintly Welsh figures and their often far-reaching cults was surely to lend weight, seniority and added credibility to a Welsh church—and a Welsh “nation”—under threat.²⁶ And indeed, this was not an isolated occurrence: from this time onwards, especially during times of crisis, as was to be the case again in the fourteenth century, we find an increased “use” of native saints acting not only as defenders and protectors of their land, but also justifying and promoting the importance of the Welsh church, its respectability, its antiquity, and its primacy. And in fact there was no shortage of saints in medieval Wales: the late-twelfth-century historian and cleric Giraldus Cambrensis famously said about the northern Welsh island of Bardsey that “the bodies of a vast number of holy men are buried there, or so they say”,²⁷ and another source suggests that the island housed the graves of as many as 20,000 saints.²⁸ It is not without good reason that the early medieval period in Wales is known as the “Age of the Saints”. The great quantity and prominence of saints in Wales is also evident in the etymology of the country. The place-name element “Llan-”, when followed by a saint’s name, indicates a site which has an association with a religious cult; and these abound across Wales.²⁹ The medieval poets, too, make frequent reference to saints, both universal saints such as the Virgin or St Catherine, and native Welsh saints, and they often apply the qualities of chosen saints to the people they are addressing in their praise-poetry. Thus a Welsh Cistercian abbot (of Strata Florida Abbey in mid-Wales) could be called the “St David of the abbots” by the fifteenth-century poet Guto’r Glyn.³⁰ Be they military heroes or abbots of the great Welsh monasteries, the men who were considered by the Welsh poets to be the defenders of the country, its ways and its culture, were seen by them as worthy to be compared to the saints who were understood to represent both strength and wisdom.

24. For a text of the late-eleventh-century *vita* of St David, see: *Rhigyfarch: Buched Dewi*, ed. D. Simon Evans. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959.

25. For the Welsh text of St Beuno’s fourteenth-century *vita* see Wade-Evans, A.W., ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944: 16–22. On St Beuno see also Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints; the Saints of Wales, Cornwall and Irish Saints*, ed. 4 vols. London: the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907–1913: I, 208–221 (reprinted by Kessinger Publishing, 2005).

26. Cf. Henken, Elissa. “Welsh hagiography and the nationalist impulse”, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults*, Jane Cartwright, ed. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003: 29–30.

27. *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales / The Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978: 184.

28. On Bardsey see Burton, Janet; Stöber, Karen. *Abbeys and Priors...: 43–45*.

29. Note for instance: Llanbadarn (near Aberystwyth), a place associated with St Padarn; Llandeulo, associated with St Teulo; or Llanfair, a place associated with the Virgin Mary (*Mair* in Welsh).

30. *Gwaith Guto’r Glyn*, ed. John Llywelyn Williams, Ifor Williams. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961: 29 (line 4: *Dewi’r abadau* = “[St] David of abbots”); (note also line 26: *Dewi’s glod* = “[St] David of praise [poetry]”).



In the Welsh literary tradition the saints appear not infrequently as hero figures defending their country and its people, and as such played the important role of the champions of a mythical epoch of splendour and glory, a golden age of a grand and heroic Wales. In the words of Elissa Henken,

the Welsh saints, those fifth- and sixth-century men and women [...] were generally local heroes whose cults did not extend far beyond their own immediate territories. [...] But some expanded their influence from local to regional and even national levels, playing a role in the politics of both Church and State.³¹

5. The *vita* of Saint Beuno

It is within this context that I will now turn to my example, the case of an important saint, much loved by the people of Wales: the seventh-century saint Beuno. Beuno is perhaps the best-known saint in north Wales, where he spent the later part of his life, while south Wales is the realm of St David,³² who is moreover distinguished by being regarded as the patron saint of all Wales.³³ We might say that Beuno is the “second saint” of Wales, after David. His short *Life* (*buchedd*), in Middle Welsh, survives in various copies of one manuscript known as *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi* (“The Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi”) from the year 1346.³⁴ Surviving copies of Beuno’s *buchedd* include, apart from the one preserved in the fourteenth-century *Llyfr Ancr*, a further version from the fifteenth century, plus several later ones.³⁵

The text narrates the story of the saint from the marvellous events surrounding his birth until his death in the mid-seventh century. There is reason to believe that Beuno was in fact a historical character, as were several of the figures that are mentioned in his *vita*, and other sources corroborate some details from his *Life*.³⁶ According to the *vita*, his elderly parents, who lived in Powys, in the mid-east of

31. Henken, Elissa. “Welsh hagiography...”: 26-27.

32. For his *vita* see *Rhigyfarch: Buched Dewi*....

33. On St David see for example Evans, J. Wyn. “St David and St Davids: some observations on the cult, site and buildings”, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults*, Jane Cartwright, ed. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003: 10-25; Stöber, Karen. “An ecclesiastical identity in the making: the medieval cathedral and bishopric of St Davids (Wales)”, *Identity in the Middle Ages*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Kalamazoo: Pagès editors, ARC-Humanities Press, 2018: forthcoming.

34. On the *Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi* (Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi), see: Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church*...: 84-85.

35. Cf. Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church*...: 104.

36. Thus for example Beuno is said to have met Cadfan, king of Gwynedd and his son Cadwallon, both historical figures (“Hystoria o Uched Beuno”. *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. A.W. Wade-Evans. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944: 19 (§§13-15)). Similarly, Beuno’s niece, Gwenfrewi or Winifred, is considered to have a historical basis.



Wales, had given up all hope or expectation of having children when an angel appeared to his father, announcing Beuno's birth (advising his father, in fact, to have intercourse with his wife that same night, which he duly did, upon which his wife promptly fell pregnant).³⁷ Though his parents do not otherwise feature particularly prominently in his *vita*, Beuno did of course have a most impressive genealogy, an important feature in Celtic literature and much in line with other Welsh saints, notably St David, and which confirmed his royal lineage as well as emphasizing his divine ancestry.³⁸ According to the *vita* Beuno was educated by St Tangusius in Caerwent, a town of Roman foundation in south Wales and at that time, in the seventh century, an important ecclesiastical and educational centre.³⁹ Later he was ordained and given some lands, a site known as Llanfeuno in Gwent (south Wales), where he founded a church or monastery, and where he was said, in his *vita*, to be surrounded by "disciples and monks".⁴⁰ In the words of Elissa Henken,

these stories [of saints founding churches] are not just aetiologies, telling how a certain church ended up in a particular spot. Because of the divine nature of the grant they also become important political statements in the assertion of a church's rights. And politics", she continues, "was very important in the composition of the saints' Lives".⁴¹

Beuno's *vita* exemplifies the importance of politics, or what we may call "national consciousness", in a saint's *Life*, although the term "national", laden as it is with meaning, needs to be treated with considerable caution, here as elsewhere.⁴² By examining Beuno's *Life* we will see how "national" was understood by its author, and how a hagiographical text might be used as a political tool in later medieval Wales. It is here the common enemy that unites an otherwise mostly ununited people, emphasising the shared threat to a non-homogenous identity forged on the basis of a shared language, laws, and the shared prospect of the imminent loss of their territory and autonomy.

Beuno's *vita* tells us that while the holy man was at Llanfeuno, news reached him that his father was gravely ill, and he travelled north to Powys to see him and hear

37. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 16 (§2).

38. His genealogy reads as follows: "Beuno son of Bugi, son of Gwynlliw, son of Tegit, son of Kadell Drynlluc, son of Categyrnn, son of Gortheyrnn, son of Rittegyrn, son of Deheuwynt, son of Eudegan, son of Eudegern, son of Elud, son of Eudos, son of Eudoleu, son of Auallach, son of Amalech, son of Belim, son of Anna. The mother of this Anna was a cousin of the Virgin, mother of Christ." "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 22.

39. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 16 (§3).

40. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 16 (§4).

41. Henken, Elissa. "Welsh hagiography...": 29.

42. Note also Carr, A. D. "Inside the Tent Looking Out: The Medieval Welsh World View", *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths*, R.R. Davies, G.H. Jenkins, eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004: pp. 30-44; and Davies, R.R. "The Identity of 'Wales' in the Thirteenth Century", *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths*, R.R. Davies, G.H. Jenkins, eds. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004: 45-63.



his confession.⁴³ It is just after his father's death, that we hear the first miraculous story associated with Beuno. Having buried him, Beuno

...ac a blannawd vessen yn ystlys bed y dat, a honno a dyfawd yno yn derwen diruawr y huchet ae frasset. Ac ar vric y prenn hwnnw ef a wrthyfawd keing hyt y llawr, ac or llawr dracheuen yn ogyuuch a bric y prenn, a thrigyaw elin yr geing ar y llawr. Ac velle y mae yn w[a]stat. Ac od a Seis yrwng yr elin honno a bon y prenn, yn diannot y byd marw. Ac os Kymro a a yno, ni henuyd gwaeth.⁴⁴

An Englishmen-killing tree, in other words, a blatantly hostile episode, is the first miraculous happening associated with Beuno in his *vita*, apart from the miraculous events surrounding his birth.

Beuno next went to see the king of Powys, who proceeded to give him some lands on which to settle, and even now there survives a rock known as *Maen Beuno* ("Beuno's Rock") which marks the spot on which, according to popular legend, the holy man used to stand and preach to the people. It was while he was in this place with his disciples that the next remarkable episode of his *Life* occurred: One day Beuno was walking by the banks of the river Severn, in what was to be the southern frontier region between Wales and England, when he heard, from across the other side of the river, the voice of a huntsman calling his dogs. That this huntsman was an Englishman is made known by the words he calls out to his dogs: *kergia kergia* ("charge, charge").⁴⁵ The *vita* refers to him as a "foreigner", *gwr angkyuueith*, literally, a "man with a different language", as well as calling him a *Seis*, i.e. an Englishman.⁴⁶ Upon hearing these calls, Beuno hurried back to where his disciples were resting and told them to gather their things. "Let us leave this place", he urged them, for "the nation of the foreigner ["the man with the different language"] who I saw on the other side of the river with his dogs will invade this country and it will be theirs and they will treat it as their possession".⁴⁷ Upon which they abandoned the place and moved on. The occurrence described here is hardly a miracle; what is extraordinary about this episode, however, is Beuno's ability, granted to him by the author of his *vita* centuries after the events it describes, to foresee the events of the future and to recognise the danger represented by an ordinary huntsman via the language spoken by the latter. This is, of course, a most convenient episode of nationalist hue for the later medieval authors of the *vita* to exploit. It is interesting

43. Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints...*: I, 210.

44. "planted an acorn by the side of his father's grave, and that grew into an oak that was enormous in height and thickness. And from the top of the tree a branch grew back down towards the ground, and from the ground back up as high as the tree, and the bend of the branch stayed on the ground [thereby forming an arch], and thus it remains still. And if an Englishman should pass between that bent branch and the tree trunk, he will die immediately. And if a Welshman should go there, he will not suffer". "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 17 (§6).

45. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 17 (§8).

46. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 17 (§8).

47. "Hystoria o Uched Beuno"....: 17 (§8).



to note, then, that here we have a fourteenth-century author in post-Edwardian-Conquest Wales, recounting a seventh-century episode signifying the Anglo-Saxon threat facing Wales at that time as he imagines it against the backdrop of his own current experience.⁴⁸ And the figure of the native saint recognizes the impending danger but is unable to prevent it. Beuno and other Welsh saints of the period carried upon them a certain obligation for the well-being of their country. As Elissa Henken puts it: “Like other rulers they [the saints] bear responsibility for the total welfare of the land and people, for ensuring fertility, justice, peace and security”.⁴⁹ But like other rulers, the saints cannot always comply.

The remainder of Beuno’s *Life* recounts the wanderings of the holy man through Wales, as well as relating the odd miracle associated with Beuno: thus he is credited with a number of resuscitations, which include that of a princess, that of an Irishman, and that of his own niece, St Winifred or Gwenfrewi.⁵⁰ The *Life* further tells of Beuno’s encounters with a range of political figures across Wales. Thus he is said to have had a good relationship with King Cadfan of Gwynedd (north Wales), who is in fact a historical figure who died c. 616, but not quite such a good relationship with Cadfan’s son, Cadwallon. This latter, having received gifts from Beuno, so his *vita* tells us, gave the holy man in return certain lands, which, as it turned out, did not belong to him. When this was revealed, he was duly cursed by Beuno.⁵¹ By way of compensation, Cadwallon’s cousin Gwyddaint offered Beuno his own township of *Kellynnawc* (Clynnog), which lies on the north coast of the Llŷn Peninsula in north Wales, which Beuno accepted and which he made his home.⁵² He lived in Clynnog until his death and is said to have founded a monastery at the site, which does not survive. What does survive, though, is the parish church of Clynnog, a surprisingly large and magnificent building for such a small town, hinting perhaps at its importance through its association with St Beuno. The surviving fabric of the church dates mostly from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, though its foundations, as well as a number of inscribed stones, prove that this has been a site of religious significance since at least the eighth century. *Ffynnon Feuno*, a holy well associated with St Beuno, said to cure epileptic children and “impotent folk”, is near the church.⁵³

48. Thus we find the great crises facing medieval Wales – the Saxon threat, the Norman invasion some centuries later, and the Edwardian Conquest at the end of the thirteenth century – being reflected in similar ways in the medieval Welsh literature.

49. Henken, Elissa. “Welsh hagiography”....: 27.

50. For the resurrection of the princess: “Hystoria o Uched Beuno”....: 20 (§19); for the Irishman: “Hystoria o Uched Beuno”....:17 (§10); For St Winifred: “Hystoria o Uched Beuno”....: 18-19 (§13). On St Winifred see also “S. Gwenfrewi”, Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints; the Saints of Wales, Cornwall and Irish Saints*....: III, 185-196. Holywell in north Wales, the waters of which are believed to have healing powers and which is still a popular pilgrimage destination, is associated with St Winifred, allegedly marking the site where her head fell after she was beheaded (before being resuscitated by her uncle Beuno).

51. “Hystoria o Uched Beuno”....: 19 (§15).

52. “Hystoria o Uched Beuno”....: 19-20 (§16).

53. Cf. Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints*....: I, 216.



When death finally approached Beuno, his *vita* tells us that he had a vision of Heaven, which opened and let him see the Trinity and a multitude of saints.⁵⁴ His feast day is 21 April and his grave at Clynnog along with the holy well that bears his name soon became associated with miracles and developed into a pilgrimage destination.⁵⁵

6. Beuno's *Life* and 'national consciousness'

The *Life* of St Beuno is a fairly short, but highly charged text. Regarded in the context of other medieval Welsh literary expressions, in particular the poetry of the period, it becomes a reflection of what we may call the "national" consciousness of its author, in the sense that he treats Wales and its people here as an entity which, in fact, the different regions and people of Wales never were, although they shared a common language and a common law. And the author of Beuno's *vita* demonstrates his partiality towards Wales and his concern for a country which was for him not simply a nation, but a nation threatened by another, whose administration was in the hands not of its native rulers, but of the English crown. In her excellent article on the "nationalist impulse" in Welsh hagiographic writing, Elissa Henken maintains that the fact that there was a demand for texts of this type in the Welsh language in the fourteenth century indicates what the preoccupations were in Wales at that time.⁵⁶ Rees Davies points out that, similarly, the medieval Welsh prose tales reflect a certain nostalgia for a heroic past that never was. In his words, the 'memories, continuous if contrived memories, of a glorious past weighed heavily and inspiringly on the Welsh mind; they were the ideological framework for its political ambition'.⁵⁷ Referring to the Welsh hagiography, Elissa Henken argues that "these Welsh texts were written at a time of deep despair and

54. *Ac val yr oed hoedyl Beuno yn daruot ae dyd yn dyuot, y seithued dyd gwedy y Pasc, ef a welei y nef yn agoret ac engylyonn yn gogwstwnag ac yn dyrchael y vynydd dracheuen. Ac yna y dywat Beuno, 'Mi a welaf (heb) y Trindawt, y Tad ar Mab ar Yspryt Glan, a Pheder, a Phawl, a D[af]luid wirion, a Deyinoel, ar seint, ar prophwydi, ar ebestyl, ar merthyri yn ymdangos ym. A mi welaf ymlyth hynny seith angel yn seuyll ger bronn kadeir y goruchel Dat, a holl dadeu nef, ar kannyadaeth yn dywedut, "Gwynnydded yw yr hwnn, a etholeisti ac a gymereist ac a bresswyla ygyt yn dragwydawl. ("And as the lifetime of Beuno was ending, and his last day drew near, on the seventh day after Easter, he saw heaven open, and the angels descending and ascending again. And Beuno said, "I see the Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and Peter and Paul, and David the innocent, and Daniel, and the saints, and the prophets, and the Apostles and the martyrs appear to me. And I see among them seven angels standing before the throne of the highest Father, and all the fathers of heaven singing and saying, "Blessed is he whom thou hast chosen and taken, and who does for ever dwell with Thee"). "Hystoria o Uuched Beuno"....: 21 (§22).*

55. Jones, G. Hartwell. *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*. London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1912: 34-35.

56. Though it is important to note that of only two *Lives* of native Welsh saints - those of David and Beuno - do we have versions in the Welsh language. There may have been others, but they do not survive, or have not yet been discovered.

57. Davies, R.R. *The First English Empire*....: 45.



suffering for the Welsh, after the fall of Llywelyn II [ap Gruffudd] and the loss of independence and before even the temporary hope offered by the redeemer-heroes Owain Lawgoch and Owain Glyn Dŵr",⁵⁸ the reference being to a figure known as *mab darogan*, the "son of prophesy" of ancient tradition, who is alluded to in the *Armes Prydein*, a prophetic text that appears in the *Llyfr Taliesin* ("the Book of Taliesin"), which survives in a late-thirteenth-century manuscript (of c. 1275), but is of pre-1066 composition.⁵⁹ This ancient Welsh text, eagerly seized upon by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poets, foresees the appearance of the *mab darogan*, a redeemer figure who will make Wales great again.⁶⁰ In a similar manner, the Welsh hagiographic texts of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries see in the respective saints whose *vitae* they recount a kind of divine political activist. They reflect, on the one hand, the political impulse of their authors and by extension of Welsh society more widely, and on the other, the impulse given by the changed situation in which the Welsh church found itself. As Glanmor Williams points out, the *Life* of St David, for example,

was written [in the late eleventh century] as part of a patriotic protest against Norman encroachment into the Welsh church; and one wonders whether the popularity of the Welsh version in the fourteenth century may not be connected with a sense of outrage at the growing tendency to exclude Welsh clerics from the higher echelons of the clergy during that period.⁶¹

In fact, the historical situation of the saints often reflects the actual political situation at the time of the composition of their *vitae*: territorial incursion and the loss of territory to foreign invaders. And in this context the Welsh saints—as indeed do saints in other traditions, too—frequently enough appear as saviours and defenders of the land, both of their immediate territory and of their country. This is true also in terms of their providing for its people, safeguarding the fertility of the land, and even engaging in military action to protect their country.⁶² The Welsh tradition abounds with such protector-saints: thus for example St Llawddog was associated with the fertility of the land, with bringing prosperity to "his parish, his men, his children, every harrow and yoke, all the ploughs, every furrow, every hill and ridge and all the grain".⁶³ St Illtud miraculously moved three stores of

58. Henken, Elissa. "Welsh hagiography...": 37.

59. For a text of *Armes Prydein* see for example *Armes Prydein. The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. Sir Ifor Williams. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1972.

60. On the Welsh prophetic tradition see also: Evans, R. Wallis. "Prophetic Poetry", *A Guide to Welsh Literature, 1282-c.1550*, A.O.H. Jarman, Gwilym Rees Hughes, ed. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997: 256-274, and Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 215-16. And note Davies, R.R. *The First English Empire...*: 46.

61. Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church...*: 104.

62. This has been discussed by Henken, Elissa. "Welsh hagiography...": 27.

63. Jones, E.D. "Lewis Glyn Cothi", *A Guide to Welsh Literature, 1282-c.1550*, A.O.H. Jarman, Gwilym Rees Hughes, ed. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997: 231.

grain in order to help his people;⁶⁴ St Gwynllyw single-handedly defeated an entire Anglo-Norman army that was invading Wales;⁶⁵ St Cadfan was regarded as the protector of those who defended the land against invaders;⁶⁶ and St Tysilio was described by the twelfth-century poet Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr as *post Powys... pobyl argledyr* ("pillar of Powys... protector of the people").⁶⁷ Throughout the medieval period, at times of crisis, and in particular political crisis, the Welsh saints, as the traditional protectors of land and population, were invoked by the poets, representing the voice of the people. The fifteenth-century poet Lewys Glyn Cothi made this passionate appeal at the end of one of his poems: "May these saints, each three and seven, rule Wales again! May the hope of Wales now rest in the saints of this island".⁶⁸ The more formal documentation from the period, such as the petitions to the English crown, complements the hagiography and reflects the anxiety and discomfort of the Welsh people during the times of Anglo-Norman or English occupation of their country, which, it ought to be remembered, was not a politically united country, but which in the sentiment of the medieval authors becomes a "nation". In all of the above cases the saint is a figure who evokes the oldest traditions of a heroic and glorious Wales (note Rees Davies's 'past-dominated society')⁶⁹ in a difficult, miserable and unpromising present. Moreover, these texts offer the sensation of belonging, of a shared identity. And, as Elissa Henken points out, "without that sense of identity there is no nation".⁷⁰ The northern Welsh saint Beuno, as his *buchedd* portrays him, is just one actor on a large stage, but he represents, I think, a most illustrative case to help us appreciate the mindset of the medieval author of his *vita*, echoing the distress of a society under pressure during times of political upheaval.

7. To conclude

And the story does not end here. During the nineteenth century, following a revival in interest in all things Welsh and motivated by a new impulse or nationalist fervour in Wales, there emerged a notion of "Welsh identity" with a strong basis in the medieval past, and in this context efforts were made to promote the cults of certain native Welsh saints, notably that of St David as the country's patron saint, including the celebration of his feast day on 1 March. So even in this "age of reason" the saints still played a part in defining a "Welsh identity". We

64. Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints...*: III, 303-317.

65. Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints...*: III, 234-241.

66. Baring-Gould, S.; Fisher, John, eds. *The Lives of the British Saints...*: II, 1-9.

67. Henken, Elissa. "Welsh hagiography...": 28.

68. Cothi, Lewys Glyn. *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. Dafydd R. Johnston. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995: 26 (lines 67-70). On Lewys Glyn Cothi, note also Jones, E.D. "Lewys Glyn Cothi" ...: 222-239.

69. Davies, R.R. *The First English Empire...*: 44.

70. Henken, Elissa. "Welsh hagiography...": 41.



may not have the same relation to the saints as did our medieval ancestors, but the continuation of celebrations of their feast days, and the multitude of church dedications in their honour, as well as the numerous places that bear their names and preserve their memory, ensure that they are a continuing presence across Wales to this day.



BETWEEN MYTHOPOIESIS, STEREOTYPES AND UNCONSCIOUS PROJECTIONS. SOME CASE STUDIES OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MEDIEVAL SARDINIA (19TH-21ST CENTURIES)

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes some reflections on the historiography produced in the last century and a half on medieval Sardinia, used as a case study because in the island the Middle Ages has been showered with nationalistic and identitarian values and references, which have often been used for contemporary political and cultural purposes. A historiography that in some cases shows a sort of automatic and unconscious overlap of various consolidated interpretation schemes to what the sources literally say, as when it continues to propose topics of the alleged isolation and peripherality of the Island that were thought to be outdated.

KEYWORDS

Medieval Sardinia, *Giudicati* Sardinia, Historiography, Isolation, Peripherality, Fathers/Ancestors.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Sardinia Mediaevalis, Iudicati Sardiniae, Historiographia, Loginquitas, Peripheria, Patres/Antecessores.

1. Introductory reflections

As we have said in some previous works, we consider more than ever necessary a deep reflection on the historiography so far produced on medieval Sardinia, because in the island the Middle Ages has been showered with nationalistic and identitarian values and references, in the contemporary sense of the terms. Consequently this period has often been used for political and cultural purposes with results that should be discussed.¹ Looking at the historiography produced in the last century and a half, we can not fail to notice how, often unconsciously, some scholars came to claim a *status*, prestige or even a full belonging within the international community of the time to medieval Sardinians. As to deny another of the leitmotifs of the island's history, that of its peripherality and its alleged isolation during long periods of its history, including especially the early Middle Ages.²

Trying to draw an initial balance and to make some considerations on the reconstruction of Sardinia's medieval history, we can not fail to mention the so-called rebirth of Sardinian historiography occurred between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, mainly thanks to scholars such as Arrigo Solmi and Enrico Besta. However, even with all its merits, this rebirth is based on the unfinished results of the well-known story of the *Falsi d'Arborea* (Arborea Forgeries), which, in our opinion, is still extremely significant in terms of the thorny exegetic relationship between the sources of Sardinia's history and some of their scholars.³ Even though, nowadays, the falsification of documents is no longer active, in many cases we can find in several historians a sort of automatic and unconscious overlap of various consolidated interpretation schemes to what the sources literally say.⁴

1. Gallinari, Luciano. "Dieci anni di storiografia sulla Sardegna catalana (2000 - 2010): considerazioni e prospettive", *Sardegna catalana*, Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena, eds. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2014: 373-394; Tognetti, Sergio. "La Sardegna catalana. Storiografia sarda e storiografia italiana a confronto", *Nuova rivista storica*, -XCIX/3 (2015): 1037-1046; Gallinari, Luciano. "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia between 7th and 11th centuries in the light of recent historiographical proposal", *Bilanci e prospettive storiografiche*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena, eds. Rome: Viella, 2015: 83-107; Gallinari, Luciano. "Some criticalities on exegetical and methodological issues of researching the Sardinian identity profile", *Sardinia from Middle Ages to Contemporaneity. A case study of a Mediterranean island identity profile*, Luciano Gallinari, ed. Bern: Peter Lang, 2018: 1-15.

2. For further and more detailed considerations we refer to chapter 4 on the historiography of the 21st century.

3. The story of the *Falsi* really began around mid-19th century, following the purchase, between 1845 and 1868, by the Royal Library of Cagliari (the current University Library of the city), of a collection of 8 parchments, 17 paper volumes and 15 other paper sheets, which had been put into circulation by a clergyman, Cosimo Maria Manca a Minor Observant friar of the church of Santa Rosalia in Cagliari. These documents made it possible to fill the period between 8th and 15th centuries, which was characterised by a serious lack of documentary and narrative sources that prevented specialists from having a complete picture of Sardinian history of this period.

4. Veyne, Paul. *Comment on écrit l'histoire. Texte integral*. Paris: Seuil, 1996: 31 highlights that we have to write History as we have always done, with commensurate inequalities to the unequal preservation level of the past documents.



Our explanation of such a *modus operandi* of many historians during the last century lies once again in the true and authentic core of the *Falsi d'Arborea*. As it was pointed out by a renowned psychiatrist from Cagliari, this essence was not the superficial aspect of the mere economic gain from the sale of falsified documents. This first main point hid another much deeper one, which revealed a deep wound of the self-esteem of the 19th century cultured Sardinians. They, being almost completely devoid of historical sources on the island's Middle Ages found themselves without a memory, and therefore of an identity that was dignified and acceptable to them. Hence the idea of filling some of those gaps, focusing on the Middle Ages given the counterfeiters' professional skills and the importance of that historical period for an identitarian discourse.⁵ So, according to the mentioned psychiatrist's opinion the *Falsi* are not historical memory, but a medium of the *linguaggio illusorio dell'identificazione, dell'aspirazione all'onnipotenza e del non ancora raggiunto accesso al reale*.⁶

It seems possible to find this deep wound in the self-esteem of Sardinians also in other historical periods far from ours, in which however other historians/scholars created interesting and prestigious genealogies for Sardinians of their period.

In this work, we present only a few examples.

2. Mythopoiesis and the search for illustrious ancestors in the 16th-17th centuries: Giovanni Francesco Fara and Giovanni Arca

One of the most interesting periods for the construction of a Sardinian identity is the Modern Age and, in this case, the time span between the end of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century when islanders were deeply catalanised and hispanicised after the first century of warfare (1323-1420). At that time a sense of Sardinian identity arose in the upper classes and in some intellectuals who, while

5. Rudas, Nereide. *L'isola dei coralli*. Roma: Carocci, 1997: 69-76. After she had confirmed the most evident economic aims, the psychiatrist supposed that the absence of sources on Sardinia's Middle Ages "*che negava ai Sardi una storia e un'identità*" ("that denied Sardinians a History and an identity") would cause the forgers a narcissistic wound that could stimulate "*l'invenzione di padri, secondo fantasie totipotenti*" ("the invention of fathers, according to totipotent fantasies"). The scholar highlighted the sharing of these same needs also in the 19th century upper classes of Sardinian society.

6. "illusory language of identification, ambition to omnipotence, and the not-yet-achieved access to the reality". Loddo Canepa, Francesco. "Dizionario archivistico per la Sardegna". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, XVII (1929): 331-420; *Le Carte d'Arborea. Falsi e falsari nella Sardegna del XIX secolo*, ed. Luciano Marrocu. Cagliari: AM&D, 1997; Marrocu, Luciano. *Theodor Mommsen nell'isola dei falsari*. Cagliari: Cuec, 2009 and the bibliography therein. The *Falsi*'s episode supports what mentioned with regards to Halbwachs by Assmann, Jan. *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*. Turin: Einaudi, 1997: 22. [*il passato è una costruzione sociale la cui composizione risulta dal bisogno di senso e dai quadri di riferimento del presente. Il passato non si fissa naturalmente, ma è una creazione culturale.* ("[The past is] a social construction whose composition results from the need for meaning and the reference frameworks of the present. The past does not fix itself by nature, but it is a cultural creation"). On psychological interpretations, see Rudas, Nereide. *L'isola dei coralli*...: 76.



not denying their Hispanic component, increasingly tried to recognise themselves as something different from the natives (*naturals*) of the other kingdoms of the Crown of Spain. They also sought to promote and obtain a growing capacity for self-government by insisting that Sardinia's main institutional and ecclesiastical offices be entrusted to the islanders.⁷ Within this political and social process, two figures of historians emerge, with different human and professional values: Giovanni Francesco Fara and Giovanni Arca.

One of the elements that unites them, particularly useful for the purposes of this text, is the *Passio Sancti Ephysii*, martyr of the Diocletian era and patron saint of Cagliari. This source offers interesting points for historical and historiographic reflections on some closely intertwined topics: the *Barbari/Pagani*, the "resistant" identity of Sardinians through time, and the research of illustrious Fathers/Ancestors. The latter topic is linked to what we said in the Introduction, and appears as a sort of red thread in the weave of the island's historiography.

These are the events. *Ephysius* from *Caieta* (current Gaeta, Italy) went to Tharros, an ancient Phoenician-Roman city on the west coast of Sardinia, where he defeated a pagan and idolatrous *gens Barbarica*, who did not want to submit to the Romans and devastated Sardinian plains.⁸

The examined codices speak of two different types of enemies. In this case, a *Barbarica gens* or *Barbari* are mentioned by the Vatican one, the oldest and the most faithful to the original life of Procopius/Neania: the base of the *Vita* of Ephysius. On the contrary, the Calaritan codex speaks of "*Ilienses et Jolenses populi montani*", two of the peoples that belonged to the *Civitates Barbariae* already mentioned by the Roman sources in the Augustan age. According to some scholars, this identification shows that the Calaritan codex, even though it derives from a previous medieval one, and is a sort of synthesis of the Vatican *recensio*, contains more precise topographical details with humanistic-renaissance characteristics.⁹

In 1580 Giovanni Francesco Fara, the most important Sardinian historian of his time, mentioned twice the island barbarians in his work *De Rebus Sardois*. The first of these mentions report that *dux Ephysius* in 303 A.D. *in Sardinia contra*

7. Manconi, Francesco. "'De no poderse desmembrar de la Corona de Aragón'. Sardegna e Paesi catalani, un vincolo lungo quattro secoli". *Archivio Sardo. Rivista di studi storici e sociali*, Second Series, 1 (1999): 45-57; Murgia, Giovanni. "Ceti privilegiati e Corona nella Sardegna spagnola durante la Guerra dei Trent'anni", *Corts i Parlaments de la Corona d'Aragó. Unes institucions emblemàtiques en una monarquia composta*, Remedio Ferrero Micó, Lluís Guia Marín, eds. València: Universitat de València, 2008: 469-492; Tore, Gianfranco. "Città, oligarchie e Corona nel Regno di Sardegna (XVI-XVII)", *Corts i Parlaments de la Corona d'Aragó. Unes institucions emblemàtiques en una monarquia composta*, Remedio Ferrero Micó, Lluís Guia Marín, eds. València: Universitat de València, 2008: 445-467; Manconi, Francesco. "Il Regno di Sardegna in età moderna. L'impronta catalana", *Il Regno di Sardegna in età moderna. Saggi diversi*, Francesco Manconi, ed. Cagliari: Cuec, 2010: 24-25.

8. According to some scholars, this battle could refer to the great victory on the river Garigliano, near *Caieta*, obtained against the Saracens in 915 by the Byzantine army, aided by the armies of Apulia, Calabria, Campania, Apostolic See and Spoleto. See Spanu, Pier Giorgio. *Martyria Sardiniae: i santuari dei martiri sardi*. Oristano: S'Alvure, 2000: 64, 69-81 and 163-173.

9. Zedda, Corrado; Pinna, Raimondo. "La nascita dei Giudicati. Proposta per lo scioglimento di un enigma storiografico". *Archivio Storico Giuridico Sardo di Sassari*, Second Series, 12 (2007): 49-52.



montanos Barbaricinos insulam devastantes proficiscitur ("went to Sardinia against the mountainous *Barbaricini* that devastated the island"). The second one, conversely, report the Sardinian events of the 6th-7th centuries and the Byzantine *duces* that *in montibus Sardiniae iussu imperatorum residebant: nam ibi aderant Barbaricini populi illi antiqui, qui numquam a Carthaginensibus, Romanis et Vandalis, ut diximus, debellati fuere*.¹⁰

From this work, therefore, arose a double equation: *Barbaricini* = *Populi Montani* and *Barbaricini* = *Populi illi antiqui*, which were never conquered except by the Byzantines: among those *Populi* there were the *Iolenses* and *Ilienses* mentioned in the Calaritan codex of the *Passio*.¹¹

With another Sardinian historian, a contemporary of Fara, the elaboration of the concept of *Populi Montani/Barbaricini* underwent a new and interesting advance that led to the development of a lineage of Sardinians' illustrious ancestors, in view of what we said about the Arborea Forgery. The scholar we are referring to is Giovanni Arca, a shady Jesuit with no scruples in plagiarising entire parts of previous works without mentioning their authors. In 1598 he published *De Sanctis Sardiniae*, in which he also identified the *Iolenses* and *Ilienses* with the *Barbaricini*, but he added some considerations of nationalist flavour. Later, between the years following 1598 and March 1613, he wrote two works entirely dedicated to the moral and cultural rehabilitation of *Barbaricini*: *De Barbaricinorum origine* and *De Barbaricinorum fortitudine*.¹²

In our opinion, the importance of Arca is the further step forward in the research/creation of illustrious ancestors. In fact, in the clergyman's extremely interesting cultural and political operation, it seems as if we can almost grasp the idea that *Barbaricini* themselves were not sufficiently illustrious ancestors for the Sardinians of the 17th century. Therefore, it is not surprising that at the beginning of the *De Barbaricinorum origine* Arca committed himself to highlight the illustrious ancestors of the *Barbaricini* themselves.

Although he was aware of Fara's somewhat earlier texts, in order to give greater "reliability" to his statements, Arca went even deeper into the search for the *Barbaricini*'s Fathers/Ancestors. By following a well-known classical literary text that identified them with two specific peoples, he was able to give an even more cultured and prestigious version of the lineage of the *Barbaricini* and, therefore, of Sardinians of his days.

They descended nothing less than from the very noble people of Trojans —the Sardinian *Ilienses*—, from the Thespiads —sons of Hercules and nephews of Thespis—, and especially from Iolaus son of Iphycles and nephew of the demigod, after which

10. "lived in the mountains of Sardinia by order of emperors: in fact were there those ancient peoples, the *Barbaricini*, who never, as we said, were defeated by Carthaginians, Romans and Vandals". Ioannis Francisci Farae, "De rebus sardois. Liber I", *Opera*, ed. Anna Maria Pintus. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1992: 151-184.

11. Turtas, Raimondo. "Giovanni Arca. Note biografiche", Arca, Giovanni. *Barbaricinorum libelli*, ed. Maria Teresa Laneri. Cagliari: Cuccu, 2005: LXXXI-LXXXII.

12. Turtas, Raimondo. "Giovanni Arca. Note biografiche...": LXIX.



the Sardinian people of *Iolenses* took his name: *ab antiquissimis nobilissimisque Troianis atque Thespiadum manu quae propius aberant a rerum ortu. Suam primam duxerunt originem a Iolao Iphicli filio Herculisque nepote*.¹³

With such ancestors, it is comprehensible that *Barbaricini* did not tolerate slavery and fiercely opposed all the rulers of the island, who were always defeated by them.¹⁴ The only one who succeeded in winning them was St. Ephysius, but just because they fled before him and a threatening angel.

The former Jesuit inserted in his narration an extract from the *Passio S. Ephysii*, where he spoke only of *Barbaricae gentis/Barbari*, but the passage was preceded by an introductory narrative, in which Arca proposed the identification of those islander enemies of Ephysius with the *Barbaricini*: *Mittebant [the Roman emperors] aliquando duces fortissimos cum exercitu, ut diximus, contra Barbaricinos, ut fecit Diocletianus cum sancto Ephyso in quem discenderunt Ilienses ex montibus (...)* ("Sometimes, as we have said, [the Roman emperors] sent very valiant *duces* with the army against the *Barbaricini*, as did Diocletian with St. *Ephysius*, against whom the *Ilienses* descended from the mountains").¹⁵

This epic narration of Sardinians' origin crossed the centuries like a karst river, responding to dreams, needs and expectations of part of the island's people by feeding a new interpretative theory of the island history, formulated more than half a century ago by Giovanni Lilliu, a Sardinian archaeologist who called it the *costante resistenziale sarda* ("constant Sardinian resistance"). According to him, the inhabitants of the interior of Sardinia would resist any attempt at conquer by Phoenicians, Punics, Romans, Byzantines, etc.¹⁶ A historiographic myth, which nourished an identity concept based on notions of purity and uncontamination, contradicted by linguistics and archaeologists that, however, took root in the island society. As a result of this "resistance" over time, two types of islanders would live in Sardinia: those from the coasts and plains, whose "Sardinian" identity would be

13. Arca, Giovanni. "De Barbaricinorum origine", *Barbaricinorum libelli*, ed. Maria Teresa Laneri, Cagliari: Cuec, 2005: 1 and 14. Laneri, Maria Teresa. "Introduzione", Arca, Giovanni. *Barbaricinorum libelli...*: CXVI: points out that: (...) *la fusione fra Iolensi e Iliensi, e la conseguente identificazione con i Barbaricini, è tutta e soltanto di Arca: infatti né i testi antichi né Fara operano tale equivalenza*. ("the merger between *Iolenses* and *Ilienses*, and the consequent identification with the *Barbaricini*, is made entirely and only by Arca: in fact neither the ancient texts nor Fara make such equivalence").

14. The narration of the independence and military resistance of Sardinians and, in particular, of those who resided in the mountains, against external attackers is taken from Diodorus Siculus. The historian stated that Carthaginians and Romans, in spite of their great military efforts, tried in vain to subjugate the descendants of Iolauus and the Thespiades because of the roughness of the places, leaving them free: *Carthaginenses cum saepius eos bello tentassent, difficultate locorum eorum absterriti, liberos relinquerunt. Postremo a Romanis armis saepius lacessiti, locorum asperitate inuicti permansere*. Siculus Diodorus. *Bibliothecae historicae libri XV*, ed. Wilhelm Xylander. Basileae: ex officina Henric Petrina, 1578: 139-140, (Book V, Chapter V). <[https://books.google.it/books?id=sPNCAAAACAAJ&dq=inauthor%3A%22Diodorus%20\(Siculus\)%22&hl=it&pg=PR4#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.it/books?id=sPNCAAAACAAJ&dq=inauthor%3A%22Diodorus%20(Siculus)%22&hl=it&pg=PR4#v=onepage&q&f=false)>.

15. Arca, Giovanni. "De Barbaricinorum fortitudine", *Barbaricinorum libelli*, ed. Maria Teresa Laneri, Cagliari: Cuec, 2005: 46.

16. Lilliu, Giovanni. *La costante resistenziale sarda*, Antonello Mattone, ed. Nuoro: Ilisso, 2002.



mixed with the external dominators' ones, and those from the Mountains, who would have remained "uncontaminated" by the Other.

This historiographic theory has been recently resized: historical, anthropological and archaeological studies over the last few decades have increasingly highlighted the osmosis between the *Civitates Barbariae* and the "other" Sardinia, even during the Roman imperial period.¹⁷

Nevertheless, sometimes it reappears and is present, very often more emotionally and unconsciously, in both scientific and popular publications, dedicated not only to the ancient history of Sardinia, but also to the *Giudicati* Age (11th -15th centuries) which is the other period of the island's history, loaded with nationalistic and independent values, as we will see in the next paragraph.

3. The origin of modern historiography on medieval Sardinia

The identitarian and nationalistic reading of the *Giudicati* history is well rooted in part of the 20th century historiography on Sardinia, and in particular, in that of the second half of it. Within this Age, the last two centuries of the Middle Ages are the focus of a particular attention as they were marked by the opposed relationship between Aragonese and Sardinians, which ended with the disappearance of the *Giudicato* of Arborea, the last Sardinian polity in 1420.¹⁸

17. See among others: Stiglitz, Alfonso. "Confini e frontiere nella Sardegna fenicia, punica e romana: critica all'immaginario geografico", *L'Africa romana. Ai Confini dell'impero: contatti, scambi, conflitti*, Mustapha Khanoussi, Paola Ruggeri, Cinzia Vismara, eds. Rome: Carocci, 2004: XV/1, 805; Mastino, Attilio, ed. *Storia della Sardegna antica*. Cagliari: Il Maestrale, 2005; Caltagirone, Benedetto. "Identità sarde", *Sardegna. Seminario sull'identità*, Giulio Angioni, Francesco Bachis, Benedetto Caltagirone, Tatiana Cossu, eds. Cagliari: Cuec, 2007: 188-189.

18. On the causes of the Aragonese presence in Sardinia following the enfeoffment of *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* to King James II of Aragon in 1297 we refer to a selection of works among many others: Arribas Palau, Antonio. *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón*. Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos: 1952; Salavert y Roca, Vicente. *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea*, 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956. Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. "Frontiere dell'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo. L'epoca di Giacomo II d'Aragona (1291-1327)", *Frontiere del Mediterraneo. Seminario Internazionale di Studi (Cagliari, 10-12 Ottobre 2002)*, Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, Maria Grazia Mele, eds. Pisa: ETS, 2003: 31-39; Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, Maria Rosa Muñoz, Vicente Pons, Mateu Rodrigo, "La participación valenciana en la conquista de Cerdeña," *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII-XVI. VII Centenari de la sentència arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004*, Rafael Narbona, ed. València: Universitat de València, 2005: I, 225-50; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. "L'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo: riflessi nella storiografia iberica contemporanea", *Quel mar che la terra inghirlanda. Studi mediterranei in ricordo di Marco Tangheroni*, Franco Cardini, Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, eds. Rome: Pacini editore, 2007: 149-155. Sanna, Mauro G. "Papa Giovanni XXII, Giacomo II d'Aragona e la questione del Regnum Sardinie et Corsice", *Tra diritto e storia. Studi in onore di Luigi Berlinguer promossi dalle Università di Siena e di Sassari*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2008: II, 737-52. Sanna, Mauro G. "Bonifacio VIII, Giacomo II d'Aragona e la questione del regnum Sardinie et Corsice". *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo*, 112 (2010): 503-28. Sanna, Mauro G. "La Sardegna, il Papato e le dinamiche delle espansione mediterranea", *La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo tardomedievale. Convegno di studi. Sassari, 13-14 dicembre 2012*. Trieste: Centro Europeo Ricerche Medievali, 2013: 103-121.



In such historiography the interpretation was deeply embedded in a partisan vision almost completely detached from what was the reality of feudal relations, especially in the Iberian world of the late Middle Ages.

In this work we will examine some of the most significant scholars of Sardinia's medieval history, who worked between the last decades of the nineteenth century and nowadays, in order to find once again some interpretative lines that go through the decades. And, despite the elaboration of new critical proposals of the history, these lines continue to be present and re-emerge as karst rivers in a large part of scientific production on both Byzantine and *Giudicati* Sardinia.

By rereading several old texts, our impression is that some historians did not realise the short circuit contained in their political and institutional reconstructions of the the last centuries of Sardinia's Middle Ages.

We can see some concrete examples that can help to understand these statements.

Let us start with one of the two new founders of the historiography on medieval Sardinia, the jurist Arrigo Solmi who tried to answer the basic question of the true nature of relationship between the Kings of Aragon and the Judges of Arborea:

(...) non erano tutti questi potenti [Doria, Malaspina, Gherardesca, Arborea e Sassari] ugualmente soggetti alla corona aragonese? (...) è certo che il giuramento di fedeltà prestato, dagli altri antichi signori dell'isola, era identico, nella sostanza, quello di qualunque altro signore feudale; (...). Ben diverso doveva essere il punto di vista di quegli antichi signori [I giudici d'Arborea], rimasti in realtà autonomi. Essi si erano rivolti alla potenza aragonese soltanto per debellare gli ideali e l'opera assidui e tenaci di dominazione perseguiti da Pisa, non già per veder limitati i propri diritti d'autonomia. Il fondamento del loro potere nell'isola aveva preceduto, nel suo nascere, lo stesso dominio aragonese; ed era quindi, per indole, diverso da quello che nasceva da una comune concessione feudale.¹⁹

In these few lines there is already *in nuce* a series of distortions in the vision of the relationship between the Kings of Aragon and the Judges of Arborea.

The first misrepresentation is Solmi's slight deviation from the level of the scientific reasoning, when he contrasted the oath of allegiance made by the judges of Arborea and their own point of view of the situation. As if they were on a same level. We consider this attitude extremely indicative of a *modus operandi* present in many scholars which we will examine later.

The letters sent to King Peter IV of Aragon by Judge Mariano IV of Arborea, during the latter's uprising in the second half of the 14th century, and these statements by

19. "were not all these powerful [the political subjects such as Doria, Malaspina, Gherardesca, Arborea and the city of Sassari] equally subject to the Aragonese crown? (...), it is certain that the oath of allegiance taken by the other ancient lords of the island was substantially identical to that of any other feudal lord (...). The point of view of those ancient lords [the Judges of Arborea], who actually remained autonomous, must have been quite different. They had turned to the Aragonese power only to defeat the ideals and the assiduous and tenacious work of domination pursued by Pisa, not to see limited their rights to autonomy. The foundation of their power in the island had preceded, in its birth, the same Aragonese dominion, and was therefore, by nature, different from that which arose from a common feudal concession". Solmi, Arrigo. "Le costituzioni del primo parlamento sardo del 1355". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 6 (1910): 193-272.

Solmi show that the historian embraced the political position of Sardinian rulers and their recriminations, and did not try to stay as equidistant as possible. It would seem confirmed also by Solmi's comment on the self-government of the judges of Arborea: "(...) those ancient lords, who actually remained autonomous (...)". It is not clear what he refers to, because even a century ago historians knew several *Giudicati*, Ligurian and Tuscan sources, certifying that the four Sardinian judges from the twelfth century took oaths of allegiance and submission to the Communes of Genoa and Pisa. Not to mention the ties with the German emperors and the Apostolic See.

But, frankly, in the above text there is firstly an erroneous vision of the presumed protagonism of the House of Oristano that would call the Aragonese to chase Pisa from the island. This idea is coincidentally closely related to a second erroneous element: the absence from this political stage of the Apostolic See, the true political *domina* of Sardinia and, at least, of the western Euro-Mediterranean world according to the juridical culture of the late Middle Ages.

Solmi's short circuit occurred in relation to what it has just been said about the nature of the feudal bond; the jurist interpreted the beginning of the rebellion of Judge Mariano IV in the mid-14th century, also due to the great concessions made by King Peter IV of Aragon to John of Arborea, one of Mariano's brothers, stating that the Iberian sovereign felt he had settled his debt of gratitude to the House of Arborea for the support given in the conquest of the *Regnum*, avoiding to further strengthen the judge but fuelling his deep discontent.

*Vi era qui senza dubbio un contrasto insanabile, per il diverso modo di concepire i reciproci diritti e doveri tra il re ed il giudice. (...) questi (...) chiedeva di essere considerato, com'era, un potente sovrano, non già un comune barone del regno; instava perché non si entrasse a giudicare di un provvedimento interno contro un proprio suddito, il fratello Giovanni, che gli aveva rifiutato obbedienza; domandava che, a compenso degli aiuti prestati per 5 anni di guerra (...) gli fossero assicurati gli aumenti territoriali da lui più volte richiesti.*²⁰

The above mentioned passage is extremely stimulating for the terms and concepts used by the jurist, which formed the basis of many other similar following statements. For instance, the term *sovrano* (Sovereign) addressed to the judge: Mariano IV was not a sovereign; perhaps he aspired to be one, but he was not. An imperial or papal nomination was necessary to obtain that title, as it happened for Judge Barisone I of Arborea (1164) or for Enzo (Heinrich), the husband of the *iudicissa* Adelasia of Torres, appointed as king of Sardinia by his father the emperor Frederick II.

20. "There was undoubtedly an irreconcilable conflict here, due to the different way of conceiving the reciprocal rights and duties between the king and the judge. The latter (...) asked to be considered, as he was, a powerful sovereign, not a common baron of the kingdom; he urged so that one could not judge an internal measure against one of his subjects, his brother John, who had refused him obedience; he asked that, in order to reward the aid given for five years of war he was granted the territorial increases requested by him several times". Solmi, Arrigo. "Le costituzioni del primo parlamento...": 199-200.



Solmi returned once again to the topic of relationship between the King of Aragon and Mariano IV of Arborea, reiterating that the reason for the disagreement between them was based on

*(...) una condizione di fatto estremamente favorevole al giudice, per cui questi si presentava come un potente sovrano, faceva contrasto la concezione feudale rigida del re, che tendeva a considerare il giudice alla stregua di ogni altro vassallo della Corona.*²¹

These juridical, institutional and political considerations—which appear to have been partially based on Mariano IV's claims present in the sources produced by this judge or that concern him—show a further plan of interpretation of Sardinian ruler's *status*. While in the passage quoted above the judge “asked to be considered, as he was, a powerful sovereign”, in the second passage, in contrast, Mariano IV “presented himself as a powerful sovereign”. We consider very interesting and significant this alternation of the terms, and also of the concepts that underlie them. Since the concepts they express, being/feeling a sovereign are not equivalent.²²

Despite all these characteristics, this interpretation had a great historiographic success, and we find it at the base of many other essays on the history of the *Giudicati* up to almost the present day. It will have negative effects on a more exact knowledge of the institutional and juridical history of the Sardinian polities and of that of Arborea in particular.

Another significant figure in this sketch of the historicographic panorama is Raimondo Carta Raspi, whose work on the history of Sardinia was widespread despite that he was not a professional researcher.

*[Mariano IV] il più grande giudice che abbia avuto l'isola. (...). Battagliero e fiero, sempre vittorioso, (...) uomo politico, fu sempre all'altezza del momento, all'interno e all'esterno; (...) riuscì a formare delle sbandate popolazioni dell'isola, un popolo con una propria fisionomia, quale la Sardegna non aveva più da oltre un millennio e che solo da allora poté mantenersi compatto, una sola anima e un unico destino.*²³

To be honest, regardless of his tone almost always rhetorical, we have to highlight that the topic of the judges of Arborea's sovereignty, at least from Hugh II (1321-

21. “(...) the king's rigid feudal conception, which tended to consider the judge like any other vassal of the Crown, contrasted with an extremely favourable *de facto* condition for the judge, thanks to which he presented himself as a powerful sovereign”. Solmi, Arrigo. “Le costituzioni del primo...”: 210.

22. In fact, in no source—except in some testimonies of the feudal trial against Mariano IV, which therefore must be evaluated with extreme attention, given their political nature—the judge showed he considered himself a sovereign.

23. “[Mariano IV] the greatest judge the island has ever had. (...). Pugnacious and proud, always victorious, (...) a politician, he was always up to the task, both inside and outside the island; (...) he managed to form the island's skewed peoples, a people with its own character, which Sardinia had not had for over a millennium and which only since then could remain compact, a single soul and a single destiny”. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea, conte del Goceano, visconte di Bas, giudice d'Arborea*. Oristano: S'Alvure, 2001: 12-13 (first edition, Cagliari: Edizioni della Fondazione il Nuraghe, 1934).



1335) onwards, is dealt by Carta Raspi with great care. Almost as if he had put it in the background, in the sense that sometimes one surmise it in different parts of the text by the choice of some terms. Let us look some examples.

*L'erede al trono di Arborea [il 'donnikellu' Pietro III] non poteva mancare al fianco del giudice e dell'infante d'Aragona, per contribuire a una vittoria che avrebbe dovuto pesare sui destini del giudicato e sull'amicizia dei due futuri sovrani.*²⁴

In this passage, Carta Raspi shows that he still insists on the concept of the sovereignty of the judges of Arborea and their equivalence to the kings of Aragon, since he defined as “two future sovereigns” the future judge Peter III and the future King Alfonso IV of Aragon.

There is also another inaccuracy to highlight in this narrative by the Sardinian historian. It is in detail the allusion to the failure to obtain a reward by Peter of Arborea, unlike what happened to his two brothers: Mariano, his successor on the *Giudicato* throne, and his other slightly younger brother, John of Arborea: (...) *una ricompensa, un titolo ma Pietro non ne ebbe, neppure allorché si recò in Aragona, a differenza dei due fratelli che riceveranno durante il suo regno i titoli che vedremo*. (“(...) a reward, a title but Peter did not have any [of them], not even when he went to Aragon, unlike the two brothers who will receive during his reign the titles that we will see”).²⁵

In fact, in 1332 the *donnikellu* Peter went to Catalonia to attend the coronation of King Alfonso IV, and to renew the oath of allegiance made by his father nine years earlier after the enfeoffment of the *Giudicato*. In that occasion he was personally knighted by the king, as the second of a list of 19 new knights, coming immediately after the half-brother of the sovereign himself, Pere de Exerica, in order to understand what kind of consideration was reserved in the King of Aragon's Court to the House of Arborea and, specifically, to *donnikellu* Peter.

The historian repeatedly stresses the topic of the antiquity of the House of Arborea's rights on the island not only over the *Giudicato*, and therefore its rights to sovereignty: “lawful sovereigns” are defined the judges of Arborea, while on the other hand there is a totally biased judgment about the king of Aragon and their monarchy, which without rights had taken possession of the island and usurped it to the judges of Arborea themselves:

*[la Sardegna] era passata, pur attraverso cruenta ribellioni, da una dominazione all'altra, e (...), dopo il glorioso antico governo giudicale, anziché stringersi intorno ai legittimi sovrani, sottostava a un'ambiziosa monarchia che se ne era impadronita senza giusto titolo, usurpandola ai d'Arborea.*²⁶

24. “The heir to the throne of Arborea [the *donnikellu* Peter III] could not fail to be at the side of the judge and the *Infant* of Aragon, to contribute to a victory that should have weighed on the fate of the *Giudicato* and on the friendship of the two future sovereigns. (...)”. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea*...: 71.

25. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea*...: 71.

26. “[Sardinia] had passed, through bloody rebellions, from one domination to another, and (...), after the glorious ancient *Giudicato* government, instead of tightening around the lawful rulers, submitted to



Carta Raspi's pro-Arborean nationalistic and biased reading reached a further maturity when the historian stated that

*I giudici non erano mai stati vassalli ad alcuno; tanto meno gli ultimi rispetto al re d'Aragona, che appunto ad Ugone dovevano la conquista dei territori pisani. Fin da tempi remoti, gli antenati di Mariano erano stati sovrani indipendenti dell'Arborea, e verso loro nulla avevano potuto neppure gli Imperatori e i pontefici, che invano aveva affacciato pretese di dominio. Anzi, proprio dall'imperatore, Barisone era stato insignito della dignità regale.*²⁷

Affirmations such as these are directly related to what we said earlier about the presence in some historians' texts of assertions that correspond to the needs and unconscious desires of the scholars and their times. Without attaching the conscious desire to manipulate the events to them, in such statements one can see an unconscious, emotional participation in the reconstruction of the History.

Statements that the judges of Arborea were never vassals of anyone, and certainly not the last of them, reflect the scholar's wishes, since even Carta Raspi could not be unaware of the documents published by Pasquale Tola almost a century earlier, relating to the oaths of allegiance made by all four Sardinian judges to the Communes of Pisa and Genoa, and also to the Apostolic See between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Not to mention the real oath of vassalage taken by Hugh II himself to King James II of Aragon, in exchange for the investiture of the *Giudicato*.

Not even the mention of the imperial investiture of Barisone I of Arborea by Frederick I means that Carta Raspi reflects on the short circuit of his interpretation, in the sense that if the judges of Arborea since ancient times had been independent sovereigns, it is not clear why Barisone I had requested the imperial investiture. To this end it is also necessary to mention the testimony of Otto of Morena, the German chronicler who, narrating the story of the appointment of Barisone I as king of Sardinia, referred to the episode by saying that the judge had asked the emperor to be raised to a higher *dignitas*, that of *Rex Sardiniae*.²⁸

However, all the historical reasoning made by Carta Raspi is extremely interesting, and it was widely diffused in the following historiography.

Another remarkable aspect of Carta Raspi's writings is that, although his text on Mariano IV is extremely impregnated with a nationalist and identitarian vision, the

an ambitious monarchy that had seized it without just title, usurping it to the Arboreas". Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea...*: 82.

27. "The judges had never been vassals to anyone, much less the last ones towards the king of Aragon, who precisely owed Hugh [II] the conquest of Pisan territories. Since ancient times, Mariano's ancestors had been independent sovereigns of Arborea, and against them nothing could be done even by the Emperors and Popes, who had made vain claims of domination. On the contrary, it was the emperor himself who had bestowed Barisone with royal dignity". Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea...*: 88-89.

28. *quidem iudex de Sardinia de civitate Herborea maxime opulentus ad maiorem dignitatem provehi desiderans, ut regio solio decoraretur ab imperatore cepit implorare*. Morenae, Ottonis et continuatorum. "Historia Frederici I", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series*, ed. Ferdinand Güterbock. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1930: VII, 176.

historian also managed to maintain a partially objective position by commenting on the opinion of some scholars who had previously dealt with Sardinian history. He literally said that it was a purely rhetorical operation without any scientific base

*l'infervorato racconto di alcuni scrittori, che mostrano in quegli anni tutta la Sardegna levarsi al primo appello dell'Arborea. La realtà (...) è ben diversa. Mariano IV, che si è dimostrato il miglior conoscitore dei Sardi e della loro mentalità, spinse in tutta l'isola l'esercito dei militi e dei funzionari, non come un liberatore, ma come un conquistatore.*²⁹

These statements by Carta Raspi did not mean, however, that he did not believe in a nationalistic and identitarian discourse, simply did not draw it to the “phantom” Sardinian people, but he placed it in the project of a person with the characteristics of Mariano IV, in possession of a political project, the means to support it and a medium and long chronological and geographical vision.

In his interpretative discourse, Carta Raspi clearly distinguished the Sardinian subjects of the *Giudicato* of Arborea, who according to him had a civil, political and juridical level higher than that of Sardinians living in the rest of the island, who had been subject to institutions of a different nature obviously not comparable to the Arborea ones. Therefore, Mariano IV's project could not be applied indistinctly to all Sardinians of the island, but first it was necessary a chronological phase of political and civil “acculturation” of the islanders living outside the *Giudicato*. A policy defined by him as “nationalisation”, but that in reality is conceived as an “Arboreisation”, that is, a transformation of all Sardinians into Arborea subjects.

*Non v'erano, fra tanta anarchia, catene da spezzare; anzi, semmai, da ribadire, certo con altro fine, ma con mano ferma e implacabile, con volontà inflessibile. Dovevano prima assoggettarsi, queste popolazioni che mai erano state in qualche modo governate, poi si sarebbero emancipate, e infine parificate a quella dell'Arborea. Solo Sassari, e qualche altro centro importante, facevano rara eccezione.*³⁰

According to Carta Raspi, the main merit of Judge Mariano IV and his nationalising policy was that he wanted to give a conscience to Sardinians and gather them under a single flag, which would be the symbol of sovereignty and freedom.

One can not fail to notice the similarities -albeit *mutatis mutandis*- with the discourse made centuries earlier by Giovanni Arca. As we saw, he distinguished between the Sardinians of the Mountains (the *Barbaricini*), never conquered and,

29. “the passionate story of some writers, who show that in those years all Sardinia uprise to the first appeal by Arborea. The reality (...) is quite different. Mariano IV, who proved to be the best expert of Sardinians and their mentality, pushed the army of soldiers and officials all over the island, not as a liberator, but as a conqueror”. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea...*: 165.

30. “There were no chains to break among so much anarchy; on the contrary, if anything, to be confirmed, certainly with another purpose, but with a firm and implacable hand, with an inflexible will. These peoples, who had never been somehow ruled, had to be first subjected, then they would become emancipated, and finally equalised to that of Arborea. Only Sassari, and some other important centres, were rare exceptions”. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Mariano IV d'Arborea...*: 16.



therefore, superior, and those of the coasts and plains, dominated instead by all the external cultures that have succeeded each other over time. Just as three hundred years later, Carta Raspi distinguished between Arboreans and other Sardinians, not comparable to the first for their lower level of political and social development.

What is even more interesting is that, according to Carta Raspi, this condition of inferiority of “other” Sardinians was because they had never been ruled, as if the government of Pisa, Genoa and the Aragonese—in short, the non-Sardinians—had not been a real political and civil government.

Evandro Putzulu, former director of the Municipal Library and Historical Archive of the Municipality of Cagliari, also moved on partially similar paths. However, although he had a very different capacity for critical analysis of sources, almost fifty years later Solmi, he too, takes up the topic of the feudal bond between the judges of Arborea and the Kings of Aragon, and defined it as a *vincolo di fedeltà liberamente contratto* (“bond of fidelity freely contracted”), perhaps choosing to ignore its true nature, because we do not think that he had not fully understood it.

In this case his statements are parallel to those of Solmi when he said that “They [the judges] had turned to the Aragonese power only to defeat the ideals and the assiduous and tenacious work of domination pursued by Pisa (...)”. Both underline the complete decision-making and political autonomy of Arborea’s rulers, typical of sovereigns and heads of state, as they were defined by the two scholars, and not instead of a feudatory like those created by the Aragonese king. The points in common with Solmi’s statements are therefore more than one.

*L’atteggiamento di Mariano nei riguardi della Corona si riallaccia direttamente a quello di Ugone (...) Nella concezione di Mariano, il giudice di Arborea è un capo di Stato legato a un vincolo di fedeltà liberamente contratto non un feudatario come quelli che il re va creando in Sardegna quale presidio e organo di governo delle terre soggette al suo dominio diretto. (...) L’atteggiamento di Mariano non è quello di un feudatario simulatore o di facile suscettibilità, sibbene quello di un capo di stato consapevole degli interessi supremi del giudicato e della necessità di combattere perché il giudicato sopravviva all’azione corrosiva e sopraffattrice dello straniero.*³¹

Along the lines of this reasoning, with regard to the contrast between Mariano IV and his brother John, he added other considerations more closely linked to what was said by Solmi:

Agli occhi di Mariano, il gesto di Pietro IV [le concessioni a Giovanni d’Arborea] confermava inequivocabilmente la volontà del re di non consentire nessun accrescimento territoriale del

31. “Mariano’s attitude towards the Crown is directly linked to that of Hugh (...) In Mariano’s conception, the judge of Arborea is a head of state bound to a loyalty bond freely contracted not a feudatory like those that the king is creating in Sardinia as a garrison and governing body of the lands subject to his direct domination. (...). Mariano’s attitude is not that of a simulator or easily susceptible feudatory, but that of a head of state aware of the supreme interests of the *Giudicato* and of the need to fight so that the *Giudicato* can survive the corrosive and overwhelming action of the foreigner.” Putzulu, Evandro. “Cartulari de Arborea. Raccolta di documenti diplomatici inediti sulle relazioni tra il giudicato d’Arborea e i re d’Aragona (1328 1403)”. *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 25 (1957): 94-95.

*giudice e nello stesso tempo costituiva una patente violazione dei suoi diritti di sovranità in quanto il fratello era suo suddito e perciò direttamente soggetto alla sua autorità e non a quella del re. Al di là del fatto in sé dell' infeudazione a Giovanni, dunque v'era tutta la scottante questione degli accrescimenti territoriali, della sovranità del giudice e della sua autonomia (...).*³²

In his reconstruction of the facts, however, the scholar did not highlight an extremely important element, namely that Judge Mariano IV, before imprisoning his brother John, prevented him from continuing his political and military action in favour of the king: see the embargo imposed by the judge on Bosa, so that John could not help the Aragonese. It is therefore curious how Solmi, Putzulu and then also other scholars did not take into account that the investiture of the Seignior of Monteacuto and Bosa had made John a direct vassal of the king. He found himself in the difficult situation of who had two direct feudal lords: his brother Mariano, since he was *naturalis* of the *Giudicato* and the king of Aragon, since he was the holder of those royal concessions. The institutional short circuit became inevitable when the judge of Arborea decided to rise up against the Aragonese sovereign. By obeying his brother, who had become an outlaw, John would be his accomplice.

In addition, but no less important, by following the interpretation that the judge of Arborea was a “head of state bound to a loyalty bond freely contracted not a feudatory (...)”, Putzulu did not stress that the King of Aragon was the holder of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* by the papal enfeoffment, and the vertex of its feudal pyramid, above the judge of Arborea and all the island’s inhabitants whether they lived.

It is here that we see the overlapping of historian’s interpretation on the sources themselves, since this image of Judge Mariano IV’s autonomy and sovereignty was the one desired by these scholars, but not only.

Five years later the tones and terms used by Francesco Loddo Canepa, director of the Archivio di Stato di Cagliari (State Archives of Cagliari) are practically identical to those used by Putzulu in his work above mentioned. Once again a scholar used the concept of misunderstanding to explain the reasons for the contrast between the judges of Arborea and the kings of Aragon, as if the first ones did not know the Aragonese at all —notwithstanding the centuries-old relations between them at the time of the creation of the *Regnum*— and did not even know what a vassalage bond meant.

I rapporti tra i giudici d'Arborea e gli aragonesi poggiavano in nuce e fin da principio dell'alleanza, sull'equivoco. Il titolo di giudice che comportava sostanzialmente poteri sovrani era svuotato di ogni contenuto dall'investitura del giudicato a feudo rigoroso data ad Ugone nel 1323. Quello che doveva restare titolo puramente formale ed onorifico nel concetto

32. “In Mariano’s eyes, Peter IV’s gesture [the concessions to John of Arborea] unequivocally confirmed the king’s will not to allow any territorial expansion of the judge and at the same time constituted a clear violation of his rights of sovereignty, because his brother was his subject and therefore directly subject to his authority and not to that of the king. Besides the enfeoffment itself to John, therefore, there was the whole burning question of territorial increases, of the sovereignty of the judge and of his autonomy (...)”. Putzulu, Evandro. “Cartulari de Arborea...”: 96.



*del re, restava integro, per il giudice, nel suo valore intrinseco e sostanziale; e viceversa erano le clausole di investitura che egli [il giudice Ugone II] considerava cosa di pura forma.*³³

At the same time, the already mentioned Evandro Putzulu returned in another of his works on the delicate issue of the end of peaceful relations between the kings of Aragon and the judges of Arborea, going so far as to lay the foundations of such a break already at the time of the government of Hugh II of Arborea, when the Iberian sovereigns would begin not to fulfill the promises made before the conquest of the *Regnum*.

*Fu l'esplosione di un dissidio che, se pur contenuto, si era già delineato al tempo del padre, Ugone II, ed aveva i suoi presupposti giuridici e politici nell'equivoco atteggiamento tenuto nelle trattative che precedettero la conquista, da Giacomo II, il quale, dopo aver promesso, per cattivarsi un alleato prezioso quale era il giudice, di mantenerlo "integre et complete" nel godimento delle sue prerogative giudicali – sostanzialmente sovrane e autonome – di accrescere il suo dominio e altresì mostrato di voler proporre Ugone, che questo ambiva, al governo dell'isola, venne meno alle promesse e ai patti non realizzando gl'ingrandimenti, mettendo l'isola sotto un governatore generale catalano-aragonese e per giunta assoggettando il giudice all'autorità del governatore, con patente violazione dei patti e dell'autonomia del giudicato (...).*³⁴

Once again we find a wide use of terms such as sovereignty and autonomy that the judges of Arborea would have enjoyed before the arrival of the Aragonese in Sardinia: "the *Giudicati* prerogatives —substantially sovereign and autonomous". Arguments that are not supported or reflected in the documentary and narrative sources we know. In order not to stray too far from the first half of the 14th century, it is enough that one thinks only of Hugh II's difficulties in ascending to the throne

33. "The juridical relationship between the judges of Arborea and the Aragonese was based since the beginning of the alliance on misunderstanding. The title of judge, which essentially involved sovereign powers, was emptied of all content by the investiture of the *Giudicato* as a rigorous fief granted to Hugh in 1323. What was to remain a purely formal and honorary title in the concept of the king, remained intact for the judge, in its intrinsic and substantial value; and vice versa were the clauses of investiture that he [Judge Hugh II] considered something of pure form". Loddo Canepa, Francesco. "Alcuni nuovi documenti del secolo XIV sulla Sardegna aragonese", *Atti del VI Congresso internazionale di studi sardi. I - Storia*. Cagliari: Centro internazionale di studi sardi, 1962: 266.

34. "It was the bursting of a tiff that, although contained, had already been outlined at the time of his father, Hugh II, and had its legal and political premises in the equivocal attitude held in the negotiations that preceded the conquest, by James II. In order to curry a valuable ally as the judge was, [the king], after promising to keep him *integre et complete* in the enjoyment of his *Giudicati* prerogatives —substantially sovereign and autonomous—, to increase his dominion and also after showing willingness to propose Hugh, who aspired to this, to the government of the island, failed in his promises and pacts. [The King] not granted the enlargements, placed the island under a Catalan-Aragonese governor general and even subjected the judge to the authority of the governor, with clear violation of the pacts and autonomy of the *Giudicato* (...)". Putzulu, Evandro. "Tre note sul conflitto tra Mariano IV d'Arborea e Pietro IV d'Aragona". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 28 (1962): 158.

of Oristano, and the need for him to pay a considerable amount of money to the Commune of Pisa to be recognised as a judge.³⁵

Before continuing with our historiographic analysis, we would like to point out that we deliberately did not include among the historians analysed a figure of great importance as Alberto Boscolo, because of his extensive scientific production. Both for the historical themes and for the chronological time span he took into consideration from the early Middle Ages to the Contemporaneity. All elements that would not have allowed their proper evaluation within the limits of space of this article.

Ten years later, in the 1970s, we still find traces of that above mentioned karst river formed by the concepts of the judges' sovereignty and autonomy. In fact, another historian seems to move partially on the lines of Putzulu, according to whom Mariano IV *ebbe sì aspirazioni che concernevano l'intera regione* ("did have aspirations concerning the entire region"), but with the significant difference that the judge would have liked to act *nel rispetto della sovranità aragonese, intesa come dominium eminens. E se la sua condotta può dare a tutta prima l'impressione che abbia mirato al dominio assoluto dell'isola, ciò è solo apparenza* ("in compliance with the Aragonese sovereignty, which he understood as *dominium eminens*. And if his conduct can give the whole first impression that he has aimed at absolute domination of the island, this is only appearance"). We are talking of Giuseppe Meloni (1971) according to which Mariano IV was granted the

(...) *piena facoltà di adempiere a tutti gli uffici e di svolgere tutte le le attività che erano state del defunto governatore*³⁶. *Era un alto riconoscimento che doveva soddisfare per il momento, ma solo per il momento, le sue [di Mariano IV] aspirazioni, che già erano state del padre Ugone II, quelle di poter ottenere una posizione di assoluta preminenza, se pur sotto il dominio dell'Aragona (...)*³⁶

If not even the union in the same person of the powers and competences of the most important Aragonese officer in Sardinia and the most powerful island vassal were sufficient to meet Mariano IV's aspirations, this means that the judge aimed at a complete autonomy.

In fact, the historian went so far as to say that the "most well-advised" historiography had rightly realised that according to Hugh II of Arborea the bond of vassalage meant only the recognition of the *dominium eminens* of Aragon over Arborea *alla quale però, doveva essere riconosciuto un'autonomia completa se non una*

35. Gallinari, Luciano. "Catalan-Aragonese and Arboreas identity-making discourses between historical memory and foundation myths (13th - 15th centuries)", *Identity in the Middle Ages. An Approach from Southern Europe*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Leeds: ARC-Humanities, forthcoming, and the bibliography therein.

36. "the full power to fulfill all the assignments and activities that had been carried out by the deceased governor. It was a high recognition that had to satisfy for the moment, but only for the moment, his [Judge Mariano IV's] aspirations, that had already been of his father Hugh II, those of being able to obtain a position of absolute pre-eminence, even if under the dominion of Aragon". Meloni, Giuseppe. *Genova e Aragona all'epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso*: 38.



sovranità assoluta. (“which, however, had to be granted complete autonomy if not absolute sovereignty”). Thus, added the scholar, *l’atto di infeudazione in nessun modo poteva essere considerato come una limitazione dei diritti del giudice nell’ambito del Giudicato*. (“the act of enfeoffment could in no way be considered as a limitation of the judge’s rights within the *Giudicato*.”) For the kings of Aragon, however, as the conquest proceeded *il vincolo di vassallaggio non appariva differente da quello che impegnava la nobiltà catalano-aragonese che veniva infeudata nell’isola e nei cui riguardi il potere regio si manifestava nella sua pienezza*. (“the bond of vassalage did not appear different from that which engaged the Catalan-Aragonese nobility that was enfeoffed in the island and in whose regard the royal power manifested itself in its fullness.”).³⁷

There is an evident contrast between the statements by Giuseppe Meloni contained in different pages of the same volume, in which he affirmed at first that the judges aimed at obtaining an absolute pre-eminence, even if under the Aragonese dominion (p. 38), whereas later he spoke of complete autonomy if not absolute sovereignty to be attributed to the Judge (p. 125). A concept that, when is applied to the Sardinian polity of the fourteenth century, leaves one puzzled.

Above all, it is clear that this is an interpretation of the bull of enfeoffment of 1297 entirely shaped not on the institutional nature of the document itself but on the wishes of historians, not only those of Meloni but also Putzulu’s ones.

How can one think that King James II of Aragon, after twenty-six years of diplomatic negotiations to enter peacefully into possession of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*, and after about three years of belligerence, could conceive his dominion as *eminens*, and did not intend instead to recover the huge economic, military and political energy he had used for its concrete realisation? Believe in such hypothesis means not to have carefully observed the articulated project of expansion of the Crown of Aragon across the Mediterranean in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. The Crown never gave up the idea of a concrete possession of Sardinia, even when the island seemed completely lost, except for two or three strongholds in Iberian hands.³⁸

Or, this means that some interpretative schemes already decades old at the time of the aforementioned scholar, prevailed over the textual analysis of the documents cited.

Between the 1970s and 1990s with Francesco Cesare Casula the interpretation of some figures of judges and their political action took on more and more nationalistic and identitarian tones: keys to understanding that allow to overshadow the due

37. *Le cause della contesa erano remote e la storiografia più avveduta le ha giustamente identificate nella diversa concezione dei rapporti giuridici fra i giudici ad Arborea e il sovrano aragonese, diversità che affondava le sue radici negli anni immediatamente successivi alla conquista (...) (“The causes of the conflict were remote and the most well-advised historiography has rightly identified them in the different conception of the legal relations between the judges of Arborea and the Aragonese sovereigns, a diversity that had its roots in the years immediately following the conquest (...”). Meloni, Giuseppe. *Genova e Aragona, all’epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso*. Padua: Cedam, 1971: I, 125.*

38. See footnote 18.

attention to the nature of the institutional link between the Kings of Aragon and the Judges of Arborea.

Let us see some indicative examples of this *modus operandi*.

First of all, let us begin with a definition of the Arborea's rulers (in this case, Casula referred to Mariano IV —*il più grande sovrano arborense in assoluto* ("the greatest sovereign of Arborea ever")—, but this includes all the judges of the four Sardinian polities.³⁹ Also in the case of Casula we can find the use of the term "sovereign" to indicate the Arborea ruler.

With regard to the reasons for the clash between Sardinians and Iberians —*che gli Aragonesi chiamarono 'ribellione'* ("that the Aragonese called 'rebellion'")— the use itself of the terms is significant, since it highlights a sort of rejection of the existing feudal bond, accepted and signed by Hugh II for himself and his descendants. According to it, the non-execution of orders and any violent action of the judges against their feudal lord was a rebellion. Nevertheless, the historian went so far as to accuse all Sardinian-Catalan historiography of "acquiescence" since it has so far followed the very partial Aragonese annalist of the sixteenth century Gerónimo Zurita *il quale (...) ha fatto del 'giudice' Mariano IV un bizzoso ribelle che per pura cattiveria odì i pacifici e benefici colonizzatori iberici* ("who (...) has made the 'judge' Mariano IV a capricious rebel who out of pure wickedness hated the peaceful and benevolent Iberian colonisers").⁴⁰ A historiography that indicates as reasons for the insurrection of Mariano IV some

*pretesti puramente personali, come la brama del Re di Oristano d'aumentare i propri possedimenti feudali ultra iudicatum con le richieste di annessione della cittadina di Alghero; oppure la contesa fraticida con Giovanni per il controllo di Bosa e delle terre circostanti (...).*⁴¹

We have to stress first of all the attribution of the title of king to the judge of Arborea. Secondly for the scholar it does not matter that in the sources Mariano himself expressed his interest in expanding precisely towards Alghero, Bosa and Gallura. Possessions confirmed or granted *ex novo* by the Aragonese sovereign to his brother John of Arborea.

From such a vision, we can only draw a negative image of this unfortunate member of the Judges' family:

La figura di Giovanni, dai documenti d'archivio, appare effettivamente un po' ambigua ed equivoca, molto asservita alla causa aragonese, troppo spesso legata a questioni di denaro e

39. Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese. 1. La Corona d'Aragona*. Sassari: Chiarella, 1990: 246

40. Casula, Francesco Cesare. "La Sardegna aragonese. 1...": 244.

41. "purely personal pretexts, such as the desire of the King of Oristano to increase his feudal possessions *ultra iudicatum* with the requests for annexation of the town of Alghero, or the fratricidal dispute with John for the control of Bosa and the surrounding lands (...)". Casula, Francesco Cesare. "La Sardegna aragonese. 1...": 244.



*ad interessi economici privati anche riguardo a cose che sembrano rientrare in un quadro di politica giudiciale.*⁴²

In reality, John of Arborea's ambiguity consists in some elements: he had not rebelled against the king of Aragon and he had lent himself to help economically and diplomatically his feudal *dominus*. Therefore, he had been rewarded by him. Obviously Peter IV had all his advantages in rewarding John and not doing the same with Mariano IV, who began to appear as a suspicious person in the Aragonese sources as early as the mid-fourteenth century, even before his armed uprising.

At the end of his painting of John of Arborea, Casula provided some explanations perhaps because he was caught by some hesitation:

*ma non vorremmo neppure che questa impressione negativa nascesse a posteriori dal fatto che il 'donnikellu' nel novembre del 1349, venne imprigionato a vita da Mariano (...) per motivi sconosciuti, non necessariamente nobili (...).*⁴³

An explanation that does not explain anything, but that shows a sort of "sense of guilt" of the scholar for his statements, since the image of the judge's brother was negative because he was too "aligned" with the Aragonese sovereign, totally subject to the Crown, apparently forgetting his duties towards the "*Giudicato* of Arborea"- and not sided with his brother, who was starting his "national" war.⁴⁴

In fact, according to Casula, the authentic reasons that led Mariano IV to the bloody clash:

non potevano essere quelle semplici e meschine suindicate, ma altre ben più gravi e profonde, per la semplice ragione che la lotta, anche se iniziata come rivolta baronale nel 1355, divenne ben presto generale e ad oltranza, condotta con la partecipazione dei Sardi giudicali per quasi cinquant'anni, dal 1353-55 al 1364-1410/20, che mal si spiega se si séguita a

42. "The figure of John, from the archival documents, actually appears a bit ambiguous and equivocal, very subject to the Aragonese cause, too often linked to questions of money and private economic interests even with regard to things that seem to fall within a framework of the *Giudicato* policy". Casula, Francesco Cesare. "*La Sardegna aragonese. 1...*": 233.

43. "but we do not even want this negative impression to be born *a posteriori* from the fact that the *donnikellu* in November 1349, was imprisoned for life by Mariano (...) for unknown reasons, not necessarily noble". Casula, Francesco Cesare. "*La Sardegna aragonese. 1...*": 234.

44. Casula, Francesco Cesare. "*La Sardegna aragonese. 1...*": 250. In May 1331, Judge Hugh II assigned each of his two cadet sons, the *donnikellos* Mariano (the future judge) and John. The former was assigned the castles of Goceano and Marmilla, while the latter was assigned the castles of Monteacuto and Barumele. Both assignments contemplated the relative pertinences. These assignment of castles, villages and lands were done *in feudum honoratum ad imperpetuum*. The judge's document was confirmed by King Alfonso IV of Aragon on 7 April 1332. After 3 April 1336, the new king Peter IV of Aragon confirmed the title of Lord of Monteacuto to John of Arborea, while on 11 September 1339 he granted the title of Count of Goceano and Lord of Marmilla to the *donnikellu* Mariano. For more details see Soddu, Alessandro. "Forme di decentramento del potere nell'Arborea trecentesca: donnikellos, apanages e majoria de pane". *Bollettino di Studi Sardi*, 1 (June 2008): 45-50.



*pensarla alimentata da motivi puramente personali dei Bas Serra e dei loro successori: i Doria-Bas e i Narbona-Bas.*⁴⁵

Here too the contradiction in terms and concepts is evident: previously the historian had spoken of Mariano as a sovereign. Now he talks of a baronial insurrection. Even on the unitary and enthusiastic participation of Sardinian people in this war there are some sources, including a few produced in the *Giudicato*, which show divisions, if not even a rejection of the judge's policy aimed at an all-out clash with the Aragonese.

From such an institutional interpretation of the history of the *Giudicato* derived that Mariano IV of Arborea, "the greatest sovereign of Arborea ever", ruled over

*L'Arborea [che] - come era accaduto per i 'giudicati' di Cagliari Torres e Gallura aveva smesso di essere una merèia (cioè un distretto amministrativo dell'ormai spenta Sardegna bizantina) ed era diventato uno stato sovrano alla fine del secolo IX o agli inizi del secolo X. (...). Al pari degli altri stati sardi, anche l'Arborea -oltre ad essere uno stato sovrano- era un regno perfetto (con facoltà di stringere alleanze e di stipulare trattati internazionali) e superindividuale (...).*⁴⁶

Between the 1970s and 1990s we were witnessing the development of a different historiography of the last two centuries of existence of the *Giudicato* of Arborea, and its relationship with the Crown of Aragon. One of the spokesmen for this alternative historiography was undoubtedly Marco Tangheroni, who also focused on the idea that the relationship between Aragonese and Arboreas was doomed to end in an open clash on the basis of a feudal bond, differently conceived. The scholar underlined that the premises of this had been laid at the time of the conquest, the first organisation of the island and of the arrangement of relations between the Aragonese monarchy and the *Giudicato* of Arborea.

Mentre Giacomo II ed i suoi successori intendevano trattare il giudice come un qualsiasi feudatario catalano, con, al più qualche segno, puramente formale, di onore e di particolare amicizia e considerazione, questi [il giudice Ugone II] aveva sperato di poter acquistare nell'isola una posizione di effettiva e territoriale preminenza, sia pure sotto la protezione

45. "could not be those simple and petty aforementioned, but others much more serious and profound, for the simple reason that the struggle, although it began as a baronial uprising in 1355, soon became general and to the bitter end, conducted with the participation of the *Giudicato* Sardinians for almost fifty years, from 1353 to 1355 and [then from] 1364 to 1410/20, which can not be explained if we continue to think that it was being fed by purely personal reasons of the Bas Serra and their successors: the Doria-Bas and the Narbona-Bas". Casula, Francesco Cesare. "La Sardegna aragonese. 1...": 245.

46. "Arborea [that] - as it had happened to the *Giudicati* of Calari Torres and Gallura had ceased to be a *merèia* [that is an administrative district of the extinct Byzantine Sardinia] and had become a sovereign state at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century (...). Like the other Sardinian polities, Arborea —in addition to being a sovereign state— was a perfect and superindividual kingdom (with the right to form alliances and international treaties) (...)". Casula, Francesco Cesare. "La Sardegna aragonese. 1...": 88-89.



*e l'alta sovranità aragonese, conservando comunque una completa autonomia nel proprio giudicato.*⁴⁷

Tangheroni's statements may seem similar to those of other historians mentioned above, but we can not fail to notice the absence of tones and terms that openly recall the sovereignty, total autonomy and independence of Arborea's rulers. On the contrary, this reading shows a greater relevance to the provision of sources and, specifically, to the provision of the papal bull with which the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* was invested to the Aragonese king James II in 1297, and of the following act of enfeoffment of the *Giudicato* of Arborea to Hugh II (1323).

Mariano IV, the one who was considered the most important Sardinian judge, was defined as *a personalità robusta ed energica* ("strong and energetic personality"), not an absolute and independent sovereign.

Also Bruno Anatra, an historian of the Modern Age and great expert of Sardinian history, had very similar historiographic positions and, still on the question of the judges' legal *status*, this time in relation to Hugh II, made a reference to his sovereign prerogatives:

*(...) Pare che l'intraprendente giudice mirasse a duplice obiettivo di svincolarsi dalla invadenza pisana e ottenere dalle trattative col re il raggiungimento del 'pieno e integrale godimento delle sue prerogative' sovrane.*⁴⁸

In the pages of Anatra, except for that aforementioned reference -that, however, seems a quotation of another text unfortunately not cited in the footnotes- there is no reference to alleged royalty, sovereignty and total independence of the judges from the Crown of Aragon. On the contrary, the importance of the enfeoffment of the *Giudicato* in 1323 is reiterated on several occasions.

With regard to the causes that led to the Arboreas' uprising, the historian pointed out some significant differences in the relations between the Aragonese sovereigns and the Sardinian judges during the reigns of Alfonso IV and his son Peter IV. For instance, he mentioned the return in 1328 with a feudal investiture of the city of Bosa with its district (*Planargia*) and the neighbouring *Curadoria* of Costa de Vals [an administrative District of the former *Giudicato* of Logudoro], which the Arboreas had been pledged by the Malaspina in 1308 and which Hugh II had ceded to the

47. "While James II and his successors intended to treat the judge as any Catalan feudal lord, with, at most, some sign, purely formal, of honour and particular friendship and consideration, he [Judge Hugh II] had hoped to be able to acquire on the island a position of effective and territorial pre-eminence, albeit under the protection and high sovereignty of Aragon, while retaining in any case a complete autonomy in its own *Giudicato*". Tangheroni, Marco. "Il feudalesimo in Sardegna in età aragonese", *Sardegna mediterranea*. Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1983: 40.

48. "(...) It seems that the enterprising judge aimed at a twofold objective of freeing himself from the intrusiveness of Pisa, and obtaining from negotiations with the king the achievement of the "full and integral enjoyment of his sovereign prerogatives". Anatra, Bruno. "Dall'unificazione aragonese ai Savoia", *La Sardegna medioevale e moderna*, John Day, Bruno Anatra, Lucetta Scaraffia, eds. Turin: Utet, 1997: 202-203.

Crown in 1323. In the same year, the judge and his successors were granted the power to confer titles (count, viscount, marquis) on their children and to freely choose the heir to the *Giudicato* among them. These were formal concessions that increased the prestige and jurisdiction of the House of Arborea, and confirmed what had been promised at the time of the investiture of the Sardinian polity.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, according to Anatra, it was on the ground of frustrated aspirations for territorial expansion, even before that of defending one's own authority, that Mariano IV reached the breaking with the King of Aragon, although the two aspects were closely intertwined.

The arrest of John of Arborea by Mariano IV would have been *la prima, perentoria, risposta del nuovo giudice ad un tale disegno, tanto più vibrante in quanto ai molti favori per l'uno erano corrisposte altrettante ripulse per l'altro* ("the first, peremptory, response of the new judge to such a design [of the King], all the more vibrant since the many favours for one [of the two brothers] were corresponded as many repulses for the other").⁵⁰

Subsequent events seem to confirm that King Peter IV, by favouring John of Arborea wanted to undermine the internal compactness of the *Giudicato*, to reduce its wide jurisdictional autonomy guaranteed by the Bull of Infeudation.

4. Some examples of the most recent historiography of the 21st century

Even in recent times new publications continue to propose some interpretative hypotheses really interesting for the aims of this work.

Some of them still suggest stereotypes of isolation and remoteness of Sardinia.⁵¹ In others, instead, the authors fill the gaps of the sources with theories that are not sufficiently supported from primary documents, but that make a hold on other scholars.

These interpretative hypotheses are linked to what we said before on the reconstruction of memory, according to choices that respond to the purpose—conscious and unconscious—of those who rebuild it: to demonstrate that Sardinian judges were sovereign autonomous from authorities outside the island, and that the polities ruled by them were real Kingdoms; and to show how Sardinian society was aligned with contemporary Mediterranean society, revealing that, for them, this was not the case neither in that historical period nor today.⁵²

49. Anatra, Bruno. "Dall'unificazione aragonese...": 225.

50. Anatra, Bruno. "Dall'unificazione aragonese...": 240.

51. Martin, Jean-Marie. "Les actes sardes (XI^e-XII^e siècle)", *L'héritage Byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle). I La fabrique documentaire*, Jean-Marie Martin, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent, eds. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011: 191 and 194, who still supports the idea of the island's geographical isolation.

52. See some observations also on the historiography of early medieval Sardinia in Gallinari, Luciano. "Reflections on Byzantine Sardinia...": 83-107.



Once again, it surfaces the belief, very widespread in Sardinia —sometimes even unconsciously, as it emerges in the texts' authors— that the island must always be “special”, detached from the “normal” course of the surrounding events, despite their statements in the opposite direction.⁵³

4.1. The Isolation of Sardinia

In recent publications some scholars have reaffirmed the survival of topics that one thought had already been overcome, such as the isolation of Sardinia.

In 2005 Gian Giacomo Ortu speaks of Sardinia's Byzantine Age as *a mondo misterioso* (“a mysterious world”), foreign to the Western world until the eve of the Gregorian Reform. Moreover, he entitled *I Giudicati alla ribalta della storia* (“The *Giudicati* in the limelight of History”) the part of his book devoted to the origin of Sardinian *Giudicati*, as if the judges had not existed before being cited in the Western sources of the 11th century.⁵⁴

In an essay published the following year Giuseppe Meloni developed the idea of a *progressivo isolamento della Sardegna, che era destinato a divenire presto pressoché totale* (“a progressive isolation of Sardinia, which was destined to soon become almost total”). This statement must have seemed excessive to the author himself who, a few lines later, maintained that, however, the Muslim presence in the Mediterranean may not have led to an immediate and definitive break in relations between Sardinia and Byzantium and the autonomous evolution of the institutions present on the island: *non va radicalizzata, quindi, l'osservazione secondo la quale alla presenza araba nei mari centro-mediterranei seguì l'immediata e totale rottura con Bisanzio e l'evoluzione autonoma delle istituzioni locali*.⁵⁵

The texts of these Sardinian historians are similar to others written by scholars from outside the island, who also recently insist on this topic as in the case of Vivien Prigent, according to which Sardinia was *pauvre, isolée et peu ou mal hellénisée* (“poor, isolated, and little and poorly Hellenised”).⁵⁶

53. According to Cossu, Tatiana. “Dell'identità al passato: il caso della preistoria”, *Sardegna. Seminario sull'identità*, Giulio Angioni, Francesco Bachis, Benedetto Caltagirone, Tatiana Cossu, eds. Cagliari: Cuec, 2007: 124-125 this kind of affirmation reveals *il non sentirsi parte della 'grande storia' [...] il non percepirsi centro ma periferia, il non pensarsi fra coloro che costruiscono la storia, ma fra coloro che l'hanno subita [... per alcuni] 'il complesso del nanismo'* (“the feeling that one is not part of the ‘great history’ [...] the perception of not to be centre but periphery, the thinking of not to be among those who make History, but among those who have suffered it [... for someone] ‘the complex of dwarfism’”).

54. Ortu, Gian Giacomo. *La Sardegna dei giudici*. Nuoro: Il Maestrale, 2005: 39-75.

55. “Therefore, we should not radicalise the observation that Arab presence in the Central-Mediterranean seas was followed by an immediate and total break with Byzantium and the autonomous evolution of local institutions”. Meloni, Giuseppe. “L'origine dei Giudicati”, *Storia della Sardegna. 1 Dalle origini al Settecento*, Manlio Brigaglia, Antonio Mastino, Gian Giacomo Ortu, eds. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2006: 76-77.

56. Prigent, Vivien. “L'usage du sceau de plomb dans les régions italiennes de tradition byzantine au Haut Moyen-Âge”, *L'héritage Byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)*. 1 *La fabrique documentaire*, Jean-Marie Martin, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent, eds. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011: 223-224.



In some ways, a few years ago two archaeologists put forward a historiographic proposal that was moving towards similar levels of interpretation of the early medieval history of Sardinia, and especially of a topic that fuelled the historiographic debate on Sardinia with regard to the real extent of the Muslim presence on the island and its role in the island's history.

We are referring to the debate —much more interesting for the exegetical methodology than for the few sources cited— on the possible Islamic presence in Sardinia in the early Middle Ages.

This hypothesis, even though did not speak openly of isolation, nevertheless envisaged a certain and considerable presence of Muslims in parts of the island between the 8th and the 10th century, which would confirm the opening of the Island to the Mediterranean with its capital, Carales, endowed with a multicultural, perhaps even a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society. “which is the perfect image of the Mediterranean world of those centuries”. These statements were based on two inscriptions and one graffiti of the 10th-11th centuries.⁵⁷

Realising that perhaps they had advanced a quite audacious interpretation, the two scholars in the final conclusions of their essay deny what they have written in the previous pages, stating that: “It is important that (...) we do not feel authorised to think of Sardinia and Cagliari in particular, as a place of peaceful coexistence between different cultural groups”.⁵⁸ Maybe also in this case the historiographic problem lies in the adherence of events to the “perfect” model consciously or otherwise shaped on current scholars’ parameters.

In even more recent years, other scholars have insisted on the topic of the isolation of Sardinia. In 2017 Gian Giacomo Ortu re-proposed twelve years later his historiographic interpretation of an alleged isolation and alienity of Sardinia from the western world until Gregory VII's age, as if in the meantime many works that dismantled such a historical interpretation had not been published. He went even further by talking of “written documents [that] began to dispel the pitch darkness that had enveloped the island in Byzantine times”.⁵⁹

Affirmations not far from those of Laura Galoppini, according to whom

57. The Findings in the St. Saturnino complex of Cagliari were: 1 inscription in Arabic dated at the beginning of the 10th century: “it is an indication of the presence (...) of funerary areas where some Arab-Muslim elements of the insular society were buried”. Its legend says: (...) *sanat arna'at wa-tis'in wa-mâ'tin* (“[Of the / In the / The] year two hundred and ninety-four”). It has been related to an inscription found in 1887 during excavations in the Viceroy palace of Cagliari; 1 Graffiti, found in an internal wall of the left aisle of the eastern arm of the Basilica, 4 lines of text in a poor state of preservation, in which we read only the name Muḥammad, perhaps the Prophet. It has been dated between the first half of the 9th and the second half of the 10th century, for stylistic reasons.

58. Salvi, Donatella; Fois, Piero. “San Saturnino: uno specchio di una società multiculturale fra IX e X secolo”, *Settecento-Millecento. Storia, archeologia e arte nei “secoli bui” del Mediterraneo. Dalle fonti scritte, archeologiche ed artistiche alla ricostruzione della vicenda storica. La Sardegna laboratorio di esperienze culturali*, Rossana Martorelli, ed. Cagliari: Scuola Sarda Editrice, 2013: II, 866-867.

59. Ortu, Gian Giacomo. “Establishing Power and Law in Medieval and Modern Sardinia”, *A companion to Sardinian History*, Michelle Hobart, ed. Boston: Brill, 2017: 229.



During the centuries of the 'long Byzantine age', (...) the island was still not completely excluded from maritime traffic and Mediterranean events (...). After the Arab expansion into the African coastal countries (...) Sardinia was isolated and distant from Byzantine influence.⁶⁰

For all these scholars be an Imperial province, have diplomatic relations with the Byzantine Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the Apostolic See and the Caliphate of Cordoba—all circumstances proved by several textual, epigraphic, archaeological and architectonic sources—were not sufficient elements to believe that Sardinia was integrated into the political and cultural Euro-Mediterranean landscape.

Another very recent book is extremely interesting and rich in stimuli for historiographic and methodological reflection starting from its own title, which shows the principle of another interpretative short circuit. By reading it—*Il Giudicato di Cagliari. Storia, società, evoluzione e crisi di un regno sardo* ("The *Giudicato* of Cagliari. History, society, evolution and crisis of a Sardinian kingdom")—the reader gets the impression that the *Giudicato* was actually equivalent to a kingdom. It's a shame that starting from page 10, the author himself takes the trouble to deny his title when, talking about the judges, he says that: *Nonostante le evidenti ambizioni di alcuni di loro, i giudici non erano mai stati re e per i pontefici romani non fu né opportuno né utile riconoscerli o promuoverli come tali* (...) ("Despite the clear ambitions of some of them, the judges had never been kings, and it was neither appropriate nor useful for the Roman pontiffs to recognise or promote them as such"). Since the contrast between the title and the content of these first pages of his work appeared to be insufficient, the author also added that we are in front of:

*un potere pubblico non di natura regale, esercitato però come se il giudice fosse un vero e proprio re, da qui la convinzione e l'aspirazione di diversi signori sardi, a partire dall'XI secolo, di poter acquisire una vera e propria dignità regale perorando la loro causa presso la Chiesa o l'Impero, autorità legittimanti nel mondo medioevale, alle quali la Sardegna guardava e faceva riferimento.*⁶¹

Also in this author there is a re-proposal of a kind of interpretation of the figure of Sardinian judges that recalls those elaborated decades before by Solmi, Loddo Canepa, Putzulu, Carta Raspi..., when they spoke of the contrast between the Aragonese's vision and the judges of Arborea's one in the fourteenth century. In the

60. Galoppini, Laura. "Overview of Sardinian History (500-1500)", *A companion to Sardinian History*, Michelle Hobart, ed. Boston: Brill, 2017: 90-91. The explanation for such statements also consists in the bibliography mentioned in these texts: insufficient and outdated.

61. "a public power of a non-royal nature, but exercised as if the judge was a real king, hence the conviction and the aspiration of several Sardinian rulers, from the eleventh century, that they could acquire a real royal dignity by pleading their case with the Church or the Empire, the legitimating authorities in the medieval world, to which Sardinia looked and referred to". Zedda, Corrado. *Il Giudicato di Cagliari. Storia, società, evoluzione e crisi di un regno sardo*. Cagliari: Arkadia, 2017: 10, 25.

entire passage mentioned above, the most important words are *come se* (“as if”) that put on the same level the prerogatives of a king and those of a judge.

A self-consideration—that of the Judges of Arborea—which according to this historiographic hypothesis led in the generation of Mariano IV to an open clash between the *Giudicato* of Arborea and the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*.

The interpretative short circuit continues a few pages later, when the historian, who had spoken of the non-royal nature of Sardinian Judges’ power, states that they *furono capaci di operare una matura politica internazionale utile alla stabilità dei loro regni, concedendo sì porzioni del loro potere ma senza mai subire quel colonialismo che è stato a lungo riconosciuto da una storiografia (...)* (“were able to operate a mature international policy useful for the stability of their kingdoms, granting portions of their power but without ever suffering that colonialism that has long been recognised by a certain historiography”).⁶²

If we analyse this passage in detail, a question immediately arises: if their power was non-royal in nature, why did they rule over kingdoms? Not to mention the reference to the positive defense by the judges against colonialism from outside the island, specifically from the Communes of Genoa and Pisa. It is all too well known that it was the politics of the two “Italian” cities, at the level of institutions and prominent families, which caused the disappearance of three out of four *Giudicati* in the second half of the thirteenth century. Without forgetting the acts of vassalage signed by Sardinian judges against the two aforementioned Communes and, finally, the increasing interference especially of Pisa in the Arborea’s political life also on the occasion of Hugh II’s ascent to the *Giudicato* throne (1321).

And if what we just said was not enough, already in the thirteenth century a legal *Summa* of European level—the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X *el Sabio* of Castile—dedicated a paragraph to the Sardinian judges and their power, extremely clear in the title itself. The second *Partida*, dedicated to emperors and kings, their powers and origins, confirmed the lack of royal status for the Sardinian *giudici*, with a precise reference to them. In Title I, Law XI, it was clarified and made explicit: *Quales son los otros grandes, e honrados Señores que non son Emperadores, nin reyes* (“Who are the other great and honourable lords who are not emperors or kings”).⁶³ The text recounts: *E jube tanto quiere dezir como judgador e non acostumbraron llamar este nome a ningund Señor, fueras ende, a los quatro Señores que judgan, e señorean en Sardenña* (“And judge means as judger (a person who judges) and they are not used to give this name to any lord except the four Lords who judge and rule in Sardinia”).

Similarly clear is the account under Title I, Law XII: *Que poder han los señores sobredichos, que han el señorío de las tierras por heredamiento* (“What power have these Lords, who rule over their lands for inheritance”):

E ha poderio cada uno dellos en su tierra en fazer justicia, e en todas las otras cosas que han ramo de señorío segund dizen los privilegios que ellos han de los emperadores e de los

62. Zedda, Corrado. *Il Giudicato di Cagliari...*: 11-12.

63. Gallinari, Luciano. *Les Judicats sardes: Un modèle de souveraineté médiévale?* Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (PhD Dissertation), 2009: 208.



*reyes (...), o segund la antigua costumbre que usaron de luengo tiempo, fueras ende que non pueden legitimar, nin fazer ley nin fuero nuevo sin otorgamiento del pueblo.*⁶⁴

We believe that most of the statements we have commented on so far are historians' *desiderata*, which in many cases automatically shower on their texts.

5. Conclusions

In order to draw some conclusions, it seems that the selection of historiographic cases we have analysed could provide some stimuli for a further and more in-depth investigation of the historiographic picture concerning medieval Sardinia. The island, given its geographically limited nature, is a very stimulating case study, especially to research on topics such as Identity, Otherness, Specialty, Isolation and Peripherality. As well as, for the contemporary use that is made of such concepts, and the possibility of analysing their contemporary application through the heuristic and exegetic tools of different Social Sciences.

A further consideration concerns the role of the historian in relation to the subject of her/his study. From the examples analysed and from many others that could be examined, it emerges forcefully the need to increase the multidisciplinary reading of historical sources. This is in order to refine the analytical tools better and better, and to avoid deviations from the essence of the examined documentation in order to respond to personal needs of various kinds, in many cases unknown even to the historians themselves.

In our opinion, this is a priority in a historical period dominated by a sort of "presentification" of the historical past, which facilitates its manipulation and underestimation as an instrument of analysis and decipherment of the present.

64. "And each of them has the power to impart justice in his own country, and in all the other things in which they exercise their own lordship, according to that which is affirmed by privileges they have from emperors and kings (...) or, according to the ancient customs that they used for a long time, except that they cannot legitimise, nor give any new code of laws, without the people's consent". Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*. Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1555: f. 7v (Ley XI and Ley XII).

THE *FINIS TERRAE* AND THE LAST FRONTIER. ON *LA EDAD MEDIA DE CHILE* (‘THE MIDDLE AGES OF CHILE’)

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ABSTRACT

This essay proposes, first, a revision of the concept of frontier as concerns *limen*, “threshold”, going beyond the concept of *limes*, or boundary. It is proposed that this threshold extends chronologically beyond the 15th century, surpassing the contours of Europe in its American projection, from Mexico to Chile. Secondly, the publication of G. Guarda’s book *La Edad Media de Chile* (The Middle Ages of Chile) gives us the opportunity to reflect on this last frontier and its characteristics. Finally, in a path that Guarda does not explore, this essay proposes that the tradition of *Canto a lo Humano* in Chile, part of the identity of the peasant communities of the Central Valley region, has “medieval echoes”.¹

KEYWORDS

Threshold, Frontier, *Finis terrae*, Middle Ages, Chile.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Limen, *Limes*, *Finis terrae*, *Medium Aevum*, *Chilia*.

1. *Limes and Limen. The Middle Ages as a liminal space*

A frontier may be understood through *limes*, delimiting space geographically (and sometimes also culturally). It is a demarcation line that separates “zones of relative identity”, definitional and relational places that in one way or another we conceive of as “our house” and the comfortable stillness of home, from that other “exterior world of absolute foreignness”, as says Marc Augé.² A frontier may also be a wide area of diverse exchanges, a place of transition between two spaces,³ a region of ambiguity in which, imperceptibly, one may move from one being to another, partially abandoning one identity to gradually reach another (at times, indiscernibly quickly), because such transitions may operate across both space and time.

We are thus facing a space of transfiguration in which the characteristics of the new phase are gradually acquired, without leaving the previous phase completely behind. For the same reason, it is also a place of both alienation and initiation, as can be seen from the works of Arnold Van Gennep⁴ and Victor Turner,⁵ whose cultural studies⁶ on liminality decisively influenced twentieth century historiography and its own conceptualization of *frontier*. That influence has not been kept from medievalism.

A frontier is, then, an area, more than a line; more than a geographical phenomenon, a social phenomenon —as O. Lattimore explains.⁷ A frontier, depending on proximity, may or may not separate very similar or very dissimilar

1. A preliminary version of this work was presented at the International Seminar “*Las Fronteras en la Edad Media Hispánica (siglos XIII-XVI)*”, organized by the Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la Universidad de Sevilla, Spain, on 26 October 2017.

2. Augé, Marc. *Los “No Lugares”. Espacios del anonimato. Una antropología de la sobremodernidad*. Barcelona: Gedisa editorial, 2000: 49 and following.

3. Urbina, Ximena, *La frontera de arriba en Chile Colonial*. Valparaíso: Editorial Universitaria, 2009: 27 and following. See also: Herzog, Tamar. *Frontiers of Possession. Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2016, and the bibliography cited there. I thank Dr. Urbina for providing me with several texts cited in this paper.

4. Van Gennep, Arnold. *Los ritos de paso*. Madrid: Alianzas, 2008: 31 and following.

5. Turner, Victor. *El proceso ritual*. Madrid: Taurus, 1988:101 and following.

6. It is necessary to mention, certainly, the oft-cited (and also criticized) work of Turner, Frederick J. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921. See Chapter 1: “The significance of the frontier in American History”, which reproduces the text of 1893, read in Chicago before the American Historical Association. There is a Spanish version published by the CSIC in Turner, Frederick J. “El significado de la frontera en la historia americana”, *Estudios (nuevos y viejos) sobre la frontera*. Francisco de Solano, Salvador Bernabeu, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991: 9-44. Turner drew attention at the time to the formative role of the borderlands in North American society; incidentally, the study is often cited, but not always read directly, as sometimes it is not noticed that America, there, means the United States, and nothing else; and not necessarily are its approaches transferable to other historical situations. Remarkable is the severe criticism of Burns, Robert. “The significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages”. *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Robert Bartlett, Angus MacKay, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011: 307 and following. See also Owen Lattimore’s comments on Turner’s study in the work Lattimore, Owen. “The Frontier in History”, *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928-1958*. London: Oxford U. Press, 1962: 489 and following.

7. Lattimore, Owen. “The Frontier in History”...: 469 and following.



populations, an area which may constitute “border communities”. These are ambiguous and sometimes open, and often socially but not institutionally recognizable; their ambivalent loyalties —sometimes— can even lead to the closing of the border and to the dismantling of that frontier society, which can be diluted in the face of an isolating militarized front.⁸ It is precisely the overseas European borders, whether first in the Mediterranean and the Middle East at the time of the Crusades, or later as a result of Atlantic expansion, that forged borderland areas of wide cultural circulation, with spaces for interaction of varying intensity.⁹ In the English language it is easy to differentiate one thing from the other, when we speak of *frontier*, where civilized society confronts barbarism, a concept whose paradigm is constructed, as Linda Darling explains, among others, on the basis of F. J. Turner’s postulates,¹⁰ and *borderland* when it comes to a wider space where societies overlap and mix, whose paradigm would derive, according to the same author, from the proposals of Oscar J. Martinez and his study of the context of U.S. border policy with respect to Mexico. Characteristics of *borderland* zones, normally crossed by a *frontier*, are the tensions produced by the parties interested in culturally homogenizing the zone, at the same time as the multiculturalism of that space.¹¹ It is this dimension of the border, cultural and not only political, and as broad as the Mediterranean with its Levantine and Atlantic projections, that we are now interested in.

Thus, borders can be places of disagreement and separation, as well as places of synthesis, creation and encounter; zones of historical harmony, Héctor Herrera would say.¹² When we conceive of borders not as lines that separate but as broad swaths or border spaces, we no longer speak of *limes*, but of *limen*,¹³ of “threshold”; of this “crossing the threshold”, notes Van Gennep, “is to unite oneself with a new world”.¹⁴ This threshold then becomes an area of cultural *transgressions*. These *transgressions* are sometimes also *aggressions*, perhaps because they are areas of *ingress*, as well as of *egress*, *progress* and *regress*, i.e. regions of transits and transfers. These thresholds can also *congregate*, even if they have been *disaggregated* in their always

8. I cannot help but evoke, as I write these lines, the powerful image of border and border life presented in the novel *Waiting for de Barbarians* (1980), by J. M. Coetzee, as well as *Il Deserto dei Tartari* (1940) by Dino Buzzati, and the powerful images of the 1976 film of the same name directed by Valerio Zurlini.

9. See Darling, Linda. “The Mediterranean as a Borderland”. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46/1 (2012): 54 and following.

10. See note 6.

11. Darling, Linda. “The Mediterranean...”: 54-60, who quotes and comments on the work of Martínez, Oscar. *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S. – Mexico Borderlands*. Tucson: University of Arizona, 1994. This work, although it focuses on a specific case, contains an interesting general reflection on the border, in the first part, and in the case study itself, the complexity of border life is well expressed; the characterization of borderlands as places of *liminality* seems to us very appropriate and in line with what we will comment later on.

12. Herrera, Héctor. “Res Privata-Res Publica-Imperium”. *Semanas de Estudios Romanos*, 1 (1975): 128-136, reedited in: Herrera, Héctor. *Ensayos sobre el Mundo Medieval*. Viña del Mar: Ediciones del Instituto de Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2018: 29-37.

13. Ernout, Alfred; Meillet, Alfred. *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des Mots*, Paris: Klincksieck, 2001: 359.

14. Van Gennep, Arnold. *Los ritos...*: 37.



mobile boundaries at the beginning. All these words derive from *gradus*¹⁵ at their root, of Latin, “to walk”. Thresholds are created and crossed on foot, and as one steps forward, space is *gradually* appropriate and integrated into an identity; and the further one advances, and the deeper one penetrates the other side of the threshold, the more perceptible are the original features of the new integrated spaces.

Not dissimilarly, as Isidoro de Sevilla would say,¹⁶ did the Romuleian power possess Hispania. When the great geographer Strabo¹⁷ wrote of the province of *Baetica*, the native language had ceased to be spoken to give way to imperial Latin; yet it could not prevent in the long run that their particularisms branched away from the trunk, creating new borders and prodigious thresholds. Accustomed as we are to living in the modern territorial State, we sometimes forget that borders, in historical perspective, have been for a long time more mobile than fixed, and that this status is relatively recent.

Somehow, the whole medieval epoch (beyond the cliché itself of time as the *Middle* of two eras) can be conceived as a threshold in itself,¹⁸ since it is an epoch of transit between one civilization (Ancient) and another (Modern). As an example, let us think that at the beginning of the Middle Ages we do not recognize Europe either in the political map or as consciousness of an identity; however, already in its final stage we can recognize a Europe that has not only been configured incorporating new populations, but has forged and consolidated an identity.¹⁹ The Hispanic Middle Ages was made of “barbarian nations of pilgrim languages” as Antonio de Nebrija said;²⁰ paradoxically, in his *Gramática*, the author sketched it thus in 1492 as a linguistic *limes*, at the same time that he tried to demolish all frontiers by prescribing Castilian as the imperial language.²¹ As a concept, the *Great Frontier* (the lands conquered since the 16th century) is essentially mobile, temporary and transitory, as is that of *Metropolis* to refer to the European community as a whole. The way in which Walter Prescott Webb uses these concepts are applicable —*mutatis mutandis*—

15. Corominas, Joan. *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*, Madrid: Gredos, 1984: I, 76-77; III, 188-189; V, 712-713.

16. Isidoro de Sevilla. *Las historias de los godos, Vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. C. Rodríguez Alonso. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Inv. San Isidoro, 1975: 168 and following.

17. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 8 vols., ed. H. L. Jones. Cambridge (Mass.)-London: Harvard University Press-William Heinemann LTD, 1919: II, 58-59; Estrabón, *Geografía. 2, Libros III-IV*, eds. María José Meana, Félix Piñero. Madrid: Gredos, 1992: 74.

18. Fritsch-Rössler, Waltraud. “Frontier, Transgression, Liminality”, *Handbook of Medieval Studies. Terms-Methods-Trends*, Albrecht Classen, ed. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2001: II, 1507.

19. See Lewis, Archibald. “The Closing of the Mediaeval Frontier 1250-1350”. *Speculum*, 33/4 (1958): 475: “This is a surprising fact, for few periods can be better understood in the light of a frontier concept than western Europe between 800 and 1500 A.D.”. Cf. Burns, Robert. “The significance...”: 313 and following.

20. Antonio de Nebrija. *Gramática Castellana*. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1492: 7-8 [pages numbered as per la Biblioteca Digital Hispánica].

21. See Alonso, Amado. *Castellano, Español, Idioma Nacional. Historia espiritual de tres nombres*. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1958: 20.



here, in the sense that, in the New World, frontiers are transitory and temporary.²² That *threshold* to which I refer, is, in the temporal and historical sense, the Middle Ages; spatially, the extension of Western Civilization from Spain; chronologically, beyond the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and geographically, surpassing the contours of Europe in its American projection, from New Spain to the *finis terrae* of Chile. To paraphrase Angus MacKay—and perhaps unfairly taking advantage of his words—the frontier became the threshold when *Reconquista* Spain overflowed the Iberian Peninsula and became the Empire of the *conquistadores*.²³

2. *La Edad Media de Chile: A Short Review*

The publication of the book *La Edad Media de Chile*,²⁴ by Gabriel Guarda O.S.B., gives us the opportunity to reflect on this frontier. It is not the first time that the problem of the “medievality” of the Conquest is raised, as Luis Weckmann addressed very completely in the case of Mexico;²⁵ it is indicative that his first treatise to the subject was published three decades before in 1951 in *Speculum*, a magazine of medievalists, and not of Americanists.²⁶ More recently, Flocel Sabaté²⁷ returned to the subject of New Spain, in a well-achieved summation, which now allows us to exempt ourselves from a state of ignorance. In Chile, and for many years now, Luis Rojas, both medievalist and Americanist, has also highlighted the theme of the medieval conquest of America, pointing out cultural, religious, institutional and ideological continuities. “I am convinced,” says Rojas, “that the process begun at the end of 1492 cannot be understood in all its multiple aspects if the history of the *orbis christianus* is not taken into account (...) in the Iberian reality as a permanent frontier society”; and later, he maintains that “the great historical fact of the Discovery of America constitutes a medieval event. It is, therefore, a subject corresponding to the Middle Ages, and as such it must be studied in order to be understood”.²⁸

Historians seem to be moving more and more comfortably across the *threshold* that connects Europe and America, either in one direction or the other. Thus, longtime Americanists, especially tracing the origins of the New World’s legal system, have

22. Prescott Webb, Walter. “The Frontier factor in Modern History”, *The Great Frontier*. Lincoln-London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986: 1-28.

23. See MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. London: MacMillan, 1977: 1 and following; 212 and following.

24. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile. Historia de la Iglesia. Desde la fundación de Santiago a la incorporación de Chiloé, 1541-1826*. Santiago: Ediciones UC, 2016. In 2011 a first edition of the book was published in several fine exemplars, but never reached bookstores.

25. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996.

26. Weckmann, Luis. “The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America”. *Speculum*, 26/1 (1951): 130-141.

27. Sabaté, Flocel. “Fin de Mundo y Nuevo Mundo. El encaje ideológico entre la Europa medieval y la América moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)”. *Divulgata*, 4 (2011): 5-78.

28. Rojas, Luis. *España y Portugal ante los otros*, Talcahuano: Ediciones UBB, 2002: 22 and 471; see also Rojas, Luis. *Para una meditación de la Edad Media*, Talcahuano: Ediciones UBB, 2009: 383 and following.



gone astray on the road to Medieval Spain, discovering in the process known as the *Reconquista* the school of the *Conquista*. “The Spanish crown made use of its frontier institutions already tested during eight centuries in the Iberian Peninsula against the Moors”, affirms Patricia Cerda-Hegerl, to add that “the Spanish-American colonial frontiers were a reflection and consequence of the organization of all the Spanish society of the time”.²⁹ On the other hand, medievalists are increasingly encouraged, as the 16th century displaces the 15th as a chronological barrier, to look beyond the traditional European horizon. Precisely, by pushing the chronological frontier towards the 16th century, the spatial frontier inevitably widens and the New World is inevitably incorporated into that process which is both modern and medieval.³⁰ It is a time in bidirectional tension.

The novelty of Gabriel Guarda’s book (who, unlike Weckmann, Sabaté or Rojas, is an Americanist, and not a medievalist) is therefore not in recognizing some echoes of the Middle Ages on American soil, but in the audacity to unambiguously speak of a Middle Ages in Chile. It is an audacity as well as a provocation. In 1961, by publishing an article entitled “Forms of devotion in the Middle Ages of Chile. The Virgin of the Rosary of Valdivia”,³¹ Guarda, then a little over thirty years old, was severely criticized for abusing historiographic terminology, consecrated by usage and which, as demanded by convention and consensus, should be respected so as not to cause confusion in the reading public. In other works, Guarda analyzed medieval influences in Chile, as in his study on Thomas Aquinas and native american urbanism,³² but dared not speak again of “Chile’s Middle Ages”. It took more than fifty years for the author —now with a long trajectory and recognized prestige among historians of his country— to return to the concept, justifying its use in the period covered by the book, because “the centuries of the Spanish period, or colonial periods, visualized from the history of the Church, have all the characteristics of the regime that, in that context, has been called ‘of Christianity’”.³³ While Guarda speaks of a Middle Ages transplanted from Spain, involving social, economic, political, and institutional aspects, etc., adapted to the new indigenous reality, the key for Guarda is the mentality and spirit present. That is, faith was the essential component that permeates everything. The *régimen de cristiandad* of Guarda is none other than the extension of the *Christianitas Occidentalis* on American soil.

Fundamental in his justification of the use of the term is the crusader mentality of the Spanish *conquistador*, recognizable from Mexico to Peru and, obviously, in

29. Cerda-Hegerl, Patricia. *Fronteras del Sur*. Temuco: Ediciones de la Universidad de Temuco, 1997: 11-12.

30. “There was, in fact, a strong element of continuity between ‘medieval’ Spain and ‘early modern’ Spain and its Empire. The lust for gold was as strong as it had ever been and the *conquistadores* continued to invoke the help of Santiago in battle”. MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages...*: 212.

31. Guarda, Gabriel. “Formas de devoción de la Edad Media de Chile. La Virgen del Rosario de Valdivia”. *Historia*, 1 (1961): 152-202.

32. See Guarda, Gabriel. “Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano”. *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, 32/72 (1965): 5-50; Guarda, Gabriel. “Influencias medievales en la ciudad indiana”. *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, 48-49 (1987): 381.

33. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile*: 18.



Chile, where their remnants found a place to express themselves even as late as the Arauco War, Guarda says.³⁴ Though uncited by Guarda, in a legendary doctoral thesis of 1956 (published only in 1997), Alphonse Dupront had already drawn attention to how conquest by means of the religious values associated with war had displaced towards the *Indias*.³⁵ In effect, for Dupront, the Crusades of the Middle ages extend beyond them, as its Immanence, into all modern history. It stands to reason —he says— since every great event of collective being is precisely linked to a notion of unity, including that of the Americas as projected from Europe: Christianity.³⁶ The expression imposed on the *Indias*, then, is that of *conquista*, spiritual and temporal, which centers and encloses the missionary sense of holy war, under the sign of the Cross. Although clearly distinct from the concept of crusade as tied to the war against the infidel in the framework of the Mediterranean, this does not prevent that, in the American mentality, the war conserves the spark of the spirit of the crusades.³⁷ Charles Gibson, furthermore, had in 1966 already pointed out that the evangelizing and civilizing effort made by Christians throughout the borderlands were reminiscent of the *Christianitas* that still lived in the heart of Spanish imperialism. At that time, the frontier was a place of interaction as well as of conflict, creating a space of peace and order, the *régimen de cristiandad* of Guarda, preserved by force.³⁸ In another sense, Sergio Villalobos also stressed the religious spirit that gave the war its crusade-like character. It was present in the Spanish mentality of the *reconquista* and was extended into the business of the *conquista*.³⁹ Indeed, Guarda says,⁴⁰ the idea of “holy war” was much prolonged in Spain, up until the very discovery of the Americas. In the sixteenth century, war was justified by evangelization, the fight against infidels, and victories were interpreted as Providence. The medieval ideals of the *milites Christi*, expressed in chivalric or monastic ideals, settled on the site of the New World and found a propitious breeding ground there for its notions of conquest, evangelization, and even Carolingian ancestry. Mediating between the Old and the New Worlds, the Spanish crown, where the spirit of crusade was still alive in the 16th century, found in the Turk its definition of enemy, extended through antonomasia.⁴¹

34. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile...: 62.*

35. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe de Croisade*, Paris: Gallimard, 1997: II, 793 and following.

36. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe de Croisade...: 765.*

37. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe de Croisade...: 794.*

38. Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. New York: Harpercollins College Div., 1966: 201.

39. Villalobos, Sergio. *Para una meditación de la conquista*, Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1977: 19 and following.

40. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile...: 70 and following.*

41. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe de Croisade...: 791 and following.*



3. Medieval Echoes in Chile. A proposal

The conquerors brought with them not only a certain institutionality with roots in medieval times, but also a certain way of seeing the world reflected in their customs⁴² and in their literature. These were not only religious in character (e.g., auto-de-fé, hagiographies), but could also be profane (such as the epic or the *romancero*). In this sense, I want to propose another way to address the problem related to literature, oral traditions, and identity. To paraphrase Paul Zumthor,⁴³ since the 16th century, there is culturally installed in the Americas both “lyric” and “voice”; the former can be associated —although not absolutely— with elite social groups, while the latter also allows us to come into contact with popular social groups. There are various examples of these literary voices, as is the case of the *Fiestas de Moros y Cristianos* (“Moors and Christians’ feasts”), documented in various places in Latin America. The case of Peru, for example, documented and studied by Milena Cáceres, is exemplary, as it shows that in peasant circles traditions that go back to the Spanish Golden Age have been preserved through the centuries —even referencing the Twelve Peers of Charlemagne, an issue that, as we shall see, is especially interesting for our proposal.⁴⁴

Precisely in peasant circles such as those of the Central Valley of Chile, one can still perceive, despite the centuries that have passed, the resonances of that *voice*, coming into contact with those medieval echoes in their *cantos*.⁴⁵ To read the traditional peasant literature of Chile is to perceive the last expansion of the frontier of the *finis terrae*. An interesting question with respect to the origin of this *voice* (which is not, in any case, the subject of this essay) is to determine whether it effectively dates back to the time of the conquest or whether it refers to later traditions; whether it is explained only by its oral traditions, or whether a written tradition intervenes and intertwines with that one.

42. Notable is the case of the “chivalrous tournaments” as described for the Peruvian case in the seventeenth century by Villalobos, Sergio. *Para una meditación...*: 112 and following.

43. Zumthor, Paul. *La letra y la voz de la literatura medieval*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1989.

44. Cáceres, Milena. *La fiesta de moros y cristianos en el Perú*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005: 23; 132 and following; Cáceres, Milena. “Teatro del Siglo de Oro en Los Andes del Perú: ‘El cerco de Roma por el rey Desiderio’ en Huamantanga”. *Hipogrifo. Revista de Literatura y Cultura del Siglo de Oro*, 6/1 (2018): 11-30. The phenomenon is not exclusive to Peru: see also Ricard, Robert. “Contribution à l’étude des fêtes de ‘moros y cristianos’ au Mexique”. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, Tome 24, N° 1 (1932): 51-84; Catalá-Pérez, Daniel. “La Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos: herencia cultural compartida entre España y América Latina”. *América Latina, globalidad e integración*, Antonio Colomer, ed. Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, 2012: I, 420 and following.

45. A type of sung poetry in Chile, an oral tradition in the Central Valley, commonly with religious, human, or comedic themes.



The presence of medieval themes in Chilean peasant literature is a proven fact, as can be seen, among others, from the work of Humberto Olea,⁴⁶ regarding the case of *the History of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France*.⁴⁷ Indeed, in 1894 Rodolfo Lenz had already identified it as the only medieval epic theme to be found in the repertoire of Chilean popular poets.⁴⁸ The case is surprising, no doubt, with the likely origins of this tradition in a book printed in Seville in 1521 (the translation by Nicolás de Pimentel) —its popularity led to the publication of many pocket editions, suitable for circulation in the hands of travelers, which facilitated its dissemination and circulation in peninsular and overseas territories.⁴⁹ In Spain there were numerous editions between the 16th and 18th centuries; and eventually editions made in Chile in the 19th century: in 1890, in Santiago; 1892, Valparaíso. These texts strengthened the already-installed oral tradition going back to the time of the Spanish conquest.⁵⁰ Returning to the subject at hand, in 1912, Julio Vicuña transcribed texts compiled from the rural areas of the Central Valley of Chile, insisting on the value of oral transmission.⁵¹ Illustrative is the case of *cantor* José Antilef Gatica, who, according to an interview recorded by Yolando Pino on his famous 1966 work,⁵² recognizes that he had previously read the lyrics he sings. As such, the *cantores* of today acknowledge having read texts; the *lyrics* of yesteryear became the *voice*. In the 19th century, the oral tradition was reinforced by the various editions of Pimentel's text, so that the *voice* was able to persist

46. Olea, Luis Humberto. "La Historia de Carlomagno en el desarrollo del Romancero a la décima espinela". *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, 78 (2011). Abril. 6 June 2012 <<https://revistaliteratura.uchile.cl/index.php/RCL/article/view/11021/11437>>.

47. It is no small thing to remember that, according to Angus MacKay, *la poesía épica (tanto escrita como oral) y los romances solían florecer en estas sociedades fronterizas, tal vez por tan militarizadas* ("epic poetry (both written and oral) and romances usually flourished in these frontier societies, perhaps because they were so militarized") and that *en el caso de Rolando, la leyenda se difundía hacia las periferias (...)* ("in Rolando's case, the legend spread to the peripheries (...)"). MacKay, Angus. "Sociedades fronterizas", *Coloquio Almería entre Culturas*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1990: 3.

48. Lenz, Rodolfo. *Sobre la poesía popular impresa de Santiago de Chile, Memorias científicas y literarias, separata de los Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1894: 590.

49. See to the prologue of its electronic edition (2013) of the *Historia del Emperador Carlomagno y los doce pares de Francia y de la cruda batalla que hubo Oliveros con Fierabrás, rey de Alejandría, hijo del gran almirante Balán* ("History of Emperor Charlemagne and the twelve peers of France and of the harsh battle between Oliviers and Fierabrás, king of Alexandria, son of the great admiral Balán"). <<http://www.olea.biz/?p=649>>. Although the theme of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers is found in the tradition of Moorish and Christian festivals, in the latter there are no references to the work of Pimentel, so it corresponds to different traditions. It does bear mention that the tradition that now occupies us is of recitation, whereas the Moors and Christians festivals incorporate dance and theatricality. On the latter, see the bibliography cited above.

50. See Olea, Humberto. "La Historia de Carlomagno..."

51. Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares. Recogidos de la tradición oral chilena*. Santiago: Imprenta Barcelona, 1912: xxi; para el "Desafío de Oliveros y Fierabrás", see Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares...*: 530 and following.

52. Pino, Yolando. "La Historia de Carlomagno y de los Doce Pares de Francia en Chile". *Folklore Americas*, 2 (1966): 1-29.



(paradoxically, in a round trip reinforced by the written text) that, in some way, was a reflection of the growing literacy of Chilean society.

In general, when the subject of the tradition of the feats of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers is approached, it tends to lead to the conclusions of Lenz, Vicuña and Pino. This is reinforced by Manuel Dannemann, who maintains that “the feats of Charlemagne and his warriors in defense of Christianity, remembered and transmitted through oral tradition, are heard in Chile predominantly in rural localities of the central zone, both in narrations and in the *cantos en décimas*. Though spread from the time of the Hispanic conquest, the books printed in Santiago in the last decade of the nineteenth century reinforced them”.⁵³

Thus, literary critics have done the work of compiling the texts, and have devised a theory about the origin of the *cantos* with medieval epic themes in the Chilean countryside. The problem of oral and written transmission, from both a literary and folkloric studies point of view, is moderately solved: there is an oral tradition that is lost in time, presumably at the hand of the 16th century conquerors; and the origin of the themes of that tradition would be, as has already been said, in the translation published by Nicolás de Pimentel in 1525, which enjoyed great popularity.

However, since we are clear about the literary and folkloric aspects of this tradition, we still need to investigate some elements that have not yet been considered and that are related to the subject of cultural identity represented by the texts in question. It is necessary to consider the texts from a historical perspective, as they are central to the roots of Chilean peasant cultural identity (for example, in the values identified in the texts). As Olea points out, the fame of the themes are directly related to canon of the society that binds, treasures, transmits, and publishes them. What is the common ground, the shared foundation, between peninsular conquerors and Chilean peasants, so that the songs in question are transmitted from one society to another, take root in one as in the other, and extend the threshold of one over the other, crossing oceans, lands and ages? Gabriel Guarda's *régimen de cristiandad* may be an answer; however, we are faced with traditions that did not exhaust themselves by the time of conquest or colonization, but were rather projected beyond, projected into the nineteenth century, into the nascent Chilean nation, where they took root and perpetuated into the twentieth century and even the twenty-first century. We should recognize, then, long-standing shared identity values that allow us to travel across a broad cultural threshold.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to ask about the presences of the French tradition of exaltation of the hero Roland, or the Spanish tradition of Bernardo del Carpio, whose fabulous feats are also in Chilean *cantos*, as established by J. Vicuña.⁵⁴ The modern Song of Roland (as adapted by Ariosto, Boiardo) fits rather within the parameters of romantic literature; this is not the case of the tradition

53. *Poesía Popular Andina*, Quito: Instituto Andino de Artes Populares, 1983: 329.

54. Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares...*: 9-14.



installed in Chile, which is closer to the original *chanson de geste*, linked to the feats. It may be, then, that the tradition was transferred from *lyric* (Nicolás de Pimentel) to *voice* at a later time, adding to an already-constituted tradition and breathing life into it; but this is a hypothesis that remains to be verified by means of contrasting texts.⁵⁵

Finally, it also seems interesting to relate the themes present in *canto a lo humano* in the Chilean countryside, with the themes of medieval literature in the epic of Roland and the Twelve Peers, and try to establish the differences, as well as the commonalities, with the European tradition – that would elucidate how the Chilean texts consider the legendary tradition of Charlemagne, which began its journey in the ninth century.⁵⁶ Thus, this work does not propose itself as a new study of Chilean folklore; rather, it is a historical-literary investigation of the *canto a lo humano* in relation to the theme of the exploits of Charlemagne and his warriors, and the presence of one of the most important literary topics of the medieval West in the peasant social collective.

The root of these texts in the Chilean peasant society rests, especially, on the values that establish an identity with the Christian West. Charlemagne and his paladins, who fight fiercely against the Turk, are still sung today —and so too are sung the Christian-infidel dichotomy ideal, which supports the construction of a cultural identity. It is interesting that this identity and rootedness has nothing to do with erudite elaboration, since the *cantores* —when observed in the field, as Yolando Pino did⁵⁷— know neither the history of Charlemagne nor that of Roland and the Twelve Peers of France; nor do they care that neither the former nor the latter actually fought the Turks, simply because they were not coeval; and nor, finally, are they aware that neither Admiral Balan nor his son Fierabrás were ever shown to exist. But it does make sense to the *cantores* and their listeners that those who fight Christianity must be punished, and that those who defend the faith against the injury of the infidels deserve respect and admiration, becoming models of moral values and ethical behavior. There is therefore an unconscious cultural identity, if you will, between the population of the Central Valley of Chile and a Middle Ages. Given the values present in the songs to which we have alluded, this identity is a positive one, much in contrast with the negative prejudices against medieval culture so common in Western societies. In fact, the positive image of the Middle Ages that is transmitted orally in the peasant tradition, as opposed to the negative image of formal education, is very notable.

The cultural identity excavated from *primordial* Chile connects this peasant society with the medieval Christian culture, transmitted in a *régimen de Cristiandad*, as Gabriel Guarda would say, throughout the *Edad Media de Chile*. We find ourselves, in sum, facing an epic of Christianity and its defense, the link between that world

55. For some of the literary notions contained here, I am indebted to my conversations with Professor Rómulo Hidalgo, an expert in medieval literature.

56. See Morrissey, Robert. *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie. Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France*. Paris: Gallimard, 1997.

57. Pino, Yolando. "La Historia de Carlomagno...": 1-29.



and Western Civilization thus established. The roots of identity, belonging and settlement in the American continent are bifurcated —indigenous and western Christian— and intertwined —conversion and *mestizaje*— in the fields of the new frontier.

We are facing another dimension of what the Argentine philologist Carlos Disandro called the “Latin American Magna Grecia”, highlighting the projection of the classic legacy into the New World.⁵⁸ The *Edad Media de Chile* provides, then, that the last frontier is truly in the *finis terrae* of the West.

58. Disandro's thesis is more than that, by any reading: “Within the great American-Romanesque empire, the Indians must be accepted, as were the Gauls, Thracians and all the other peoples who became part of their ancient empire in Rome”. Disandro, Carlos. “El espacio espiritual de la Romania y América, un sueño americano”, *América Latina y lo clásico*, Giusseppina Grammatico, ed. Santiago: Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación, 2003: 132.



II PART

THE PAST STUDIED AND MEASURED

THE IMPORTANCE OF PTOLEMY AND THE *ALMAGEST* IN THE WORK OF THE TRANSLATORS OF ARABIC SCIENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

The evolution of medieval European science goes with the discovery of Ancient Greek works, such as Aristotle's or Ptolemy's ones, through the numerous translations from Arabic which were particularly carried out in Peninsula since the twelfth century. In this paper we will tackle the role played by Ptolemy and his works in the translations and how its finding and dissemination, now in Latin, impacted on the European science.¹

KEYWORDS

Ptolemy, Almagest, Medieval Latin translations, Arabic medieval works.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Ptolaemeus, Almagestum, translationes Latinae mediaevales, opera mediaevalia Arabica.

Ptolemy, Claudius Ptolomaeus Preludiensis, *Princeps Alexandrinus astronomorum*, was the most important astronomer of the Roman Empire. Between the first and the sixteenth century his works on astronomy, astrology, and geography were models for imitation, resources for new work, and targets of criticism. The reactions to Ptolemy from his own times to ours show the complex processes by which an ancient scientist and his work gained, and subsequently lost, an overreaching reputation and authority.²

Ptolemy's real name was Claudius Ptolomaeus. He worked as an astronomer at the Museum of Alexandria under government sponsorship, using the roof of the temple of Sarapis as his observatory. He made his observations between 127 and 141 A.D. Ptolemy's place of birth is not known, although he may have been born in Canopus near Alexandria in Egypt. His scientific activity, works and astronomical observations spanned the period from 125 A.D. until well into the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), and he is believed to have lived from around 100 until 165 A.D. Ptolemy was the author of numerous scientific treatises, some of them authentic such as the *Almagest*, *Tabulae manuales*, *Tetrabiblos* (*Quadripartitum*), *Planetary Hypotheses*, *Phaseis*, *Analemma*, *Planisphaerium*; and others pseudepigrapha such as *Centiloquium*, *De astrolabio*, *Iudicia*, *Liber Ptholomei regis Egiptii*, *De imaginibus super facies signorum*, and *Liber de natiuitatibus hominum*,³ and he also left a list of several astronomical observations made between 127 and 141 A.D. The results were written up in the *Almagest*, which was published around 150 A.D.⁴ and which was of enduring importance in later Islamic and European science.

In fact, the *Almagest*, or the *Megale Syntaxis Mathematike*, was the culmination of Greek astronomy. It was unrivalled in Antiquity as an example of how a large, important class of natural phenomena could be described in mathematical terms in such a way that their future course could be predicted with reasonable precision. It taught scientists of many ages how geometrical and kinematical models could be constructed and, by means of empirical data derived from careful observations, could be made to simulate nature in a way which came to influence the scientific method until the present day.

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2. Jones, Alexander, ed. "Ptolemy", *Ptolemy in Perspective: Use and Criticism of his Work from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Springer, 2010: 232. See also the important Project "Ptolomaeus Arabus et Latinus (PAL)" dedicated to the edition and study of the Arabic and Latin versions of Ptolemy's astronomical and astrological texts and related material. The project is supervised by Prof. Dr. Dag Nikolaus Hasse with Dr David Juste and Dr. Benno van Dalen (<https://ptolemaeus.badw.de>).

3. Heiber, Johan Ludwig, ed. *Claudii Ptolomaei opera quae exstant omnia; volumen 1: Syntaxis mathematica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898-1903; Boer, Emilius, ed. *Claudii Ptolomaei opera quae exstant omnia, vol. III 2, Karpós, Pseudo-Ptolomaei Fructus sive Centiloquium*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1961.

4. Neugebauer, Otto. *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*. Berlin: Springer, 1975; Pedersen, Olaf. *A Survey of the Almagest, with Annotation and New Commentary by Alexander Jones*. New York: Springer, 2011: 12 <<https://books.google.es/books?id=8eaHxE9jUrwC&pg>> (Consulted 27th January 2016).



In compiling his work on astronomy, Ptolemy selected material from earlier studies, especially from Hipparchus' synthesis of predominantly Greek and Babylonian astronomy published in Rhodes in 127 B.C. The basis of Hipparchus' work was the cosmological system devised by Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great—a distinction which lent considerable prestige to his many books and ensured their lasting influence.

The *Almagest* was as important to ancient science as Newton's *Principia* was to the seventeenth century. There is no question that it was a greater scientific achievement than *De revolutionibus*, even though Copernicus' work eventually surpassed it, and even though Copernicus enjoys a greater reputation than Ptolemy as an astronomical genius.

Over the centuries many commentaries on the *Almagest* were written. In the Hellenistic Age, Pappus the mathematician (300 A.D.) wrote the first work on Ptolemaic astronomy. The Alexandrian Theon wrote another commentary, and Hypatia, Theon's daughter, also wrote about Hipparchus and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. The last Greek commentary was written by Proclus (410-485), some time before the closing of Plato's Academy in 529 A.D.⁵

1. The *Almagest* in the Middle Ages

In the early Middle Ages, scholars in Latin Europe had no access to the *Almagest* but they were growing increasingly aware of its importance and of the need to read it. Up until the twelfth century, Ptolemy was known in the Latin world only thanks to some brief references to his name in the encyclopaedias of Pliny the Elder and Isidore of Seville, which in fact confused him with Ptolemy, king of Alexandria. Like most of classical Greek science, however, Ptolemy's work was preserved in Arabic manuscripts and was then translated into Latin.

The ancient Arabic astronomers were influenced by Hindu astronomy and their astronomical tables. The influence of the Hindus is evident in the work of al-Khwarizmi, before the Muslims became familiar with Ptolemy. Along with other works of Greek philosophy and science it is very likely that the *Almagest* was translated into Syriac in the fifth or sixth centuries, but it is difficult to know with certainty when the Muslim astronomers first found an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's major work.

The possibility exists that an anonymous translation of the *Almagest* based on the Greek text was in circulation, because an Arabic manuscript of this version is preserved in the University of Leiden.⁶ There is a record of another translation based on a Syriac text in Baghdad in 829-830. Already in the ninth century, Arab

5. Pedersen, Olaf. *A Survey...*: 13-14.

6. Pedersen, Olaf. *A Survey...*: 15; Kunitzsch, Paul. *Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabischer-lateinischer Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1974.



astronomers referred to this work using the Greek superlative term *Megiste*, which, when the definite article *al* was prefixed to it, became *Almagest*, the name by which it is generally known today. Finally, the most widely used Arabic version was by Ishaq ibn Hunain (d. 910/911) and revised by Thabit ibn Qurra. This version, which spread throughout the Arab world, was eagerly sought by Christians and translated into Latin under the name *Almagestum*.

Gerard of Cremona translated the Arabic *Almagest* into Latin in Toledo in *circa* 1175. The translator came to Toledo *amore Almagesti*, driven by the desire to study and understand Ptolemy's work.⁷ His version reached a wide readership and was used until the sixteenth century. David Juste notes 57 existing manuscripts and one edition.⁸ There are also many references in mediaeval authors.⁹

Haskins wrote that:

With the translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* into Latin the fullness of Greek astronomy reached western Europe. The *Mathematiké Sintaxis* of Ptolemy was for all subsequent times the most important work of ancient astronomy, summing up, as it did, the labours of Ptolemy and his Alexandrine predecessors in systematic and comprehensive form, and in the Middle Ages it possessed supreme authority as the source of all higher astronomical knowledge. In 827 it was translated into Arabic, and among the Saracens it passed as a divine and preeminent book, about which there grew up a large body of explanatory literature.¹⁰

We know of three other possible full or partial translations of the *Almagest*. The earliest known version, little used, was by an anonymous translator in Sicily from the Greek (*circa* 1160). A new anonymous version, made in Spain in the thirteenth century, is extant in fragments. Another anonymous, partial version of the first four books of the *Almagest* in Mscr. Dresd. Db. 87, *circa* 1300, traditionally associated with Antioch and Stephen the Philosopher, was long believed to have been translated

7. Martínez Gázquez, José; Ruiz-Doménech, José Enrique, *La ignorancia y negligencia de los latinos ante la riqueza de los estudios árabes*. Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 2007: 48-49.

8. Juste, David. "Ptolomaeus Latinus: Texts and Manuscripts", *Ptolemy's Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages* (Warburg Institute, 5-7 November 2015), forthcoming.

9. The best known in the *Speculum Astronomie*, attributed to Albert the Great, who says that the *Almagest* is a good introduction to astronomy: *Sed quod de hac scientia utilius inuenitur, est liber Ptolomaei Preludensis, qui dicitur Graece megasti, Arabice almagesti, Latine minus perfecti, qui sic incipit: Bonum fuit scire, etc. quod tamen in eo diligentiae causa dictum est prolixo*. Magni, Alberti. *Opera omnia*. 21 vols., ed. Peter Jammy. Lyon: Sumptibus Claudii Prost, Petri & Claudii Rigaud, frat., Hieronymi de la Garde, Ioan. Ant. Hugueta, fili, 1651: V, 656 and following. In: Pedersen, Olaf. *A survey...*: 17.

10. Haskins, Charles. *Studies in the History...*: 191-193. Perhaps it is related to Eugenius of Palermo, which is discussed by: Lemay, Richard, "De la Scolastique à l'Histoire par le truchement de la Philologie: Itinéraire d'un Médiéviste entre Europe et l'Islam", *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo* (Roma, 2-4 Ottobre 1984). *Convegno internazionale promosso dall'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Fondazione Leone Caetani e dall'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'*, Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, ed. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei - Fondazione Leone Caetani - Università di Roma, 1987: 432-462.



from the Greek, but recent investigations have shown the translation to be the work of Thabit ibn Qurra from an Arabic original.¹¹

Al-Farghani had produced a summary of the *Almagest* in the ninth century, and a new version with a critical commentary was made around 1140 by Jabir ibn Afflah (known to the Latins as Geber).¹² These works were translated into Latin and helped to spread the *Almagest* throughout the Christian world.

In the early thirteenth century, the *Almagestum parvum*, a summary of Ptolemy's *Almagest* written around the year 1200, provided a new stylistic framework for the content of the *Almagest*'s first six books. The author of the *Almagestum parvum* used types of mathematical writing and principles listed at the beginning of each book with propositions and demonstrations. These and similar changes in this work reveal the author's desire to connect Ptolemaic astronomy with the "mathematics" available in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the *Almagestum parvum* was an influential part of a broader attempt to understand Ptolemaic astronomy in a non-Ptolemaic style.¹³

Ptolemaic astronomy in the Middle Ages served practical and pedagogical ends rather than theoretical ones; scholars wished to design tables and instruments rather than to carry out systematic observations in order to articulate and improve the system. At that time, only astrologers had a real need for astronomy, in order to be able to determine the positions of the planets regardless of the weather and of their geographical location. Versions of other astrological works by Ptolemy were translated into Latin before the version of the *Almagest*. In 1138, Plato of Tivoli translated Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, and Herman of Carinthia translated the *Planispherium* in 1143. Eugenius of Palermo translated the *Optics*.

The scholars of the twelfth century were immediately aware of the importance of the acquisition of these scientific works: by posing problems of a physical nature and formulating a new conception of man and of the world, the new science challenged certain intellectual positions held by the traditionalists. Throughout Latin Europe,

11. *Explicit primus sermo libri mathematice Ptolomei, qui nominatur megali sintaxis astronomie translacione dictamine philophonia wintomiensis ebdelmessie*. Sächsische Landesbibliothek —Staats— und Universitätsbibliothek. Mscr. Dresd. Db. 87, f. 15v. Burnett, Charles. "Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des croisades*, Anne Tihon, Isabelle Draelants, Baudouin van den Abeele, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000: 21-13 [reprinted with corrections in: Burnett, Charles. *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context*. Aldershot, Ashgate, 2009]; Burnett, Charles. "The Transmission of Arabic Astronomy via Antioch and Pisa in the Second Quarter of the Twelfth Century", *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, Jan P. Hogendijk, Abdelhamid I. Sabra, eds. Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press, 2003: 23-51; Grupe, Dirk. "The 'Thābit version' of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in MS Dresden Db.87". *Suhayl*, 11 (2012): 147-53; Grupe, Dirk. *The Latin Reception of Arabic Astronomy and Cosmology in mid-Twelfth-Century Antioch: The 'Liber Mamonis' and the Dresden Almagest*. London: University of London (PhD Dissertation), 2013; Grupe, Dirk. "Thabit ibn Qurra's Version of the *Almagest* and its Reception in Arabic Astronomical Commentaries", *Ptolemy's Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages* (Warburg Institute, 5-7 November 2015), forthcoming.

12. Vernet, Juan. "L'astronomie dans l'Islam Occidental". *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 64 (1963): 223-40; Pedersen, Olaf. *A Survey*...: 15.

13. Haskins, Charles. *Studies in the History*...: 104; Zepeda, Henry. "Euclidization in the *Almagestum parvum*". *Early Science and Medicine*, 20/1 (2015): 48-76.



new horizons were opened up and the thirst for knowledge expanded throughout the continent. The most famous of the century's popularisers of clerical learning, Honorius of Autun (1090-1152), summarised the situation in a striking aphorism: *Exsiliū hominis ignorantia; patria est sapientia*.¹⁴

Unable to fulfil their desire for knowledge at home, scholars left England, Paris, or Italy and set off in pursuit of the learning of the Arabs. They found it in the Iberian Peninsula, in Barcelona, Tarazona, Toledo and Murcia, as the Christian Reconquest advanced. Although Sicily and southern Italy became important centres of Arabo-Latin translation, they never equalled Spain in this respect, probably because they had not had an Islamic culture as vigorous as that of Spain. Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) had an ample supply of Arabic texts for translation, Arabic versions of Greek originals, the works of the great mathematicians, astronomers, and physicians of the Arabic east, and scientific works produced in al-Andalus.¹⁵

Christian scholars were especially keen to find astronomical and astrological texts. Robert of Ketton and Herman of Carinthia (*quos in Hispania circa Iberum astrologicae arti studentes inveni*),¹⁶ as Peter the Venerable would call them. The same Robert of Ketton testified in the preface to his Latin translation of the Koran his main interest in this study, *Istud quidem tuam minime latuit sapientiam, que me compulit interim astronomie geometrieque studium meum principale pretermittere*.¹⁷ As we noted above, Gerard of Cremona came to Toledo *amore Almagesti*.

2. The memory of Ptolemy in the Middle Ages

The *Corpus operum de scientia stellarum* was a body of works on the astrolabe, astronomy and astrology which was in use in the late tenth and the early eleventh century. This corpus contained a *Preceptum canonis Ptolomei* associated with Abbo of Fleury.¹⁸ This work presents a set of astronomical tables and the rules for their use based on the *Tabule manuales Ptolomei* and other Greek texts, and had been put together in Rome in 535. This was the only set of astronomical tables available in the Latin West before Petrus Alfonsi and Adelard of Bath translated the tables of al-Khwarizmi in the early twelfth century.¹⁹ *Quod opusculum, cuilibet uelit complicare*

14. "Man's exile is his ignorance, his homeland is science". Augustodunensis, Honorius. "De animae exsilio et patria", *Patrologiae. Cursus completus*. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXII, col. 1243.

15. Lindberg, Davis C. "The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West", *Science in the Middle Ages*, David C. Lindberg, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978: 59.

16. Venerabilis, Petrus. "Epistola de translatione Alcorani", *Patrologiae. Cursus completus*. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXXIX, col. 650.

17. Cecini, Ulisse. *Alcoranus latinus: eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koranübersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*. Berlin: Lit, 2012: 94.

18. Juste, David. *Les Alchandreana primitifs: étude sur les plus anciens traités astrologiques latins d'origine arabe (X^e siècle)*. Leiden: Brill, 2007: 26.

19. Burnett, Charles. "King Ptolemy and Alchandreus the philosopher: the earliest texts on the astrolabe and Arabic astrology at Fleury, Micy and Chartres". *Annals Science*, 55 (1998), 326-68 [reprinted with



*libro siue canonibus Ptolomei siue Vitrubio quia ipse affluenter descriptiones horologium assequitur, sapientium commendo censure, dum illud sancte ecclesie representasse sufficiat.*²⁰

The Prologue *Ad intimas* in the eleventh-century manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 560, also associated with Fleury at the time of Abbot Abbo, praises Ptolemy for the invention of the astrolabe:

*Inter omnes precipue Ptolomeus hac claruit disciplina. Qui sicut studio clarior, ita etiam hans sententiam luculentius posteris tradidit. Nam inter cetera huius artis insignia ab ipso sumministrata adiumenta quoddam instrumentum et utilimum discentibus et magnummiraculum considerantibus adinuenit. Quo quidem inter omnia inuenta nil prestantius ad intimas doctrinarum indagaciones et matheseos artes nihilque utilius ad totam illam supernam machinam inuestigandam et ad omnia astronomica studia atque geometricalem scientiam. Est autem Wazzalcora diuina mente comparata, quod Latine sonat plana spera, que etiam alio nomine astrolapsus Ptolomei.*²¹

2.1. Stephen the Philosopher (floruit 1127)

Stephen, the translator of the *Liber Mamonis in astronomia*, accused the doctors of Christendom of holding back the cultural development of Europe, *unde factum est ut que fere plenitudinem posset habere artium, nunc ceteris gentibus Europa uideatur humilior.*²² He also compared their ignorance in matters of astronomy to the illuminating teachings of Ptolemy, *in astronomia magnificus.*²³

The author's intention is to explain the circles of the heavenly spheres and their number and order, so as to help others to understand Ptolemy's *Almagest*.²⁴

corrections in: Burnett, Charles. *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009: 339]; Pingree, David. *Preceptum Canonis Ptolomei. Corpus des astronomes byzantins*. Louvain la Neuve: Academia Bruylant, 1997.

20. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Assaig d'Història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*. Barcelona: Edicions Científiques Catalanes, 1931: 275; Burnett, Charles. "King Ptolemy...": 336.

21. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Assaig d'Història...*: 274; Burnett, Charles. "King Ptolemy...": 340-41 and note 58. These words are echoed in the first words of Herman the Lame's description of the construction of the astrolabe: *In metienda igitur subtilissimae inuentionis Ptolomei waltalchora, id est, plana sphaera, quam astrolabium uocitamus*. Drecker, Joseph. "Hermannus Contractus über das astrolabe". *Isis*, 16 (1931): 200-19, especially 204.

22. Haskins Charles. *Studies in the History...*: 99.

23. Gregory, Tullio. "La nouvelle idée de nature et le savoir scientifique au XII^e siècle", *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*, John E. Murdoch, Edith Dudley Sylla, eds. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1975: 194; Martínez Gázquez, José. *The attitude of the Medieval Latin translators towards the Arabic Sciences*. Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016: 20-21; Burnett, Charles, "Antioch as Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, Isabelle Draelants, Anne Tihon, Baudouin Van den Abeele, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000: 1-19; reproduced with corrections in: Burnett, Charles, *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context*, Farnham: Ashgate/Variorum, 2009, chap. IV: 12-13.

24. Boudet, Jean-Patrice. *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006: 35; Gregory, Tullio. "La nouvelle idée...": 194; Lindberg, David C. "The Transmission of Greek...": 58 and 36; Samsó, Julio. "Els inicis de la introducció



*Placet igitur celestium sperarum circulos, numerum, ordinem quo uerius potero quantumque humana patitur ratio aperire, ut qui a Ptholomeo in sua Sinthasi disponuntur circuli in speris etiam quomodo possint inueniri laborantius in hac arte uia teratur. In quo —nichil enim perfectum mihi uel cuiquam ad explicandum concessum arbitror— si quid pretermissum superflue positum fuerit, sapientium arbitrio corrigendum relinquo.*²⁵

2.2. Eugenius of Palermo (circa 1130 - circa 1202)

Eugenius of Palermo worked in his native Sicily translating texts from Greek and Arabic into Latin, particularly the works of Ptolemy. Eugenius translated Ptolemy's *Optics* from Arabic, a work which otherwise have been lost:

*Dehinc uero prefatum Ptolomei opus aggressus, expositorem propitium diuina michi gratia providente Eugenium uirum tam Graece quam Arabice linguae peritissimum, Latine quoque non ignarum, illud contra uiri discoli uoluntatem Latine dedi orationi.*²⁶

He speaks of the usefulness and necessity of his work and is well aware of the problems of translation:

*Cum considerare Optica Tholomei necessaria utique fore sentiam diligentibus et rerum perscrutantibus naturas, laboris onus subire et illa in presenti libro Latine interpretari non recusaui. Verumptamen, quia uniuersa linguarum genera proprium habent idioma, et alterius in alterum translatio, fideli maxime interpreti, non est facilis.*²⁷

2.3. Hugh of Santalla (floruit 1151)

Hugh of Santalla dedicated this treatise on astrological aphorisms to Bishop Michael.²⁸ Like other works, this treatise underwent several translations. In the dedication of the prologue Hugh states that this important work of astrology comprises ten volumes and deals with the true substance of this science, its principles, and its applications. He has translated it from Arabic into Latin, because

de la ciència àrab a Europa a través de Catalunya", *La Ciència en la Història dels Països Catalans, I. Dels àrabs al Renaixement*, Joan Vernet, Ramón Parés, eds. Valencia-Barcelona: Universitat de València-Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2005: 116 and 154-155; Samsó, Julio. "El procés de la transmissió científica al nord-est de la península Ibèrica al segle XII: els textos llatins", *La Ciència en la Història dels Països Catalans, I. Dels àrabs al Renaixement*, Joan Vernet, Ramón Parés, eds. Valencia-Barcelona: Universitat de València-Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2005: 269.

25. Haskins Charles. *Studies in the History*...: 100.

26. Haskins, Charles; Lockwood Putnam, Dean. "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's 'Almagest'". *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 21 (1910): 100.

27. Siculus, Eugenius. *L'Optica di Claudio Tolomeo da Eugenio Ammiraglio di Sicilia – Scrittore del Secolo XII*, ed. Gilberto Govi. Turin: Stamperia reale della ditta G. B. Paravia E C. di I. Viglari, 1855: 3.

28. Samsó, Julio. "El procés...": 276; Burnett, Charles. "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain", *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed. Leiden: Brill, 1992: 1142.



of the abundance of famous masters (both Greek and Arab) who have studied it and whose authority vouches for its worth.

*Incipiunt fructus Ptolomei liber, scilicet, quem Grecorum quidam centum uerba appellant, Hugonis Sanctellensis translatus: Prologus eius dem ad Michaellem Tirassonem antistitem. De hiis que ad iuditorum ueritatem attinent, cum in illis totus astronomie consistat effectus secundum Arabice secte uerissimam inquisitionem et tam Grecorum quam Arabum qui huius artis habiti sunt professores famosissimi auctoritatem, uolumina decem in hiis de tam multimoda auctorum copia eligendis diutius obseruatus, ne tante expectationis fructus minor tantique laboris merces in aliquo deficere uideretur, de Arabico in Latinum translataui sermonem.*²⁹

Hugh of Santalla established a set of criteria to decide which authorities and works he should translate in order to satisfy Bishop Michael's curiosity. The works of Ptolemy were considered the most important in the field of astronomy. Alongside the *Almagest* and the *Quadripartitum*, the *Centiloquium* was one of Ptolemy's main astronomical works and so Hugh wants Michael to have this book which will help him to navigate the stormy seas of the acquisition of this important science.

*Quia ergo Ptholomeus inter ceteros astronomie professores precipuus habetur interpret et auctor post Almagesti et Quadripartitum hunc solum de iudiciis astrorum reliquit tractatum, ut tue, mi domine Tirassoniensis antistes, satisfiat iubsioni, eius translationis fructum ego Sanctelliensis adporto, hac uidelicet occasione compulsus ne dum in portu iuditorum nauigas in cimba locatus uaga saxosa formides et ne de tanti preceptoris operibus quippiam abesse queratis.*³⁰

2.3.1 *Commentum Ibn al Muthanna de Tabulis astronomicis al-Khwarizmi*

Hugh of Santalla worked for Bishop Michael, a man with a great interest in astrological and astronomical matters. He provided Michael with explanations and clarifications of all the texts that he translated. An example was Farghani's thorough summary of the *Almagest*, which was well known in the Middle Ages:

*Vel forsitam hic idem Alfargani, quod prudentioris cautele est, tante subtilitatis archana aggredi formidans difficillima pretermittens cetera reserauit. Nemo enim ad huius expositionis intelligentiam accedere potest nisi geometrie institutis et uniuerso mensurandi genere quasi ad manum plenissime instruatur. Ne itaque antiquorum uestigiis penitus insistens a modernis prorsus uidear dissentire, non per dialogum, ut apud Arabes habetur, uerum more solito atque usitato hoc opus subiciam. Ac deinceps non solum Quadripartiti atque Almaiezi ab Alkindio datam expositionem sed etiam quoddam Aristotilis super totam artem sufficiens et generale commentum, si uita superstes fuerit et facultas detur, te iubente aggrediar.*³¹

29. Haskins Charles. *Studies in the History...*: 69.

30. Haskins Charles. *Studies in the History...*: 69.

31. Martínez Gázquez, José. *The Attitude...*: 55.



2.4 Robert of Ketton (floruit 1141-1156)

Robert of Ketton undertook his translations and scientific works in conjunction with Herman of Carinthia. Robert dedicated his translation of al-Kindi's astrological work to his friend Herman, and as on other occasions, his underlying objective was to understand the *Almagest*, unde commodior ad Almaiesti quo precipuum nostrum aspirat studium pateret accessus, with the help of the expertise of his colleague and friend:

Iudicia Alkindi

*Incipiunt Iudicia Alkindi astrologi Rodberti de Ketene translatio. Prologus. Quamquam post Euclidem Theodosii cosmometrie libroque proportionum libentius insudarem, unde commodior ad Almaiesti quo precipuum nostrum aspirat studium pateret accessus, tamen ne per meam segnitiam nostra surdesceret amicitia, uestris nutibus nil preter equum postulantibus, mi Hermanne, nulli Latinorum huius nostri temporis astronomico sedere penitus parare paratus, eum quem commodissimum et ueracissimum inter astrologos indicem uestra quam sepe notauit diligentia uoto uestro seruans transtuli, non minus amicitie quam peritie facultatibus innisus.*³²

2.5 Herman of Carinthia (floruit 1138-1143)

2.5.1 Planispherium Ptolomei

In the prologue to the Latin translation of the Arabic text of Ptolemy's *Planispherium*, a description of the principles of the construction of the astrolabe attributed in the manuscript to Maslama of Madrid, Herman of Carinthia set out his reasons for carrying out this work. He noted that Robert of Ketton translated Al-Battani, author of a set of astronomical tables in the Ptolemaic tradition:

*Quem locum a Ptolomaeo minus diligenter perspectum cum Albatene miratur et Alchoarismus, quorum hunc quidam opera nostra Latium habet, illius uero commodissima translatio Roberti mei industria Latinae orationis thesaurum accumulate.*³³

The reasons he lists are the importance of the work to the knowledge of astronomy, the presence of certain people who think they master this science but in fact do not know its true principles and do not study it by following the order of its teachings, and the need among the Christians for a major work to help them to understand this science of the heavenly bodies: Herman goes back to the origin of astronomy, when, after the flood, Noah's descendants began their astronomical speculations in Mesopotamia. The tradition was then continued by the Indians,

32. Haskins, Charles. *Studies in the History...*: 121-122; Burnett, Charles, ed. *Hermann of Carinthia De Essentiis*. Leiden: Brill, 1982: 5-6; Burnett, Charles. "Al-Kindi on Judicial Astrology: The Forty Chapters". *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, 3 (1993): 77-117; Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. 6 vols. New York-London: Columbia University Press, 1923: I, 773 and II, 215-217.

33. Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic...*: II, 85.



Persians and Egyptians until the writings of Ptolemy, which were translated and completed by the Arab scholars Al-Battani and Abu Mas'har:

Quorum quoniam primi traduntur auctores Indi, Perse et Egyptii inuentionem secuti sunt, qui disciplina primis ordinauit gradibus. Idem ergo motus quoniam equabilis est circuli super centrum et axem immobilem omnia continentis spere, seorsum hunc scribendum duxit Ptolomeus quippe primum in ipso tamquam uestibulo astronomie quasi thema quoddam totius studii proponens, prout idem diuersi principium et equalitatem inequalitatis cardinem intellexit, non, oñor, sine imiatiōe Abracaz, quem in omni celesti motu auctorem habet quemadmodum Sicheum in motus effectu. Ex quibus et duo Ionica lingua collegit uolumina, in primam Sintasim, in secundam Tetrastim —Arabice dicta Almagesti et Alarba, quorum Almagesti quidem Albeteni commodissime restringit, Tetrastim uero Albumasar non minus commode exempliat— in utroque et ipse et sequaces eius eas diuidentes ordinant. [...] Tertio uero ut, quoniam tanti uiri primum hoc opus celestisque scientie quasi clauem quandam labor noster nunc tandem Latio confert, antequam in profanas insidiantium manus incideret, tua sanctissima constaret auctoritate.³⁴

2.5.2 *De Essentiis Hermanni Secundi liber*

Herman of Carinthia not only translated Arabic scientific works and other texts on the Islamic-Christian controversy, but also wrote philosophical works of his own, drawing widely on the doctrines of the Greeks and the Arabs. The most important, his treatise *De essentiis*, was finished in Béziers in 1143. This work played a vital role in the introduction of Aristotelian theories into mediaeval philosophical thought, dominated at the time by Platonism. An original work of exceptional significance, *De essentiis* (1143) is an important astrological-cosmological treatise in which Herman offered an original synthesis of the Arabic Aristotelianism and Platonism of the Chartres school of philosophy. Transcribed during the Middle Ages, *De essentiis* bears witness to Herman's significance and his role in the intellectual revival of the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is the best source for understanding Herman's philosophical and scientific teaching:³⁵

Sic enim et Theodosius in Sphærica 'super hunc' inquit 'mouetur totum ipse uero immotus.' Quo facto, educit ex eodem centro in utramque partem lineam rectam usque in intrinsecaam

34. Vernet, Juan; Catalá, María Ángeles. "Las obras matemáticas de Maslama de Madrid". *Al-Andalus*, 30 (1965): 15-45 [reprinted in: Vernet, Juan. *Estudios sobre Historia de la Ciencia Medieval*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1979: 241-271]; Kunitzsch, Paul; Lorch, Richard. *Maslama's Notes on Ptolemy's 'Planisphaerium' and Related Texts*. Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften-C.H. Beck, 1994: 121; Kunitzsch, Paul. "The Role of al-Andalus in the Transmission of 'Ptolemy's Planisphaerium and Almagest'". *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 10 (1995-1996): 147-155 [reprinted in: Kunitzsch, Paul. *Stars and numbers: astronomy and mathematics in the medieval Arab and western worlds*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004]; Burnett, Charles. "Arabic into Latin in Twelfth Century Spain: the Works of Hermann of Carinthia". *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (1978): 108-112.

35. Gázquez, Martínez. *The attitude...: 75*.



*planitiam spere, acutis hinc inde angulis —ut secundum ratosthenem Ptholomeus describit—
aad quadrantem ferme recti anguli.*³⁶

2.6. John of Seville (John of Spain) (floruit 1118-1142)

The personality, origin and work of John of Seville (or of Limia) have been widely discussed and related to other translators and authors and we are not yet in a position conclusively to determine the scope of his work. Charles Burnett has carried out exhaustive studies of this great translator, who worked with Dominicus Gundissalinus, and has published a broad overview of the current state of our knowledge.³⁷

2.6.1 *De differentiis tabularum*

In *De differentiis tabularum*, John of Seville explains the differences between the various astronomical tables used in his time. He adds that he composed several works explaining and glossing aspects of the astronomical problems that needed fuller explanation to enable Christian scholars to understand them. Among these works, Millàs discovered a treatise on doubts that emerge in the study of the astronomical tables and in the analysis of the rules that govern the equations, ascensions, and other aspects of the planets.

In the introduction, John of Seville stresses the importance of a prior knowledge of arithmetic for all those who wish to study astronomy. He declares his intention to compose a book dedicated especially to encouraging others to learn to use the Indian numerals introduced by al-Khwarizmi (whom he praises) and which are used by the Saracens in their treatises.

*Scire debes, karissime lector, quia oportebit te aliquos annos scire supra quos cursus planetarum ualeas ordinare, uel per quos possis [computare?] ordinatos cursus in libro quem ego Iohannes Ispanus interpress existens in Arabico in Latino transtuli. [...] et ut Ptolomeus refert CCC partes unius diei sicut ipse mirabili obseruatione inuenit. [...] Ptolomeus enim scripsit quod circulus ille mouebatur in C annis uno gradu [...] et peruenit usque ad xxiv gradus secundum relatum est an Indis, et similiter inuenit eum Ptolomeus xxiii gradus et li minuta et inuenerunt eum obseruatores sapientes [...] Sed Ptolomeus contradicit in libro suo [...] et idem inuenit Ptolomeus stellas fixas moueri per C annos i gradum [...] et quamuis dicat Ptolomeus quod impossibile sit nobis inuenire figuras celi ita ut sunt.*³⁸

36. Burnett, Charles. *Hermann of Carinthia*...: 28-29.

37. Martínez Gázquez, José. *The attitude*...: 82.

38. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. "Una obra astronómica desconocida de Johannes Avendaut Hispanus". *Osiris*, 1 (1936): 451-475 [Reprinted in: Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Estudios sobre Historia*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949: 275, 277 and 282].



2.7 Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187)

Gerard of Cremona is the greatest of the scholars in the twelfth-century translation movement in science and philosophy. His attempts to make Arabic science accessible to the Christian world via translations into Latin were of vital importance.

The text of the *Vita Girardi Cremonensis*,³⁹ a eulogy written by his disciples shortly after his death and attached in an appendix to his last translation (of Galen's *Tegni*), highlights the main events in his life. On realising that Latin language and culture could not satisfy a Christian scholar's desire for learning, Gerard left Italy for Toledo. In one of the most genuine expressions of the *topos* of *Latinorum penuria* and *Arabum abundantia*, we are told that Gerard decided to go to Toledo in search of the *Almagest*, *amore tamen Almagesti, quem apud Latinos minime reperit, Toletum perrexit*.

Having decided to pursue his intellectual training in Toledo, from the moment of his arrival he was so fascinated by the opportunities the city offered him that he decided to stay there for the rest of his life and to devote himself entirely to the translation of the works that he found there. To do so, he learnt Arabic. Toledo granted Gerard the most sought-after gift of all, coveted by all Christian scholars of astronomy: he discovered the Ptolemy's *Almagest* there and produced a Latin version of the Arabic translation, a long technical work, which brought him everlasting fame. The list attached by Gerard's students to the eulogy contains 71 entries of translated works into Latin, although it is known to be incomplete. To quote Haskins: "Indeed, more of Arabic science in general passed into western Europe at the hands of Gerard of Cremona than in any other way".⁴⁰

Vita Girardi Cremonensis 213

*Et cum ab ipsius infantie cunabulis in gremiis philosophie educatus esset et ad cuiuslibet partes ipsius notitiam secundum Latinorum studium peruenisset, amore tamen Almagesti, quem apud Latinos minime reperit, Toletum perrexit. Ubi librorum cuiusque facultatis habundantiam in Arabico cernens et Latinorum penurie de ipsis quam nouerat miserans, amore transferendi linguam edidit Arabicam.*⁴¹

2.8 Daniel of Morley (1140-1210)

Daniel of Morley, after passing through the University of Paris, compared the presumptuous and bookish culture of the masters of Paris with the *doctrina Arabum quae in quadriuo fere tota existit*, which he studied in Toledo, where classes were taught by the *sapientiores mundi philosophi*. In *Philosophia* or *Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum*, a treatise written on his return to England for John, Bishop of Norwich (1175-1200), Daniel records that he studied with Gerard of Cremona in the language of Toledo (probably a Romance language), and that Gerard clarified

39. Burnett, Charles. *The Coherence...*: 273-287.

40. Haskins, Charles. *Studies in the history...*: 15.

41. Martínez Gázquez, José. *The attitude...*: 90-91 and 188-189.



the doubts of his disciples. Daniel also confirms that Gerard of Cremona translated the *Almagest* —a feat to which they all aspired— and reported that in this task he was assisted by Galippo, probably a *Mozarab* from Toledo:

*Cum uero predicta et cetera talium in hunc modum necessario euenire in Ysagogis Iapharis auditoribus suis affirmaret Girardus Tholetanus, qui Galippo mixtarabe interpretante Almagesti latinauit, obstipui ceterisque, qui lectionibus assidebant, molestius tuli eique indignatus Homiliam Beati Gregorii, in qua contra mathematicos disputat, obieci.*⁴²

2.9 Michael Scot (d. 1236)

Michael Scot, one of the great translators of Arabic science, spent some years in Spain before his definitive departure for Sicily to serve Frederick II. In Toledo he met archbishop Rodrigo, whom he accompanied to the Fourth Council of the Lateran in Rome in 1215.⁴³ He was famous as a translator, *diuersorum idiomatum, Ebraici et Caldei, Arabici et Latini*, a man of eminent learning, philosopher and astrologer, but also as a magician and necromancer.

2.9.1 De motibus celorum

Michael translated the treatise on astronomy of the Hispano-Arabic philosopher and astronomer al-Bitruji (Alpetragius), entitled *De motibus celorum*,⁴⁴ a revision of Ptolemy's work. The translation is dated precisely and completed at Toledo 18th August 1217. The Levite Abuteo, who collaborated in the translation, appears in the historical record; he was a Jew who knew Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic and Latin, and, after converting to Christianity and being christened with the name of Andrew, became canon of Palencia.

1 Sermo in erroribus radicum quas posuit Tholomeus. In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi omnipotentis misericordis et pii, prolonget tibi Deus statum tuum in honore, frater. Detegam tibi secretum pectoris mei, et est ratio profunda que cecidit in imaginationem meam post multos errores, et consumpsi in eis maius uite mee. Et rogo te et inspectorem huius libri mei ut adornet hunc tractatum meum. 2 Et non properet ad reprehendendum meam diuersitatem ad sapientes antiquos et meam contradictionem contra famosos. Et nouit Deus quod non feci ut contradicerem, nec ad hoc fuit mea intentio; sed a pueritia, quando inspexi in quadriuiro ad partem motus celestis, et prosecutus sum dicta antiquorum secundum quod posuit Tholomeus, qui fuit fundamentum huius scientie; et secuti sunt eum sequaces sapientes. 3 Et non diuersificati sunt aliqui ab eo preter Abu Isac Abraham ifn Yahya, notus

42. Maurach, Gregor. "Daniel von Morley, 'Philosophia'". *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 14 (1974): 244-245.

43. Haskins, Charles. *Studies in the History...* 274-275; Burnett, Charles. "Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen". *Micrologus*, 2 (1994): 101-126 [reprinted with corrections as chapter VIII in: Burnett, Charles. *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009: 101-126].

44. Jourdain, Amable. *Recherches critiques sur l'age et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*. Paris: Joubert, Libraire-Éditeur, 1843: 451-452.



Azarkel, in motu spere stellarum fixarum, et Abu Mahomet Jeber Aven Aflah Ispalensis in ordinatione celi Solis et Veneris et Mercurii, et in locis particularibus sui libri in quibus accidit Tholomeo error; et sanauit ea Jeber et compleuit secundum radices quas posuit Tholomeus.⁴⁵ [...] 53 Perfectus est liber Auenalpetraug. Laudetur Ihesus Christus qui uiuit in eternum per tempora. Translatus a magistro Michaele Scotusto Tholeti in decimo octauo die Veneris augusti hora tertia cum Abuteo leuite, anno incarnationis Ihesu Christi 1217.⁴⁶

2.10 Abraham Hebreo (circa 1264-1278)

Abraham Hebreo is also the translator into Castilian of a work by Ibn al-Haytham, later retranslated into Latin as *De configuratione mundi*, which describes the physical structure of the world. Abraham records the words of King Alfonso the Wise, who had the work translated, ordered, and illustrated *ut melius cognoscatur*. *De configuratione mundi* acknowledges the primacy of Ptolemy in the science of movement and the astrological firmament:

De configuratione mundi.

Capitulum primum. De prologo huius libri uerba Alfonsi regis Yspanie.

Ptolomeus et multi alii sapientes qui fuerunt ante ipsum et alii post ipsum locuti sunt in scientia motuum et in firmamento celorum et composuerunt de ista materia libros multos; quidam uero probauerunt dicta sua per geometriam et alii posuerunt dicta sua sine probatione. Attamen qui melius locutus est et magis complete in hac materia fuit Ptolomeus in libro suo qui uocatur Almagesti. Et ipse et omnes alii qui locuti fuerunt in scientia ista non fuerunt locuti in corporibus celestibus sed in circulis ymaginatis, excepto eo qui edidit librum istum, quem nos fecimus transferri et ordinari. Vocabatur autem compositor huius libri Abulhazen Abnelaitam et quod equidem dixit in hoc libro fuit secundum intentionem Ptolomei. Et est imaginatus totum quod equidem est in corporibus celestibus uniuersaliter et in celis singulariter imaginatis. Et nos, respiciendo libri bonitatem et utilitatem quam inde homines assecuntur ad hoc, ut melius intelligatur, mandauimus magistro Abrache Ebreo quod transferret librum istum de Arabico in Hispanum et quod ordinaret modo meliori quam ante fuerat ordinatus et quod diuideret in capitula. Et mandauimus de unaquaque re de qua locutus est auctor propriam ponere figuram ad hoc ut melius intelligatur.⁴⁷

45. Jourdain, Amable. *Recherches critiques sur l'age...*: 451-452.

46. Pérez Varas, F. "Sobre la recepción en el 'Parzival'", *Parzival. Reescritura y transformación*, Berta Raposo Fernández, coord. Karen Andresen, Hang Ferrer Mora, Isabel Guitérrez Koester, Frank Kasper, eds. Valencia: Universitat de València-Departament de Filologia anglesa i alemanya, 2000: 57.

47. Mancha, José Luis. "La versión Alfonsí del 'Fī hay'at al-'ālam (De configuratione mundi)' de Ibn al-Haytham (Oxford, Canon. misc. 45, ff. 1r-56r)", 'Ochava Esfera' y 'Astrofísica'. *Textos y Estudios sobre las Fuentes Árabes de la Astronomía de Alfonso X*, Mercè Comes, Honorino Mielgo, Julio Samsó, eds. Barcelona: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional-Universitat de Barcelona, 1990: 143; Martínez Gázquez, José. *The attitude...*: 115-116.



2.11 Dalmau ses Planes (1360-1366)

Dalmau ses Planes, the second of Peter the Ceremonious' astronomers who worked on the astronomical tables and the writing of their canons with the astronomers Pere Gilbert and the Jew Jacob Corsino,⁴⁸ also wrote an astronomical treatise in the form of an almanac covering the years from 1361 to 1433. Specifically, Dalmau presents a brief synthesis of the history of the astronomical tables and mentions Hipparchus and Ptolemy; he describes Ptolemy as King of Alexandria and *summus* author in astronomy:

Introductio canonum magistri Dalmacii Planes.

Ptolomeus uir in scientia stellarum peritissimus, exarator 'Centilogii sui propositione quinquagesima' [...] unde Ptolomeus dicti 'Centilogii propositione vii sic ait: 'Sol est origo uirtutis uitalis, Luna est origo uirtutis naturalis, Saturnus est origo uirtutis retentive, Iupiter uirtutis crescentis, Mercurius uirtutis cogitationis, Mars uirtutis nascendi et attrahendi, Venus uirtutis appetitive'. Et per consequens eorum opera non poterant sic cum ueritate sciri, licet ad hoc plures actorum dedissent efficacem prout longe ante aduentum Christi fuit Abraxis et paulo post Ptolomeus, ut quidam asserunt rex Egipti et in hac scientia summus, qui super hiis composuit tabulas et uolumina plura. [...] Hins ille astrologorum maximus Ptolomeus 'Quadripartiti sui libro primo capitulo 3°' sic ait: Dicemus namque, inquit, quoniam si huius sciencie utilitatis quantitatem que ad animam pwrinetconsiderare uelimus' [...].⁴⁹

The prologue is similar to the one written by King Peter in the *Canones super tabulis Illustrissimi Regis Petri tertii nomine Regum, Rex Aragonum*, with expansions in some places: *Et nos sollicitauimus complere promissa et opinionem sapientis predicti et non inuenimus qui complere sciret opus nostrum nisi magistrum Dalmacium Planes scolaren dicti magistri Petri [...].⁵⁰*

3. Ptolemy in mediaeval scientific Latin manuscripts

References to the person and work of Ptolemy in mediaeval scientific Latin manuscripts are omnipresent. They highlight his theories, compare his data against other opinions, or directly praise his work. From the many possible examples, we highlight some passages which Millàs i Vallicrosa mentions in his study of the manuscripts of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Toledo.

On f. 67r. a. of manuscript 10023 (Biblioteca Nacional de España) he identifies an astronomical work attributed to R. Abraham ibn Ezra, and on f. 70 v. b. we

48. Comes, Mercè. "Mathematical Geography in the Lifetime of Omar Khayam". *Farhang. Quarterly Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies, Iran*, 18/53-54 (2005): 348.

49. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942: 87-90; Martínez Gázquez, José. *The attitude...*: 170-171.

50. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Las traducciones...*: 142.



find a geometrical example how to compare the tenets of Indian and Ptolemean astronomy, highlighting their similarities and differences:

*Philosophi indorum artem communem et subtilem tradiderunt qua poterimus inuenire quantum sit latus polygonie equilatero circulo inscripte; inter artem eorum et Ptholomei nulla est differentia in latere trigoni uel quadrati uel pentagoni uel exagoni uel octogoni uel in figura 9 angulorum, sed in latere decagoni dissentiunt fre in 9 minutis sexagessimis quod parum nocet.*⁵¹

F. 50r of manuscript 10059 (Biblioteca Nacional de España) contains al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham's astronomical treatise, translated by an unknown author. After a detailed study, the author praises Ptolemy's opinions above all others:

*Omnis igitur motus omnium partium mundi, secundum quod intelleximus ex magno studio, secundum opiniones et considerationes quadriualium, et quidquid inuenitur per inductionem, et secundum quod peruenit inquisitio studentium in ista arte, et precipue Ptolomei [...].*⁵²

At the beginning of the *Tractatus primus* of his translation of *Liber Ali Filii Achamet, in electionibus horarum*, Plato of Tivoli translates the author's opinion of the treatise on Ptolemy's work as follows:

Differentia I, an sint electiones utiles.

*Opera iudiciorum astrorum certa esse a Ptolomeo rege patenti ratione probatum est. Et ego quidem addidi quasdam probationes in libro meo, dum uerba Ptolomei exponerem. Huius ergo partem sapientie, scilicet, electionum utilem esse necesse est, si concesseramus ipsum opus uerum esse.*⁵³

In conclusion, the Middle Ages cultivated Ptolemy's memory. He was recalled as an author *sapientissimus* and *summus* in his science, *inter omnes precipue Ptolomeus hac claruit disciplina* or *uir in scientia stellarum peritissimus*,⁵⁴ and *ille astrologorum maximus Ptolomeus*, exalted by legend as King of Egypt and Alexandria. His work, and above all the *Almagest*, was considered the greatest scientific achievement of Antiquity, and the translators of Arabic science made great efforts to find it and to translate it into Latin.

51. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Las traducciones...*: 193.

52. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Las traducciones...*: 311.

53. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Las traducciones...*: 328-329 (Appendix V. *Tratado astrológico de 'Alibén Ahmad al-'Imrānī, según la traducción latina de R. Abraham bar Hiyya y Platón de Tivoli*, Ms. 10009, Biblioteca Nacional de España. f. 23v); *iubet rex Ptolomeus*. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. *Assaig d'Història...*: 322.

54. Also in Lemay, Richard, "De la Scolastique..." 434. *Nec enim tuum latet acumen quod omni sapienti liquet, numerorum mensurarumque scientiam ad eam que astrorum quasi quandam introductionis prestruere pontem. Huius uero partem que siderum motus speculatur ueterum lima, speculum modernorum Claudius Ptolomeus astrorum scientie peritissimus XIII perscripsit libris qui a Grecis quidem Mathematica seu Megisti Sintaxis, a Sarracenis uero Almagesti corrupto nomine appellatur.*



EXSILIUM HOMINUM IGNORANTIA EST. HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

During the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis wrote a number of encyclopaedic works. In *Imago mundi* (circa 1110) he presents the system of the cosmos based on the traditional authorities of the early Middle Ages. By contrast, in *De animae exsilio et patria* (circa 1140), he proposes an updated educational curriculum for his time, influenced greatly by the arrival of the Greco-Arab knowledge in Europe. An analysis of these works reveals the evolution of Honorius' thinking, with two particular points of interest emerging: 1) that Honorius, rather than reacting to the twelfth century Renaissance, in fact contributed to it through his divulgation works, and 2) that new knowledge was already beginning to spread across the Holy Roman Empire during the first half of the century.¹

KEYWORDS

Honorius Augustodunensis, 12th century Renaissance, Liberal arts, Holy Roman Empire, Encyclopaedism.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Honorius Augustodunensis, Duodecimi saeculi renovatio, artes liberales, Sacrum Romanum Imperium, encyclopaedismus.

1. Introduction

From the final 30 years of the eleventh century onwards, a large-scale philosophical and scientific movement began to emerge in Western Europe, which has come to be considered a 'Renaissance'. Driven by a new, less allegorical and symbolic view of nature, medieval knowledge experienced renewal across a wide range of disciplines related to the material world.² The new thinkers or 'intellectuals' played an important role in this renewal process, which would culminate in the incorporation of the complete works of Aristotle during the thirteenth century.³ These masters dedicated themselves to learning, abandoning the cloisters for the increasingly developed urban centres of scholarship.⁴ The boldest set out in search of new knowledge and debate, travelling to the Iberian Peninsula, the south of Italy and other centres dotted around the Mediterranean, where disciplines concerning the natural world were thriving under Arab influence. A legion of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic translators⁵ produced and circulated a considerable number of ancient and modern treatises on natural philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

It is during this period that Honorius Augustodunensis is traditionally considered to have lived. One of the most enigmatic figures of the medieval West, he consciously concealed himself behind long-lasting anonymity.⁶ Although history is unclear as to his birthplace, his academic career, or whether he eventually became

1. This article is part of FONDECYT research project number 11160240, CONICYT, Government of Chile, entitled "Restoration of knowledge in the medieval West: the influence of encyclopaedism in twelfth century historical writing".

2. On the abundant bibliography that exists on this subject, some general works of especially useful are Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927 (foundational work, with an essential role in spreading the concept); Brooke, Christopher. *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969; Benson, Robert L.; Constable, Giles; Lanham, Carol D., dirs. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; Swanson, R.N. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1999; Verger, Jacques. *La Renaissance du XIIe siècle*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999. See also the essay of Le Goff, Jacques. "What did the Twelfth-Century Renaissance mean?", *The Medieval World*, Peter Linehan, ed. London: Routledge, 2001: 635-647.

3. For the limits of the paradigmatic change due to the introduction of Aristotelian physics in Europe, see Franklin-Brown, Mary. *Reading the World. Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012: 52-54. She shows well enough the survival of the symbolic tradition and its coexistence with the description of the properties of things, the core of the Aristotelian method.

4. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules de géants. Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Tallandier, 2006: 83-117. See also the classic work of Le Goff, Jacques. *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 1985 (published for the first time in 1957).

5. Martínez Gázquez, José. *The Attitude of the Medieval Latin Translators Towards the Arabic Science*. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016: 20. This author counts several dozen translators working actively on Arabic texts alone between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

6. A very good summary of the few things that we know about the life of Honorius in Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis: Inventaire critique". *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 38 (1986): 7-136, 39 (1987): 123-228, and 40 (1988): 129-190. See also Flint, Valerie. *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*. Aldershot: VARIORUM. Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1995.



a teacher,⁷ it is fairly certain that he settled in the south of the Holy Roman Empire (in Regensburg or its environs),⁸ and that he died sometime after 1156. He was a prolific writer, although, owing to his anonymity, the full extent of his production is yet to be established. However, some forty works on a variety of subjects can safely be attributed to him,⁹ including cosmographic and didactic texts that are highly representative of the encyclopaedic movement taking place in western Europe at the time. The present article will analyse two treatises that are of particular relevance to understanding Honorius' encyclopaedic thinking and the contribution he made to the cultural transformations of the time: *Imago mundi* and *De animae exsilio et patria*. Both have a clear divulgation tone, a feature common to all of his works.¹⁰

2. *Imago mundi*: structure and philosophical foundations

According to Elizabeth Keen, the *Imago mundi* is part of a broader work on the subject of the universe that also includes *De neocosmo* and *Clavis physicae*.¹¹ The first, written around 1102-1105,¹² is a slim volume of five chapters covering the six days of the creation. The second, dated 1110-1115,¹³ is a divulgative version of the *Periphyseon* (*De divisione naturae*) by John Scotus Eriugena (d. circa 877) and, as

7. It is possible that Honorius was of Irish origin. See Reynolds, Roger E. "Further Evidence for the Irish Origin of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Vivarium*, 7 (1969): 1-7. Based on the limited evidence available to us, we know that he moved around a great deal in his youth. He began his studies in England, where he may have attended classes with master Anselm of Canterbury, moving then to France as a student at one of the prestigious early twelfth century schools (for example, Paris, Chartres, or Laon). It seems unlikely that he became a master himself, and if he did, this would have been for a very short period. There is also uncertainty as to whether he spent time in Autun (Burgundy), although one contemporary document refers to him as *Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus*. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "De luminaribus ecclesiae", *Patrologia Cursus Completus*. Paris: J. P Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXII, col. 232B. However, there is no documented evidence of a secular school in Autun at that time, and the city's archives —kept in relatively good order— contain no mention of any of Honorius' works. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 172.

8. A large number of manuscripts of Honorius' works originate from this region, particularly from Regensburg and its environs: Würzburg, Gaming, Melk, St. Florian, Kremsmünster, Göttweig, Windberg and Lambach. See Sanford, Eva Matthews. "Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*". *Speculum*, 23 (1948): 398-399. Flint also links Honorius with Regensburg because of the tension between the reform of the Church in South Germany and the local monastic traditions. Flint, Valerie. "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Revue Bénédictine*, 87 (1977): 104-105.

9. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 40 (1988): 171.

10. Flint, Valerie. *Honorius Augustodunensis...* : 129.

11. Keen, Elizabeth. "Shifting horizons: the medieval compilation of knowledge as mirror of a changing world", *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Jason König, Greg Woolf, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 287.

12. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 38 (1986): 53.

13. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 152.



such, has a marked Neoplatonic and Augustinian tone.¹⁴ We will not enter into an analysis of these streams of philosophical thought, as rather than proposing his own natural philosophy, Honorius shares those put forward by the Carolingian thinker.¹⁵

It is generally considered that the *Imago mundi* was written at the beginning of the twelfth century, specifically around 1110.¹⁶ It takes the form of a three-volume encyclopaedia presenting the 'world system' and the 'book of nature', adopting the nomenclature of Bernard Ribémont,¹⁷ and dedicating a significant section to the subjects of computus and history. The first book is ordered according to the elements that make up the universe. First comes the element earth, where he describes the globe, climatic zones, inhabited areas, regions, and islands, as well as Hell, which is described as being a space located within the Earth itself.¹⁸ The description of the *orbis terrarum* or inhabited world follows the traditional principles of scholarly geography—most likely with the help of a map of the world—¹⁹ and passing from one region to the next from east to west, first around the northern hemisphere, and then around the southern. Honorius also refers to its inhabitants: men, monsters and beasts. He goes on to present the element water, where he covers the ocean, fresh and salt waters, marine phenomena, and aquatic animals. Thirdly, he describes the air, including the wind, the clouds, and atmospheric phenomena. He then proceeds with an analysis of fire, the lightest of the elements, wherein the heavenly bodies—the planets, fixed stars and constellations—reside, where celestial phenomena take place (shooting stars, comets, etc.) and from whence the signs of the zodiac exert their influence. He concludes with the Heaven of the angels, and finally the Heaven of God, or the heaven of heavens, *Cælum cælorum*.²⁰

14. For the influence of John Scotus Eriugena on Honorius Augustodunensis, see Crouse, Robert D. "A Twelfth Century Augustinian: Honorius Augustodunensis", *Congresso Internazionale su s. Agostino nel XVI Centenario della conversione. Roma, 15-20 settembre 1986*. Rome: Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum», 1987: III, 170 and 173; Crouse, Robert D. "Honorius Augustodunensis, Disciple of Anselm?", *Die Wirkungsgeschichte Anselms von Canterbury*, Helmut Kohlenberger, ed. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1975: 131-139.

15. We refer instead to the seminal work by d'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse. "Le cosmos symbolique au XIIe siècle". *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 28 (1953): 35-69, where the intellectual alignment, borrowings, and adaptations (including misinterpretations) made by Honorius from John Scotus' *De divisione naturae* are explained.

16. An overview of the work, including the sources used by Honorius in its composition, may be found in Flint, Valerie. "World history in the early twelfth century; the 'Imago Mundi' of Honorius Augustodunensis", *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, R.H. Davis, J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981: 211-238. The critical edition of *Imago mundi* can be found in Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago Mundi'". *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 49 (1982): 7-153.

17. Ribémont, Bernard. *La «Renaissance» du XIIe siècle et l'Encyclopédisme*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002: 13.

18. *Infernus ideo dicitur inferus quia inferius est positus. Sicut enim terra est in medio aere, ita est infernus in medio terræ*. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 66.

19. Gautier-Dalché, Patrick. "Maps in words. The descriptive logic of medieval geography, from the eighth to the twelfth century", *The Hereford World Map. Medieval World Maps and their Context*, Paul D.A. Harvey, ed. London: The British Library, 2006: 230-231.

20. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 92.



Book II is a summary of the treatise on computus which, for Honorius, while an eminently practical discipline, is also theoretical in the Pythagorean sense: numbers are the abstract reason of the universe. He therefore begins by saying: *Priori libello globum totius mundi oculis corporis representavimus, sequenti iam tempus in quo volvitur oculis cordis anteponamus*.²¹ There follows a study of time, its constituent parts (atoms, seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, years), phenomena relating to processes of transformation (seasons of the year, equinoxes, solstices, eclipses), the *climata*, and the reckoning of time and contemporary date systems, concluding with an overview of liturgical time.

Book III is the book of history, which is effectively a reconciliation of everything that has come before: it is in history that material beings and time come together. There is a degree of debate as to whether this book formed part of the original edition of *Imago mundi*,²² but what is certain is that it was added soon after, and that Honorius himself continued to alter it as he reviewed the different versions of the work, the last and most complete of which is dated 1152.²³ This book also has an encyclopaedic structure. It is a universal chronicle based on a mixed framework that distils the six ages of the world and positions the kingdoms as political units. As is standard in this type of text, the patriarchs and the kings of the Jewish people provide the central thread or main story for establishing the time-scales of the ancient kingdoms, including the Assyrians, Scythians, Egyptians, Arcadians, Edomites, Argives, Athenians, Amazons, Trojans, Thebans, Cretans, Mycenaean, Italics, Macedonians, Albanians, Babylonians, Persians, the Empire of Alexander the Great, the kingdoms of his successors, and the consuls of Rome and its emperors. Honorius then provides a list of Roman persecutions of Christians; in other words, a history of the early Church. The tenth persecution, beginning with the emperor Diocletian, allows him to follow the line of the emperors, piecing together European history as far as Conrad III of Germany, who ruled between 1138 and 1152.

The work as a whole is built on the foundation of the period's most canonical texts. Books I and II deal with cosmography and are influenced by the writings of Pliny the Elder, Solinus, Orosius, Macrobius, Isidore, Martianus Capella, Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Hyginus and numerous Fathers of the Church; writings which, in other words, were sacred by tradition. In fact, Honorius intended precisely this, declaring in the prologue to *Imago*: *Nichil autem in eo pono, nisi quod majorum commendat traditio*.²⁴ The same conservative approach to use of sources can be seen in Book

21. "In the first book we have witnessed, through the eyes of the body, the sphere of the whole universe. In the second, let us now expose with the eyes of the heart the time in which this exists". Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago*...": 92.

22. Garrigues, Marie-Odile, "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 38 (1986): 29, proposes that the historical portion of the *Imago mundi* did not initially form part of the encyclopaedia, and is the result of subsequent reflection. This would explain the inclusion of a second preface at the beginning of this book.

23. Being such a widespread work, the chronicle of Book III received numerous addenda, and the manuscripts offer versions of differing lengths. For further detail, see Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 42-43.

24. "I include nothing more than that which belongs to the tradition of the ancients". Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49.



III: the Bible, Orosius, the chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome, Isidore, Cassiodorus, Bede, Frutolf of Michelsberg, the *Historia Miscella* and Hermannus Contractus of Reichenau, the latter being used to piece together the history of the sixth age.²⁵ Ultimately, in the words of Valerie Flint, the work's editor, "there are no tremendous surprises; no Arabs, nothing particularly new. Neither in the contents of the three books nor in the materials from which he constructed them does Honorius seem to have been breaking fresh ground".²⁶

That said, the structure of Book I of the *Imago mundi* does present a certain peculiarity: the description of the cosmos is presented in ascending order, progressing from the Earth up to Heaven, or from the centre of the cosmic sphere outwards. This approach is far from commonplace: medieval encyclopaedias tend to follow the reverse order, i.e., beginning with God and descending to Man.²⁷ In a way, this ordering of the material represents a progression from the most solid and substantial to the most sublime and subtle, and is in stark contrast to his contemporary writers. William of Conches (d. 1154), author of the *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, a philosophical treatise on cosmology, presents the information by starting at the periphery and working in towards the most central and intimate. He begins with the notion of God, passes through the ether, and concludes with Man, the senses and the soul.²⁸ The same structure is present in the *De naturis rerum* by Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), which progresses from the most transcendental (God) to the most physical, passing through the elements of fire, air, water and earth.²⁹ The closest equivalent to the pattern adopted by Honorius is found in the *Quaestiones naturales* by Adelard of Bath (d. circa 1150), although the aim of this work was not to present a systematic representation of cosmology; rather, it posed problems and questions to do with understanding the functioning and interaction of the elements.³⁰

Similarly, the inversion of the traditional ascending order of the elements is an indication of how the *Imago* sought to distance itself from biblical commentaries and from the commentary on the Hexameron. Basing itself on the six-day creation story, this literary genre—which was very much in vogue during the twelfth

25. Flint, Valerie. "World history in the early twelfth century...": 213.

26. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 13. Notwithstanding this, the editor recognises the novelty of the way in which Honorius selects and uses his sources.

27. Hüe, Denis. "Structures et rhétoriques dans quelques textes encyclopédiques du Moyen Âge", *L'Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 312-313.

28. Ronca, Italo; Curr, Matthew, eds. *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy (Dragmaticon Philosophiae)*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.

29. Wright, Thomas, ed. *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo. With the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*. London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863. Book I concludes with the inhabitants of the air (an extensive description of all birds), and Book II opens with the theme of salt water. Following a description of the aquatic animals, it passes finally to the Earth: metals, plants, beasts and Man.

30. Burnett, Charles, ed. *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with his nephew, On the same and the different, Questions on natural science, and On birds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.



century— refers to the elements as the products of creation, following the biblical order from God to Man, and passing through the heavens, the waters and the Earth. However, a comparison made by Emmanuel Bain between the *Imago mundi* and the *De neocosmo* reveals the difference between the former, an encyclopaedic text concerned with the search for scientific answers to questions of nature, and the latter, a biblical commentary.³¹ In fact, Honorius makes almost no reference to the Bible in the *Imago mundi*,³² even in Book I, which deals with cosmology, one of the favourite subjects of commentaries on the book of Genesis. His justification lies in the fact that the sacred text employs allegorical language and, as such, does not constitute a scientific authority. Thus, as confirmed by Francesco Chiovaro, the way in which Honorius presents the material reflects his decision to substitute the customary hierarchical order for a more pedagogical form.³³

The *Imago mundi* is a divulgation encyclopaedia whose purpose is not to philosophise, but to bring knowledge to a broader public. It was this purpose which drove its impressive popularity at the time, as evidenced by the 100 or so surviving twelfth century manuscripts and the diversity of adaptations and translations into vernacular languages (French, Italian) from the thirteenth century onwards.³⁴ In short, it is a work which represents —and to a certain degree establishes, albeit at a very basic level— the encyclopaedic spirit of the twelfth century, both in the main features of its content and in its aims: nature is a reflection of the Creator, and the encyclopaedia is, in turn, a reflection of nature. Thus, the encyclopaedia becomes an instrument of salvation, in that it assists the soul in its ascension to its Creator.³⁵

31. Bain, Emmanuel. "Hexaemeron et encyclopédisme au XIIe siècle", *Encyclopédie. Formes de l'ambition encyclopédique dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Arnaud Zucker, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 174.

32. The few direct biblical references are in I, 2 (*De creatione mundi*), I, 5 (*De forma terre*), I, 37 (*De nominibus inferni*), I, 41 (*De voragine*) and II, 79 (*De saeculis*).

33. Chiovaro, Francesco. *L'Ymagine del mondo* (Firenze, Bibl. naz. cod. Palat. 703). Naples: Loffredo Editore, 1977: 25-26.

34. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 38 (1986): 27. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 18-20, counts only 42 twelfth century manuscripts, which even so is a considerable number. Among the adaptations, we can mention those of Peter of Beauvais (*La mappemonde*, 1184-1218), *La petite philosophie* (Anonymous, circa 1230), Gossuin of Metz (*Ymage du monde*, 1245), Perot de Garbelai (*Divisiones mundi*, circa 1300), and *Ymagine del mondo* (14th century). See Jostkleigrew, Georg. "L'espace entre tradition et innovation. La géographie symbolique du monde et son adaptation par Gossuin de Metz", *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations*, Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public, ed. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 372-374.

35. Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "El sentido del saber en la Escolástica medieval". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III. H.a Medieval*, 13 (2000): 424-425.



3. *De animae exsilio et patria*: the pedagogical nature of the new science³⁶

De animae exsilio et patria (1140?)³⁷ is perhaps the work through which the arrival of new ideas within twelfth century intellectual circles may be felt most strongly. The treatise tackles the problem of education in a similar manner to Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and Rabanus Maurus' *De clericum institutione*, taking the form of an allegorical journey inspired by the image of the *regio dissimilitudinis* developed by Augustine of Hippo.³⁸ On this journey, Honorius demonstrates his commitment to intellectual training and the cultivation of the disciplines,³⁹ ascribing value to each as necessary steps on the road to wisdom. At the same time, he proposes a curriculum to guide orderly advancement and avoid omissions. According to this logic, the worst of all evils is ignorance:

*Sicut populo Dei exsilium erat in Babylonia, Jerusalem vero patria, sic interioris hominis exsilium est ignorantia, patria autem sapientia. [...] De hoc exsilio ad patriam via est scientia, scientia enim in rebus physicis: sapientia vero consideratur in divinis. Per hanc viam gradiendum est non passibus corporis, sed affectibus cordis. Haec quippe via ducit ad patriam tendentes per decem artes, et libros sibi adhaerentes, et quasi per totidem civitates et villas sibi servientes.*⁴⁰

Thus, Honorius develops a curriculum leading to the highest peaks of knowledge, basing it on the framework of the liberal arts, but updating and expanding it to encompass ten disciplines —pictured by him as ten cities— and forming a solid proposal in the footsteps of Augustine of Hippo in *De doctrina christiana*:

36. For the use of the image of the 'road' and the 'pilgrimage', one of the favorite symbolisms of Honorius, see Crouse, Robert D. "Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as 'Via ad patriam'", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Âge. Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale (Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août - 2 septembre 1967. Montreal-Paris: Institut d'Études Médiévales-Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1969.*

37. Garrigues and R.D. Crouse agree on this date, based on Honorius' use of the *Topics* of Aristotle, a work that had recently been translated. See here other possible dates. According to Flint, this work was written after 1111 following the writing of the *De cognitione vitae*. Flint, Valerie. "The chronology of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Revue Bénédictine*, 82 (1972): 232-233.

38. Michel, Paul. "'Ignorantia exsilium hominis' Zu einem enzyklopädischen Traktat des Honorius Augustodunensis", *Strenarum lanx. Beiträge zur Philologie und Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Martin Graf, Christian Moser, eds. Zurich: Achijs, 2003: 121-122.

39. Raña, César. "Magistrorum lectio. Una lección en el siglo XII". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 17 (2010): 83.

40. "Just as God's people were exiled in Babylon from their homeland in Jerusalem, so the exile of man is in ignorance, and his homeland is wisdom. [...] The path that leads from exile to the homeland is science, because science concerns nature, and the focus of wisdom is the divine. It is not with physical steps that we make this journey, but through the power of the heart. For those who follow it, the path leads to their homeland, meandering through ten arts and the books that hold them, and, as it were, through the many other cities and towns that serve them". Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exsilio et patria*, 1. For this text, we used the Latin-Spanish edition by Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152): El exilio y la patria del alma, o sobre las artes". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 17 (2010): 171-179.



*Sic in huius mortalitatis vita peregrinantes a domino, si redire in patriam volumus ubi beati esse possimus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum, ut invisibilia dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciantur, hoc est ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus aeterna et spiritualia capiamus.*⁴¹

Thanks to a re-interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and the inclusion of the works of Aristotle,⁴² the liberal arts were undergoing a process of reconsideration and updating at the time, and this is evident in the works of a number of authors of the period, including Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), William of Conches (d. 1154), and Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154).⁴³ In Honorius' formulation, the disciplines are updated to meet the needs of the time; for example, rhetoric:

*hujus porta est civilis cura, iter vero tripartitum genus curarum, videlicet demonstrativum, deliberativum, iudiciale. In una parte hujus civitatis praesules Ecclesiae Decreta componunt, in altera reges et iudices edicta proponunt. Hinc synodalia promulgantur, inde forensia jura tractantur.*⁴⁴

It is a reference to one of the major phenomena of the time: the resurgence of Roman Law, and the appearance of Secular (common) and Canon Law, the latter being set down by the celebrated *Decretum* of Gratian (1140-1142).⁴⁵ However, this allusion is absent from the works of both William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor, despite the latter's apparently deep connection with Honorius evidenced by

41. "So in this mortal life we are like travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy we must use this world, not enjoy it, in order to discern 'the invisible attributes of God, which are understood through what has been made' or, in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things". Hippo, Augustine of. *De doctrina christiana*, ed. and transl. R.P.H. Green. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995: 16-17. See: 2 Cor. 5,6 and Rom. 1,20.

42. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental*. Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México: Paidós, 2002: 250-259. For the limits of the platonism in the twelfth century, see Lemoine, Michel; Picard-Parra, Clotilde, eds. *Théologie et cosmologie au XIIe siècle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004: XVII-XXI; they qualify it as *platonisme composite, incomplet, divers*.

43. Lértora, Celina. "El concepto y la clasificación de la ciencia en el Medioevo (ss. VI-XV)", *A ciência e a organização dos saberes na Idade Média*, Luis Alberto De Boni, ed. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000: 57-83. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules...*: 106, consider that Hugh of Saint Victor "understands the cultural evolution of his time". For the novel classification by Hugh, in particular to do with intellectual 'authorities', see Di Marco, Michele. "'Auctores' e 'auctoritas' nel 'Didascalicon' di Ugo di San Vittore", *Auctor et auctoritas in latini Medii Aevi litteris. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, Edoardo D'Angelo, Jan Ziolkowski, eds. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014: 303-20.

44. "Its door is a civil concern; its path addresses three types of cares, namely demonstrative, deliberative and judicial. On one side, the leaders of the Church compose the decrees, and on the other, the kings and judges propose the edicts. There, the decisions of the synod are made; here, regional law is enacted". Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 177. The origin of this distinction in three 'types of cares' is to be found in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, II, 1-4.

45. García y García, Antonio. "El renacimiento de la teoría y la práctica jurídicas. Siglo XII", *Renovación intelectual del occidente europeo (siglo XII)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra. Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1998: 99-118.



the presence of one of the oldest copies of *De animae* in the Abbey of Saint Victor during the twelfth century.⁴⁶

Dialectics is also brought up to date with the *Topics* of Aristotle which, although the name was well-known, had only recently been translated from the Greek by James of Venice in 1138.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, arithmetic saw the arrival of mathematics brought by the Arabs. Honorius makes reference to procedures and instruments belonging to this new knowledge, including the Sieve of Eratosthenes used to calculate prime numbers, and the abacus.⁴⁸ Although the latter was already known thanks to texts by Boethius and Gerbert of Aurillac (Sylvester II, d. 1003), it was not used in the teaching of arithmetic during the Early Middle Ages. Similarly, Isidore makes no mention of it in Book III of the *Etymologies*, which concerns mathematics.

For the study of geometry, Honorius evokes the authority of the Greek author Aratus,⁴⁹ whose work *Phaenomena* had been widely known in antiquity.⁵⁰ While knowledge of this work had reached the West thanks to a number of translations made by the Romans and an error-riddled Latin version from the seventh century, it was not traditionally included as a model in the educational *cursus*. There is no mention of this author by Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella, Rabanus Maurus or in the *Etymologies* of Isidore,⁵¹ and it is not until the end of the eleventh century and early in the twelfth that his work began once again to circulate in its entirety.⁵² That said, Aratus does not offer a description of the *orbis terrarum*, but as Scott Fitzgerald Johnson explains, Aratus and other cosmographers of antiquity did not make a categorical distinction between geography and cosmology⁵³ and, as such, their reflections served as a broad framework for various branches of knowledge. It

46. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 187.

47. Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exilio et patria*, 4. Cassiodorus had made reference to the *Topics* in its translation by Cicero (*Institutiones saecularium litterarum*, III), and there existed a *versio antiquior* ascribed to Boethius. Yet there was no mention of them prior to 1140. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 189.

48. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 177. As the editor explains, the Sieve of Eratosthenes *es un algoritmo, un procedimiento, para determinar todos los números primos hasta cierto número natural dado*. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 173, note 12.

49. *Sexta civitas est geometria, per quam inquiritur patria. In hac Aratus mappam mundi expandit, in qua Asiam, Africam, Europam ostendit* ("The sixth city by which the homeland is sought, is geometry. In it, Aratus explains the map of the world, which includes Asia, Africa and Europe"). Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 178.

50. Honorius mentions him in the *Summa totius* in reference to the time of king Ptolemy Philadelphus: *Ipso tempore in Egypto claruit Aratus et Eudoxus, astroscopi*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 43r.

51. Isidore does mention him in his work *De natura rerum*, XVII and XXXVIII, in the context of astronomy, but not related to the geography of the *orbis terrarum*.

52. Martin, Jean, ed. *Arati Phaenomena*. Firenze: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1956: xii-xvii. See also the excellent work of Martin, Jean. *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956.

53. Johnson, Scott Fitzgerald. *Literary Territories. Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016: 46.



is thus not unreasonable to view him as an authority on 'geometry', the discipline concerned with the precise measurement of the Earth.

In the city of astronomy, while he does mention the traditional authority of Hyginus, recognised for an astronomical treatise of the second century A.D., Honorius introduces the astrolabe for the study of the celestial sphere and the movement of the stars.⁵⁴ This instrument was known in Europe as a result of the works of the Scientist Pope Gerbert of Aurillac, who had studied at Vic, in Catalonia.⁵⁵ Honorius also makes reference to the authority of one Julius, a problematic name in terms of identification: *In hac Julius computum explicat, per quem annos saeculi per seriem regum enumerat*.⁵⁶ Both César Raña and Paul Michel identify him as Julius Caesar, reformer of the calendar in the year 46 B.C.⁵⁷ Honorius himself refers to the event in his work on universal history called *Summa totius*, identifying the Roman dictator as the inventor of the leap year.⁵⁸ However, the astronomical work of Julius Caesar had been lost a long time ago and had nothing to do with the series of kings.⁵⁹ Therefore, this Julius could also be Julius Firmicus Maternus (*floruit circa 335*), author of a major astrological treatise of importance during the eleventh century,⁶⁰ full of Stoic and Neoplatonic ideas.⁶¹ The work was read by Gerbert of Aurillac in the Iberian Peninsula and was already available in Germany and France during the first half of the twelfth century, as evidenced by its use by William of Conches in his *Philosophia mundi*.⁶² It is though unclear as to whether Honorius knew the work of Firmicus Maternus, as there is no mention of him in his *Summa totius*, despite claims made by Firmicus' editor, Pierre Monat.⁶³

A more logical explanation would be that the reference made by Honorius was to Julius Africanus (d. 240), the first Christian chronicler, who conducted a general

54. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 178.

55. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 241-43.

56. "In this discipline, Julius explains the calculation by which he counts the years of the century, based on successive kings". Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 178.

57. Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exsilio et patria*, 8. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 174, note 19. Michel, Paul. "Ignorantia exsiliium hominis' Zu einem...": 134, note 44.

58. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Summa totius: Iulius Cesar divinis humanisque rebus singulariter instructus bissestilis inventor rationis*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 68r.

59. Unless Honorius was referring to the *fasti consulares posteriores*, which begins with the dictatorship of Caesar and are conserved in the manuscript tradition of Holy Roman Empire. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 3416, ff. 15r-24v.

60. Judging by the extant manuscripts of his work. See Kroll, Wilhelm; Skutsch, Franz; Ziegler, Konrat, eds. *Iulii Firmici Materni, Matheseos libri VIII*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1968: II, v-x. See also the problems on computus and the reckoning of time in *Matheseos*, II, 26-28. The author was known above all for his conversion to Christianity and a polemic text denouncing pagans (*De errore profanarum religionum*). He was not employed in the study of astronomy until the eleventh century.

61. Zucker, Arnaud, ed. *L'encyclopédie du ciel*. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2016: 864.

62. William of Conches, *Philosophia mundi*, II, 3, § 10. Conches, William of. *Philosophia*, ed. Gregor Maurach. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1980: 44.

63. Monat, Pierre, ed. *Firmicus Maternus. Mathesis*. Paris: Le Belles Lettres, 2002: 1, 25. In fact, the editor was misled by the error made in the *Patrologia Latina* which, in Volume 172, attributes the *Philosophia mundi* to Honorius Augustodunensis.



recount of time since the creation of the world based on the lines of governors.⁶⁴ Although Julius Africanus was not engaged in the discipline of astronomy—at least as far as we can gather from the incomplete set of works ascribed to him—the science of the stars was inextricably linked to the discipline of time, particularly since the Carolingian Renaissance. This is demonstrated by Bernard Ribémont⁶⁵ and confirmed both in a large number of encyclopaedias and in Honorius' own *Imago mundi*.

Up to this point, Honorius has been following the traditional configuration of the seven liberal arts, updating and renewing their content. A more significant innovation, however, is his incorporation of three additional disciplines considered by him to be necessary to achieve the goal of wisdom. These are *physica*, *mechanica* and *oeconomica*, all of which combine both speculative and practical knowledge. The first relates to *vires et naturas herbarum, arborum, lapidum, animalium; et per medelam corporum deducit ad medelam animarum*.⁶⁶ Although this idea was inspired by Isidore of Seville, for whom medicine is a “second philosophy” (the first concerning the soul, the second the body),⁶⁷ this re-evaluation of medicine goes hand in hand with the cultural renewal taking place, where the disciplines of nature were undergoing great advances. Honorius, therefore, invokes the authority of Hippocrates, the great master of this discipline, a part of whose work had been translated in Italy from the Arabic by Constantinus Africanus at the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁸ *Mechanica* deals with knowledge related to manual work: metals, wood, textiles, the plastic arts, etc. In the absence of classical authors to cite as references, Honorius resorts to models taken from the Bible: Noah (builder of the Ark), Nimrod (architect of the Tower of Babel) and Solomon (creator of the Temple of Jerusalem). The last city is *Oeconomica*, which *disponit regna et dignitates, haec distinguit officia et ordines*.⁶⁹ In other words, the discipline concerns the political, economic and social dimensions of administration of public issues: in essence, the art of governing. The manuscript

64. Aurell, Jaume; Balmaceda, Catalina; Burke, Peter; Soza, Felipe. *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico*. Madrid: Akal, 2013: 63. Julius Africanus was a well known historical writer. In the *Summa totius*, Honorius points out the following notice: *Hucusque divina scriptura temporum seriem continet. Apud Iudeos vero quae postea gesta sint, de libro Machabeorum et Iosephi atque Africani scriptis exhibentur. Qui deinceps universam hystoriam usque ad romana tempora persecuti sunt. Equidem Africanus in.v. temporum volumine, huius temporis ita meminit*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 33v.

65. Ribémont, Bernard. *La «Renaissance» du XIIe siècle...*: 85. The great authorities of the Early Middle Ages, such as Bede and Isidore, had also written their own *De natura rerum* where they dealt with time, the calendar, astronomy and cosmography. See also: García Avilés, Alejandro. *El tiempo y los astros. Arte, ciencia y religión en la Alta Edad Media*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2001: 47-51.

66. “The power and nature of herbs, of plants, of stones, of animals; and by the healing of the body, so may the soul also be healed”. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...”: 178.

67. Codoñer, Carmen. “De l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Isidore de Séville”, *L’Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 31.

68. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 260-62. For the translation of texts in Italy and the influence of Arab culture in this region see Obrist, Barbara. “Twelfth-Century Cosmography, The ‘De Secretis Philosophiae’, and Māshā’allāh (attr. to), ‘Liber de orbe’”. *Traditio*, 67 (2012): 235-76.

69. “Gives order to the kingdoms and honours, distinguishing responsibilities and social ranks”. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...” 178.



concludes with theology and divine contemplation, the ultimate objective of the process and pinnacle of the pyramid of knowledge in the Middle Ages.⁷⁰

In proposing these updates, Honorius is doing nothing more than returning to the spirit of classical Roman encyclopaedism aimed at the education of the *vir bonus*, the honest citizen. As Pierre Grimal points out, among the representatives of this original encyclopaedic thinking we find Cato the Elder, Varro and Celsus, all of whom considered medicine and knowledge of certain practical subjects to be fundamental to the formation of citizens.⁷¹ Varro (d. 27 B.C.) was a model of erudition in the ancient world and perhaps the first “western” encyclopaedist. While influenced strongly by the prodigious work of Cato, in his *Disciplinarum libri IX* he identified nine subjects that would form a comprehensive education, including medicine and architecture.⁷² This standard model would be replaced much later by the seven liberal arts.⁷³ In a way, Honorius aimed to re-establish this original curriculum, a purpose that went hand in hand with the reconsideration of the notion that the practical disciplines (no longer simply the theoretical study of nature) are an essential part of a deep intellectual education, and must therefore be incorporated in some form into the educational *cursus*.

This attitude is depicted wonderfully in a satirical poem dating back to the time of Honorius, entitled *Apocalypse of bishop Golias*, which has been attributed variously to Alain of Lille (d. 1202), Walter of Châtillon (d. 1180), Walter Map (d. circa 1210) and others (the only certainty being that it was written either in French or English).⁷⁴ Just as in the book of Revelation, John is guided by an angel to gaze upon the multitude of the saved and the throne of the Lamb, so the protagonist of the poem is guided by Pythagoras, who accompanies him along the path of the speculative and practical arts, and teaches him of the many ancient scholars who dedicated their lives to them.

In fronte micuit ars astrologica, dencium seriem regit grammatica, in lingua pulcrius vernat rhetorica, concussis estuat in labris logica.

Est arismetica [sic] digitis socia, in cava musica ludit arteria, pallens in oculis stat geometria; quelibet arcium vernat vi propia.

70. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules...*: 16.

71. Grimal, Pierre. “Encyclopédies antiques”. *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale*, 9 fasc. 3 (1966): 470-77. Similarly, the Roman architect Vitruvius (d. circa 15 B.C.) gave thanks to his parents for having given him a holistic education—the *encyclos disciplina*—which for him encompassed both the philological (philosophical) and technical dimensions of knowledge. Gandillac, Maurice de. “Encyclopédies pré-médiévales et médiévales”. *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale*, 9 fasc. 3 (1966): 488.

72. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 185.

73. The establishment of the seven liberal arts was the result of the encyclopedia of Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, in the fifth century. Beyer de Ryke, Benoît. “Le miroir du monde: un parcours dans l’encyclopédisme médiéval”. *Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 81 fasc. 4 (2003): 1247.

74. Pejenaute Rubio, Francisco. “Una aproximación a la vida y a la obra de Gautier de Chatillon”. *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filología*, 39-40 (1989-1990): 401-02.



*Est ante ratio tocius ethice, in tergo scripte sunt artes mechanice. Qui totum explicans corpus pro codice volam exposuit et dixit: 'Respice'.*⁷⁵

According to Ernst Curtius, appealing to model characters to evoke the wisdom of antiquity was a literary *topos* employed throughout the Middle Ages, and it was not uncommon to find a pagan guide in those lands of knowledge.⁷⁶ In the poem, however, a mixture of traditional authorities and representatives of the new knowledge may be found among the ranks of scholars. Alongside Priscian, Cicero, Boethius, Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, Persius, Statius, Terence and Pythagoras himself, we find Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid and Hippocrates, authors whose works had begun to circulate around the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth.⁷⁷

Thus, as Marie-Odile Garrigues states,⁷⁸ Honorius distances himself from the German scholars and theologians of his era. While for some scholars, the twelfth century Renaissance appears not to have reached German lands, leaving them to continue along the previous century's line of progress,⁷⁹ the work of Honorius reflects on the contrary a link with the intellectual buoyancy of France. This is apparent not only in its similarities with the discussions of the liberal arts there (and in the similarity between the *De animae exsilio et patria* and the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of Saint Victor), but also because

*c'est d'ailleurs à Chartres et à Laon, mais aussi à Sens, Beauvais, Auxerre, Reims que les portails sont ornés non plus seulement des sept arts du trivium et du quadrivium, mais des dix cités d'Honorius, puisque l'on y trouve les métiers, la mécanique et l'économie.*⁸⁰

75. "On his forehead, the art of astrology shone, / grammar governed the rows of his teeth, / on his tongue, rhetoric flourished, / and on his agitated lips burned logic. / Arithmetic was the companion of his fingers, / music frolicked in his open throat, / pale geometry was in his eyes; / all of the arts bloomed with their own strength. / The reason of all ethics was written on his chest, / on his back the mechanical arts. / And presenting his whole body as though it were a book, / he offered me the palm of his hand, saying 'look'". *Die Apokalypse des Golias*, 4-6, ed. Karl Strecker. Rome-Leipzig: W. Regenberg, 1928: 16-17.

76. Curtius, Ernst. *Literatura europea y Edad Media latina*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995: II, 518-21. The best known is almost certainly Virgil, the guide in Dante Alighieri's *Divine comedy*.

77. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 260-62.

78. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.

79. Thomson, Rodney. "The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance", *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture. Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Alison I. Beach, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007: 22-23.

80. "It is in Chartres and in Laon, and also in Sens, Beauvais, Auxerre and Reims that portals are no longer adorned only with the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, but with the ten cities of Honorius, where we also find the trades, the mechanics and the economy". Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.



4. Conclusion: Honorius Augustodunensis and the new knowledge

Honorius Augustodunensis is a good example of the renewed appreciation of nature seen during the final decades of the eleventh century. Knowledge of nature is no longer solely the fruit of contemplation, but is increasingly the result of experience. The allegorical consideration of visible creation, by which the Creator's footprints may lead one towards discovery of the author of the universe, is enriched during the twelfth century by an incipient rational study bordering on 'naturalism'.⁸¹ Although Honorius did not develop his own natural philosophy as such,⁸² the new concept followed a more pedagogical path in terms of ascribing value to the disciplines of nature. For him, there is a clear distinction between wisdom and science. The former is the sublime result of philosophy and theology, while the latter is grounded in earthly reality; however, both dimensions are vital to intellectual development. Thus, the education proposed for scholars must combine in equal measure the speculative and practical disciplines, leaving no gaps.

His contemporary, Hugh of Saint Victor, advocates the same idea in his work *Didascalicon de studio legendi* (written prior to 1137), in which he proposes a complex system of study based on the fundamental distinction between the theoretical, practical, mechanical and logical sciences.⁸³ However, as it was true for the majority of thinkers during the period—followers, as they were, of Augustine of Hippo—Hugh shows concern and a defensive attitude with regard to the mechanical arts.⁸⁴ For his followers, the mechanical arts were inferior and concerned only with questions of rhetoric, having purely classificatory and encyclopaedic aspirations.⁸⁵ As such, the mechanical arts were no more than an 'illegitimate' and inconvenient distraction along the path up to the city of God; in short, a necessary evil.

This is not so for Honorius. For him, there is a portion of knowledge that cannot be satisfied through speculative reflection, but must instead be applied, this second portion being just as necessary as the former. Conscious of the practical and pragmatic aims of teaching this knowledge, he illustrates it by incorporating the 'new sciences' into the curriculum. The author of the *De animae* considers these to be of value in themselves in the context of education, and says so in his many works. In fact, Honorius enriched his chronicle *Summa totius* with numerous references to the mechanical arts, for example in the section detailing the conquest of Egypt by the Persian emperor Cambyses, who destroyed a statue of Memnon which could

81. Raña, César. "Natura optima parens. La naturaleza en el siglo XII". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 16 (2009): 43-56.

82. In fact, Valerie Flint considers that Honorius exhibits a certain resistance towards the new knowledge, Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis...": 16-17. His orthodoxy does not, however, prevent him from referencing new authorities in his works, as covered earlier.

83. Lértora, Celina. "El concepto y la clasificación de la ciencia...": 66-67.

84. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques aux yeux de l'idéologie médiévale", *Les arts mécaniques au Moyen Âge*, Guy H. Allard; Serge Lusignan, eds. Montréal-Paris: Bellarmin-J. Vrin, 1982: 13-31.

85. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 21-22, and 22, note 35. However, Di Marco, Michele. "'Auctores' e 'auctoritas'...": 309-11, considers that among Hugh's novel contributions is his inclusion of *mechanica*, considering it to be of a "redeeming" nature along with the liberal arts.



sing thanks to the mechanical arts.⁸⁶ Similarly, in the entry for the year 768, he refers to the gift sent by the Persian king Aaron (Harun al-Rashid) to Charlemagne of a magnificent water-clock made thanks to the mechanical arts, whose hands indicated the time perfectly.⁸⁷ In the prologue of one of his other works, entitled *Summa gloria*, Honorius states that it is not science itself that is inconvenient, but the large number of ignorant individuals who proclaim in the name of science, knowing not of what they speak and becoming conceited before the masses.⁸⁸

As indicated by R.D. Crouse, Honorius took from John Scotus Eriugena the central idea that philosophy and the Holy Scriptures are not antagonistic, but in fact complement one another. Thus, while knowledge of earthly things is foundational in an instrumental sense, consideration of the details of visible creation is also one of the aspects of perfect divine contemplation.⁸⁹ He is therefore one of the few thinkers of the period to break with the notion that the mechanical arts perform a literary function alone —gaining a better understanding of the Bible, according to the counsel of Augustine of Hippo,⁹⁰ or growing one's vocabulary—⁹¹ realising that, rather than playing the role of the lascivious young woman who entertains reason and leads it astray from its true wife, the liberal arts, they in fact constitute a necessary step along the path to wisdom.⁹²

As an indirect testament to this, we may consider the manuscript found in the monastic library of Göttweig (Austria), number 14 (previously number 33). Folio 148v holds an inventory of 50 books donated during the twelfth century by one 'brother Henry'. Valerie Flint⁹³ identifies this man as Honorius, while Marie-Odile

86. *Kambises filius Cyri regnavit annis.viii. Qui devicta Egipto et usque Ethyopiam. cuncta eius religionem abominatus, ceremonias eius et templa deposuit. Destruxit etiam statuam [et Apin [sic]] Memmonis, arte mechanica [magica] canentem.* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 30v. The reference to *mechanica* as *magica* should not necessarily be taken as negative. In fact, Honorius' evaluation of the mages of antiquity is somewhat ambiguous. See, for example, the cases of Circe, Medea, Pythagoras and Hermes Trismegistus (ff. 11v, 12v, 13v, 16v, 28v, 29v and 31v).

87. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "Summa totius", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores. Scriptores in folio*, ed. Roger Wilmans. Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1852: X, 129: Aaron rex Persarum Karolo tentorium bissinum et pallia serica pretiosa et balsamum et elephantem, nec non et horologium ex auricalco arte mechanica mire compositum, in quo 12 horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem aereis pillulis quae completa hora decidebant...

88. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "Summa Gloria", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libelli de Lite imperatorum et pontificum*, ed. I. Dieterich. Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897: III, 63.

89. Crouse, Robert D. "Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as 'Via...': 537-538.

90. Hippo, Augustine of. *De doctrina christiana...*: 106-111. See Lindberg, David. "The Medieval Church Encounters the Classical Tradition: Saint Augustine, Roger Bacon, and the Handmaiden Metaphor", *When Science and Christianity Meet*, David Lindberg, Ronald Numbers, eds. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003: 12-16.

91. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 20-21.

92. On the subject of false etymology, a conjecture that was very much in vogue during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was that the *artes mechanicae* were derived from the Greek verb *mechanaomai* (to make machines), associated with *moechari* (to be adulterous). The idea was repeated incessantly by thinkers of the time. See Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 17-19.

93. Flint, Valerie. "Heinricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are they the same person?". *Revue Bénédictine*, 92 (1982): 148-158.



Garrigues⁹⁴ categorically refutes the association. The donation included many of the works written by Honorius, but what is also interesting is the number of other works covering the sciences and education that accompanied them.

In the inventory we find Plato's *Timaus*,⁹⁵ Theodulf of Orleans, a learned man of letters from the Carolingian Renaissance, to whom a treatise on geography called *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana* or *World Map of Theodulf* is attributed,⁹⁶ the treatises on music by Odo of Cluny, the work *De medicina praecepta* by Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, with a collection of extracts from Galen and Hippocrates, the treatise on the abacus by Garland, the rhetoric of Priscian, Abbo of Fleury (celebrated for his writings on astronomy, mathematics and computus), books of rhetoric and grammar, extracts from cosmographer Martianus Capella, a geographical poem by Dionysius Periegetes (this was commonly available in a Latin translation by Priscian, but whoever recorded the inventory boasted of having it in Greek, along with a study of the abacus and a treatise on computus), and various historical and didactic sketches.⁹⁷ The large collection of works focusing on the liberal arts and the 'new sciences' is of particular note, but more striking yet is the presence of the very same authorities and tools which Honorius cited in his *De animae exsilio et patria*, as well as the more traditional sources which he used to construct this work and the *Imago mundi*.⁹⁸ This reinforces the theory that the donor was indeed Honorius himself and, even if this is not the case, it does at least suggest a close association between the two people; the donation made by this brother Henry is a true reflection of Honorius' intellectual foundations, given his consideration of these works as the necessary instruments for comprehensive instruction.⁹⁹

94. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "Utrum Honorius ubique sit totus?". *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 35 (1983): 47-54.

95. In this case, the Latin translation by Calcidius. Crouse, Robert D. "'Hic sensilis mundus': Calcidius and Eriugena in Honorius Augustodunensis", *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought*, Haijo Jan Westra, ed. Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1992: 287.

96. Gautier-Dalché, Patrick. "Notes sur la «carte de Théodose II» et sur la «mappemonde de Théodulf d'Orléans»". *Geographia Antiqua*, 3-4 (1994-1995): 91-108.

97. *Anselmus, de libero arbitrio. Eucherius, de hebreis nominibus. Ysidorus breviter super totam bibliothecam. Item sententię Ysidori de utroque testamento. Thimeus Platonis. Bucolica Virgilii. Theodolus. Musica Odonis. Serenus, de medicina arte, in quo excerpta Bedę de Galliēno et Ypocrate. Abacus Gerlandi. Priscianus abbreviatus. Abbo, de regulis. Focas, de arte grammatica. Item libellus de penultimis. Libellus versuum, in quo vita Marię Eg[ipti]acę et novus Cato. Rhetorica Alcivini. Excerpta de Martiano. Priscianus constructionum, in quo et exemplar metrorum. Questiones diversę. Glosę diversę. Computus Dyonisii grece, in quo abacus et mappa mundi. Martyrologium, in quo diversę paginę computi. Rodale, in quo septem artes liberales depictę. Item rodale, in quo Troianum bellum depictum. Item rodale, in quo varia pictura. Item quaternio depictus.* Gottlieb, Theodor ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs. I. Band. Niederösterreich*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915: 12.

98. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis...": 14-17. The most important bases of cosmology in the *Imago mundi*, such as Bede, Isidore, Rabanus Maurus and Helperic, are not mentioned here. However, this is of little surprise given the common practice of the era of silencing primary sources. Flint, Valerie, "World history in the early twelfth century...": 212.

99. Almost none of these authors are mentioned in Honorius' catalogue of celebrated authors entitled *De luminaribus ecclesiae* which, as the name suggests, sought to identify authors concerned with ecclesiastical matters, most specifically theology. Book I covers Jerome, Book II Gennadius, and Book III Isidore of Seville, while Book IV contains his own contribution, providing a list of all of his works up to the reign of



Knowledge requires a well-constructed plan based both on biblical models and on the authorities of antiquity. This approach was typical of the twelfth century Renaissance and of encyclopaedic thinking in general, specifying a formative process involving historicism and *ligado inexorablemente a la memoria del pasado, a las res gestae*, in the words of Javier Vergara.¹⁰⁰ As Bernard Ribémont states in his definition of the genre, the encyclopaedia is a *locus memoriae* of knowledge.¹⁰¹ Thus the didactic and encyclopaedic work of Honorius Augustodunensis is the framework for an education based on the theory of refraction or catoptric knowledge. *Nomenque ei Imago Mundi indatur, eo quod dispositio totius orbis in eo quasi in speculo conspiciatur*,¹⁰² states Honorius in the prologue. It was from this concept that the term *imago* or *speculum* became common in the titles of works from the twelfth century onwards,¹⁰³ encapsulating *toda una programación pedagógica y gnoseológica de carácter catóptrico*.¹⁰⁴ The author's commitment to the communication of knowledge is similarly implied in the prologue, when he declares that he has compiled the treatise *ad instructionem itaque multorum quibus deest copia librorum*.¹⁰⁵

According to Michel de Boüard, during the Carolingian era, thinkers complained that the framework of the liberal arts did not allow for the broad development of encyclopaedic knowledge.¹⁰⁶ It is perhaps for this reason that in the twelfth century, when spirits had become more mature (and prior to the return of the natural philosophy of Aristotle), Honorius attempts to revise this tradition and open up the propaedeutics of the seven liberal arts, offering a broader grounding of knowledge with the support offered by natural sciences.

Thus the work of Honorius Augustodunensis should be considered as a standalone and integral system, 'programme of studies', or even 'ideal of humanism', as

Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor (d. 1125). See Augustodunensis, Honorius. "De luminaribus ecclesiae sive de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis libelli quatuor", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*. Paris: J.P. Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXII, col. 197-234.

100. "Tied inexorably to the memory of the past, to the *res gestae*". Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular en la Baja Edad Media. La teoría pedagógica del espejo medieval". *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 18 (2009): 305.

101. Ribémont, Bernard. "On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages", *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, Peter Binkley, ed. Leyden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1997: 53.

102. "The title *Imago mundi* was chosen because the whole world can be seen reflected in it, as in a mirror". Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*, Prologue. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49. This approach was deeply rooted in Holy Scripture and the patristic tradition, particularly the Pauline epistles: (1 Cor. 13:12-13: we see as in a mirror; Rom. 1:20: we see the invisible in the visible; 2 Cor. 3:18: we are the mirror which reflects the glory of the Lord). See also: Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 298-299.

103. Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 299-307.

104. "A whole catoptric pedagogical and gnoseological programme". Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 301.

105. "For the instruction of the many who lack the necessary books". Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*, Prologue. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49.

106. De Boüard, Michel. "Réflexions sur l'encyclopédisme médiéval", *L'Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 284.

Garrigues calls it,¹⁰⁷ as it expresses the spirit of the renewal of the notions of nature and teaching. It is also a dynamic system: a work in progress that begins in the early part of the century with the *Imago mundi*, but which he reprises and renews decades later with the writing of the *De animae exilio et patria*. Despite the gap between their composition, a reading of the two works together enables one to appreciate the consistency and evolution of Honorius' thinking. As noted previously, the structure of the encyclopaedia is far from being a simple repetition of a model, although the sources used are very traditional.¹⁰⁸ By contrast, the second work is interesting for its innovative pedagogical design and for proposing contemporary 'scientific' authorities. Honorius incorporates the advances of the century, and in doing so creates a medium which provides an ideal platform for innovation. If the thirteenth century may be dubbed the *belle époque de la philosophie naturelle*,¹⁰⁹ characterised, among other things, by its advancement beyond the context of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* thanks to the renewal of knowledge and the incorporation of disciplines such as alchemy, medicine and optics, then Honorius may be considered a key precursor with an original proposal, rather than a simple populariser. Furthermore, this reinforces the notion that the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, far from remaining distant from the intellectual progress of the first half of the twelfth century, received from early on, through Honorius, an intellectual influx from the major French schools such as Chartres, Laon and Paris.

107. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.

108. Aside from its structure, the German historian H.W. Goetz considers that the *Imago mundi* reflects the historical methodology of the era, based on the relationship between the elements of time, person, place and action, in accordance with the proposal by Hugh of Saint Victor. It is for this reason that the work includes one book covering the world and its constituent parts (place), one dealing with time, and a third addressing history (characters and actions). See Goetz, Hans Werner. "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, Gerd Althoff; Johannes Fried; Patrick Geary, eds. Washington D.C.-Cambridge: German Historical Institute-Cambridge University Press, 2002: 141-42.

109. Draelants, Isabelle. "Le «siècle de l'encyclopédisme»: conditions et critères de définition d'un genre", *Encyclopédire. Formes de l'ambition encyclopédique dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Arnaud Zucker, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 93.



'THE LORN LAND': A WINTER'S TALE

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to extract some sense of the genuine experience of peasant life in the north in the harsh winters of this climatic zone. What did the tillers of the land do in the frigid months from November to March? How did they cope with the inhospitable weather —blanketing snows, bitter cold, biting winds, and recurrent frosts that delayed the spring thaw, conditions that transformed the north country into a 'lorn land', a land lost, forsaken, wretched?

KEYWORDS

Agriculture, Peasants, Threshing, Butchering, Folktales.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Agricultura, Rustici, Limen, Carnificum, Fabulae.

One of the greatest English writers, Thomas Hardy, known best perhaps for his series of Wessex novels, of which *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* is a supreme achievement, was also an accomplished poet, one of the more accomplished of his or any period in English history. His poem 'Winter in Durnover Field', published in 1901, is a little gem.¹ Hardy introduces the poem and the setting with a bit of simple prose: "a wide stretch of fallow ground recently sown with wheat, and frozen to iron hardness. Three large birds walking about thereon, and wistfully eyeing the surface. Wind keen from north-east: sky a dull grey". It is a typical winter's scene in northern Europe, but the poet imagines the birds—a rook, a starling, and a pigeon—in a dialog. The form is that of a triolet, an English term borrowed from French and signifying in the words of the *Oxford English Dictionary* a poem of one "stanza of eight lines, constructed on two rhymes, in which the first line is repeated as the fourth and seventh, and the second as the eighth". The form apparently originated in France in the thirteenth century.² Triolets are like sonnets in that they came to be associated with a distinctive content: sonnets most frequently treat the joys and perils of love; triolets, on the contrary, typically evoke the vicissitudes or romance of the natural world, although the form has been employed for other purposes as well, such as the arousals of erotic love, satire, burlesque and the peace of religious meditation.³

In "Winter in Durnover Field" the rook begins the dialog.

Throughout the field I find no grain;
The cruel frost encrusts the cornland!

The starling replies.

Aye, patient pecking now is vain
Throughout the field, I find no grain.

Despairing, the rook laments.

No grain.

Whereupon the pigeon joins the conversation.

Nor will be, comrade, till it rain,
Or genial thawing loose the lorn land
Throughout the field.

1. *The Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Michael Irwin. Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1994: 136.

2. Cohen, Helen. *Lyric Forms from France: Their History and Their Use*. New York: Harcourt, 1922: 52.

3. Greene, Roland, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012: 1460; Cohen, Helen. *Lyric Forms from France...*: 63-65.



True to the poetic form, the rook brings the triolet to a close by repeating his desponding lament.

I find no grain:
The cruel frost encrusts the cornland!

The picture elicited by the poem is that of the aftermath of the autumnal planting of the winter wheat in the north, where, following initial below-ground growth stimulation, seed lies dormant for months until conditions suitable for fully realized germination recur and provide farmers with an early crop. The rhythm of medieval and early modern northern European agricultural life, the rhythm around wheat production in particular, is briefly summarized in the words of Allan Greer: “broad undivided expanses were typically devoted, in rotation, to spring wheat, winter wheat and fallow”.⁴ But what did the tillers of the land do in the frigid months of a medieval northern European winter? How did they cope with what Thomas Hardy calls the ‘cruel frosts’ and, one might add, the biting winds, the bitter cold, and the blanketing snows typical of the darkest months of the year, conditions that transformed the north country into a ‘lorn land’, a land lost, forsaken, wretched?

The answer is, first, that farmers labored hard in the winter months. Second, they told stories in the long evenings. And, third, they waited —often in much trepidation— for deliverance by the spring thaw. These are the three issues addressed in this essay —work, storytelling, and expectation. My purpose is to try, in a brief space, to elicit from our sources a sense of what northern European rustics in the heartland of the countryside —English peasants, or French or German or Baltic ones— toiled at in the winter months, told tales about, and feared most. This is a winter’s tale, one directly reflecting the lives and livelihood of more than ninety percent of the northern European population in the High Middle Ages.

1. Work

The first point that needs to be made about work amounts to a criticism of existing scholarship or, rather, of the syntheses that undertake to summarize it for non-specialists. Too often general books lament the burden of peasant labor in the northern climes without furnishing details, details that turn out to be crucial for understanding medieval life. It is true that such books acknowledge that rural women and girls, like their urban counterparts, continued to spin and weave in the short daylight hours of winter.⁵ But much more varied labor was going on in the

4. Greer, Allan. “Confusion on the Commons”. *Books & Ideas.net*. 8 December 2014. Collège de France. 21 September 2015 <<http://www.booksandideas.net/Confusion-on-the-Commons.html>>.

5. Bardsley, Sandy. *Women’s Roles in the Middle Ages*. Westport-London: Greenwood Press, 2007: 65-66; Spivey, Donna. “Evangelies des Quenouilles”, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, Margaret Schaus, ed. New York: Routledge, 2006: 266; Wiesner, Merry E. “Germanic Lands”, *Women and*



household and community. The toil of village and domestic life did not slow during this season —except on the lorn fields, a fact that may explain some workscape anomalies in medieval calendar representations.⁶ February, in particular, is usually illustrated symbolically with fishing, which is not a February labor in the north, but is inserted there in order to call to mind the Lenten season.⁷

The first subject to explore is work routines with respect to grains. One of the principal tasks facing the peasant in the autumn was dealing with the sheaves that had been harvested from the summer wheat crop and other cereals. The initial challenge was to estimate the amount of grain likely to be harvested. One could get a rough sense or might make a guess in the first instance of how good the yields (*responsiones*) would be from the appearance of the standing crops even before reaping began: did they appear to be generally healthy, and was there sufficient density for a bumper crop? However, it was not certain that this general sense would be borne out, for it was possible to be misled by appearances. Rather, a peasant had to examine parts of the harvested crop closely (*per mensuracionem granarii et examinacionem vt in visu*) and even perhaps sample it by threshing, which is to say, literally thrashing, a more or less random selection of the stacked sheaves to determine how much grain or seed had actually been produced on the plants that season.⁸

As pointed out, medieval calendar art is not always accurate about work cycles, the idealized scenes having sometimes been adopted from one regional manuscript tradition with different labor rhythms to another without emendation.⁹ But the calendars in making late autumn the threshing period accurately reflect the initial sample threshing and some other specialized threshing, as, for example, for milling and shipping to towns as well as for young seed corn to be sold in the marketplace.¹⁰ Thirteenth-century estate managers and commentators, like Walter of Henley and Robert Grosseteste, advised that the seeds planted should come in part from earlier harvests, in part from the most recent harvest, and in part purchased from seed

Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia, Margaret Schaus, ed. New York: Routledge, 2006: 320; Archer, Janice. "Home Manufacturing", *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, Margaret Schaus, ed. New York: Routledge, 2006: 374. See also: Mate, Mavis. *Women in Medieval English Society*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999: 56.

6. Mane, Perrine. *Calendriers et techniques agricoles (France-Italie, XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Paris: Le Sycomore, 1983: 140-243; Pearsall, Derek; Salter, Elizabeth. *Landscape and Seasons of the Medieval World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973: 119-60.

7. Mane, Perrine. "Images médiévales de la pêche en eau douce". *Journal des savants*, 3-4 (1991): 228-29; Mane, Perrine. *Calendriers et techniques agricoles...*: 140-54; Comet, Georges. "Les calendriers médiévaux, une représentation du monde". *Journal des savants*, 1 (1992): 53.

8. Harvey, Paul Dean Adshead. *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240-1400*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965: 55; Postles, David. "Manorial Accountancy of God's House, Southampton". *Archives*, 18 (1987): 38-39.

9. Comet, Georges. "Les calendriers médiévaux...": 35-98; Comet, Georges. *Le paysan et son outil: essai d'histoire technique des céréales (France, VIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1992: 504-22; Henisch, Bridget. "In Due Season: Farm Work in the Medieval Calendar Tradition", *Agriculture in the Middle Ages*, Del Sweeney, ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995: 314.

10. Collins, Marie; Davis, Virginia. *A Medieval Book of Seasons*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1990: 98-99.



marketed by other farmers, perhaps one-third from each source, which is not to say that this advice was always followed.¹¹ On the evidence of the sampling that farmers undertook and from the quality and quantity per field of the threshed grain for market, estate managers, village elders and individual householders made decisions about how much unthreshed grain to store for the winter so as not to put either their communities and their work and food-animals at risk, on the one hand, or to jeopardize the contribution of the harvest to the next two years' seed corn, on the other. In other words, despite the impression given by the illuminated calendars of the autumn months, a very large quantity of the harvests remained unthreshed and stowed away in barns as winter set in.

Why unthreshed? Nowadays threshing all harvested grain at once is regarded as a better preventative against spoilage, since the stems and the exterior of the seed casings may contain pathogens. But threshing on this scale implies that the grain itself can be dried quickly and effectively to prevent rot. During the growing season, medieval *preventative* methods, now richly documented by Jan Zadok, probably had a beneficial effect in lessening the natural contaminants in crops.¹² But even so, many remained in and on them. Mechanical drying has a strongly positive effect in inhibiting bacterial growth, but was not a widely available option in the Middle Ages, despite the existence of some drying ovens.¹³ Alternatively, sun drying might have done the job, but sun drying depends on exposing the grain to long periods of strong sunlight *and* on a low incidence and low intensity of evening damps and morning dews. Abundant moisture, on the contrary, promoted molds, mildews, rusts and other harmful fungal growths in growing plants and some harvested ones. In growing plants, for example, rusts—in particular, *Puccinia triticina*—notoriously reduced yields in wheat.

Medieval farmers in northern Europe were risk averse on these matters. True, they got their sheaves as dry as possible in the open air, teddering (raking) them while the sun shone and creating haystacks on ricks (*tassicali*) in fine weather, but then they gathered them into barns because of the danger of rain. There the farmers periodically turned the sheaves with rakes to continue the drying process. Village by-laws, expressing the collective will of the community, mandated these activities.¹⁴

In cases in which the summer and autumn estimates of yields were high, making northern rustics confident about the overall harvest, some of the young barley grain was set apart and converted to ale or, by the admixture of hops, to beer, which

11. Coss, Peter. *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society c. 1180-c.1280*. Cambridge (Mass.): Cambridge University Press, 1991: 101; Stern, Derek; Thornton, Christopher. *A Hertfordshire Demesne of Westminster Abbey: Profits, Productivity and Weather*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999: 31, note 39.

12. Zadok, Jan. *Crop Protection in Medieval Agriculture: Studies in Pre-Modern Organic Agriculture*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013.

13. Desai, Babasaheb B. *Seeds Handbook: Biology, Production, Processing, and Storage*. New York: Marcel Dekker, 2004: 74.

14. Ault, Warren. *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England: A Study of Village By-Laws*. London-New York: Allen and Unwin-Barnes and Noble, 1972: 25.



kept longer.¹⁵ But, to repeat, a large part of harvested sheaves of all cereals was put away into barns. And one of the fundamental work routines in the winter months was the regular periodic threshing of part of the sheaves, followed by its hand milling into flour.¹⁶ There was a rich vocabulary of this work, reflecting the physical experience of the task. The word threshing, as already remarked, is merely a form of the English word thrashing, meaning to beat hard, for the stalks had to be beaten hard so as to dislodge the grain from the seed pockets, which constituted the chaff (*die Spreu, la bal[l]e*). The German usage for threshing, *das Dreschen*, and the French, *le battage*, parallel English. Both signify being beaten.

The complementary word, ‘winnowing’, and its counterparts in French, *le vanner*, and the now archaic German, *das Worfeln*, evoke images, too. All these words go back to roots indicating the blowing of wind on or the shaking away of the chaff, for it was not simply the dislodging of the seeds that was necessary. On the contrary, the dry and very lightweight husks needed to be blown away and discarded or separated over a slatted threshing floor (*der Dreschboden, l’aire de battage*). Typically this was achieved in the pre-modern period either by shaking and blowing the threshed grain in a pan or by the use of winnowing forks, rakes, flails and fans (*der Dreschflegel, die Getreideschwinge, die Worfel; le fléau*) to toss and shake the grain and help whisk the chaff away.¹⁷

In the wintertime, all of this labor necessarily took place indoors and in carefully monitored conditions, carefully monitored because the chaff and the dust distributed in the air by the threshing and winnowing were highly flammable and, if ignited, could burst into roaring and consuming fire in a confined space.¹⁸ The image is a vivid one and has given Christians one of their most arresting images of hell. One need only recall John the Baptist’s awe-inspiring descriptions of Judgment Day in the Gospel of Matthew (3.12) and the Gospel of Luke (3.17): The Lord’s “fan [*ventilabrum* in the Vulgate] is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire” (AV). Thus, week after week the threshing and winnowing rooms were uncomfortably cold workplaces (one could not risk having warming fires in them), but they were even more dangerous for other reasons, arguing back from the present-day findings of the United Kingdom’s Health and Safety Executive (UKHSE).¹⁹ Every laborer

15. Adamson, Melitta. *Food in Medieval Times*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004: 48; Stone, David J. “The Consumption of Food Crops in Late Medieval England”, *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, Christopher M. Woolgar, Dale Sergeantson, Tony Waldron, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006: 11-22; Henisch, Bridget. *The Medieval Cook*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009: 69; Greville Pounds, Norman John. *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*. New York: Routledge 1994: 199.

16. Slicher van Bath, Bernard Hendrik. *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850*. London: E. Arnold, 1963: 70; Homans, George. *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*. New York: University of Michigan Library-Scholarly Publishing Office, 1975: 356-57.

17. Homans, George. *English Villagers...*: 356-57.

18. Cheremisinoff, Nicholas. “Appendix A: General Guidelines on Safe Work Practice”, *Dust Explosion and Fire Prevention Handbook: A Guide to Good Industry Practices*. Salem: Scrivener Publishing, 2014: 319-48.

19. “Grain Dust”. *Health and Safety Executive*. 18 September 2015 <<http://www.hse.gov.uk/agriculture/topics/grain-dust.htm>>.



even if lightly masked inhaled chaff dust. Eyes, nose and throat were irritated. Tears, sneezing and fits of coughing provided short-term relief, but frequent tearing up, sneezing and coughing were irritants in themselves, putting stress on the lachrymal glands, nasal passages, and the throat and lungs. Seed cases also caused discomfort by getting into the hair, when the head covering slipped, and also under clothing, resulting in the chafing of the scalp and body skin. At their worst—in its chronic form—the harm to the pulmonary system from doing the work of indoor threshing and winnowing can be devastating. The condition is known today as farmer’s lung. It can severely disable and occasionally cause death. Although threshing in enclosed spaces over long periods aggravated other problems that commenced, according to the UKHSE, with “harvesting, drying, handling, [and] storage”, threshing and winnowing were particularly problematic in the Middle Ages because the longer the grain was stored, the more likely it was to accrue new contaminants, like “bacteria, endotoxin, fungal spores, insects and insect debris,” which polluted the air in the threshing rooms during the process.

The conditions I have described were miserable, but laborers probably did not appreciate the long-term consequences of repeated exposure for their health. And in any case, it was a great deal better to have some sheaves to thresh and winnow—and to suffer this routine with its attendant unpleasantness—than to have no granary work to do in the short days of the frigid northern winters and come face to face with the specter of starvation. The grain itself which was accumulated from the process was freer of contaminants than the discarded chaff, and many contaminants that still adhered to the grain floated to the top when the latter was rinsed. Cooking also killed or disabled many residual natural contaminants, like the mycotoxins produced by fungi, though by no means all of them.²⁰

Grain may very well have been the chief concern in work routines, but animals were a close second. The early winter was first a time of slaughter, but not in the sense of large proportions of flocks or herds. And even the measured slaughtering of early winter was reduced thereafter. Indeed, to a certain extent slaughtering helped preserve the majority of the flock and herd animals. The slaughter of sheep, swine and cattle that were injured or too old to likely survive the enclosed spaces of the winter as well as the slaughter of excessive numbers of livestock for which there was insufficient space was necessary and intense business.²¹ First, the animal was stunned, usually by a blow with a cudgel to the head, rendering it docile.²² Then, the throat was slit.²³ The blood that flowed from the wounds made to the great arteries and veins that had once taken the life fluid from head to heart and back again was reserved for use in cooking, especially in the making of sausage from

20. Bosco, Francesca; Mollea, Chiara. “Mycotoxins in Food”, *Food Industrial Processes. Methods and Equipment*, Benjamin Valdez, ed. Rijeka: InTech, 2012: 169-170 <<http://www.intechopen.com/books/food-industrial-processes-methods-and-equipment>> (Consulted 23th December 2015).

21. Homans, George. *English Villagers...*: 356; Slicher van Bath, Bernard Hendrik. *The Agrarian History...*: 182 and 297.

22. Brears, Peter. *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England*. Totnes: Prospect books, 2008: 164.

23. Brears, Peter. *Cooking and Dining...*: 164.



the offal and organ meats.²⁴ Immersing the dead animals or their skinned pelts in scalding water helped loosen the bristles, which had various uses. Or, in the case of inferior bristles the carcass might be lightly singed to destroy them. There is a classic description of traditional practices in Henry Stephens's *Book of the Farm*.²⁵ The hides were retained, when they were good, and were outsourced after the butchering to the village tanner for transformation into leather, which itself became work aprons (girdles), harness, shoes, and the like.²⁶ By-products had a future in being rendered into glue.²⁷

Eviscerating carcasses to recover organ meats and discard wastes in the lower alimentary canal was foul business. Disarticulating the carcasses thereafter was also a messy affair and required a good working knowledge, as butchers still have, of where best to find the weakness in the joints. The big pieces of the beasts' flesh and bone were then dried—sometimes by pressing, sometimes by salting, sometimes by smoking in smoke houses for preservation.²⁸ Men did the heavy work of hanging the loins, butts and shoulder pieces from the roofs of the smoke houses so that vermin and farm dogs could not get at them.

Men and women kept the smoky fires going—and closely contained—to facilitate the curing process.²⁹ The outer surfaces of hams and slabs of bacon wrinkled and contracted over time, and though mold could and often did grow on the rind, it did little or no damage to the preserved flesh and fat within and in some cases improved flavor.³⁰ Only recently have food scientists become more suspicious of the effect of the molds' toxicity.³¹ In any case, like beef jerky, which people still snack on today, what one might call the shelf life of cured meats was enormous and provided welcome variety for the otherwise grain-based winter diet. Such variety was enhanced by preserved root vegetables, like turnips, and fruits, especially apples. Healthy cabbages were also harvested and then reburied—shallow and upside down—at the onset of winter.³² Every once in a while a head of cabbage was dug

24. Davidson, Alan; Jaine, Tom, eds. "Blood Sausages". *The Oxford Companion to Food*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014 <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199677337.001.0001/acref-9780199677337-e-0268?rskey=hi6fvO&result=1>> (Consulted 23rd December 2015).

25. Stephens, Henry. *Book of the Farm: Detailing the Labours of the Farmer, Farm-Steward, Ploughman, Shepherd, Hedger, Cattle-Man, Field-Worker and Dairy-Maid*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and sons, 1844: II, 238-39.

26. Burns, Claire. "The Tanning Industry of Medieval Britain". *CJA Anthrojournal*. 15 June 2012. The Collegiate Journal of Anthropology. 23 December 2015 <<http://anthrojournal.com/issue/october-2011/article/the-tanning-industry-of-medieval-britain>>.

27. Blair, John; Ramsay, Nigel. *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991: 304.

28. Laurioux, Bruno. *Manger au moyen âge: pratiques et discours alimentaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. Paris: Persee, 2002: 79-80; Newman, Paul. *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2001: 5.

29. Bardsley, Sandy. *Women's Roles...* 65.

30. Toldrá, Fidel, ed. *Handbook of Meat Processing*. Ames: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010: 228 and 369.

31. Toldrá, Fidel, ed. *Handbook of Meat...*: 373-374.

32. Dembińska, Maria; Weaver, William. *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland: Rediscovering a Cuisine of the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999: 125. The technique was still widely used in the early twentieth century; Smith, G. E. "Late Cabbage". *Market Growers Journal*, 20 (1917): 464.



up for soup; the vegetable kept well in the earth throughout the season. Cabbages were thus the king of winter foods, especially for the poor, eaten sometimes “three or four times a day”, according to research concerning various regions carried out by Melitta Adamson, Bruno Laurioux, and others.³³ Apples after harvesting were either converted into cider, in regions where the trees were intensively cultivated, like Devonshire and Normandy, or they were carefully stored in dry places where they shriveled, without losing their flavor or utility for cooked compotes served in the winter months.³⁴ Pears and quinces had similar staying qualities and played a similar role in the rustics’ liquid diet (perry and quince-wine) and in their fruit compotes over the winter.³⁵

Animals, as noted, were slaughtered and preserved as part of late autumn and early winter’s work, in order to provide food through the cold season, to meet an otherwise “pent-up longing for meat”, in the memorable words of Bridget Henisch, one of the most prolific specialists on medieval foodways.³⁶ But throughout the winter men and women had to tend to the surviving penned-up animals which they wanted to survive the cold months.³⁷ These animals, cows and sheep in particular, but also horses and oxen (that is castrated bulls), entered barns and folds healthy, otherwise they would have been slaughtered, but keeping them healthy over the winter required considerable effort. Fodder was essential. Oats were preferred for horses.³⁸ But otherwise hay was “about the only good fodder for animals penned up in winter”.³⁹ Thus, hay and other less valued crops were stored in abundance to meet their needs, and, of course, the stalks of threshed sheaves contributed to the fodder supply regularly throughout the winter.⁴⁰ Young children could help feed the animals by keeping the mangers (*presepie*) full and the troughs supplied with water, but this too was mostly onerous labor, buckets of water being especially heavy, and so this task was ordinarily undertaken by adult men and women or at least adolescents.⁴¹

33. Adamson, Melitta. *Food in Medieval Times*...: 135; Laurioux, Bruno. *Manger au moyen âge*...: 61.

34. Adamson, Melitta. *Food in Medieval Times*...: 19; Davidson, Alan; Jaine, Tom, eds. “Apple”. *The Oxford Companion*... <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199677337.001.0001/acref-9780199677337-e-0081?rskey=vkSbch&result=1>> (Consulted 23th December 2015).

35. Henisch, Bridget. *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society*. University Park-London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976: 114; Brears, Peter. *Cooking and Dining*...: 105-07.

36. Henisch, Bridget. *Medieval Cook*...: 35.

37. Bardsley, Sandy. *Women’s Roles*...: 66; Mate, Mavis. *Women in Medieval*...: 3. See also various entries in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*: Hettinger, Madonna J. “Agriculture”; Hettinger, Madonna J. “Peasant Households”; Bitel, Lisa. “Legal Status”; Skinner, Patricia. “Peasant Women”; Bardsley, Sandra. “Peasant Women’s Work”. *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* Margaret Schaus, ed. New York: Routledge, 2006: 12, 381, 409, 417 and 642 respectively.

38. Langdon, John. “The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England”. *Agricultural History Review*, 30 (1982): 31-40; Pounds, Norman John Greville. *Economic History*...: 203; Cumo, Christopher. *Foods That Changed History: How Foods Shaped Civilization from the Ancient World to the Present*. Santa Barbara: Credo Reference, 2015: 240.

39. Ault, Warren. *Open-Field Farming*...: 25.

40. Langdon, John. “The Economics of Horses...”: 31-40.

41. Bardsley, Sandy. *Women’s Roles*...: 67; Mate, Marvis. *Women in Medieval*...: 3.



It was in part a matter of good fortune if livestock, penned up so close together, escaped communicable diseases, but at least winter was not the worst season, speaking in terms of the natural history of the relevant pathogens, for epizootics.⁴² Moreover, the fact that the animals tended to be standing on dirt surfaces in their barns and holding pens had genuine benefits. The manure was regularly collected and set aside in open-air dung heaps for future enrichment of the soil in gardens and small home fields.⁴³ The animals' urine soaked the dirt of the barn and pen floors where they were kept, turning it into a viscous muddy mire. Given the chemical composition of urine, its fermentation produces ammonia which is a natural anti-pathogen. That is to say, it kills a great many germs that otherwise cause diseases among the flocks and herds. This fact was reported as early as 1895 by the British chemist and Fellow of University College, London, Samuel Rideal, but pre-modern peasants enjoyed the benefits even lacking a lab scientist's explanation.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, nothing could forestall each and every pathogen from affecting wintering livestock, and disease did occasionally appear among the penned-up animals. If it did, men—usually men—had to act quickly to cull the infected beasts and burn their carcasses to stop the spread of the disease.

There was another type of winter work that a flourishing village in the core of medieval settlement, say, in the countryside of Champagne or Picardy, might require even in the thirteenth-century. But it was a kind of work, known as assarting, which was also more aggressively needed on the so-called frontiers of settlement further east along the Baltic coast and inland from the eastern Baltic.⁴⁵ Villages were growing in population in the core because of a century-long excess of births over deaths in the 1200s, and it was necessary sometimes to expand arable fields as a result. Immigrants to the frontiers had the same need of increasing arable, but more acutely, to provide for food or increase its supply. Wintertime witnessed one important phase of meeting these needs. Collective decisions taken many, many months before had their consequence in the winter. Those decisions, to create new or to expand old fields, meant that the big trees in potentially new arable were ring barked; peasants excised a circular belt of bark on the trunk of each one destined for felling and removal.

These cuts were just deep enough to sever the vessels that carried water and nutrients up the trees. The trees died. Equally important they began to dry out and to lose their tensile strength, thus requiring less force (manpower) to cause the wood to fracture. Months later, in wintertime, they were ready to be hewn. Hardy men, very hardy men, went out and undertook this brutally difficult work in the

42. Agrios, George. *Plant Pathology*. Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2005: 100-02.

43. For most of the information in this paragraph, see: Dyer, Christopher. "Sheepcotes: Evidence for Medieval Sheepfarming". *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995): 136-64.

44. Rideal, Samuel. *Disinfection and Disinfectants (an Introduction to the Study of), together with an Account of the Chemical Substances Used as Antiseptics and Preservatives*. London: Griffin, 1895: 109.

45. Most of the documentation for the assertions in this and the next two paragraphs is assembled in: Jordan, William Chester. *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996: 27-30, 91, 98-99 and 105.



cold. One should recall that it was in the north that the great hardwoods flourished—maple, elm, oak, beech, and the hardest of them all, ash. Even prepared as I have described, an ash tree was a formidable opponent. There is a reason that the ash tree figures so prominently in the lore of the north, although the Norse mythological world tree, Yggdrasil, popularly regarded as an ash, was a needle-bearing evergreen.⁴⁶ In any case, it was a daunting task to go out to woods after a big warm bowl of breakfast gruel and work toward bringing down an ash tree. It was endurance work for the axe-men.

When great ash trees and the other hardwoods were felled, it was but one step in the process of creating arable. The trunks were potential lumber and were easier to move over frozen ground than over the spongy ground of spring or through the woody shoots and heavy leaf cover of summer and autumn respectively. The limbs and branches that broke off in the crash of great hardwoods to earth or were lopped off by the woodsmen thereafter were gathered up, like the bark that was stripped, as firewood for peasant homesteads or for use in the smoke houses, where hardwood, which burned hotter and slower than softwood, was preferred. “Hardwoods (deciduous, broadleaved tree species)”, as the UK’s Biomass Energy Center reports, “tend to be denser than softwoods (evergreen, coniferous species). [...] Denser wood tends to burn for a longer period of time meaning fewer ‘top ups’ are required to keep a log stove burning for a given length of time”.⁴⁷ Women and older children joined with the men in the work of topping up the fuel and monitoring the fire. After an exhausting day of such labor—felling trees, stripping branches and bark, stacking wood so it could cure, feeding the fires with already seasoned logs and bark—nothing was better, one may be tempted to believe, than a pot of ale, some bread, and a hearty cabbage soup seasoned with a piece of smoked or salt pork all followed by an apple compote. At least farmers could put off trying to remove the stumps; this was easier in spring when the ground was softer and firewood could be placed at tree root level, where digging had given access, for a partial burning. The burning weakened the attachment of the stumps to the land, loosening them sufficiently for the draft animals that did the pulling for the final extrication.

46. Hageneder, Fred. *The Meaning of Trees: Botany, History, healing, Lore*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005: 105.

47. Rolls, Will. “Wood as fuel a guide to choosing and drying logs”, *Forestry Commission* <[http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/eng-woodfuel-woodasfuelguide.pdf/\\$FILE/eng-woodfuel-woodasfuelguide.pdf](http://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/eng-woodfuel-woodasfuelguide.pdf/$FILE/eng-woodfuel-woodasfuelguide.pdf)> (Consulted 28th December 2015).



2. Storytelling

Medieval illustrations from calendars depict many indoor scenes for the winter months, mostly related to work.⁴⁸ There is a noticeable absence, however, of scenes depicting women and children until the later Middle Ages and the onset of the plague cycle and its accompanying perceived labor shortages.⁴⁹ Yet, a great deal of what went on after the daily work routine came to an end in every winter was storytelling, in which, if medieval practice was similar to that of the early modern centuries, older women played a key role and from which children benefitted enormously.⁵⁰ Storytelling offered a way to recall the little domestic heroisms of the past and the quirkiness of one's ancestors. Stories provided cautionary tales for the children. And storytelling also—and repeatedly—emphasized justice and retribution for ills suffered at the hands and whims of the mighty, such as local lords, estate managers and millers. The indices of tale types and motifs, prepared and improved over many decades, provide support for all the foregoing statements.⁵¹ Less structured, but perhaps equally important was gossip, the kind of stories told to represent one's own family as superior to other families in a village or to represent one's own village as superior to nearby settlements or to discredit social enemies.⁵²

Thanks to the labor of early folklorists who collected many of the tales in the nineteenth century, before industrialization had wholly disrupted the pre-modern rhythms of rural life, current scholars are well informed about folktales. It is true that the study of folktales is fraught with challenges.⁵³ Old women interviewed in the nineteenth century were quite capable of doctoring a story for the benefit of the inquirer wanting to hear it and write it down. Our nineteenth-century sources are far removed from the stories told in the same region or village in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, it is not in the details that something of the tenor of pre-modern rural life is revealed, but in the overall themes. To mention just two: many folktales recovered in rural settlements in the nineteenth century emphasize the precariousness of the food supply over the winter season. Whether the concern is expressed through talking animals wondering where their next meal will come from, or by violence among men and animals, the theme is the same—where can more meat be had, where can more nice cabbages be found, from whom can

48. Mane, Perrine. *Calendriers et techniques...* : 94-99.

49. Mane, Perrine. *Calendriers et techniques...* : 99 and 135-36; Henisch, Bridget. "In Due Season"....: 326-30.

50. Haase, Donald, ed. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales*. 3 vols. Westport-London: Greenwood Press, 2008: II, 626; Spivey, Donna. "Evangiles des...": 266.

51. Aarne, Antti; Thompson, Stith. *The Types of the Folk Tale: a classification and bibliography*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1973; Thompson, Stith. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

52. The literature is extensive. One may begin with: Phillips, Susan. *Transforming Talk: The Problem with Gossip in Late Medieval England*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007; Wickham, Chris. "Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry". *Past and Present*, 160 (1998): 3-24.

53. For a succinct review of the history and challenges of the field, see: Haase, Donald, ed. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia...*: I, xxxiii-xxxix.



stored grain be stolen. There are moral underpinnings to the tales. For they, too, are cautionary: one must beware and vigilant against vermin— and also against bad men who would kill and steal if given the opportunity rather than labor and share.

A second pervasive theme is loneliness. Nothing seems worse in some of the folktales than to be alone in the wintertime or, more especially, to be alone *and old* in wintertime. Sometimes generous and talking animals enter the lonely household of an old woman, according to a tale, and comfort her with the warmth of their bodies, with food they have scavenged, and with companionship. But the cautionary note is present in these stories, too. Hearers of such tales are being reminded that they should live their lives so as not to come to such desperate straits. They should during all their lifetime cultivate close and affectionate ties with their neighbors and particularly their kin. Gossip, to be sure, sometimes ran at cross purposes with the moral thrust of the stories themed by loneliness. Or, perhaps, it is fairer to say, that they complement each other. The stories implore the listener to make and keep friends; gossip reminds him or her to make and keep the right kind of friends. In the end—in old age—the reward for such circumspection would be great: one would not need to rely on the miracle of sympathetic beasts for companionship or survival.

Good friendships with good neighbors represent a kind of egalitarian notion, although divisions among the peasantry based on wealth ranged fairly widely even in the prosperous thirteenth century; in the fourteenth century these divisions became more acute.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, despite internal peasant rivalries, a deeper and extensively documented well of resentment concentrated on those who had allegedly 'licit' power, the lords. A special case pertains to the communities suffering what scholars now call ethnic strife, that is to say, communities where the lords were understood to be of different stock than the peasants. Many villages in north central and northeastern Europe came under German and German-speaking lordship in the time of the *Drang nach dem Osten*, the movement of German migrants into Slavic and Baltic lands in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century, a movement that was certainly not always violent, but where there were plenty of instances of violence nonetheless.⁵⁵ In cases in which German lordship was successfully imposed and persisted for considerable time over native non-German speaking peasants, resentments festered.

How does one know? Thanks to the heroic efforts of investigators who have been collecting data for two hundred years, a vast array of proverbial sayings (*dainas*) about this lordship and the relations that followed from it in the eastern Baltic region is available for study.⁵⁶ The *dainas* are in effect the morals derived from the stories peasants were telling around the hearth in wintertime about lords

54. Jordan, William Chester. *From Servitude to Freedom: Manumission in the Sénonais in the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986: 9-10 and 98.

55. Urban, William. "The Wendish Princes and the 'Drang nach dem Osten'". *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 9 (1978): 225-244; Urban, William. *The Baltic Crusade*. Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994.

56. The observations on the *dainas* depend on: Ray, Maruta. "Recovering the Voice of the Oppressed: Master, Slave, and Serf in the Baltic Provinces". *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 34 (2003): 1-21.



who abused their power. Here, to borrow from the title of a fine essay by Maruta Ray, one comes close to “Recovering the Voice of the Oppressed”. One collection amounts to more than two million three hundred thousand such sayings, not all of which, of course, are about the social relations of production.⁵⁷ But the themes that are about these relations are what one expects —and offer a fitting transition to the third and last part of this paper on what peasants feared and resented. That the themes are unsurprising or might have been deduced logically from the very constitution of economic and political power on the frontier does not undermine the utility of having such massive documentation. It is actually, for a medievalist, quite comforting.

3. Fear

The manors and estates on which peasants worked were said over and over again in these sources to be a “locus of oppression”.⁵⁸ Serfdom brought disruption of families.⁵⁹ Servile —unfree— status brought shame on the bearers of the status.⁶⁰ Whether the shame was felt to be deserved (had peasants internalized the ideologies of the superordinate classes?) or undeserved (did they resist those ideologies?) are difficult questions. Probably, some did and others did not. Either way, the proverbs speak incessantly to the brutality of corporal punishment and the absence of legal redress in the frontier regions.⁶¹ They speak of helplessness in the face of seizures of property, of abuse of peasant women, of excessive child labor and of disabling work routines imposed by lords and, of course, the danger of food scarcity as so-called surpluses (so-called by the upper class) were appropriated by the seigneurial aristocracy.⁶² It is not to be expected that antagonism to lordship by peasants and the mercenary practices of lords was as intense in the core lands of Catholic Christendom as they were on the ethnically riven frontiers of Central and Eastern Europe. But in muted form, they were there, and, as the works of Gadi Algazi and Paul Freedman show (just to name two), the fourteenth century saw peasants and lords in agonistic relations in England, France and Flanders, not just far away on the Slavic and Baltic frontiers of Catholic Europe.⁶³ Stories told in peasant households during the long winters of the north constructed fantasies of retribution for ill-

57. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 2.

58. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 4-5.

59. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 5.

60. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 6.

61. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 6-7.

62. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 7-11.

63. Algazi, Gadi. “Pruning Peasants: Private War and Maintaining the Lord’s Peace in Late Medieval Germany”, *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, Esther Cohen, Mayke de Jong, eds. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000: 245-274; Freedman, Paul. *Images of the Medieval Peasant*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999: 133-173.



treatment at the hand of legal, economic and social superiors and were themselves, like the proverbial sayings, a form of psychic resistance in the eastern Baltic and elsewhere.⁶⁴

If tales emphasizing fear of the abuses of lordship were a staple of wintertime storytelling, there were other more elemental fears as well. I have already mentioned food shortages. Lords were not always or perhaps even usually responsible for the storage shortfalls that kept peasant barns from being full at winter’s onset. The slow steady consumption of reserves was inevitable, but it was calibrated with great care to the level of the reserves available at the start of the winter season. However, men and women grew ever more apprehensive when winter seemed to prolong itself and laugh to scorn their efforts to apportion their foodstuffs to last the duration. They knew that babies born when their mothers’ want was great had a lesser chance of survival.⁶⁵ Who did not hope and pray for an end to the storms bringing winter-like cold, snow and blustery winds? There is a reason village church bells were blessed and named. The ritual spoke to the desire that ringing them might serve as talismans against unseasonable weather or that seemingly abandoned cult sites might be sought out in the desire to appease the old gods of the Balto-Slavs under the same circumstances.⁶⁶ Peasants also dreaded epizootics, infrequent as their incidence was, and they dreaded their animals’ fodder running out, a factor that might induce villagers to put them out to pasture early, in a thaw, only to see them suffer from an icy change of weather that could decimate the herds and flocks.⁶⁷ There was indeed very much to fear.

4. Conclusion

And yet, how to conclude? None of what I have written is meant to imply that peasants of the north were typically consumed by fear or by obsessive and disabling hatred of lordship, except perhaps on the violence-prone frontier, or were bound to such laborious work routines in the long winters of the north as to lose all hope. True disasters, like famine, were rare in any village, although not unknown (1257,

64. Ray, Maruta. “Recovering the Voice...”: 12-16; Freedman, Paul. *Images of the Medieval...*: 177-235.

65. Newman, Paul. *Growing up in the Middle Ages*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2007: 20.

66. Leclercq-Marx, Jacqueline. “‘Vox dei clamat in tempestate’: à propos de l’iconographie des vents et d’un groupe d’inscriptions campanaires (IXe-XIIIe siècles)”. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 42 (1999): 185-187; Urtāns, Juris. “Latvian Sandstone Caves as Cultural Phenomena”. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 32 (2001): 96.

67. Jordan, William Chester. *Great Famine...*: 35-39; Jordan, William Chester. “Charms to Ward Off Sheep and Pig Murrain”, *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, Miri Rubin, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009: 67-75; Slavin, Philip. “Flogging a Dead Cow: Coping with Animal Panzootic on the Eve of the Black Death”, *Crises in Economic and Social History: A Comparative Perspective*, Alex T. Brown, Andy Burn, Rob Doherty, eds. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015: 120-122.



1315-1322).⁶⁸ Winter also was not a time of war; medieval armies ravaged the countryside and thus committed their atrocities in the warm sunny months, when they knew there was plenty of food to be had.⁶⁹ One would also do well to take the village church and local shrines seriously and the psychological and spiritual sustenance they provided to local folk.⁷⁰ Winter holiday festivals, like Christmas, had the potential of rescuing lonely people from their solitude.⁷¹ Those who could not or were not minded to take part, however, suffered even more and were further disabled by their loneliness. Moreover, even at the most festive times, of course, indeed always at the back of any northern peasant's mind in the winter, there remained that fundamental uncertainty already alluded to, as to when the winter season would finally end, when the winter wheat would send forth its shoots, when the earth could again be worked to yield its bounty, when the land would no longer be lorn, when the cycle of life would begin anew.

This essay began with a poem. Let it end with one, Thomas Carew's "The Spring", written around 1640, not quite medieval and assuredly not 'crude' rustic verse, but a few lines of which capture what many a peasant must have felt as the seasons shifted in late March or April. The very metaphors (linen robes, candy, cream, silver, crystal) intimate the Cockaigne hopes —utopia— the medieval "fantasy of the perfect life", that had only intensified among villagers as winter began to draw to its close.⁷² Thus, even winter, in a kind of ironic retrospective, could be remembered/imagined as foretelling Cockaigne.

Now that the winter's gone, the earth hath lost
Her snow-white robes, and now no more the frost
Candies the grass, or casts an icy cream
Upon the silver lake or crystal stream;
But the warm sun thaws the benumbed earth,
And makes it tender.⁷³

68. Keene, Derek. "Crisis Management in London's Food Supply, 1250-1500", *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Britnell*, Ben Dodds, Christian Liddy, eds. Woodbridge: Boydell et Brewer, 2011: 50-57; Jordan, William Chester. *Great Famine...*

69. Nicholson, Helen. *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe 300-1500*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004: 124.

70. French, Katherine. *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001: 175-207.

71. There is a wealth of material scattered through, Cosman, Madeleine. *Medieval Holidays and Festivals: A Calendar of Celebrations*. New York: Scribner, 1981.

72. Pleij, Herman. *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

73. Carew, Thomas. *The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Arthur Vincent. London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1899: 1.



CAPTIVES AT THE CONQUEST OF MALLORCA: SEPTEMBER 1229-JULY 1232

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ABSTRACT

The present article re-examines the chronicles on the conquest of Mallorca (1229-1232) in order to evaluate the role played by the taking of prisoners during military operations. The possibility of taking captive the population of the island, who had no means of escape, was an important incentive for the military forces involved in the campaign, as well as for the nobles who arrived on the island after the disbanding of the army that took the *madīna*. The sources demonstrate that all military operations revolved around the management of captive populations. Pacts which spared the local population, such as that signed with Xuaip, were exceptional and, ultimately, violated. The outcome of this process was the extinction of the local population.¹

KEYWORDS

Mallorca, Jaume I, conquest, captivity, slavery, booty.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Maiorica, Rex Iacobus Primus, Conquestio, Captivitas, Servitudo, Praeda.

...som los uns enemics dels altres, e garrejám e auciem los uns los altres, e som los uns catius dels altres; e per aytal guerra e mort e servitut es enpatxada la laor e la reverencia e la onor de que som tenguts a Deu tots los jorns de nostra vida.²

1. Introduction

The fact that no viable indigenous Muslim population remained in Mallorca after the conquest of the island by the Catalans in 1229 has been amply demonstrated by Ricard Soto.³ By 'viable population', we mean a social group which, despite having suffered military defeat and severe personal and material losses, and despite having been forcibly removed from their original settlements, managed to restore the essential conditions for survival and the social links necessary for its reproduction. No such survival occurred in Mallorca.⁴ Most historians have accepted the fact that the autochthonous population of Mayūrqa (Muslim Mallorca) was ultimately driven to extinction, even though this new paradigm has not yet been incorporated into general works and textbooks.⁵

1. Research group: *Agricultural Archaeology of the Middle Ages (ARAEM)*. This article was written within the framework of the project *Órdenes agrarios y conquistas ibéricas (siglos XII-XVI). Estudios desde la arqueología histórica* (HAR2017-82157-P), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, Spanish Government. I wish to thank Helena Kirchner, Félix Retamero, Antoni Virgili and the reviewers for their comments. I appreciate the accurate translation carried out by David J. Govantes-Edwards. Any remaining errors my sole responsibility. Used Abbreviations: ARM, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca.

2. "...difference and contrariety cause us to be enemies with one another and to be at war, death, and servitude prevent us from giving the praise, reverence, and honor we owe God every day of our life": Lull, Ramon. *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. Anthony Bonner. Palma: Patronat Ramon Llull, 1993: 207. Llull, Ramon. "The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men", *Doctor Illuminatus. A Ramon Llull Reader*, ed Anthony Bonner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985: 168.

3. Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230". *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 30 (1994): 167-206; Soto, Ricard. "¿Una oferta sin demanda? La esclavitud rural en Mallorca antes de la peste negra (ss. XIII-XIV)". *Historia Agraria*, 21 (2000): 11-31; Soto, Ricard. "Fronteres i colònies medievals: el regne de Mallorques". *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 43 (2001): 77-102. Jover, Gabriel; Mas, Antoni; Soto, Ricard. "Colonització feudal i esclavitud. Mallorca, 1230-1350". *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 52-53 (2006): 19-48. Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca y la creación de un mercado de esclavos", *Les esclavages en Méditerranée. Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, Fabienne P. Guillén; Salah Trabelsi, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012: 63-76.

4. Soto, Ricard. 'La conquesta de Mallorca...': 66. This contradicts the traditional thesis, which until recently remained unchallenged. Álvaro Santamaría was the main advocate of the idea that most of the Andalusí inhabitants of the island were first made captive, only to be baptised, enfranchised and absorbed by the Christian population some time later (Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca, 1230-1343*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma, 1990: 51-265). For a revision of these ideas, see Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins...": 179-180, note 50; and Soto, Ricard; Mas, Antoni. "Feudal colonisation and socio-ecological transition in Mayūrqa (Muslim Majorca) in the thirteenth century". *Continuity and Change*, 30/3 (2015): 341-366.

5. Antoni Furió also contributed to establish the fact that the conquered population had been reduced to a state of captivity (Furió, Antoni. "Esclaus i assalariats. La funció econòmica de l'esclavitud en la Península Ibèrica a la Baixa Edat Mitjana", *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana*,



In a similar vein, an article by Aurèlia Jené and various works by Jaume Sastre Moll have complemented Cosme Parpal's classic study on the impact of the conquest for the indigenous population of Manūrqa (Muslim Menorca) in 1287.⁶ The ideas presented in these works provided Ricard Soto's arguments concerning Mallorca with extra leverage. More recent works have addressed the issue in relation to the islands of Ibiza and Formentera, and the conclusions have been the same: the initial state of captivity⁷ led to the extinction of the local population.⁸ Referring to Menorca, the chronicler Ramon Muntaner already described the situation in no uncertain terms: the conquest was the *destruïció d'una nació de gent*.⁹

The resulting society was built, not without difficulty, on top of the material remains left by the indigenous population, and to a large extent using the labour of some of its members.¹⁰ Other captives, in contrast, were sold on the continental market. Ricard Soto mentions a sale contract that stipulated the delivery of some captives in Ceuta, where they were presumably ransomed.¹¹ What proportion of the population was exported is uncertain, owing to the limitations of the available evidence.¹² However, the later, and better documented, events in Menorca allow for

Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol; Josefina Mutgé i Vives, eds. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000: 19-38, especially 23). In a recent history of the Balearic Islands, Pau Cateura claimed that the last operations against the groups who had sought refuge in the mountain areas were 'the end of the Muslim presence in Mallorca' (Cateura Bennàsser, Pau. "La época de Jaume I (1230-1276)", *Historia de las Islas Baleares*, Jaume Gil, ed. Palma: El Mundo, El Día de Baleares, 2006: VI, 23). Mas Forners, Antoni. *Esclaus i catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV*. Palma: Lleonard Muntaner Editor, 2005: 153; Macaire, Pierre. *L'esclavage à Majorque au XV^e siècle*. Nîmes: Le plein des sens, 2012: 5. Mas Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa", *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2013: II, 403-439, especially 435.

6. Parpal Marquès, Cosme. "De la suerte de los moros de Menorca cuando la conquistó Alfonso III en 1286", *Escritos menorquines de Cosme Parpal y Marqués. Tomo Primero. Historia, Folclore y Arqueología*, Josep Maria Vidal Hernández, ed. Mahon: Editorial Al Thor, 1984: 35-49. Jené, Aurèlia. "La conquesta de Manūrqa el febrer de 1287". *Estudi General*, 5/6 (1986): 389-401. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "Notas sobre la población musulmana de Menorca (1287)", *V Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Les Illes Orientals d'al-Andalus i les seves relacions amb Sharq al-Andalus, Magrib i Europa cristiana (ss. VIII-XIII)*, Guillem Rosselló Bordoy, ed. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1987: 145-161. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "La salida de los musulmanes menorquines tras la conquista de la isla por Alfonso III (1287)". *Revista de Menorca: Ciencias, Artes y Letras*, 26 (1987): 475-505. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "Breves notas sobre el saqueo de Menorca tras la conquista de Alfonso III (1287)". *Meloussa* 2 (1991): 49-58.

7. Throughout the present article, "captive"/"slave", and "captivity"/"slavery" are used interchangeably.

8. Ferrer Abárzuza, Antoni. *Captius i senyors de captius a Eivissa. Una contribució al debat sobre l'esclavitud medieval (segles XIII-XVI)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2015.

9. "The destruction of a nation of people": Muntaner, Ramon. "Crònica", *Les quatre grans cròniques*, Ferran Soldevila ed. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1971: 821.

10. For the employment of captives in agriculture, see: Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 63-76.

11. Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 67.

12. Verlinden, Charles. *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Péninsule Ibérique-France*. Bruges: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, De Tempel, 1955: 252; quotes Brutails, Auguste. "Étude sur l'esclavage en Roussillon du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle". *Nouvelle Revue historique de Droit français et étranger*, 10 (1886): 9-10 as evidence for the exportation of captives from Mallorca to the Roussillon, but in fact Brutails only says that *ils durent abonder à la suite de la conquête de Majorque, en 1229*. Moreover, this statement is based on a single document—the will of Bernard de Berga, Bishop of Elna—which is, in addition, dated to 1259, many years after the events. In



some extrapolations to be made with regard to Mallorca and Ibiza. In Menorca, the king led the way to turning all that could be taken on the island into booty, and his written instructions are preserved in the chancellery documents held in the Archive of the Crown of Aragón.¹³ In addition, the discovery, in Barcelona and Marseilles, of ceramic types that imitate Andalusi shapes (which are well attested in Mallorca prior to the conquest), in contexts dated to the first half of the 13th century, suggests that certain type of professionally qualified captives —potters, in this case— were indeed being exported. The presence of these ceramic types has been interpreted as evidence for the settlement of Andalusi, Maghrebi or Oriental artisans in these cities.¹⁴

Álvaro Santamaría remarked that, between 1240 and 1258, the price of slaves “had a clear tendency to go up”,¹⁵ whereas Ricard Soto claims that, between 1242 and 1259, the number of export records for captives decreased while the first import records are now also attested. Soto associated this with “problems relating to the biological reproduction” of the autochthonous captives.¹⁶ The issue revolves around two factors of medieval slavery which have received but little attention to date: the service life and the life expectancy of slaves. In the plantation system established much later in the American colonies for the production of market crops, the service

1228, the *lezda* of Marseilles taxed every Saracen who entered the city, but no specific reference is made to captives. Bernardi, Philippe. “Esclaves et artisanat: une main d’oeuvre étrangère dans la Provence des XIII^e-XV^e siècles”, *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public*, 30^e congrès, ‘L’étranger au Moyen Âge’. Göttingen: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999: 89-90 <https://www.persee.fr/doc/shmes_1261-9078_2000_act_30_1_1761> (Consulted 25th November 2017); Méry, Louis; Guindon, F. *Histoire analytique et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du Corps et du Conseil de la Municipalité de Marseille depuis le X^{me} siècle jusqu’à nos jours*. Marseille: Typographie des hoirs Feissat Ainé et Demonchy, 1841: 366 <<https://archive.org/details/histoireanalyti01guingoog>> (Consulted 25th November 2017). Balard, Michel. *La Romanie Génoise (XII^e - début du XV^e siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1978: II, 785, argues that captives from Mallorca were taken to Genoa, but he offers no archival reference to support this claim; in his 1978 work, Balard directs the reader to Balard, Michel. “Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle”. *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 80/2 (1968): 627-680, which cites records dated to 1239 at the earliest. Olivia Remie Constable argues that there is a lacuna in the Genoese notarial records between 1200 and 1237, Constable, Olivia Remie. “Muslim Spain and Mediterranean slavery; medieval slave trade as an aspect of Muslim-Christian relations”, *Christendom and its discontents. Exclusion, persecution, and rebellion, 1000-1500*, Scott L. Waugh, Peter D. Diehl, eds. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1996: 264-284, especially 274, note 30. In relation to the progressive conquest of Valencia, Josep Torró detects *una incontestable activació del mercat d’esclaus andalusins* (“a clear activation of the market for Andalusi slaves”). Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 1999: 76-77.

13. Sastre Moll, Jaume. “Notas sobre la població...”; Sastre Moll, Jaume. “La salida de los musulmanes...”; Sastre Moll, Jaume. “Breves notas...”.

14. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, Julia. “Pisa arcaica i vaixel·la verda al segle XIII. L’inici de la producció de pisa decorada en verd i manganès a la ciutat de Barcelona”. *Quarhis*, 3 (2007): 138-158, especially 155. Martí, Javier. “Una manufactura a la búsqueda de paternidad. Apuntes sobre el inicio de la producción de cerámica decorada bajomedieval en el área valenciana y dentro del contexto del Mediterráneo nordoccidental”, *Atti XXX Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*. Florence: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1999: 195-206, especially 196. I wish to thank Mateu Riera for this reference.

15. *Una clara tendència al alza*. Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca...*: 145-146.

16. *Dificultats de reproducció biològica*. Soto, Ricard. “La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...”: 189.



life of slaves was 15 or 20 years, at most.¹⁷ Slave contingents were maintained by the addition of new numbers,¹⁸ rather than by biological reproduction through births, which only played a secondary role in the reproduction of the group;¹⁹ there were few family trees among slaves. Death, captivity and exile disintegrated the Andalusi society of Mayūrqa and the other islands. The conquests of Mallorca (1229-1232), Ibiza (1235) and Menorca (1287), are the clearest and most decisive historical caesuras ever experienced by the inhabitants of the archipelago.

In the present article, I argue that the possibility of turning people into wealth²⁰ made the population of Mayūrqa a major objective of the war.²¹ Greed for booty, especially human booty, was the main drive for the participants in the campaign, which lasted for over two years. There were, naturally, the king's reasons: the desire to increase his possessions and the strategic position of the islands. Yet, in order for his personal ambitions to succeed, the king needed to create a multi-layered structure of incentives, and the possibility of turning the local population into booty was the main incentive for the members of the army, as has been confirmed by multiple accounts. The complete extinction of the Andalusi population of Mayūrqa was a result of it being turned into a marketable commodity. The total destruction of the indigenous population is an exclusive trait of the conquest of the Balearic Islands.²² The pacts signed by Jaume I and the Andalusi population, if ever there was a will to abide by them, were not sufficient protection against the profitable

17. In this regard, "life expectancy" is understood as a synonym of "service life": that is, from the point of view of the slave owner. See Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage. Le ventre de fer et d'argent*. Paris: Quadrigue-Presses Universitaires de France, 1986: 19, 87-90. There is an English translation: Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropology of Slavery: The Belly of Iron and Silver*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986. Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *De l'esclavage au salariat. Economie historique du salariat bridé*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998 (There is an English translation: Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *From Slavery to Wage Labour*. Rome: Manifestolibri, 2002). *Los plantadores de las islas evaluaban el periodo de vida activa, y de vida sin más de los negros en una quincena de años de actividad en algunos escasos años de vida retirada* ("Plantation owners on the islands calculated the service life, which is to say life expectancy, of the black slaves at no more than 15 years"). Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *De la esclavitud al trabajo asalariado. Economía histórica del trabajo asalariado embridado*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2006: 321.

18. Bloch, Marc. "Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique (1)". *Annales, economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2/1 (1947): 30-44, especially 34; Bloch, Marc. "Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique (2)". *Annales, economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2/2 (1947): 161-170 <<https://www.persee.fr/collection/ahess>> (Consulted 25th November 2017); Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage...*

19. Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage...*: 285-301.

20. Torró, Josep. "De bona guerra. El ambiguo estatuto del cautivo musulmán en los países de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XII-XIII)", *El cuerpo derrotado: cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, María Isabel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 435-483.

21. Calderón Ortega, José Manuel; Díaz González, Francisco Javier. *Vae Victis: cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media hispánica*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012: 48.

22. *la conquesta no generó pactos* ("the conquest did not result in pacts"). Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 65; *la 'solución mallorquina' comportó, pues, un cautiverio generalizado y masivo de los andalusíes* ("in Mallorca, therefore, the conquest led to the wholesale captivity of the Andalusis"). Torró, Josep. "De bona guerra...": 447.



nature of the practice of capturing and selling Muslim slaves, regardless of whether they had signed a pact or not.²³

2. Walking booty: the captive population

In November 1229, the impending campaign against the island of Mallorca was advertised in France. The aim of the campaign, it was claimed, was to capture or scatter the enemy and to return this land to under God's protection and thus extend Christianity.²⁴ The final fate of the inhabitants of al-Andalus' Eastern Islands had been sealed long before, when one of the versions of the proclamation made by Urban II in Clermont in 1095 explicitly mentioned the Balearic Islands.²⁵ Barely a few hours after Jaume I and his host had set foot on the island, the Bishop of Barcelona blew the dust off these old pronouncements and called for the unity of those who wished to destroy the enemies of the true faith in the name of Jesus.²⁶ Years later, in 1235, while preparing the conquest of Ibiza and Formentera, Guillem de Montgrí, brother of Bernat de Santa Eugènia, Peter, prince of Portugal, and Nuno Sanç, Count of Roussillon, declared that the aim of the conquest was to take the land from the Saracens, to expel the infidel and to settle the islands with a community that was acceptable in God's eyes.

According to the *Llibre dels fets* ("Book of Deeds") and Bernat Desclot's chronicle, the *Cortes* that met late in 1228 debated and endorsed the conquest of Mallorca. Members of the aristocracy and the Church, as well as representatives of the different cities, named the conditions for their participation in the enterprise.²⁷ They requested that booty, both movable and *se movente* (literally, self-propelling,

23. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 1999: 77.

24. *ut captis hostibus vel dispersis, terra cultu divino reddatur ut funes taber(na)culorum ecclesie dilatentur*. Villanueva, Jaime. *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851: XXI, 252; *Arxiu Virtual Jaume I*. Universitat Jaume I, document No. 001362, 12th January 2018 <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/arxiu.php?noriginal=001362>>.

25. Christian attacks against the islands should not be interpreted as "precedents" for the conquest; see Barceló, Miquel. "Expedicions militars i projectes d'atac contra les Illes Orientals d'al-Andalus (*al jazā'ir al sharqīya li-l-Andalus*) abans de la conquesta catalana (1229)". *Estudi General*, 1 (1981): 99-107; also in Barceló, Miquel. *Sobre Mayurqa*. Palma: Museu de Mallorca, 1984: 59-75. For the text attributed to Urban II, see: *Hanc igitur nostri mundi portiunculam Turci et Saraceni bello premunt; jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis, quod reliquum est spe devorant, homines inertissimi, et qui, cominus pugnandi, fiduciam non habentes, fugax bellum diligunt*. Malmesbiriensis, Willelmi Monachi. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy. London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1840: II, 529.

26. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets del Rei en Jaume*, 2 vols., ed. Jordi Bruguera. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1991: II, 74-75 (chapter 62). For an English translation: Smith, Damian J.; Buffery, Helena. *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon. A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels Fets*. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.

27. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*, 5 vols., ed. Miquel Coll i Alentorn. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1949 (reprinted in 1987).



walking) must be proportional to the contribution of participants in the war effort.²⁸ In 1235, the aristocrats who led the conquest of Ibiza and Formentera agreed that all movable and *se movente* booty taken would be used to cover the costs of the campaign in terms of men and material.²⁹ By *se movente* booty they meant, no doubt, the indigenous population, who could be used to compensate for the money invested in men, ships, horses, equipment and food. That implies their reduction to captivity—their conversion into a commodity.

Given that the population figures for *madīnat Mayūrqa* (“city of Mallorca”) provided by the sources are rather implausible, various estimates have been made, which have yielded results between 14,000 and 50,000.³⁰ Most scholars agree on a figure around 20,000;³¹ Pau Cateura is rather conservative, estimating 15,000 inhabitants for the *madīna* and between 30,000 and 35,000 for the whole island.³² More recently, Antoni Mas has presented an even lower figure, calculating approximately 14,000 inhabitants for the *madīna*; the figure is the result of multiplying the known number of houses by four.³³ If the calculations are made on the basis of cultivated land, the population of Ibiza, with its known 170 hectares of irrigated land, could be estimated at no more than 3,000 people.³⁴ The *alfoz* of *madīnat Mayūrqa* was

28. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: II, 60-61 (chapter 50).

29. *de omnibus bonis mobilibus et semoventibus ibidem inventis et acquisitis*. Marí Cardona, Joan. *La conquesta catalana de 1235*. Ibiza: Patronato Josep Maria Quadrado-Institut d'Estudis Eivissencs, 1976: 25-26. See also Gregory IX's bull from 24 April 1235, in Pérez, Lorenzo. “Documentos conservados en los registros vaticanos relativos al primer pontificado de Mallorca (1230-1266)”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 32 (1961-1967): 48-66 (doc. No. 9). The obituary by the Church of Gerona says of Montgrí that he cleansed “the pagan filth” of the islands: *Deinde exercitu congregato castrum et insulas de Eviça et de Formenteria devulsis paganorum spurciis Christi Dei adquisivit*. Sureda i Jubany, Marc. “La memòria escrita d'un clergue il·lustre. Documents de Guillem de Montgrí”, *Miscel·lània en honor de Josep M. Marquès*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2010: 197-211. The use of the term *spurciis* was traditional: Barceló, Miquel. “La ‘spurcicia paganorum’ que había en Coria antes de la conquista cristiana en junio de 1142 d. C.”, *Musulmanes y cristianos en los siglos XII y XIII*, Miquel Barceló, José Martínez Gázquez, eds. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2005: 63-70.

30. Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1971: 93-104. Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca*...: 56, note 20. García-Delgado Segué, Carlos. *Las raíces de Palma. Los mil primeros años de la construcción de una ciudad*. Palma: José J. Olañeta Editor, 2000: 241, 249-252.

31. Alomar, Gabriel. *Urbanismo regional en la Edad Media, las ‘Ordinacions’ de Jaume II (1300) en el reino de Mallorca*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1976: 10-12, suggests a population of 23,000 for the city and 49,000 for the whole island. Gais, Nadjem Eddine. “Aperçu sur la population musulmane de Majorque au XIV siècle”. *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb*, 9 (1970): 19-30, claims, without citing his sources, that agreement exists about a population of between 80,000 and 100,000 for the island.

32. Cateura Bennàssar, Pau. “La contribución confesional: musulmanes y judíos en el reino de Mallorca (siglos XIII-XIV)”. *Acta Medievalia*, 20-21 (1999): 119-138.

33. Mas i Forners, Antoni. “Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...”: 461, note 74. The problems of calculating population figures on the basis of fixed coefficients and the number of hearths are well known: Bustelo García del Real, Francisco. “La transformación de vecinos en habitantes. El problema del coeficiente”. *Estudios Geográficos*, 34 (1973): 154-164.

34. *quan tots els factors demogràfics constituents fossin favorables* (“when all the constituent demographic factors were favourable”). Barceló, Miquel. “Pròleg negre i roig”, *Els barrancs tancats. L'ordre pagès al*



said to be composed of approximately 350 hectares of irrigated land.³⁵ Assuming that all of them were being cultivated, this yields a population of approximately 6,200. Valencia was 44 hectares in size and was surrounded by over 1,200 hectares of *huerta*,³⁶ and the population at the time of the conquest is deemed to have been approximately 20,000.³⁷ This is, no doubt, a very crude attempt at historical demographics; my only intention is to suggest that the existing population figures for *madīnat Mayūrqa* may be too high.

In contrast, the host mustered by the king is better known, as the record is much more precise in this regard: it included approximately 700 knights and 8,000 infantrymen.³⁸ This army sailed to Mallorca on board 150 large ships —vessels, *taridas*, galleys, galiots and *buces*— and many more smaller ones, according to the *Llibre dels fets*.³⁹ If they made only one journey, large ships would have carried an average of 60 men, plus the crew, horses, gear and food, which seems plausible.

As such, there were around the same number of soldiers in the invading army as there were potential captives in *madīnat Mayūrqa*. Jaume I recounts that, when the final assault took place, part of the besieged population left the city through two gates in the west of the city;⁴⁰ and it may be argued that the besiegers deliberately did nothing to stop this from happening in order to make the number of people inside the city more manageable. Similarly, the slaughter that followed the defeat of the last nucleus of resistance, inside the city, can also be interpreted as a method of selectively reducing the number of people to be made captive. I do not think that this action was motivated by the desire to avenge the Montcada, the dead in Portopí.⁴¹ The massacre of defenceless populations was common after long sieges.⁴²

sud de Menorca en època andalusina (segles X-XIII), Miquel Barceló, Fèlix Retamero, eds. Mahon: Institut Menorquí d'Estudis-Consell Insular de Menorca, 2015: 36.

35. Soto Company, Ricard. *Còdex català del Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*. Palma: Govern Balear, 1994: 27, 35-36 (note 21) and 103-104.

36. Esquilache Martí, Ferran. *Els espais agraris i l'estructura social d'una gran horta fluvial andalusina. La construcció i evolució de l'Horta de València entre els segles VIII i XIII*. Valencia: University of Valencia (PhD Dissertation), 2015. The current *Horta* is approximately 14,000 hectares in size.

37. Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas...*: 97-106. Torró, Josep. "Del Šarq al-Andalus a la Valencia cristiana. Madīna Balansiya: la Valencia andalusí. Siglos VIII-XIII", *La ciudad de Valencia. Historia, geografía y arte de la ciudad de Valencia*, Jorge Hermosilla Pla, ed. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009: 159-169.

38. Mas Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...": 413-414, note 57. Hernández, Francesc Xavier. *Història militar de Catalunya. Vol. II: Temps de conquesta*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau Editor, 2002: 90, 93, estimates 800 knights and several thousand footmen.

39. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 65-66 (chapter 55). Each galley could accommodate a crew of 100 or 120 men. According to the *Llibre des fets*, there were 12 galleys in the expedition. Krueger, Hilmar C. "Navi e proprietà navale a Genova, Seconda metà del sec. XII". *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 25-99/I (1975): 163.

40. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 98-99 (chap. 86).

41. Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 65. It is also true that the king, in the address reproduced in Chapter 68 encouraged his men to avenge the death of the two aristocrats.

42. Especially famous are the actions in Barbastro in 1063, Antioch in 1097, Jerusalem in 1099, Acre, by Richard the Lionheart, in 1191, and Constantinople in 1204. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992 (the citation corresponds to the 2004 edition): 106, 112, 116, 126



This massacre sent waves of terror through the surviving population. In Ibn 'Amīra's words "they seemed drunk, although they were not".⁴³ This extreme violence must have facilitated the management of the survivors.⁴⁴ Many years earlier, the Pisan poet who narrated the Catalan-Pisan attack against Ibiza referred to the attitude of the captive inhabitants of the *arrabal* of *madīnat Yābisa*, who were driven away like a flock of sheep.⁴⁵ Massacres are a popular field of study, but much work is still needed with regard to those of the Middle Ages, especially concerning the wars between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, which remain hidden behind the label of the "Reconquest".⁴⁶ Both the massacre perpetrated in *madīnat Mayūrqa* and the launch of severed heads with trebuchets are reminiscent of actions during the Crusades.⁴⁷ It can be argued that this similarity suggests that the king was merely resorting to a literary *topos* in his chronicle, but the fact that his account matches those in the *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa* and B. Desclot's chronicle plays in favour of its veracity. At any rate, the massacre fitted well with the declared targets of the conquest: to eliminate and destroy the indigenous population —a common practice of *Settler Colonialism*.⁴⁸

After taking the *madīna*, Jaume I's account provides a clear picture of the voracious appetite of the assailants for the abundant booty available. The spoils were so rich that there were no disputes over it, according to the monarch.⁴⁹ After months of heavy toil, the besiegers enjoyed the booty unmolested for eight full days, without rallying under the king's banner.⁵⁰ In Bernat Desclot's chronicle, the debauchery lasted for only two days, while Pere Marsili, in a typical note to his Latin translation

and 195. For Castile, see García Fitz, Francisco. "¿De exterminandis sarracenis? El trato dado al enemigo musulmán en el reino de Castilla-León durante la Plena Edad Media", *El cuerpo derrotado. Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, Maribel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 2008: 113-166, especially 118-128.

43. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa. Crónica árabe de la conquista de Mallorca*, ed. Muḥammad ben Ma'mar, transl. Nicolau Roser Nebot, Guillem Rosselló Bordoy. Palma: Presidència de les Illes Balears-Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2009: 115. There is an earlier edition in Catalan published in 2008.

44. The king was aware of the effect of cruelty on the defeated. When he tried to convince his noblemen to continue with the campaign after the surrender of the *madīna*, he argued that *valria més que ara ab la paor que han los conquerissem* ("it would be better, while fear is on the Saracens, to conquer them now"). Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

45. Veronés, Lorenzo. *De bello Maioricano. Libri octo. La guerra de Mallorca en ocho libros*, ed. Jaime Juan Castelló. Barcelona: Editorial Bosch, 1996: 156-157.

46. The work edited by Souza, Philip de; France, John, eds. *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 does not deal with Christian/Muslim wars. The volume edited by El Kenz, David, ed. *Le massacre, objet d'histoire*. Bourges: Éditions Gallimard, 2005, only dedicates one chapter to the Middle Ages, and this is also the case with the compendium edited by Dwyer, Philip G.; Ryan, Lyndall. *Theatres of Violence. Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012.

47. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*...: 93-127.

48. Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native". *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8-4 (2006): 387-409.

49. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (chap. 88).

50. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (chap. 88).



of the *Llibre dels fets*, is more explicit about what it was that kept the king's men so busy: *direptores discurrerent per domos inveniebant pulcherrimas donnas et domicellas gratissimas*.⁵¹ This is not an isolated case; Ambrose recounted the orgiastic, for lack of a better word, behaviour of the Anglo-Norman troops after the conquest of Acre, which took place nearly 40 years before the conquest of Mallorca.⁵²

Ibn 'Amīra's narrative recalls well-known methods of submission, selection, capture, new selection and management of a large contingent of captives. The work vividly describes the furious violence which followed the capture of the city, after the last defenders had been defeated. Men, women, old people and children were left at the mercy of the attackers, who *clavando la espada tanto en los combatientes como en los que no guerreaban*. [...] *Gente desarmada fue golpeada de forma inmisericorde por cualquiera que empuñase un venablo*.⁵³ Jaume I also mentions this, albeit not in quite so much detail, when he recounts that both horsemen and infantrymen launched themselves against the city inhabitants, *que vint milia no n'hi morissen a l'entrar*.⁵⁴ According to Bernat Desclot, this was no uncontrolled rage; some of the invading army, at least, regrouped, defeated the last defenders, and then proceeded to slaughter anyone in their path.⁵⁵ Ibn 'Amīra spares us no details, recalling that new-borns, children and pregnant women were also butchered. Rich ladies were also attacked, and their *frente era arrastrada por el suelo*, a euphemism that probably refers to rape—something which is also discreetly mentioned by Pere Marsili.⁵⁶

The king provides no details concerning the fate of the captives during the days in which his host was allowed to enjoy their booty. Ibn 'Amīra claims that *se reunió a los prisioneros y cubrióse la tierra con todos ellos hasta el punto de que su aglomeración a la de un gran ejército semejava*.⁵⁷ As noted, the initial killings, although seemingly indiscriminate, were probably a first step in the selection of prisoners. The confused inhabitants of the city allowed the captors to gather them in a single place in the

51. "The assailants, looking inside the houses, found beautiful women and pleasant maidens". Marsili, Pere. "Crónica de Fray Pedro Marsilio", *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca: Crónicas inéditas de Marsilio y de Desclot, la primera vertida al castellano y la segunda en su texto lemosín y adicionadas con numerosas notas y documentos*, ed. Josep Maria Quadrado, Palma: Biblioteca Balear-Editorial Mallorquina de Francisco Pons, 1957: I, 201. Pere Marsili claims that this information came from Arnau de Castellvell, *comendador* of the Order of Sant Jordi d'Alfama in Mallorca between 1244 and 1254 (Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, Regina. *La Orden de San Jorge de Alfama: aproximación a su historia*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 11). These events are also highlighted by Mas Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...": 421.

52. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege...*: 99. Ambrose. *L'Estoire de la Guerre sainte: histoire en vers de la troisième croisade (1190-1192)*, ed. Gaston Paris. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897: 151-152.

53. "thrust their swords both into soldiers and civilians. [...] Unarmed people were struck with no mercy by anyone carrying a weapon". Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 114.

54. "killing twenty thousand after they entered": Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 98-99 (chapter 86).

55. Muntaner, Ramon. *Crònica...*: 439-440 (chapter 47).

56. "foreheads dragged upon the ground": Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 114. The whole quote is: *¿cuánta mujer de clase pudiente vio cómo su frente era arrastrada por el suelo?* ("How many wealthy women saw their foreheads dragged upon the ground?").

57. "the captives were mustered until it was impossible to see the floor, so numerous they were; they resembled an army": Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 114-115.



madīna without resisting. It is impossible not to recall the system used in Malaga in 1487.⁵⁸ At this point, Ibn 'Amīra alludes to a second selection, brought about by the cold and the rain to which the captives were exposed. According to his account, more people died of exposure than had been killed previously.⁵⁹ This second selection was, however, not intended, but forced upon the captors by the logistic problems generated by such a large contingent of prisoners. At any rate, the elements must have killed the weakest among the captives. Ibn 'Amīra also mentions hunger, and so does Jaume I when he claims that those who were unhappy with the distribution of the booty justified their actions by saying *morim de fam aquí*.⁶⁰ These conditions soon led to epidemics, aggravated by the prevailing conditions of privation.⁶¹

After the rigours of the siege and the joy of the loot, many members of the host were in a hurry to proceed with the distribution of the booty and leave Mallorca, which most of them did, against the wishes of the king.⁶² This method —reaching the military objectives, distributing the booty, and returning home— was usual practice when it came to *cabalgadas*, as has been noted by James F. Powers.⁶³ The king, however, conceived the expedition against Mallorca as an act of conquest, and not a piratical raid, and tried, without success, to delay the distribution of booty, for he was aware that, otherwise, it would be nigh impossible to keep the army from disbanding before he could conquer the rest of the island. If we stick to the above-mentioned figure of 30,000 inhabitants for the whole island, this was no mean target, even if we discount the dead and captured after the fall of the *madīna*. We shall return to this later.

3. The fraudulent auction

In his *Llibre*, the king recalled the problematic distribution of booty that followed the conquest of the *madīna*.⁶⁴ No doubt, the king was interested in providing a detailed account, in order to underline the error committed by his nobles in not

58. According to Fernando del Pulgar, the captives were held in pens: *é mandáron que todos los Moros é Moras de la cibdad saliesen de sus casas, y entrasen en dos grandes corrales que son en el alcazaba, baxo de ciertas torres, de las quales estaban apoderados los Cristianos* ("forcing all the Moors to leave their houses and enter the two large pens in the fortress, under the towers, which were manned by Christians"). Pulgar, Fernando del. *Crónica de los señores reyes católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780: 322.

59. Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 115.

60. "We are dying of hunger, here". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 101 (chapter 90).

61. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 103 (chapter 92).

62. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 103-104 (chapter 93).

63. Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1988: 162-187.

64. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 100-102 (chapters 88, 89, 90 y 91).



following his command.⁶⁵ According to the *Llibre*, the lords presented themselves to the king and asked him to proceed to the auction of captives and other property (*dels moros e de la roba*).⁶⁶ We may surmise that this was a widespread feeling among all members of the army, and not only among the nobles. Interestingly, at this point no mention is made of the houses and land, although the city and its buildings were, in effect, occupied by the invaders.⁶⁷ Bernat Descloit recalls that a 1,000-day indulgence was granted to whoever volunteered to rid the city of corpses, which were dragged away by mules and horses.⁶⁸ It is also interesting that the fact this unpleasant task was carried out by the captives themselves goes unremarked. According to William of Tyre, the Temple of Jerusalem was also cleaned of corpses by captives, in 1099.⁶⁹

The king tried to delay the auction and thus take full advantage of the military success obtained in the *madīna* by attacking the mountainous areas of the island. In vain, he insisted that the enemy was terrified, and that they must not lose momentum.⁷⁰ According to Jaume I, the main lords —Nuno Sanç, Bernat de Santa Eugènia, and the Bishop and chaplain of Barcelona— were so obdurate because they wanted to cheat the rest of the army. The magnates asked the king how the distribution was to be executed, and the king answered, by *quadrelles* (“gangs”). This did not please the lords, who insisted on having the booty distributed promptly before marching again against the Saracens. They insisted that this could be done in eight days, and that later they would go for the enemy and conquer them: *despuīs anem sobre els sarraïns de fora e conquīram-los*.⁷¹ In the meantime, the booty could be kept safe aboard the galleys.⁷² Despite this assurance, the auction took up the whole of Lent. The king claims that he discovered their plot, but was unable to make the lords yield, for which reason he consented to proceed with the distribution of the booty, but not before warning them that they would regret it later.⁷³ This is a crucial point because the events proved the king right. On top of this, the king was forced

65. Agnès and Robert Vinas argue in favour of interpreting the *Llibre* literally, including the lessons of good judgement on the part of the king. Vinas, Agnès; Vinas, Robert. *La conquête de Majorque. Textes et documents*. Perpignan: Société Agricole-Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales, 2004; I quote the Catalan translation: Vinas, Agnès; Vinas, Robert. *La conquesta de Mallorca. Textos i documents*. Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 2007: 131.

66. “All the Moors taken, and of the goods”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

67. This explains the mentions of occupied and empty houses in the *Llibre del repartiment*. I do not think that any of these houses were occupied by native inhabitants of the island. Riera Frau, Maria Magdalena. *Evolució i topografia de madīna Mayūrqa*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma, 1993: 105, makes a good point, arguing that the mention of occupied and unoccupied houses referred to their state of preservation.

68. Muntaner, Ramon. *Crònica*...: 439-440 (chapter 47).

69. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*...: 116.

70. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

71. “After that, we could go against the Saracens outside, and conquer them”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (chapter 89).

72. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

73. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).



to help the lords, after they found themselves besieged by the discontented troops in the Almudaina.⁷⁴

The distribution of booty by *quadrelles* recalls the *quadrilleros* analysed by James F. Powers.⁷⁵ These municipal officials were in charge of distributing the booty obtained during the *cabalgadas* launched by local militias during the 12th and 13th centuries. The *quadrilleros* kept written records of the participants and their military equipment, as well as of the loot,⁷⁶ which was distributed according to the weapons carried by each combatant; wounds and other accidents were rewarded with a bonus. In Mallorca, after the death of the Montcada, the king promised to compensate for losses (for example, of horses and gear): *E negun perd un cavall ni ninguna altra cosa, nós la us esmenarem*.⁷⁷ Josep Torró explains the distribution system unsuccessfully advocated by Jaume I before his lords, who gained an undue advantage with the system of inventory, assessment and adjudication that was finally implemented.⁷⁸ In his account of the expeditions sent by the Catalan Company, more than 70 years after the conquest of Mallorca, Ramon Muntaner succinctly describes such a distribution: *E l'endemà fém encant dels cavalls e dels presons e d'aço que haguem guanyat. E partim de guany per cavall armat divuit perpres d'aur, e per cavall alforrat catorze, e per peó set; e així hac cascun la sua part*.⁷⁹ In addition, soldiers were assigned a payment, based on their equipment and role. Every item was carefully assessed in terms of cash before being bought by the combatants themselves or the merchants that followed the army. The *Llibre dels fets* mentions the retinue of merchants that accompanied, and funded, the royal host.⁸⁰ The presence of these merchants is also attested by the treaty between the king and the republic of Genoa, signed as soon after the conquest as late June 1230, in the presence of the Genoese legate Andree de Cafaro.⁸¹

The booty must have been publicly exhibited. The auction of captives and other property was based on their evaluation in monetary terms.⁸² At least, each member

74. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (chapter 91).

75. Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War*...: 162-187.

76. Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War*...: 103.

77. "Should anyone lose a horse or something else, I'll compensate him". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 80-81 (chapter 69).

78. Torró, Josep. "Viure del botí. La frontera medieval com a parany historiogràfic". *Recerques*, 43 (2001): 5-32, especially 31.

79. "And next day we had an auction of the horses and of the prisoners and of what we had taken and we had, of the booty, eighteen gold hyperpers for each armed horse and fourteen for each light horse and seven for each foot soldier, so that everyone had his share". Soldevila, Ferran, ed. *Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 864-865 (chapter 224). Ferran Soldevila (Soldevila, Ferran, ed. *Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 985, note 2), rightly points out that Muntaner was the Company's purser, and thus he knew the distribution systems well.

80. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 95 (chapter 82).

81. Puncuh, Dino, ed. *I Libri Iurium della Republica di Genova. Vol I/2*. Rome: Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato- Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1996: 79-89 (docs. No. 301 and 302).

82. Torró, Josep. "Viure del botí...": 31. Barceló, Miquel. "'Mantenimiento y oro'. Cómo hacer de los indios moneda". *Gaceta numismática*, 141 (2001): 7-15. Barceló, Miquel. "La construcció d'equivalències entre coses en la documentació dels segles IX a l'XI", *El feudalisme comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió*



of the army could use their pay, based on armament and their military role, not unlike the system described by Muntaner, to bid at the auction. However, it is worth noting that the evaluation of the booty in cash terms, the adjudication of lots, and the distribution of the proceedings in cash was little more than a theoretical construct. Despite the constant reference to value in monetary terms, coined money was not used as profusely, beyond being a unit of account, as these abundant references suggest. It is for this reason that keeping accounts was so important, and most members of the army were left at the mercy of the magnates *car ne sabien més que-ls de la ost* as the king had foretold.⁸³ Disappointed by the outcome, knights and footmen (the *poble*)⁸⁴ ganged together to sack the house of a nobleman. The king interceded, but the mutineers insisted on having their fair share of the loot.⁸⁵ In order to appease the malcontents, the king threatened them while promising to clear the accounts and give them their share: *els dixem que comptariem, e puis dariem llur part*.⁸⁶ In conclusion, the royal chronicle claims that the authority and ability of the king allowed him to solve the problem created by the greed of the nobles

4. Saracens as incentive

On two separate occasions, the magnates who had disembarked with the king referred to the booty to be distributed, and both times the captives were mentioned first: *els sarraïns e la roba*.⁸⁷ How could the king think about continuing with the conquest, taking captives, when they already had several thousand prisoners in their hands? In fact, the lords were in a hurry to distribute the loot and return home with the proceedings. The movable elements were problematic to store, as the king himself admitted when he recalls that his own share was moved from the Almudaina to the Bāb Gumara, under the vigilant eye of the Templars. Hence the lords wished to have their part stored in the galleys.⁸⁸ The human booty (*moros* or *sarraïns*) had maintenance costs, and supplies were insufficient, and thus the value of the captives was decreasing by the day.⁸⁹ The situation was made even worse by the epidemic that struck the city.

del feudalisme català, Miquel Barceló, Gaspar Feliu, Antoni Furió, Marina Miquel, Jaume Sobrequés, eds. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2003: 35-43, especially 36.

83. "for they were craftier than the rest of the army". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

84. The *Llibre dels fets* refers to footmen as *homes a peu* or those *a peu*. The use of the word *poble* in the chronicle begins in this section of the book. Later, the term is used in the sense of "people". In this case, the chronicle clearly distinguishes between *poble* and knights, so the word is used to refer to footmen.

85. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 101 (chapter 90).

86. "I told them that we would count, and that everyone would get his share". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (chapter 91).

87. "The Saracens and other accoutrements (movable objects)". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (chapter 89).

88. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (chapter 91) and 100-101 (chapter 89).

89. Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 68.

When Hugo de Forcalquier, master of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem arrived with fifteen of his knights in Mallorca, no later than 1 March, the city had already fallen. Despite this, Forcalquier asked for one part of the booty for his order. The lords disagreed, claiming that the booty had already been distributed, and that most participants in the conquest were already home.⁹⁰ In this instance, the king's pressure worked, and the Hospitaller made an additional petition for some movable property and houses. The nobles used the same argument as they had previously to reject this request, saying that nobody was going to give away what they already thought was theirs.⁹¹ If the dates provided by the sources are correct, this means that the booty, both movable property and real estate, had already been distributed by 1 March.⁹² Despite this, the intercession of the king procured the Hospitaller some land, several houses in the city, and, as movable loot, two of the Muslim king's galleys, which were wintering at the dry dock. This grant, however, included no captives, who appear to have already been adjudicated and dispatched by sea. This did not deter Forcalquier, who eventually got his captives by taking part in the *cabalgadas* launched against the refugees seeking shelter in the Artà mountains, where, according to the *Llibre dels fets*, 2,000 people were captured.⁹³

There are no records or mentions of the shipping of booty, which must have begun soon after the Christian host set foot on Mallorca. It seems unlikely that the mighty fleet put together by Jaume I remained idle in the bays or on the beaches for the duration of the campaign. The king claims that, during the first three weeks of the siege, soldiers and sailors slept on board their ships, as though the ships were simply sitting off the coast, in front of the Christian camp. The *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*, in contrast, says that the ships were used to cut the lines between Mayūrqa and Manūrqa.⁹⁴ Their activity must have been frantic, no doubt launching expeditions against the remaining islands and bringing in supplies. I suspect that, on their trips to the continent, they must have loaded captives, who were hard to manage and costly to maintain during the siege. However, the evidence left by these trips is very faint. It is known that, after the auction, Nuno Sanç took to the sea on two galleys and another vessel for an expedition against the Barbary coast. Soon afterwards, he was back in Mallorca with the king. Around the same time, Pero Cornell travelled to Aragón to fetch 150 knights to continue with the campaign.⁹⁵ As noted, the master of the Hospitallers arrived in Mallorca with 15 knights after the conquest of the city.⁹⁶ Rodrigo de Lizana and Atón de Foces also left soon after on board one of the

90. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 105-106 (chapters 95, 96).

91. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 107 (chapter 97).

92. Pérez Pastor, Plàcid. "Mallorca, 1230-1232. Reflexions a partir de la relectura del còdex llatinoaràbic del repartiment". *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, 66 (2010): 9-34.

93. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111 (chapter 103).

94. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 83 (chapter 69) and 100 (chapter 89). Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 119-120.

95. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103 (chapter 92).

96. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 105 (chapter 95).



taridas used by the invading army, and two *leños* to carry supplies.⁹⁷ A record from 1233 attests to the shipping of a cargo of flour between Marseilles and Mallorca.⁹⁸ Maritime traffic, therefore, must have been very intense. A few years later, in 1237, the king recalled seeing in Salou many ships that delivered supplies to Mallorca.⁹⁹

5. Conquer and dominate

Escaping from an island is hard, if not impossible. History is full of examples, the most recent of which, in the case of Mallorca, dates to 1936.¹⁰⁰ In his account of the wreck of a Genoese ship, which was deporting the *almojarife* of Manūrqa and his people to the coast of Barbary, Muntaner provides another. The confrontation between Jaume I and his noblemen reveals different priorities, as well as stressing the importance of movable property and captives for those whose priority was to get rich. Since they could not escape the island, the noblemen were able to postpone the capture of the remaining inhabitants until the booty had been distributed: ‘Afterwards, we shall go against the Saracens who are outside, and we shall conquer them’ was their disrespectful retort when the king became impatient.

It is known that the inhabitants of the countryside mobilised soon after the Christian arrival; the local contingent was led by a *qa’id*, probably the *Ifantilla* (Fatīh Allāh) mentioned in the *Llibre dels fets*.¹⁰¹ According to the *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqa*, this mobilisation was the initiative of the peasants themselves. After getting together, they asked the emir for a commander, but they contested the emir’s appointment without success. This text demonstrates the ability of the peasantry to organise and to put themselves under the orders of the state’s authority, as well as to communicate with the city, despite the siege. According to Jaume I, these volunteers numbered 100 horsemen and 5,000 infantrymen, but were defeated by Nuno Sanç and the Count of Empúries, charging at the head of 300 knights. Fatīh Allāh’s head was lobbed inside the *madīna* with a trebuchet. Bernat Desclot gives a different account of this event. According to him, the mobilisation of the peasantry followed the emir’s command, who was in communication with the refugees in the mountains.¹⁰² This would have taken place after the events involving Ibn ‘Abbād, of which more below. After this army was defeated, the siege became harsher. According to Desclot, it was then that Fatīh Allāh (*Fatitlà*) left the city to organise the resistance in the mountains and pester the besieging host, which he successfully did by stalking and

97. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111-112 (chapter 104).

98. Blancard, Louis. *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au Moyen Âge*. Marseille: Barlatier-Feissat Père et fils., 1884: I, 55-56 (doc. No. 41, 4th September 1233).

99. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 187-188 (chapter 216).

100. Schalekamp, Jean A. *Mallorca any 1936. D’una illa hom no en pot fugir*. Palma: Prens Universitaria de Palma, 1971.

101. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 83 (chapter 70). Ibn ‘Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 118-119.

102. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 110-111 (chapter 39).



killing Christian stragglers.¹⁰³ In order to put an end to this situation, a royal host fell on him, slaughtering all his men. After this, the king ordered the heads of the enemies, 412 in total, be lobbed inside the city.¹⁰⁴

Jaume I, Desclot and Ibn 'Amīra's accounts demonstrate that the besieging host could detach units from the main army and undertake special missions. These detachments also left the army to forage and loot, which was fully in line with the military tactics of the period.¹⁰⁵ In 1213, the foraging parties detached from the army encircling Baeza did not manage to find enough supplies to feed the army, and the siege had to be lifted.¹⁰⁶ Finding fodder for the horses was a tedious but critical task, which occupied a large number of men, probably the servants mentioned by Desclot. Therefore, although these detachments were not specifically mentioned in the accounts of the siege of Mallorca, except under those instances in which they were sent to defeat an enemy force, we can safely assume that foraging and looting expeditions had taken place since the beginning of the siege.¹⁰⁷

In my opinion, these expeditions, rather than any of the reasons put forward by other scholars, would explain the fact that the besiegers were partially supplied by the local population.¹⁰⁸ In his characteristic mystical style, Jaume I refers to a character known as Ben Aabet or Benahabet (identified as Ibn 'Abbād)¹⁰⁹ was a 'Saracen angel',¹¹⁰ because he agreed on feeding the army when supplies were running short.¹¹¹ In consequence, many authors have qualified Ibn 'Abbād as a

103. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II, 117 (chapter 40).

104. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II, 118 (chapter 40).

105. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 79-80 (chapter 67). According to the chronicle, during the actions that followed the disembarkation of the invading army, Pelegrí d'Atrocillo left with four knights and saw the 'old man' (the *šaij*, the king), with 20 horsemen, in a place where there was water. This was not a *cabalgada* as such, simply a small group that straggles off the army in order to find some loot, seek water or pester the enemy. Bernat Desclot claims that some nobles were disgruntled because they had not participated in the first battle, and entered the woods in the hope of finding some fugitives; later, after the battle where the Montcada were killed, the woods witnessed a similar chase. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II 99 (chapter 35) and 2: 106-107 (chapter 37).

106. García Fitz, Francisco. "El cerco de Sevilla: reflexiones sobre la guerra de asedio en la Edad Media", *Sevilla 1248. Congreso internacional conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la conquista de la Ciudad de Sevilla por Fernando III, Rey de Castilla y León, Sevilla: Real Alcázar, 23-27 Noviembre 1998*, Manuel González Jiménez, ed. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla-Fundación Ramón Areces, 2000: 115-154, especially 130. For the historiography of battles in Spain, see García Fitz, Francisco. "Battle in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula: 11th to 13th Century Castile-Leon. State of the Art". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 10 (2016): 25-33.

107. Cingolani, Stefano Maria. *Jaume I. Història i mite d'un rei*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2007: 195.

108. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 84 (chapter 71).

109. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 97-98.

110. On the king's style, see Cingolani, Stefano Maria. *La memòria dels reis. Les quatre grans cròniques, des del segle X fins al XIV*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2008: 53-54.

111. This character seems to be the same person who appears in Declot's Chapter 45 inviting Nuno Sanç to spend Christmas in his house of Pollença. Mallorcan and Spanish historiography has generally referred to this Ibn 'Abbad as a collaborationist. Some have claimed that he was related to Nuno Sanç, and founder of the Bennàssar of Mallorca, a fact that, as Josep Maria Quadrado pointed out long ago, is not supported by the evidence. (Quadrado, Josep Maria, ed. *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca...*: I, 143, note 1). At any rate, Quadrado failed to fully silence the myth of the collaborationist rewarded with



collaborationist and a traitor, beginning with the *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqa*, which labels him an apostate and a tyrant.¹¹² Why did Ibn 'Abbād do it? The most obvious answer is that he was trying to improve his chances, betraying the besieged. Some authors allude to the hostility between the ruling Almohads and the local population.¹¹³ Bernat Desclot, however, provides us with a significant piece of information that could go a long way to explain Ibn 'Abbād's actions in a different light. The chronicler claims that Ibn 'Abbād sought the pact with the king to achieve *pau e treves*, a fact also reported by Ibn 'Amīra who wrote that he wanted *conseguir la tranquilidad*.¹¹⁴ According to the *Llibre dels fets*, Ibn 'Abbād came to the king to parley on behalf of his people, who according to Bernat Desclot were the inhabitants of 800 houses located in the mountains.¹¹⁵ There is little doubt, therefore, that he was a *šaij*.¹¹⁶ Following the *Kitāb*, Ibn 'Abbād and his people did not have peace or tranquillity when he reached the king, and it is certain that this state of affairs was the responsibility of the Christian host. For Jaume I, this peace and tranquillity could only be bought at a price in food for his army. It seems reasonable to assume that Ibn 'Abbād's people had been disturbed by the foraging parties detached from the army in search of supplies. In his negotiations with Ibn 'Abbād, Jaume I had the upper hand, and was in a position to put a price on the tranquillity of Ibn 'Abbād's people and to demand a guarantee that the terms would be met: a number of hostages who, according to Desclot, were relatives of Ibn 'Abbād (*bons hostatges de lurs fils e de lurs files*).¹¹⁷ Ibn 'Abbād was in a weak negotiating position, and was forced not only to pay the price but also to leave the hostages, which left him completely at the mercy of the king. In exchange, Ibn 'Abbād asked the king for insignia that could be wielded to signal the king's protection. Later, he even requested two *batles christians* (Christian representatives of the king) to settle for good in his territory, keeping it safe for the king. This suggests that looting continued despite the pact, and Ibn 'Abbād and his people decided to make their submission to the Christian king even plainer, by accepting the rule of the king's men. It is even possible that the hostages were put

land by the victors, which is repeatedly printed. See Montaner, Pedro de; Riera Frau, Maria Magdalena. "Los Bennisser d'Alfàbia: del clan andalusí al 'linatge' catalán", *Homenatge a Antoni Mut Calafell*. Palma: Govern Balear. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esports, 1993: 175-208, and Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. "Notes sobre la conquesta de Mallorca (1229-1232): el testimoni dels vençuts". *Mayurqa. Annals de Ciències Històriques i Teoria de les Arts*, 22 (1989): 541-549.

112. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 99.

113. Montaner, Pedro de; Riera Frau, Maria Magdalena. "Los Bennisser d'Alfàbia...". Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. "Notes sobre la conquesta de Mallorca...".

114. "peace and truces". Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 110-111 (chapter 39); "to get tranquillity": Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 98.

115. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 84 (chapter 71). Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 110-111 (chapter 39).

116. Kirchner, Helena. "El paper polític i social dels vells a les Illes i Regne de València en la crònica de Jaume I", *V Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Les Illes Orientals d'Al-Andalus*, Guillem Rosselló Bordoy, ed. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1987: 103-113.

117. "Good hostages, taken among his sons and his daughters". Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 111 (chapter 39). This chronicle illustrates well the role of the hostages in guaranteeing an unequal pact, in Chapter

118. For the role of hostages, see Davies, Robert Rees. *Domination et Conquest*...: 47-65.



to work during the siege; Bernat Desclot claims that, when the king had the corpses of Fatih Allāh and his men decapitated, this grisly task was executed by the *sarraïns paliers*.¹¹⁸ This was the degrading beginning of their captivity. As such, I think it unlikely that the pact between the king and Ibn 'Abbād is the result of internecine conflicts among the Andalusis, and much less evidence for collaborationism, treason or apostasy, but rather simply extortion on the part of the Christians. Jaume I provided food for his men at the point of a knife, in a reduced version of the same system that inspired the payment of *parias* and which was to bear much fruit yet, including the domination of Manūrqa.¹¹⁹

6. 'E depuys anem sobre els sarraïns'¹²⁰

By the time the city was taken, the country dwellers had long fled from the areas that could be reached by *cabalgadas* and sought refuge in the mountains. According to the *Llibre dels fets*, however, no time was lost and new expeditions were launched from the city.¹²¹ What seems to have been the king's first *cabalgada* had to desist from attacking the mountains of the Serra de Tramuntana because of the danger posed by the large number of refugees there. As was the case during the conquest of Valencia, the king always tried to avoid launching an expedition that could not guarantee a number of captives proportionate to the number of troops involved.¹²²

After discarding the Serra de Tramuntana, the monarch asked the scouts who had warned him of the danger for another target, so he would not have to return to the army in shame and with empty hands. Except for the king's host, armed bands had to compete for places in which captives could be taken. Scouts and the information they possessed were, therefore, very valuable, and hence their reluctance to tell the king what they knew. Finally, the king took them to the side and forced them to speak out, using his royal authority: *manam-vos per la naturalea que havets ab nós que digats veritat*.¹²³ After a suitable target had been established, the host left for a group of caves in the Artà mountains. On the way there, Pero Maça and his men left the main party and took 500 Saracens somewhere else, while the king took

118. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II, 118 (chapter 40). *Paliers* were Saracens sheltered by the king's mantle, a metaphor of the king's protection. Torró, Josep. "De bona guerra...": 462.

119. About extortion "at the point of a knife", see Barceló, Miquel. "Expedicions militars i projectes d'atac...": 99-107; Barceló, Miquel. *Sobre Mayurqa...*: 59-75. For submission pacts, see Kirchner, Helena. "El paper polític i social dels vells...": 104. About *parias* see: Balaguer, Anna M. *Del manús a la dobla. Orígenes d'Hispania*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1993: 93-105; Virgili, Antoni. "Conqueridors i colons a la frontera: Tortosa, 1148-1212". *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 43 (2001): 47-76, especially 55-56.

120. "after that we could go against the Saracens outside": Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 100 (chapter 89).

121. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 103-104 (chapter 93) and 108 (chapter 99).

122. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 170 (chapter 188) and 175 (chapter 196).

123. "I command, because of the duty you have with me, to tell me the truth". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 108 (chapter 99).



1,500 captives in Artà. These figures are much more reliable, although the 10,000 cattle and 30,000 sheep mentioned in the king's chronicle are clearly too high.¹²⁴ In any case, this was a rich booty for 35 knights and several hundred footmen. This expedition took place in late March 1230. The excavation of the rock-shelter of Puig d'en Xoroi has provided dramatic archaeological evidence for these events.¹²⁵

This was the opportunity to take captives for those who had not been present in the conquest of *madīnat Mayūrqa*.¹²⁶ In fact, all the evidence suggests that captives had become an important incentive for new recruits, after most of the army returned to Catalonia and Aragón.¹²⁷ The king had called for more knights to reinforce his host in Mallorca, while Cornell travelled to the Peninsula to fetch 150 Aragonese knights, and there were also the 15 Hospitallers and their master. In addition, the king summoned Atón de Foces and Rodrigo de Lizana.¹²⁸ These nobles owed obedience to the king, but were also swayed by the possibility of booty. We have already noted that this was an important incentive for the Master Hospitaller, who also insisted that the king did not reach any pact which spared the refugees in the caves, who were, according to his wishes, left no option other than death and captivity.¹²⁹

The attack on the caves illustrates how difficult it was to subjugate the remaining inhabitants of Mallorca, who were entrenched in the most remote areas of the island. On the other hand, for the attackers the situation was advantageous, in that the groups of refugees formed what I have termed a "self-supporting reserve of captives". Harassed and cut-off from supplies, the Andalusis had to draw from their dwindling food reserves. The stratigraphy of a rubbish pit found in the rock-shelter of Puig d'en Xoroi illustrates the progressive deterioration of the living conditions of these refugees.¹³⁰ According to the *Llibre dels fets*, mountain areas and castles sheltered as many as 20,000 refugees.¹³¹ Even if we deem this figure excessive, it seems likely that they numbered in their thousands.¹³² Despite this, Jaume I determined that they did not pose a threat, and left the island for Tarragona on 28 October, leaving Bernat de Santa Eugènia and Pero Maça in charge of Mallorca.¹³³

124. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111 (chapter 103).

125. Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Riera, Mateu. "Primavera de 1230: andalusins refugiats a la serra de Llevant (Mallorca)", *V Jornades d'Arqueologia de les Illes Balears (Palma, 28-30 setembre de 2012)*, Mateu Riera Rullan, ed. Palma: Consell de Mallorca-Edicions Documenta Balear, 2013: 229-239.

126. Pero Maça, on the other hand, seems to have been present in the siege. Soldevila, Ferran. *Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 54, 224, and note 1, in chapter 103.

127. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103-104 (chapter 93) and 106-107 (chapter 97).

128. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103-104 (chapter 93) and 105 (chapter 95).

129. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 110-111 (chapter 102).

130. Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Riera, Mateu. "Primavera de 1230...": 229-239.

131. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (chapter 113).

132. The *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa* claims that the refugees were included in a census, and that this led to the formation of an army of 16,000 footmen.

133. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 112-113 (chapter 105) and 120 (chapter 114). Bernat de Santa Eugènia governed the island with the aid of a council, see Pastor, Plàcid. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...": 18. The king was in Tarragona by 30 October: Miret i Sans, Joaquim. *Itinerari de Jaume I 'el Conqueridor'*. Edició



The king left with the enigmatic assertion that his parting was good for both those who remained and for himself.¹³⁴ He needed to look after the rest of his kingdom, so his departure seems necessary, but what was the benefit of his leaving for those that stayed behind? Was he referring to the possibility of acquiring more booty without having to put a portion aside for the king?

7. 'Tan gran guerra'¹³⁵

There is some discrepancy in events, and their temporal sequence, in the *Llibre dels fets* and the *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*. According to the latter, after the death of Abū Ḥafṣ ibn Šayrī, on 15 February 1231, the defenders in the mountains lost cohesion and the Christians could finally "exterminate, imprison and tie them", and sell them as captives "for a ridiculous price".¹³⁶ This account is followed by the last section of the book, which deals with the fate of the Muslims who resisted in castles.¹³⁷ These defenders did not lay down their arms, asking to parley with Jaume I and to surrender with conditions. According to the *Kitāb*, they were allowed to keep one-third of their money, and were given authorisation to go elsewhere. These conditions, however, concealed a trick. The agreement said nothing about the cost of the ship that was to take them from the island. In the event, those who had something had to pay for those who did not, and they were all dispossessed. The *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa* does not specify what the final fate of these ships was.

According to the order that Ferran Soldevila proposed for the events recounted in the *Llibre dels fets*, the king was in Barcelona in March or April 1231 when he received the visit of Bernat de Santa Eugènia and Pero Maça. They bore the news that the Saracens in the mountains, after being harassed for the entire winter, wished to surrender to the king in person.¹³⁸ As noted, the *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa* dates the death in combat of Ibn Šayrī in mid-February 1231.¹³⁹ The *Llibre dels fets* mentions a Xuaip as *cap e sènher* of the Muslims who were defending the mountains.¹⁴⁰ Xuaip and Šayrī must, therefore, be the same person.¹⁴¹ The king set sail from Salou in mid-

facsimil. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007: 569. At this point, we must follow the succession of events reconstructed by Ferran Soldevila (Soldevila, Ferran. "La segona i la tercera estades de Jaume I a Mallorca". *Recerques i comentaris. Història de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1929: I, 169-191).

134. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 113 (chapter 106).

135. "Such great war". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (chapter 113).

136. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 121.

137. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 122.

138. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 120-121 (chapters 114, 115).

139. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 120.

140. "Leader and lord". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 107-108 (chapter 98) and 119 (chapter 113).

141. Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. "De Mayūrqa a Mallorca. El Repartiment", *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2013: II, 441-456, especially 442.



April and, after arriving in Mallorca, accepted Xuaip's surrender.¹⁴² It is not easy to explain that Santa Eugènia and Maça left the island unsupervised only to bring this news to the king. It is likely they wanted to ensure that the merit of the victory was shared by both. The knights also assured Jaume I that he could go to Mallorca without a host, as there were plenty of men on the island.¹⁴³ Clearly, they wanted no more knights with whom to share the spoils that, presumably, the surrender of Xuaip was about to produce. The king himself provides the proof that the troops at hand were too few, when explains the idea of lighting fires at Capdepera in order to give the impression that his army was much larger.¹⁴⁴ Under this threat, the rulers of Manūrqa surrendered and agreed to pay tribute. This interpretation is also in agreement with Ferran Soldevila's sequence of events. On Jaume I's third trip to Mallorca, however, the king did summon his host, in order to confront the Tunisian threat.

The *Llibre dels fets* recalls that the pact with Xuaip applied to 3,000 combatants and 15,000 civilians, including men (perhaps old men), women and children.¹⁴⁵ Xuaip and four of his relatives were rewarded with land, arms and horses, so they could live their lives with honour. The remaining Muslims were to 'populate the land', and those who refused would be left for the king to do as he would. The king explained his decision to sign a pact in Mallorca by saying that 'such great war' against the resistance had made colonisation impossible to date.¹⁴⁶ The fact that the pact (*pleit*) was put in writing (*en cartes*) indicates, if the chronicle is to be believed, that the king renounced the possibility of making captives of the 18,000 surrendered Muslims. On the other hand, 2,000 Muslims refused to surrender and continued the fight in the mountains, until they were reduced and captured by the host deployed in Mallorca to counteract the Tunisian threat.¹⁴⁷

Given the difficulty of having to defeat all defensive redoubts, the pact presented the king with an easy way forward and a chance to consolidate the conquest and proceed with the urgent repopulation of the island. Once the Muslims had left their refuges, the Christians could simply ignore the conditions of the pact. Whether the king was aware of this or not is really of little consequence. The violation of pacts was a recurrent event during the conquest of Valencia.¹⁴⁸

142. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (chapter 113).

143. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 120-121 (chapter 115).

144. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 123-124 (chapter 120).

145. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (chapter 113).

146. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (chapter 113).

147. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 126 (chapter 124). Was there a real threat, or was it just a rumour or an excuse to finish off the conquest and rearrange the distribution of Mallorca? For the reorganisation of the 1230 distribution see Pastor, Plàcid. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...": 18. The threat appears to be confirmed as real in ARM, ECR 342, f. 42v, 2 October 1241. With this document, Legetus de Seva authorised Bernat Aimeric and Simon *Milgraverutinus* to take from the King of Tunisia all that he had taken away (*abstulit*) from him, during his depredations of Christians.

148. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia*...: 54.



This version of the story of the pact rests on the assumption that a substantial number of free Muslims remained on the island after the conquest of the city; this version was adopted by Elena Lourie and, more recently, by David Abulafia.¹⁴⁹ There is little doubt that the pact existed, but the fact that the 'letters' conveying this have been lost, is revealing. Ricard Soto questioned the efficacy of the pact—a hypothesis supported by the *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*, which describes the pact as *un arreglo en el que había engaño*.¹⁵⁰ At any rate, there is another piece of evidence for the way the king interpreted the pact, and for what he understood as 'populating the land'. On 8 July 1231 Jaume I gave Ramon Serra, *comendador* of the Templars, a piece of land, the former property of Abceya Aonzi, in the hamlet of Inca. In the same document, the king also donated 30 *casatos sarracenorum* for the order to use as their own, under the protection of the king. In the document, the king warns against harming these Saracens and their property.¹⁵¹ According to Elena Lourie, these Saracens could have been sent from the Templar's Peninsular possessions.¹⁵² I do not think there can be much doubt that these are some of the Muslims surrendered by the pact between the king and Xuaip, as confirmed by the chronology of the donation.

As noted, the king returned to Barcelona in the last week of July 1231. On 29 September, he exchanged the lordship of Mallorca for the County of Urgell with Peter, prince of Portugal. This agreement took several months to come into effect. In April 1232 the king was warned that the king of Tunisia (Abū Zaqariyā Yahyā, 1228-1249) was planning to disembark in Mallorca. After some hesitation and after receiving further reports, the king summoned those of his vassals who had participated in the conquest of Mallorca and owned land on the island. After this, Jaume I left for Tarragona, where he made his will, dated to 15 May.¹⁵³ The king hired ships to transport 300 knights, 250 of whom joined him on the Peninsula, while 50 waited for him in Mallorca. Peter of Portugal also joined the party. By 7 July they were on the island, making preparations to repel the Tunisian attack. After a fortnight had gone by with no news from the Tunisian fleet, the host relaxed somewhat and took the opportunity to defeat the last foci of resistance in the

149. Lourie, Elena. "Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century". *Speculum*, 45-4 (1970): 624-649. Abulafia, David. *A Mediterranean Emporium. The Catalan kingdom of Majorca*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994; I cite the Spanish translation: Abulafia, David. *Un emporio mediterráneo. El reino catalán de Mallorca*. Barcelona: Editorial Omega, 1996: 68-86. See also: Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca...* For the various arguments for and against the existence of an indigenous community on the island after the conquest, and under what conditions, see Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...": 174-179.

150. "concealing a trick". Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...": 177-179; Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca...": 67; Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa...*: 122.

151. Miret i Sans, Joaquim. *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya. Aplechs de noves y documents històrics*. Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910: 252-253. Lourie, Elena. "Free Moslems...": 625.

152. Lourie, Elena. "Free Moslems...": 626.

153. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 114-115 (chapter 108).



mountains. On 15 July, Jaume I returned to Catalonia via Menorca.¹⁵⁴ It is likely that the construction of the Bastida del Teix was conceived during this third trip; (La Bastida) *quam dominus rex ibi fecit*, according to the first document that mentions it, dated to October 1233.¹⁵⁵

The document by which the 30 *casati* were donated to the Templars is illustrative of the way in which the king interpreted the pact with Xuaip. Furthermore, later, in summer 1232, supported by the presence of a large armed host on the island, the king would most likely not have respected the pact. Muslims were not safe on the island, despite the pact. The episode of Ibn ‘Abbād proves it, as does the kings’ warning in the donation document involving the *casati*: nobody was to take their property, detain them, or harm them in any way. The impact of the Christian depredations on the island is clearly expressed by the number of free Muslims documented by Ricard Soto for the period 1240-1260.¹⁵⁶ It is true that, in 1240, the Peter of Portugal, who at the time was lord of Mallorca, was compelled by Gregory IX to stop populating the island with Saracens, which in any case should be *sub iugo servitutis positos*.¹⁵⁷ However, these Muslims were captives taken by expeditions launched from Mallorca by maritime companies *ad lucrandum contra sarracenos*.¹⁵⁸

8. Conclusions

The long and problematic distribution of the large booty resulting from the sack of *madīnat Mayūrqa* led to the disbandment of the host that had taken the city on the last day of 1229. Most of the members of the royal army returned home with their loot, or its value in cash. Captives feature prominently in the two main chronicles and that by Bernat Desclot. The accounts of the assault describe methods of selection, by which non-apt individuals were eliminated (children, the elderly, the weak). The first selection was by slaughter, and the second, after the survivors had been gathered together, by exposure—it was January—and then hunger and, eventually, sickness took more people. At this point, the island was only half conquered, and few Christians remained. Under these conditions, demand for captives in Mallorca must have been limited, making it harder to turn them into cash at auction. As a

154. Soldevila, Ferran. “La segona i la tercera estades de Jaume I a Mallorca”...: 188-190.

155. “it was made on the orders of our lord the king”: Pérez Pastor, Plàcid; Reynés Trias, Antoni. “Es Teix: formació i explotació d’una possessió de muntanya a la serra de Tramuntana de Mallorca (s. XIII-XX)”, *VIII Jornades d’Estudis Locals de Sóller i Fornalutx (Sóller, 8 y 9 de noviembre de 2013)*. Muro: Institut d’Estudis Balearics, 2014: 319-346.

156. Soto, Ricard. “La conquesta de Mallorca...”: 74.

157. Auvray, Lucien. *Registres de Grégoire IX. Recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d’après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican*. Paris: Albert Fontemoing Éditeur, Librairie des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1907: II, 184-185 (reg. 5065).

158. Soto, Ricard. “La conquesta de Mallorca...”: 68-68. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia...: 74*.



result, most of these captives must have been shipped elsewhere. Both the royal host and the captives left the island.

We have few details concerning the fate of these captives, but we know of the presence of Genoese merchants in Mallorca who, no doubt, played an important role in turning these captives into a commodity and in transporting them. A gap in Genoese notarial documentation, however, means we stray into the realms of hypothesis. At any rate, documents in Marseilles attest to substantial commercial traffic between the northern and southern shores of the west Mediterranean during this period. We also know that, around this period, a large contingent of Muslim captives, consisting of tens of thousands of people, was transported from Sicily to Lucera, on the Italian peninsula.¹⁵⁹ We also have a detailed account of events in Menorca in 1287. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the fleet mobilised for the conquest of Mallorca was equal to transporting the captives taken in the city (perhaps 5,000 or 6,000).

Despite the fact that the large number of captives taken in *madīnat Mayūrqa* may have contributed to decrease their price—as the *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa* insinuates—these captives were still rich prey. Revealingly, in the account of the *cabalgada* against Artà conveyed by the *Llibre dels fets*, captives are mentioned first. In later records, captives always were mentioned first and foremost in all descriptions of booty. On his second trip to Mallorca, however, Jaume I accepted the conditional surrender of Xuaip's people. In any case, the king's account is clearly designed to justify his acceptance of a pact despite his solid military advantage. The normal thing would have been to make captives of these people, without accepting conditions or leaving them any option, and this was, in fact, the preferred stance concerning the refugees in the caves, who were only allowed to choose between slavery and death. The chronicle was written to explain why the king had now decided to act differently.

In the account of his third trip to Mallorca, the capture of the last insurgents and their, seemingly discretionary, distribution among members of the royal army feature prominently. This was a large army, summoned following the threat—or with the excuse—of the Tunisian offensive. The king rewarded his men with captives. The precision of the *Llibre dels fets*, which specifies that the captives were distributed in order to “populate the land” reveals the king's wish to accelerate the colonisation process.

Trade in chattel slaves continued. After the inhabitants of Menorca fell under the protection of the 1231 pact, two of the most important lords in the kingdom, Nuno Sanç and Peter of Portugal, requested royal authorisation to conquer Ibiza and Formentera. The first royal permit expired in 1233, before the conquest had been achieved. Soon afterwards, these two lords, along with Guillem de Montgrí, brother of Bernat de Santa Eugènia, joined together in order to undertake the conquest together.¹⁶⁰ By 4 June 1235, *madīnat Yābisa* was already under siege, and the city

159. Taylor, Julie Anne. *Muslims in Medieval Italy. The Colony at Lucera*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005.

160. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 126-127 (chapter 125).



finally fell on 8 August.¹⁶¹ This action resulted in the capture of more captives. In the meantime, the conquest of Balansiya progressed fast, and captives are again mentioned firstly in the description of *cabalgadas* conveyed by the *Llibre dels fets*.

There were different ways to despoil the indigenous population of their land. Turning the captives themselves into booty was an effective system, so much so that they totally disappeared from Mallorca and, eventually, from the other islands too. The conquest aimed to enlarge jurisdictions, create new manorial properties, and to gain strategic commercial and military positions, but the incentive that drove men to run the risk of war was the prospect of immediate gain, with the capture of movable property and land. During the sack of the island of Mallorca, after the city had fallen, information about the concentration of refugees was precious, and the pacts that theoretically protected the local inhabitants as *sarraïns paliers* were of no value. The expectation of profit outweighed the possibility of punishment for those who violated the king's protection.

This same pattern repeated itself time and time again, almost without change. As previously noted, captives in Mallorca and Malaga were gathered in an identical manner, despite the fact that the conquest of both cities were separated by more than two-and-a-half centuries. As demonstrated by Charles Verlinden, this consideration of people as commodities (their evaluation in monetary terms and the use of their labour) was transferred wholesale to America, where the system was to acquire continental, monstrous proportions. Mallorca, and the other Andalusí lands, as well as the Caribbean, fall under the aegis of a sentence in which Friedrich Engels referred to colonial Cuba, and was later slightly modified by Jordi Maluquer: *És segur que l'esclavitud no és una forma exclusivament antiga; sorgeix en tots o quasi tots els llocs on els conqueridors no han trobat habitants nadius —o els han exterminats— i no han aconseguit de promoure la colonització per homes lliures*.¹⁶²

161. Mari Cardona, Joan. *La conquesta catalana de 1235...*: 33-34; Torres Peters, Francesc Xavier. "Aportació al coneixement de Guillem de Montgrí i de la conquesta de les Pitiüses de l'any 1235". *Eivissa*, 49 (2011): 2-9. Ferrer Abárzuza, Antoni. *L'Eivissa de Jaume I*. Ibiza: Govern de les Illes Balears, Consell d'Eivissa, 2009: 17-39.

162. "it is certain that slavery is not only a manifestation of Antiquity; it appears wherever conquerors have found no native inhabitants —or they have exterminated them— and have been incapable of attracting free colonists": Maluquer de Motes, Jordi. "La burgesia catalana i l'esclavitud colonial: modes de producció i pràctica política". *Recerques. Història, economia, cultura*, 3 (1974): 83-136, especially 87. Friedrich Engels's quote is a fragment from a letter to Karl Marx, dated 22nd December 1882: "It is certain that serfdom and bondage are not a peculiarly medieval-feudal form, we find them everywhere or nearly everywhere where conquerors have the land cultivated for them by the old inhabitants". It has been taken from the prologue of Eric J. Hobsbawm to Marx, Karl. *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1964: 59. Jordi Maluquer de Motes followed the Spanish translation: Marx, Karl. *Formaciones económicas precapitalistas*, translator Gregorio Ortiz. Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1967: 94-95, in which "serfdom and bondage" is translated as slavery.



ESTATE, BORDER AND AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE SOUTH OF THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA. THE VILANOVA LINEAGE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we will analyse the history of the lineage Vilanova in the kingdom of Valencia from the end of the 13th century until midway through the 14th century. We will focus on the methods used by the noblemen in the construction of the borders of the kingdom right up to the critical point mid century when the arrival of the Muslim population triggered political change.¹

KEYWORDS

Crown of Aragon, kingdom of Valencia, lordship, repopulation, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Corona Aragonum, Regnum Valencie, dominicatus, populatio, saeculi XIII-XIV.

The conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia during the final period of European feudal expansion, within what Robert Barlett identifies as *los siglos centrales de la Edad Media*² brought about—in parallel to the subsequent incorporation of a territory snatched from Islam into Christendom—the opening of a space to colonise which, beyond the feudal forms of colonisation, required a human contingent that could act as a counterweight to the overwhelming majority of Islamic population that remained in the country. It became evident from a very early stage that the arrival of new settlers would not take place in the form of a flood; quite the opposite, especially below the line of the Júcar river, a space which began to appear as the real border in a twofold sense: externally, with a Castilian kingdom of Murcia which had gone through an identical conquering phenomenon; and internally, with a predominantly Islamic population that was still highly rebellious towards the new power.³ It will be after the Mudejar uprising in 1276 and its quelling when the royal power proceeds to apply a sort of transfer of those “feudal forms” on these southern lands both through ordinary settlers and by means of small lords, who got hold of small properties in this context—sometimes displacing the native population.⁴ One of them will be the Vilanova lineage.

Until that moment, the documentary references about the space on which my inquiry will focus, the Pop valley, basically have a military nature and are related to the reigns of Jaime I and his sons Pedro and Alfonso, as well as to the presence of various keepers to whom was linked the *retenencia* for their maintenance and that of

1. The present paper was initiated within the framework of the Research Project *Redes sociales y proyección económica en una sociedad de frontera: el sur del reino de Valencia entre los siglos XIII-XV* (HAR 2010-2090), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and supervised from the University by the author of this study; and the research project PrometeoII/2014/018. It was likewise embryonically debated upon during the seminar entitled *Proyección económica en los espacios de frontera e intercambios mercantiles en las fronteras medievales mediterráneas (siglos XIII-XVI)* (“Economic projection in border spaces and trade exchanges in medieval Mediterranean borders”), held in Alicante on November 21st and 22nd, 2013.

I would like to thanks Noemí Selfa for her meticulous comments in the translation of the original text into English. Also I truly appreciate Professor Vicent Martines due to his linguistic normalization of the documentary transcription to modern Catalan. Used abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; C, Cancelleria.

2. “the central centuries of the Middle Ages”. Barlett, Robert. *La formación de Europa. Conquista, civilización y cambio cultural, 950-1350*. Valencia: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2003: 17

3. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation of de southern frontier of Valencia, 1270-1330”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 193-213.

4. See Torró, Josep. “El problema del hábitat fortificado en el sur del reino de Valencia después de la segunda revuelta mudéjar (1276-1304)”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 7 (1988-89): 53-81. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal del territori i trasbalsaments del poblament mudéjar. La Montanea Valencie (1286-1291)”. *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 7 (1988-89): 95-124. Torró, Josep. “L’assalt a la terra. Qüestions sobre l’abast de la colonització feudal al regne de València (1233-1304)”, *Histoire et archeologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995: 324-325. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*. Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2001: 613-645 (chapter 19). Guinot, Enric. “L’escenari de les senyories medievals a la comarca de la Marina Alta”, *II Jornades d’Estudis ‘Carmel Giner Bolufer’ de Pego y les Valls*. Pego: Ajuntament de Pego, 2007: 83-110. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: 195-196.



the fortress, of which news additionally exists about improvement works.⁵ Sanchis Sivera mentioned in his *Nomenclator* that the remains of that fortification were still visible at the beginning of last century.⁶ Robert Ignatius Burns even wrote that it *comprenia un doble castell en dos pics de la serra que domina la Vall de Pop* and that Pedro el Grande ordered its destruction in 1285.⁷ Nevertheless, such references are out of tune with the material reality, the architectural one, it being possible to speak about a “ghost castle” for its non-existence. As André Bazzana wrote, *Pop n’est rien d’autre que la mise à profit d’un relief difficilement accesible pour y établir un refuge temporaire, sans construction*.⁸ This same author, along with Patrice Cressier and Pierre Guichard, also defines the place as *un site non construit*, thus refuting the proposal of its existence as an architectural entity.⁹ Notwithstanding its immateriality or physical virtuality, its legal reality is unequivocal since, apart from the aforementioned references, all of them from the second half of the 13th century, I have found a reference dated one century before which leaves no room for doubt. On February 8th, 1375, and during the process that led to the possession of that valley by Pere de Vilanova after a donation of his father, Vidal —the Vidaló that I will refer to below—, the notary public Gabriel Sala, accompanied by Pere Gascó, *sayón goes personaliter apud castrum de Pop, et ascendendo versus castrum predictum fuit inventus Anthonius Pasquasii, vicinus ville Gandie, et fuit interrogatus per dictum Petrum Gasconi pro quo domino tenebat castrum de Pop, qui dictus Pasquasius, presentibus testibus infrascriptis, respondit quod ipse erat alcaydus dicti castri de Pop et tenebat ipsum pro venerabili Petro de Vilanova, domino vallis et castri predicti de Pop*.¹⁰ Beyond the architectural virtuality and the legal reality, what we can state is, as effectively suggested by Pierre Guichard,¹¹ that under the formula *castrum et villam de Pop* which appears in some thirteenth-century documents, replaced from the 14th century by *castri et vallis* in most cases, even though references

5. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo y valle de Pop durante la Edad Media: contribución al estudio de los señoríos valencianos”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 26. Soldevila, Ferran. *Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1995: II, 65 (doc. No. 12). Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1999: 63, 65.

6. Sanchis, José. *Nomenclator geográfico-eclesiástico de los pueblos de la diócesis de Valencia con los nombres antiguos y modernos de los que existen o han existido, notas históricas y estadísticas, relación de castillos, pobladores, objetos de arte notables, restos arqueológicos, festividades, cofradías, etc., etc.* Valencia: Tipografía Moderna a cargo de Miguel Gimeno, 1922: 347.

7. “In included a double castle in between two peaks of the mountain range that dominates the Pop valley”. Burns, Robert I. *Moros, cristians i jueus en el regne de València. Societats en simbiosi*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 360.

8. “Pop is nothing more than the use of a relief for a temporary refuge without construction which have a difficult access”. Bazzana, André. *Maisons d’Al Andalus. Habitat médiéval et structures du peuplement dans l’Espagne orientale*. Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992: 303-304. See likewise Guichard, Pierre. *Nuestra Historia*. Valencia: Mas-Ivars Editores, 1980: III, 32.

9. “A place without construction”. Bazzana, André; Cressier, Patrice; Guichard, Pierre. *Les châteaux ruraux d’Al Andalus. Histoire et archéologie médiévales des husun du Sud-Est de l’Espagne*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988: 85-88.

10. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15.

11. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-24.



also exist to population environments such as *universitates seu aliame sarracenorum vallis de Pop et loci de Murla*, an allusion is made to an absolutely clear geographical—corresponding to a *comarca* [small administrative region]—framework identified by the toponym. The name *vall de Pop* will be maintained throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern times, becoming lost as *la vall* was gradually divided into small estates.¹²

1. The Vilanova lineage, the king and the Infant Pedro

At the end of September 1296, and in return for the services delivered to the Crown, Jaime II grants the following to Ramon de Vilanova, a knight, in two different documents: the farmstead of Sagra, in the lands of La Marina Alta, with inhabitants, limits and rights in perpetuity,¹³ and very close to it and in *franco alodio* [estate without any burden], the castle and town of Pop with their limits, inhabitants and rights, the use of civil jurisdiction being the only existing option.¹⁴ A few days later, he informs the local Muslim settlers of such granting and urges them to respond before the new lord of the rights associated with that castle and area.¹⁵ As highlighted above, the Pop valley refers to a small geographical unit around which are organised some farmsteads referenced by a rural *hisn*,¹⁶ with an equally limited income projection—as will be seen below—which means that the donation I mention is inserted within the parameters established by the monarchy, which consisted in activating the resettlement of border areas with figures of a socio-military profile, though in tiny properties.¹⁷ The granting document contains the unclear limits of that valley, referred to Laguar, Tàrbena, Xaló and Castell de Castells.¹⁸ However, in fact, the beneficiary is not an anonymous person. Descending from a lineage located beyond the Pyrenees, Ramon de Vilanova had been a faithful servant of the monarchy from the times of Alfonso III, reaching the appointment as a steward and advisor already

12. Halfway through the 16th century, in the ceremony during which Pedro took possession of the place of Benigembla from Pere Andreu, a reference is made to that site inside the Barony of Parcent. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.44, D.3 (8th February 1563). See Costa, José. *El Marquesat de Dènia. Estudio geográfico*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1977: 4-5.

13. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 264v-265r (26th September 1296).

14. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 1. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26th September 1296). Amongst such services stands out the position as keeper of the Morella castle on occasion of the Logroño hearings, in 1293, between Jaime II and Sancho de Castilla. The king will claim that place from him in 1302. ACA. C. reg. 199, f. 123v (9th October 1302).

15. ACA. C. reg. 194, f. 218v (9th October 1296).

16. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-26. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus...: 254-255, 258, 266-267*.

17. Furió, Antoni. “Senyors i senyories al País Valencià al final de l’edat Mitjana”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 111. Cabezuolo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: p. 201. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña. Creación y destrucción del señorío de Bernat de Sarrià*, forthcoming.

18. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26th September 1296). Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 24-25.



with Jaime II.¹⁹ Precisely during that period when he receives such properties in the kingdom of Valencia, Ramon returned from accompanying the king in his successful campaign against the kingdom of Murcia, being one of the high figures who participates as a witness in the agreements between the king and the young Castilian tycoon Juan Manuel, signed in the site of Elche late in July 1296.²⁰

For some reason in May 1297, that is, when not even one year had elapsed since the donation, Ramon receives a legal licence to sell or bind —during the three following years— that possession to his incomes and rights, thus maintaining what is stipulated in the granting privilege with regard to duration.²¹ That authorisation must undoubtedly have taken place at the request of a party, and probably had to do with the desire to obtain an economic increase in that way which might be used to compensate some kind of debt that the crown had with that lineage.²² After some time had elapsed, already at the turn of the new century, news arises with regard to the donation of Pop to Ramon de Vilanova. Late in 1305, Jaime II decides to broaden the scope of that grace to his loyal advisor, to whom he extends the time in the following direction, equally taking into consideration the services delivered by him and his son Vidal —whose relationship was described by the king as *familiarem*. Despite having granted it for life, the king grants it for a period of twenty years from that very moment, on the understanding that if the beneficiary is still alive at that time, he would continue to enjoy until his death. In the event that he should pass away earlier, his son would inherit such rights, though only for the period of time remaining until the end of those two decades. The property would return to the royal patrimony after applying either of the two cases.²³

Due to the almost total link —except for some right— between this space and the estate owner, the data existing about it in the Chancery are very scarce. Hence why it was impossible to find any more information related to the evolution of the property as far as the beneficiary is concerned. Ramon de Vilanova dies at an undetermined moment, but not too far in time from 1305. What had been stipulated

19. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (1327-1357). La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988: 41. The counselor figure as an image of the good governance in Cortijo, Adelaida. *La literatura especular de la Edad Media: una imagen de gobierno*, Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista, 2012: 177-178.

20. ACA. C. reg. 292, ff. 1r-4r (27th July 1296). See Cabezuelo, José V. “Que me podiesse lamar e sea daqui adelant príncipe de Villena e de la otra terra que jo he en el vuestro senyorio. Don Juan Manuel y la Corona de Aragón”. *Mirabilia. News Approches in the Research of the Crown of Aragón*, 5 (2017): 116-150.

21. ACA. C. reg. 195, f. 11v (22nd May 1297).

22. Guinot, Enric. “La creació de les senyories en una societat feudal de frontera: el regne de València (segles XIII-XIV)”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 88-89. This author sees the granting of estates for a specific period of time as exceptional, rightly associating this fact with the existence of specific ties between the king and the beneficiary. The truth is that such specificity appears in quite a few cases, which would lead us to think that the formula in question —regardless of the fact that it was subsequently modified as suggested in the aforesaid case as well as in others— would be one of the means utilised by the monarchy to build the noble space. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

23. ACA. C. reg. 203, ff. 92v-93v (17th November 1305).



in the privilege of that year was immediately activated, and his son Vidal came to inherit the valley in the conditions established. As a matter of fact, in 1313, the king addressed Vidal de Vilanova to confer that property upon him for life, and not only for the time that remained of the twenty years mentioned in the document of 1305. Nevertheless, Vidal was curiously subject to the same condition as his father; in other words, even though he received the estate for life, if he died during the twenty-year period awarded to Ramon, an heir of his could complete that time, and once that time had elapsed, it would return to the Crown. This happened in June 1313.²⁴ From the end of the previous century, Vidal de Vilanova had been a man closely linked to the Aragonese monarchy circles, to such an extent that he became one of the most influential persons in the court, not only acting as an advisor both of the king and of his different wives but also playing an active and decisive role in highest-level diplomatic affairs for the Crown of Aragon.²⁵

Vidal de Vilanova, the same as his father, exploits the incomes and rights of that valley, with the exception of the mere empire, which belongs to the king, even though he may receive money from that jurisdiction in some case, albeit for its application in public domains. He will have to fight for these rights with other lords, including the Mercer family²⁶ and the almighty Bernat de Sarrià through his wife, the noblewoman Isabel de Cabrera.²⁷ Thus, by way of example, in 1319, and after it became known that a Moor —called Azmet and son of Abdula— had been murdered by Ali, son of Abolaix Abolfaquim, *alamín* of the farmstead of Benivaquar —it surely must have been Benalbacar— a site located in the Pop valley, the king ordered Ferrer Descortell, general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia, that in the event that a pecuniary composition were made to redeem the crime, it would be necessary to impose a quantity that the criminal could assume, and the product of such justice should be delivered to Vidal de Vilanova so that it could be used for the repair works at the Xàtiva castle.²⁸ This is the Place that he was the keeper of after Jaime II's appointment —a period during which he paid special attention to the

24. ACA. C. reg. 210, ff. 59r-59v (27th June 1313).

25. Martínez, Jesús E. *Jaume II o el seny català*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1956: 174-175, 197-199. Martínez, Jesús E. *Els descendents de Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1980: 113-114. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 41-43. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*. Madrid: Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, 2009: 215-126, 629.

26. Linked to these lands since the early stages of the Christian conquest. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 199.

27. The Mercer family also fought with Bernat de Sarrià for Murla, the noble wanting to receive an homage for that castle, who in another moment had actually invaded the place with troops from his neighbouring possessions of Laguar and Xaló causing serious damages. ACA. C. reg. 170, ff. 75r-75v (28th July 1320) and reg. 176, f. 190v (24th September 1322). And with the brand new count of Ribagorza, heir of the Sarrià lordship. ACA. C. reg. 177, f. 96r (30th November 1322). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

28. ACA. C. reg. 216, ff. 128v-129r (17th April 1319). ACA. RP. MR. 774b, f. 3v (no date).



restoration of the defences—²⁹ and of which his son Pere was also going to be the keeper at a later stage.³⁰

The Vilanova family's rule over Pop suffers an alteration in the early 1320s when king Jaime grants to his son Pedro, amongst other possessions, the Pop castle on a *feudo honrado* ("honoured domain") basis, without delivering any services and following the Custom of Catalonia.³¹ This all within a manoeuvre orchestrated and conducted by and from the crown to relate practically the whole of Bernat de Sarrià's estate to the young infante's patrimony. In fact, Bernat de Sarrià transferred his dominions to the infante in a voluntary but agreed way as a means to escape the financial ruin into which he had fallen, even though the reason adduced was the lack of descendants.³² The king endows the operation with grandeur because he not only grants a vast estate to his son, much larger than the one located in Valencian lands, but also links the titles as count of Ribagorza and Ampurias to him.³³ However, the practical outcome of such donations is almost non-existent in what regards the Valencian possessions. As for the Pop valley, firstly granted to Ramon de Vilanova and then to his son Vidal for life, the situation remains exactly the same as before. The king of Aragón himself informs Vidal de Vilanova about it on June 28th, 1322. He lets his son Pedro know about the donation of that valley,

29. ACA. C. reg. 173, ff. 228v-229r (30th July 1321).

30. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r. See Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 42. Vidal was removed from that job as the keeper in 1329 after the granting of the town and castle to queen Leonor by Alfonso IV, even though his appointment was for life and at the death of his son Pere; the job as keeper of Xàtiva then fell upon Bernat de Sarrià. To compensate for that loss, Alfonso IV also granted 4,000 *sueldos* [a currency] to father and son, for life and in a successory order 4,000 *sueldos* per year, a pension that would be subsequently ratified by Pedro IV in return for the services delivered by Vidal both to his father and to his grandfather. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r; reg. 860, ff. 141v-143v (18th November 1336). Cabezuolo, José V. "Formas feudales en el traspaso de la posesión de fortalezas ad Consuetudinem Yspanie", *Alcaldías y fortalezas en la España medieval*, José V. Cabezuolo, ed. Alcoy: Marfil, 2006: 169.

Pere received the job as the keeper of Xàtiva in May 1338, with a *retenencia* of 7,500 *sueldos* and the exploitation of a vineyard next to the fortress, as his predecessors had been doing. And, despite some moments of intermittence, either by the appointment of another keeper—as was the case of Gilabert de Centelles—or by his own absences, when he resigned in 1350 in order to be able to do the jubilee in Rome *eundi ac visitandi basilicas beatorum Petri et Pauli*, his position being occupied by a relative—Vidaló de Vilanova—or when he had to travel to Castile the following year to sort out some personal matters, he remained as the keeper of Xàtiva until the beginning of that decade. This position as a keeper was quite important because, in addition to the fact that Xàtiva had become strategically relevant for the defensive arrangement of the kingdom of Valencia, it also kept Jaime de Mallorca, nephew of Pedro IV, as a prisoner at the time. ACA. C. reg. 1464, f. 22v (23rd September 1350); f. 25r (18th August 1351).

31. ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 14r-15v. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.33, D.50 (22nd May 1322).

32. See Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1978: III, 148-149 (book VI, chapter XL). Guinot, Enric. "Reflexions al voltant del senyoriu i el realenc: Pego, segles XIII i XIV", *Primer Congrès d'Estudis de La Marina Alta*. Alicante: Institut d'Estudis Juan Gil-Abert, 1986: 191-195. Guinot, Enric. "'Donamus et concedimus vobis'. Monarquía i senyorialització del patrimoni reial al País Valencià en temps de Jaume II", *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón-Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1996: I, 2, 226-227. Pastor, José Luís. *Gandia en la baixa Edat Mitjana: la Vila i el Senyoriu dels Borja*. Gandía: Centre d'Estudis i Investigacions Comarcals Alfons el Vell, 1992: 53-54, 130-132. Cabezuolo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 206-210. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

33. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



but admits to him that he would continue to receive the incomes and rights derived from it, as he had been doing until then, according to his enjoyment of those lands in *violario regio*.³⁴ The same situation is true for the neighbouring valleys of Laguar and Xaló, owned by Bernat de Sarrià on a *violario* basis and which he was supposed to enjoy until his death and four years after it. On that same day, the king orders Bernat Çanou —general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia— to give the infante Pedro the possession of those three valleys, informing their Muslim settlers about the ownership of the new estate, albeit on the understanding that no damage should derive from the aforementioned possession with regard to the perception of their incomes, the beneficiaries —the Vilanova and Sarrià families— being able to enjoy them as it had been established in their respective donations. The only novelty for the case of Pop is perhaps that the whole jurisdiction over the valley, both the military and the civil one, was left to the new lord, to whom Çanou had to give the possession of such rights.³⁵ Hence the early widespread perception that the granting of those Valencian lands to the infante caused a true ownership-related impediment, as was the fact that they did not receive their incomes. Seeking to find a solution to a problem which was undoubtedly economic, at the end of that summer, the king gave instructions for a total estimate to be made of the amount that his son was not going to receive, so that it could be reimbursed to him through the incomes from the town of Elche. The global sum amounted to 36,300 *sueudos*, 26,000 of them corresponding to the annual estimate generated by the valleys of Laguar and Xaló, and which came to be owned by admiral Sarrià, and 9,000 to the Pop valley, now owned by Vidal de Vilanova.³⁶

2. Towards the construction of the lordship. The purchase/sale of the Pop valley

Since the summer of 1322, the rights over the ownership of the Pop valley belonged to the infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, although the perception of its incomes mostly fell upon Vidal de Vilanova. Despite being finalist, as Vilanova had received that valley *ad vitam* in the form of a *violario*, the situation must have been uncomfortable for the infante since, although the annual income volume generated by the value was not important according to the estimate carried out, that volume actually became important when the accounting was done over longer periods

34. ACA. C. reg. 222, f. 17r (28th June 1322).

35. *iura nostra que in predicto castro de Pop ac habitantibus in terminis eiusdem habemus et habere debebamus, tam in mero et mixto imperio et alia jurisdictione, quam aliis quibuscumque prefatus Vitalis de Villanova concessione habet a nobis et de quibus oficiales nostri utabatur et uti debebant in castro ipso et suis terminis* (ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 16v-17r).

36. The remaining 1,300 would be obtained from Estopanyà. ACA. C. reg. 280, ff. 61r-63r. (30th August 1322); reg. 222, ff. 19r-20v (30th August 1322) and ff. 21r-22r (6th September 1322). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



of time. For that reason or for another simpler one, as is the owner's need for money, when half a dozen years had elapsed since it had been given to him, the count of Ribagorza decided to sell that belonging to the Vilanova family, who had clearly shown a desire to buy it. One year before that agreement, Vidal became a member of the Santiago militia and, with the support of the infante Alfonso, about to become king, received the *Encomienda* [control over lands] of Montalbán by papal appointment.³⁷ This meant that a family of noble descent came to settle down with guarantees of continuity in the southern Valencian border, a matter of utmost interest for the monarchy, who had striven to situate somewhat prestigious figures in those lands —Llúria, Sarrià, Vilaragut and Cruïlles, amongst others— with only relative success.³⁸ On January 8th 1328, the infante received his brother's approval to proceed with that sale, since regal rights were involved, even though the count of Ribagorza wanted to do it with a "letter of grace" so that he could recover them when possible.³⁹ On May 28th, Alfonso IV allowed his brother to carry out that delivery for whatever price he wanted, as had already been decided in January.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, one month prior to closing the deal, the king told Bernat de Sarrià —then attorney of the kingdom of Valencia— about the matter, announcing him that his brother was going to sell —*vendiderit et tradiderit*— such domain to Maria Lladró,⁴¹ widow of Ramon de Vilanova,⁴² and to Vidaló, the son of both, as well as to Vidal de Vilanova, in his capacity as tutor and testament guardian of the young Vidaló, his grandson, together with the mere and mixed empire, the *tercio diezmo* ("a tax/tithe") and the *monedaje* ("money paid to the king for coining currency") in the place of Murla, and ordering him not interfere with that operation.⁴³ As I see it, the reasons to anticipate such information to the Valencian attorney exceeded the tasks associated with his competences and had to do with his condition as neighbour in estates and, precisely for that reason, also linked to the proven experience of wrong practices over neighbouring domains and owners.⁴⁴ The regal consent for the infante to proceed with that sale arrived four days later. On April 28th, Alfonso

37. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 43.

38. Fullana, Luís. "La casa de Lauria en el reino de Valencia", *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta del hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1923: 1 (reedited Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2004: 65-164). Cabezuelo, José V. *Poder público y administración territorial en el reino de Valencia, 1239-1348. El oficio de la Procuración*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998: 152-153; Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 206-211.

39. ACA. C. reg. 473, ff. 61r-61v (9th January 1328).

40. ACA. C. reg. 473, f. 61r (8th January 1328); 475, ff. 96v-97v (28th May 1328).

41. Maria was the only daughter of the couple formed by Pere Lladró, who in turn was the son of Lladró, and Elfa Sanç. ACA. C. reg. 175, ff. 88v-89r (21st May 1322).

42. One of Vidal de Vilanova's sons died during the Sardinia campaign in 1323. "Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós", *Les Quatre Grands Cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: 1016. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 43. Another of his daughters, called Agnès, married Bernat de Vilaragut, son of Berenguer de Vilaragut, lord of Albaida, and of Geralda. ACA. C. reg. 181, ff. 115v-116r (26th January 1324).

43. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 97r (24th April 1328).

44. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



IV awarded grace to the count of Ribagorza to sell the *tercio diezmo* of the place of Murla along with the Pop valley for the price that he might eventually agree with the purchaser.⁴⁵ By mid-May, the king sent Enric de Quintavall and Ramon Costa, knights, who in the view of the existing disputes regarding the limits of the Pop valley between the count of Ribagorza, lord of the domain, together with Vidal de Vilanova, who had it on a *violario* basis (“with the right to receive a pension”), on one side, and some neighbours of that castle and municipality, on another, arrived in those lands and called whoever they deemed appropriate, so that a better knowledge of the situation could be acquired, ultimately seeking to define the limits by placing boundary stones as a way of recognising those limits.⁴⁶ At the end of the month, the king granted to his brother the chance to include a number of specific regal rights corresponding to that valley, as is the case of *monedaje*⁴⁷ and jurisdictional rights—mere and mixed empire—of Murla⁴⁸ in the selling lot. The sale was certified on May 29th and corresponded to the Pop territory with its limits, jurisdiction, belongings and settlers, which now came into the hands of Maria Lladró and her son Vidaló on condition that they had it on a *feudo honrado* basis, without any service whatsoever, pursuant to the Uses of Barcelona and the Customs of Catalonia, which is how the infante Pedro received it from his father, assuming that the Vilanova family would own it through a fair purchase deed, and no longer on a *violario* basis, from then on. Once again, the boundaries of that valley are roughly announced: Laguar, Xaló, Castell de Castells and Tàrbena. It all, with the addition of the mere and mixed empire as a free allod, and of the *monedaje* of Murla. King Alfonso asked the *maestre racional* about the sum to which the latter amounted. The final figure for the operation amounted to 140,000 Valencian *sueldos*, which was guaranteed by the king, albeit adding a clause which ensured the return of those lands to the royal patrimony if the family ended up having no legitimate descendants.⁴⁹ The price was fixed as an approximate one, though. Two days later, the purchasers and the seller agreed to appoint two delegates, one from each side, who were entrusted with correctly assessing the goods involved in the transaction and had to decide whether the agreed amount was correct or not, the parties pledging to accept and pay the variation of the valuation.⁵⁰

What had been agreed then revealed previous commitments which linked the incomes of that valley with third parties, and which needed to be dealt with so that the purchasers could acquire the property free of any encumbrances. That is how, since November 1325, in the agreements of that same year signed between the count of Ribagorza and Huc de Cardona for the former to be linked to the count

45. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97r-97v.

46. ACA. C. reg. 431, ff. 41r-41v y reg. 475, ff. 98r-98v (1328, 17th May). See Also the Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 4.

47. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96r-96v (28th May 1328).

48. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96v-97r (28th May 1328).

49. Documentary appendix, doc. No. 2. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 101v (16th June 1328). Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 27.

50. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 1.



title and the patrimony of Ampurias in return for the town of Pego and the valleys of Laguar and Xaló,⁵¹ the infante Pedro assumed all the expenses of the expected litigation against the young Huc on account of the inheritance of Malgaulino, the last count with that title, placing as guarantors of such expenses, amongst others, *aliamam et quasdam singulares personas castri et vallis de Pop*, who were bound to it on the aforementioned date. On June 11th 1328 Huc de Cardona freed the infante from that commitment and liberated the inhabitants of the small valley of their condition as payment guarantors.⁵²

On June 13th, Alfonso IV placed the Vilanova family, along with the Pop castle and valley with their inhabitants and goods, under his special guidance and protection so that they could not be damaged.⁵³ The following day, he ordered the deputy of the Valencian attorney from beyond the Júcar river and the deputy of the Xàtiva bailiff to protect them in their newly acquired rights over Murla.⁵⁴ On June 15th, the seller designated Ramon Castellà, Macià Desplagues and Guillem Tejeda as his attorneys so that they could give the purchasers possession over the acquired goods and rights and inform the inhabitants of that valley about the obligation to take an oath of loyalty and homage to the new lord. They were obliged to define the boundaries. Vidal de Vilanova similarly received assurance that the price of the *violario* that he had been receiving from the Pop valley would be guaranteed to him by the men of Gandía, Denia and Xàbia.⁵⁵

The king's request to his officials for defence with regard to the Vilanova lineage made a lot of sense. Not in vain, the aggressiveness of the lords linked to issues such as boundaries and the influence over the territory resulted in a considerable degree of violence, as had been attested in those lands with the neighbour Sarrià who, albeit being already old at that moment, still kept all his fierceness towards his neighbours.⁵⁶ Despite the admiral's good relationship with the new king and his son Pedro, the changes in the lordship of the Pop valley after the arrival of the Vilanova family generated plenty of tension between both nobles, Vidal and Bernat, which essentially stemmed from the great conflict over the possession of Villajoyosa, Orcheta and Torres between the *santiaguistas* of Montalbán and the admiral, a dispute which came from many years before and which, despite being close to its end, still raised a series of problems associated with legal debate and military violence.⁵⁷ Within that context of deep enmity, Sarrià did not hesitate to

51. Sobrequés, Santiago. *Els Barons de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1989: 3, 83-85.

52. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.46, D.15.

53. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97v-98r.

54. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 98r.

55. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 3.

56. Cabezuero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña....* Curiously enough, Bernat de Sarrià was the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia at the time. Cabezuero, José V. *Poder público....*: 189-190.

57. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán (1210-1327)*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: 163-168. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova....*: 119-121. Cabezuero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



show an aggressive behaviour towards a Moor from that valley who travelled to Tàrbena and to other possessions of this noble to buy a certain amount of cereal—40 *cahíces* [capacity measure] of wheat and 60 of barley—which of course was snatched from him.⁵⁸ After all, the admiral saw that sale as a significant setback, which he obviously reported through an attorney. Halfway through the month of July, he expressed his opposition to that agreement in writing. He saw it as a fraud, this opinion being supported on a legal foundation: the serious damage that it caused to him, since Vilanova owned the Pop domain on a *violario* basis and at his death, it had to come into the admiral's hands for life and even four years after his death, as agreed with the infante Pedro, in compensation for the 16,203 *sueudos* and 3 *dineros* that the count of Ribagorza owed him over the incomes of Elche and for the change of the valleys of Laguar and Xaló with Gandía, Xàbia, Denia and the valleys of Ebo and Gallinera, ratified by Jaime II. Vidal de Vilanova answered on August 21st, also through an attorney, rejecting the accusations and describing the protest as *metiment de mala veu* ("injurious"), since he proved that both the sale and purchase and the ownership of the place were legal. Sarrià replied well into August insisting on his arguments based on the criterion that Pop could not be alienated or sold without his consent, pursuant to the explanations provided above. Vilanova answered in September with the same already-adduced argument according to which he rejected the alleged lack of legality in the operation. All of this is known to us thanks to a notification dated in December 1332.⁵⁹ That debate ultimately resulted in nothing, the sale and purchase becoming effective.

In the summer of 1329, the commander of Montalbán and royal advisor Vidal de Vilanova came to the Royal Seat in the city of Valencia. He did so in his capacity as attorney of her daughter-in-law Maria Lladró and of his grandson Vidaló, providing a delegation document drawn up by Joan Roser, notary public, and signed in Xàtiva on June 24th, and also as the testament tutor of Vidaló, as specified in the last will and testament of his son Ramon, dated on October 5th 1323, and prepared by Bonavent de Benviure, with the aim of paying a homage to the king, orally and with his hands, in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Uses of Barcelona and Customs of Catalonia, *pro castro de Pop*; his clients had to own the regal domain after its acquisition from the Count of Ribagorza and Ampurias. Alfonso IV received that homage and granted Maria Lladró and her son, *in absentia*, rights over that possession on August 25th 1329.⁶⁰

A conflict arose in relation to Murla too. After the valley was sold, Jaume Escrivà, acting as the tutor of the sons of Berenguer Mercer—already dead by then—highlighted the rights of his clients over the place, recalling that some time before, Pere Mercer, brother of the late Berenguer, had received the mere empire of Murla by regal granting. Alfonso IV urged the Mercer brothers' tutor to appear before him, in person or through an attorney, within six days, to expose those rights, leaving the

58. ACA. C. reg. 434, f. 198v (5th June 1329).

59. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.9 (11th December 1332).

60. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.10.



case to the legal experience of Guillem de Jàffer, *legum professor*.⁶¹ Even though the ties of the Valencian Mercer lineage dated back to some decades before, the issue of Murla was not settled until some more time elapsed,⁶² thus giving rise to a legal conflict that involved the Vilanova family, the widow of Alfonso IV, the Cabrera family in their capacity as heirs of Bernat de Sarrià's wife,⁶³ the Cardona family, and the crown itself. It is within this context that Alfonso IV addresses the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia and the civil justice of the capital of the kingdom in April 1330, asking them to take charge of the issues concerning the Vilanova family, inside their respective jurisdictions, with the help of legal advisors.⁶⁴ It seems highly striking, and even hard to understand, unless it was a misunderstanding corrected later that, when not even three years had elapsed since the sale of the Pop valley together with the rights over Murla to Maria Lladró and to her son Vidaló, Alfonso IV granted to Isabel de Cabrera, admiral Sarrià's wife, the exercise *pro nobis, quamdiu nobis placuerit, merum imperium et aliam jurisdictionem criminalem et civilem in castro vocato de Murla, situado in regno Valencie, et terminis suis, prout nos ipsam inibi habere consuevimus sive etiam exercere*.⁶⁵ That right was awarded by the king to his brother the count of Ribagorza and, after the sale, the only thing that remained in the infante's hands was whatever might result from applying such jurisdiction prior to the mercantile fact which took place at the end of May in the year of the sale.⁶⁶ Pierre Guichard also noticed that this jurisdictional assignment clashed head-on with the sale of those rights to the Vilanova family.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, as explained above, it all was nothing but a misunderstanding, and Alfonso amended his mistake in May 1331, recognising that he had previously awarded the right in question to his brother Pedro, who had sold it with the king's authorisation to the Vilanova family, ordering that the purchasers be protected in relation to that belonging, additionally ensuring that they would not be affronted by the noblewoman Isabel Cabrera — undoubtedly through her husband the admiral.⁶⁸ This Catalan noblewoman ignored the order and, in fact, she not only disturbed them from her property —*medietas dicte alcharee de Murla*— but also appropriated the rights over the farmstead that the infante Pedro had sold to Maria Lladró, in view of which the king had to urge the Valencian attorney to defend the purchaser's rights and also to force Isabel de Cabrera to return what she had unduly taken.⁶⁹ The relationship between both ladies with regard to the territory came to be under court supervision from that very moment; an issue that the king firstly entrusted to Pere Desplugues and later

61. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 98v-99r (15th June 1328).

62. ACA. C. reg. 184, f. 55r (11th September 1324). Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 25. Cabezuolo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 199 and 203 and Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 1.

63. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

64. ACA. C. reg. 438, ff. 57v-58r (27th April 1330).

65. ACA. C. reg. 483, f. 143v (6th April 1331).

66. ACA. C. reg. 477, ff. 110v-111r (23rd August 1328).

67. Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 30.

68. ACA. C. reg. 445, ff. 170r-170v (28th May 1331).

69. ACA. C. reg. 446, ff. 74r-74v (17th July 331).



to Bernat Gomir and to Domingo Aymeric due to the impossibility of the former, who was busy with other matters,⁷⁰ Francesc de Vall-llòbrega and subsequently Jaume d'Arters becoming involved too.⁷¹ Although the conflict undoubtedly had to do with boundary issues,⁷² a connection also existed with the perception of incomes for some lords' economies which were in serious trouble, as it happened at that same time to Maria Lladró with Huc de Cardona's attacks against the farmstead of Tormos, causing damages to buildings and exerting violence on the noblewoman's officials.⁷³ Complaints about identical deteriorations came from Artal de Cabrera, heir of the then late Isabel, in his half of the farmstead of Murla, when he explained to the king in October 1335 that, since they did not live in the kingdom of Valencia, his Muslim vassals of the aforementioned farmstead were vilified and prejudiced by the neighbouring estates, and requested protection for them and their interests in those lands.⁷⁴ Curiously enough, those estates simultaneously carried out and suffered damages. The noble Artal complained about the actions performed against his domains by Maria Lladró, who in turn had long complained about the same kind of behaviour, since she could not reconstruct the tower of the Murla castle after being denied access to the lime which was produced in the furnace of the territory, when she understood that one tenth of that production corresponded to her, and arrested the keeper appointed by Artal.⁷⁵

In fact, the issue of Murla during that time was a headache for all those who had not only rights but also interests in the territory. A distinction was made then between the place and the castle of that name. So much so that, in October 1328, Alfonso IV ordered Enric de Quintavall —a knight who had already been serving the Crown for a long time and had a broad experience in the delicate matter that was entrusted to him— to proceed with the division of the boundaries between the Pop castle and the place of Murla, on one side, and the castle with the same name, located in the *Puig d'Orba*, which was owned on a regal domain basis by

70. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 240v-241r and f. 268v (7th December 1331).

71. ACA. C. reg. 465, ff. 157r-157v (30th April 1334).

72. After the order to put boundary stones in 1328, resources were generated by the parties which considered themselves affronted. In 1331, Pere Desplugues, archdeacon of Alzira, together with Domingo Aymeric, were entrusted with settling such disputes associated with boundaries between Murla, Pop and other places breviter. ACA. C. reg. 447, ff. 269r-269v (22nd September 1331). A judgment was given on the separation between the boundaries of those valleys which Isabel de Cabrera claimed not to have seen and which, according to her report, were in Huc de Cardona's hands. Arguing for the ownership of half Murla, she demanded to know the content of the judgment, which led Alfonso IV to order Esteve Suau, attorney of Cardona, to provide the noblewoman with the transumptum iamdicte sentencie. ACA. C. reg. 452, f. 84v (11th September 1331). The conflict continued all the same. In the summer of 1332, the king urged Aymeric and Vall-llòbrega to issue a judgment, defining the boundaries with stones —the castles of Pop, of Murla, the farmstead of Murla and some others— even though he told them to stop carrying out that activity a few days later. ACA. C. reg. 455, f. 187r (5th July 1332) and f. 230r (21st July 1332).

73. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 279v-280r (8th January 1332).

74. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 190r (3rd October 1335).

75. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 203r (3rd October 1335).



Pericó Mercer, on another.⁷⁶ The new estate profile of the valley, in which an interaction took place between the Vilanova family, Bernat de Sarrià through the rights of his wife Isabel de Cabrera, the Cardona family, the Mercer family and the crown itself represented by the count of Ribagorza, and where the boundary issue spearheaded the ‘multilord’ conflict, made the weaker part of that group —the Mercer family— decide to sell their rights. And this in turn activated the other actors’ interest in acquiring them. Thus, in October 1327, Jaime II granted a licence to Pere Mercer, son and heir of Berenguer Mercer and also heir of Ramon Mercer, his uncle, dead too, so that he could sell the *Puig d’Orba* to the noblewoman Isabel de Cabrera, despite the clause which prevented carrying out that sale to knights and to the clergy.⁷⁷ In fact, when the operation was going to be completed, the property had already been sold by the civil justice, at the request of his sister-in-law, the widow of Ramon Mercer, Pere’s late brother, and of various creditors, being acquired by Pere Ribalta, a resident in Valencia. A newly-crowned Alfonso IV understands that this means failing to comply with his father’s wishes, according to which that place should be owned by Isabel de Cabrera, and authorises Ribalta to sell that property to Bernat de Sarrià’s wife.⁷⁸ Shortly after, he granted to that noblewoman the mere empire over that place.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, a problem of a legal nature originated in relation to that right. On April 6th 1331, Alfonso IV grants the mere empire and the whole jurisdiction over the Murla and its boundaries to Isabel de Cabrera. However, as he had previously awarded it to the count of Ribagorza, the latter sold it to Maria Lladró, Ramon de Vilanova’s widow, for a certain amount of money. It is then understood that the right granted to Bernat de Sarrià’s wife points at the *Puig de Orba*, which was owned on a domain basis by the king, and not at Murla, since it was a property in allod and, therefore, its owners —Maria Lladró and her son— would keep the mere and mixed empire and the whole jurisdiction over that area. In his letter to the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia, the king insisted on defending the aforementioned rights of the Vilanova family over Murla, protecting them against any aggression by Bernat de Sarrià’s wife and making sure that the noblewoman Isabel would not erect any military buildings, with the exception of the *Puig d’Orba*, and also that any such building would be knocked down if it were eventually built.⁸⁰ The truth was that Maria Lladró and Isabel de Cabrera clashed over the rights of Murla, and the king had to intervene in order to solve the problem. Maria explained to Alfonso IV that she had to receive the *monedaje* and the *tercio diezmo* of Murla for the purchase that she had made from her brother Pedro. However, since Isabel de Cabrera claimed that she owned half of the farmstead, she took part of those rights. The King declared that, before the aforesaid half came into the hands of the Catalan admiral’s wife,

76. ACA. C, reg. 430, f. 73r (30th October 1328).

77. ACA. C, reg. 230, ff. 130r-130v (20th October 1327).

78. ACA. C, reg. 473, ff. 132v-133v (27th January 1328).

79. ACA. C, reg. 484, ff. 98r-98v (25th January 1332).

80. ACA. C, reg. 446, ff. 66r-66v (13th July 1331).



he had granted the disputed rights to the infante Pedro, and the latter sold them *pro franco alodio* to the aforementioned Maria Lladró; therefore, Isabel de Cabrera had to abstain from disturbing Ramon de Vilanova's widow in those possessions.⁸¹

The Mercer family also wanted to sell their part *in alcharia seu loco de Murla*. The sale commitment was made with queen Leonor for 52,000 *sueldos* payable in two years, on condition that if that amount was not paid within the time established, the seller could resell the estate, of course incorporating the interests corresponding to that time, which amounted to 2,500 *sueldos* per year. The queen donated such an acquisition to Isabel de Cabrera provided that she paid the price of the purchase to the sellers, which was agreed with 50,000 *sueldos* payable from her dowry over the incomes of the Tàrbena castle. This operation was finally not completed, without a doubt because Maria Lladró lodged a complaint against it on the grounds that the operation had been carried out against the laws, since it affected ecclesiastics or nobles and required the participation of the king, who immediately asked the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia —we are speaking about May 1331— to cancel the sale as illegal if the complaint was right.⁸² In the end, the Vinalova family got away with it and bought their part of rights over the farmstead of Murla from the Mercer family, which was half of it, for 32,000 *sueldos* payable in three years. The other half belonged to the Cabrera family, whose head, Artal, complained to the king about that sale when he was not even called to be present, even though he owned 50% of the property.⁸³ From that date, and at least until the beginning of the next decade, a legal conflict seems to have existed between Artal, as Isabel de Cabrera's heir, on one side, and the executors of the then dead Bernat de Sarrià in relation to the Murla castle, on another.⁸⁴

The Murla issue gets tangled again in the late 1520s with the appearance of another actor when, in April 1338, Pedro IV grants to Jaume Pertusa, canon of the Valencia cathedral, the *derecho de fadiga* ("right of first refusal and pre-emptive rights") over the sale of that castle, which was owned by the aforementioned clergyman on a domain basis. In his capacity as clergyman, he was not allowed to own that place —a layman could own it, though. However, the king told him that one third of the right of first refusal would remain his; the rest would be for the Crown.⁸⁵ In fact, the property ended up inside the Vilanova estate.⁸⁶

81. ACA. C, reg. 447, f. 195v (17th July 1331).

82. ACA. C, reg. 445, f. 170r (29th May 1331).

83. ACA. C, reg. 470, f. 203r (3rd October 1335).

84. ACA. C, reg. 595, f. 217r ([11th August] 1338). ACA. C, cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 990 (28th January 1341). Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

85. ACA. C, cc. rr. Pedro IV, No. 569 (7th April 1338).

86. ACA. C, cc. rr. Pedro IV, No. 1945 (1st August 1382).



3. Marking off the boundaries and starting production. The foundation of a farmstead

Not much is known about the activity developed by the Vilanova family in Pop after its acquisition in 1328. There is one thing, though, namely: the demand by Vidal that the attorneys entrusted by the king to proceed with the establishment of the boundaries for that valley did their job. Nearly two months elapsed after Alfonso IV entrusted Enric de Quintavall and Ramon Costa with such task, when Vidal de Vilanova travelled to Gandía, where Quintavall was, to urge him to carry out that task. Enric de Quintavall was a Valencian knight who had the confidence of the Crown. A man with a long experience in the delivery of diplomatic services for the monarchy who, in the domestic context, had specialised in issues linked to the division of areas,⁸⁷ and who had shortly before taken part, at Jaime II's request and together with the general bailiff Bernat Çanou and the Valencian notary public Domingo Claramunt, in the assessment of the estate that Bernat de Sarrià assigned to the infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, in those same lands.⁸⁸ Quintavall immediately assumed his task and that same day he wrote a letter to summon Bernat de Sarrià for the latter to appear before him, in person or through an attorney, within six days, in the valley that he had to delimit so that he could provide the information related to his neighbourhood or to any other issue that he deemed appropriate.

Guillem Tejada, the infante Pedro's attorney, and Pelegrí Romeu on behalf of the old admiral, along with some Moors from Tàrbena and Castell de Castells came on the day when Sarrià was summoned. Quintavall, accompanied by Muslim settlers of Pop and together with the aforementioned persons, started his way across the territory to be delimited, the Muslim members of the delegation being the ones who established the specific place where the dividing boundary stone had to be placed. After finishing that tour of the area, Enric de Quintavall recorded the agreements in writing, with which the limits of the Pop valley were outlined. The document resulting from the visit represents the orographic silhouette of that inland valley. The limits/boundaries are drawn by stretches based on accurate visual references—summits, hills, valleys, streams, ravines, stone mounds—geographic accidents, some of them with a toponym—*Alcubla, toçal de Bercha Cilim, Coyl de Rates, barranch de Huedardach, riu Huadalmeyça, vayl d'Almedech, estret d'Alcarayta*—⁸⁹ and others. The text presented by Quintavall, dated in the farmstead of Benigembla on August 16th, was approved by the attorneys both of the count of Ribagorza and of Bernat

87. Picatoste, Pedro C. "Intereses transalpinos de Jaime II en la época de la conquista del reino de Murcia. La donación de los calatravos al infante Juan en 1304". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 11 (1996-1997): 457-464. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi...: 239.*

88. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

89. About the toponym Caraita, see Herrero, Abelardo. "Toponimia premusulmana de Alicante a través de la documentación medieval (II)". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 4-5 (1986): 18-19.



de Sarrià, a group of people, Christians and Muslims from those lands and some neighbouring areas, acting as witnesses.⁹⁰

The lack of documentation makes it impossible to carry out anything but a superficial monitoring of the Vilanova family's relationship with the Pop valley lands during those years. Apparently, after the valley had been marked off, the estate owners suggested a project for the agricultural exploitation of one part of that area. This is the context within which a town was established for its exploitation in the Almadig valley in 1341. Despite not having too many demographic data available, it is well attested that this *comarca* (small administrative division) known as *Montanea Valencie* became a densely populated area since the late 13th century precisely after the establishment of the town,⁹¹ combined with contingents displaced by the Christian colonisation of nearby areas.⁹² Added to that situation is the presence of small estates eager for income which immediately put as much surface area as possible into production.⁹³ The truth is that, even though the development stage which had spread for two centuries in feudal Europe had come to an end by then, with unmistakable signs —or clear manifestations— of critical times that need not be mentioned appearing everywhere,⁹⁴ the still young kingdom of Valencia opened to the opportunities offered by the colonisation of a country of Muslims, especially in the lands situated south of the Júcar river. Although a hardly successful political project focused on the foundation of *pueblas* (farming villages),⁹⁵ the enterprise remained alive at the end of the century, as can be seen in Ifach —1298—, Villajoyosa —1300— or Benidorm —1325—, clearly encouraged by the lords' initiative,⁹⁶ to which were added parallels of Islamic population within an "internal expansion" dynamics⁹⁷ which, as explained by Josep Torró, structured not only the territory but also a social and economic model.⁹⁸ We can find one of those projects within that expansive process that was coming to an end.

90. Documentary appendix, doc. No. 4.

91. At the end of 1279, Pedro III confirmed to the Muslim settlers of the valleys located on the inland part of Dènia, including Pop, that they could stay in those lands, as well as the maintenance of their customs and the prohibition for Christian settlers to live next to them. Burns, Robert I. *Moros, cristians i jueus...*: 415-415, doc. No. 5.

92. See Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal..."; Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 88-99.

93. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation..."; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

94. See Fourquin, Guy. *Histoire économique de l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: A. Colin, 1979: 245-258. Duby, Georges. *Economía rural y vida campesina en el Occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Península, 1973: 379 and following. Bois, Guy. *La gran depresión medieval: siglos XIV-XV. El precedente de una crisis sistémica*. Madrid-Valencia: Biblioteca Nueva-Universidad de Valencia, 2001: 63-74.

95. Torró, Josep. "L'assalt a la terra...": 234-235. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 119-124.

96. ACA. C, reg. 265, f.89r. See Orts, Pere M. *La carta de poblament de Benidorm i l'almirall Bernat de Sarrià*. Valencia: Premes de Setmana Gràf., 1976. Hinojosa, José; Alemany, Rafael; Couto, Antonio; Cabanes, María L. *Carta de poblament de Benidorm*. Alcoy: Universitat d'Alacant, 1988. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation..."; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

97. Barlett, Robert. *La formación de Europa...*: 17

98. Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal...": 120-121.

In 1341, and seeking to *populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare* an expanse of land until then *heremam et incultam* located in the Almadig valley, east of the Pop territory, and bordering on the areas of Tàrbena, Castell de Castells and with the same public path which communicates with the farmstead of Ayalt, inside the limits of Castell de Castells, with Guadalest, Maria Lladró —owner of the domain— offers a group of Muslims formed by seventeen heads of families who lived in Murla the building of a new *puebla* from which they could exploit that valley *cum aquis, cequiis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint*. The conditions expressed by the estate owner for the exploitation of those lands would start at once, right at the beginning of 1342, the year when the construction of the dwellings meant to be the new settlers' personal residences had to begin. As a financial house-building aid, each family would receive twenty *sueldos* that they would not need to return. In return for their settlement and land exploitation, the new residents had to give one fifth of the farming production as a charge, as well as a pair of hens per household to be paid annually on Christmas Day. Also on an yearly basis, they would pay some money for each head of cattle that they had, and the same amount for each beehive. Those settlers were obliged to grow vines, fig trees *et alias plantas* during the first four years. It was granted to them as a grace that they could choose two members of the new community for them to estimate the crop with one of the lord's officials. They had the possibility to exploit those possessions directly or to sell them, to alienate or exchange them, as long as it was not to knights or clergymen, with the corresponding rights over them that the lord reserved for himself, established in the kingdom's charters, even though they relinquished the two loads of logwood to which they were entitled *pro intrata huius stabilimentum*. The new settlers undertook to respect and not to go against what had been offered by Maria Lladró. The agreement was sanctioned by the notary public Mateu Boix in Murla on December 8th 1341.⁹⁹

Nowadays, the name *vall d'Almadig* corresponds to *barranc d'Almadig*, a space marked by a dry river bed of mainly cretaceous soils with a loamy limestone lithology which, from the South-East of the current village of Benigembla leads —downstream of this town— to the middle course of the Gorgos river, which in turn crosses the Pop valley from east to west towards the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁰ The town charter is really laconic when it comes to specifying the requirements that the lords demanded from the future settlers of that small valley, as opposed to the detailed contents expressed in other documents of an identical nature. After the obligation to fix their personal residence in the area to be exploited, the income for the exploitation of the *Almadig* valley exclusively refers to the distribution of fruits, without any references to the delivery of personal services or to lords monopolies.¹⁰¹

99. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 5.

100. See: Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 17-18 and 63-64. Bru, María; Costa, José; Gisbert, Josep A., eds. *Atlas de la Marina Alta*. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant, 1993: 15-27, 51-52. See: Cartografía militar de España, Mapa General, Serie L, 30-32 (822).

101. For the Valencian case see: Epalza, Mikel de; Rubiera, María J. "La sofra (sujra) en el Sharq Al-Andalus antes de la conquista catalano-aragonesa". *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 33-37.



Such ground rent, legally supported on the *furs* already in Jaime I's times,¹⁰² mentions one fifth of the total production, without making any specifications about non-irrigated or irrigation areas —*omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit*. The magnitude of that percentage had usually represented the average in such documents related to irrigation areas, whereas the one linked to non-irrigated areas was much smaller —between one eighth and one tenth on average, according to Enric Guinot.¹⁰³ It becomes clear in this case that the rent requested seems to be the whole production, which is why we can assume that one part —probably a significant one— of the future crops in such a limited growable land was linked to the action of the irregular course of the ravine, as well as to the springs existing in that area through a network of ditches mentioned in the (written) deed,¹⁰⁴ and also to tree-growing and cereal-growing productions associated with an improved non-irrigated land system.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, a more or less significant part of the production corresponded to figs and raisins —products explicitly mentioned in the *stabilimentum*— which were extremely profitable thanks to their easy and quick insertion in the international trade circuits from the nearby wharf of Dènia,¹⁰⁶ vines and fig trees soon becoming the “star cultivation” of a Mudejar agricultural production encouraged by the voracity of Christian landlords,¹⁰⁷ who in the case

Guichard, Pierre. “El problema de la sofra en el reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII”, *Estudios sobre historia medieval*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1987: 205-219. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval. Explotació potscoada de la València islàmica*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 214-234. López, Pedro. “Carácter plurifuncional de la sofra”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (1987): 193-206. Guinot, Enric. “‘Sofras’ y prestaciones personales en los mudéjares valencianos”, *VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*. Actas. Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1995: 329-356.

102. *Furs de València*, eds. Germà Colon, Arcadi Garcia. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1983: IV, 219-289 (book IV, rubric XXIII).

103. Guinot, Enric. *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991: 38.

104. Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 64.

105. Torró, Josep. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos. Las cargas agrarias en las aljamas musulmanas del reino de Valencia”, *Los tributos de la tierra. Fiscalidad y agricultura en España (siglos XII-XX)*, Rafael Posada, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València: 202.

106. Which since practically the end of the Christian conquest appears as the outlet for such productions. See Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-229. Cabezuelo, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”: forthcoming.

107. See Gamal Abd-Al Karim. “La España musulmana en la obra de Yaqut (S. XII-XIII). Repertorio enciclopédico de ciudades, castillos y lugares de Al-Andalus, extraído del Muyam al-buldan (Diccionario de los países)”. *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 6 (1975): 88. Epalza, Mikel de. “Estudio del texto de Al-Idrisi sobre Alicante”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Arabes*, 2 (1985): 215-232. Epalza, Mikel de. “Costas alicantinas y costas magrebíes: el espacio marítimo musulmán según los textos árabes”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios árabes*, 3 (1986): 30. Constable, Olivia R. *Comercio y comerciantes en la España musulmana. La reordenación comercial de la Península ibérica del 900 al 1500*. Barcelona: Ediciones Omega, 1997: 247-281 (in particular chapter 8). Ferrer, Maria T. “Figues, panses, fruita seca y torrons”, *La Mediterrània, àrea de convergència de sistemes alimentaris (segles V-XVIII)*, XIV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1996: 191-208. Ferrer, Maria T. “Fruita seca, fruita assecada, una especialitat de l'àrea econòmica catalana-valenciana-balear”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/2 (2002): 883-943. Igual, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental*. Castellón: Comité Económico y Social de la Comunidad Valenciana y Bancaixa-Fundació Caixa Castelló,

of the *vall de Pop* turned his raisin into the most famous one in the Marina Alta for its excellent quality from then to the present day. *Todavía en el siglo XIX los embarques de pasa a Inglaterra llevaban el rótulo de 'Pasa de Pop'*, José Costa writes.¹⁰⁸ The development and care of these productions in the Pop lands was already a fact in the 14th century. By way of example, it was the only crop mentioned during Pere de Vilanova's inauguration in 1375 —*que tots los moros de la dita vall que tinguen figuerals haïen aquells lavrats o cavats per tot lo present mes de febrer*.¹⁰⁹ It is indeed true that these types of communities located in mountainous areas show what Josep Torró defines as a low productive potential for a feudal form of agriculture, and were thus not attractive for Christian settlers,¹¹⁰ insofar as the orography excluded the availability of large spaces where cereal could be grown in order to cover the needs regarding wheat and other cereals both of the kingdom and of the crown—even of other European territories—judging by certain cereal supply crises not necessarily due to bad crops, which had been taking place since the beginning of the century.¹¹¹ Perhaps I could stress a certain specialisation of growings, albeit not forgetting the other productions which had traditionally formed part of the Islamic harvesting tradition, one example being the carob bean, as is attested by some documents from that period,¹¹² which would lead us to speak about a polyculture (mixed cropping) organised around the double parameter of “self-consumption and market”. Such percentage over the total production of the aforementioned farmstead appears as an evolution in the pressure exerted by landholders on the Valencian Muslim communities over time.¹¹³ A rent which, as we have seen, could be calculated after an agreement between the landlords' delegates and the peasants

1998: 316. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-230. Barrio, Juan; Cabezuelo, José V. “Rentas y derechos señoriales de las morerías del valle de Elda a fines del siglo XV”, *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*. Teruel-Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares-Instituto de Estudios Turolenses 1999: 43-53. García, Juan V. *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002: 25, note 13. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales y redes mercantiles marítimas en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (Master Dissertation), 2006. Soler, Juan L. “Comercio musulmán versus comercio cristiano: la actividad de los mercaderes mudéjares y la producción de las aljamas sarracenas. Valencia, primera mitad del siglo XIV”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 14 (2003-2006): 229-247. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*; Cabezuelo, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”, unpublished. As an example of the Castilian case see Oliva, Hipólito R. “El mundo rural en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media: dinámicas socioeconómicas y nuevas perspectivas de análisis”. *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 299.

108. “Still in the 19th century, the shippings of raisin to England were labelled as Pasa de Pop”. Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 189. In what regards this production, 182-262.

109. “All the moors of that valley had their fig trees well cultivated”. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15. (1375).

110. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 202-203.

111. Riera, Antoni. “Crisis frumentarias y políticas municipales de abastecimiento en las ciudades catalanas durante la baja Edad Media”, *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*, Hipólito Rafael Olica, Pere Benito, eds. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007: 147-151.

112. ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 2887 (6th September 1344). See Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

113. Torró, Josep. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos...”.



over a crop estimate —a frequently used technique in the kingdom of Valencia known as *alfarrassament*.¹¹⁴ To that ground rent in kind were added certain levies related to taxes on animals typical of Mudejar taxation: hens, *bestiar menut* and bees. In the Valencian Mudejar context, the first of the taxations could be paid in two possible ways, in kind or in money; and according to Robert Ignatius Burns, it could likewise be linked to exactions of a personal nature.¹¹⁵ The number of birds per habitat unit was not uniform, and neither was its price when the tax was paid as a monetary rent. In the lands of the Orihuela Government, Muslim communities paid a hen per house and its equivalence in cash, depending on the *aljama*, ranged between six and ten *dineros* per bird.¹¹⁶ However, in the Ayora valley, a poorer land and community than those of the Valencian south, each family paid two hens and their price per unit was eight *dineros*;¹¹⁷ the same number of animals, although at a lower price —six *dineros*— was paid in the neighbouring valleys of Gallinera, Ebo, Confrides and Guadalest, whereas the price was five *dineros* in Perputxent.¹¹⁸ The amount referred to heads of cattle, the *bestiar menut* —mainly sheep and goats— was similar to the one paid by the Mudejars of the Ayora valley and half that of the Islamic communities living in the *Governació d'Oriola*.¹¹⁹ Finally, a reference is also made to the exploitation of beehives, which paid one *dínero* per unit. Relatively important in this area, according to J. Hinojosa, Valencian Mudejar beekeeping was also subject to a varying tax rate, which ranged between one and two *dineros* per beehive.¹²⁰ But beyond the mixed nature of the levy and its amount, it is worth mentioning the monetarisation which exists in small rural economies, forcing those peasants to obtain liquidity so that they could at least pay their rent.¹²¹ It seems more than evident that at this stage the coin has become —according to Hopólito Rafael Oliva— *en patró de referencia* for peasant economies.¹²²

The list of elements included in the lords' income was as described above, although others explicitly existed too. On the one hand, the farmers were in charge of collecting the whole crop, the part of it which remained for them and that linked to the lord via profit. On the other hand, they surely had to carry the fifth corresponding to the lord towards the warehouse or place established by the

114. See Febrer, Manuel V. *Domínio y explotación territorial en la Valencia foral*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2000: 138-139. Torró, Josep. "La dinámica...": 17-18.

115. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes de la Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988: 143-144.

116. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 141-142.

117. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. "La carta de població dels sarraïns de la Vall d'Aiora (1328)". *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 85.

118. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar en el reino de Valencia". *V Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1991: 119.

119. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 210-212. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 118-120, 142. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...": 118.

120. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...": 118.

121. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-230.

122. "a reference pattern". Oliva, Hipólito R. "El mundo rural...": 323.



latter for its deposit. It also deserves to be highlighted that, for a number of specific productions, their work exceeded the harvesting and transport and seems to have consisted in delivering it in a relatively elaborate or prepared way.¹²³

An interesting aspect in my view is the type of tie created with the land by the seventeen Mudejar families from Murla who had to occupy an area which until that same moment had been deserted and barren and to put it into production. Unlike what can be seen in other agreements of the same characteristics, where the reference to the private ownership linked to each house is specifically shown,¹²⁴ and in a very specific way on some occasions —*tal casa y tal parcela*—¹²⁵, the document of 1341 explains that the Muslim community in question would proceed to exploit that valley in perpetuity and on an egalitarian basis —*vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus*. The fact that the lord allowed the peasants to get rid of the estates individually —*possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum, obligandum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestras et vestrarum voluntates perpetuo faciendas*—, unless they came into the hands of the privileged ones, suggests a family control of the exploitation units combined with a collective organisation both in terms of water use and regarding the payment to the estate owner.¹²⁶ Without a doubt, such a precise situation, which almost exclusively links habitat/estate/crop estimate/ground rent in the established percentage, refers to newly-created communities where the lord's interest only and exclusively lies in obtaining an income.¹²⁷ Similarly, all of this leads us to two issues. One is that the Mudejar community related to the foundation of the new *puebla* and the exploitation of its lands, more than moving within the estate owner's scope in a very close area, would suggest peasants deprived from lands and thus forced to exploit marginal lands, perhaps heirs of those farmers who precisely arrived in that mountainous context on the occasion of Islamic population displacements after the failure of the anti-Christian uprising of 1276-1277,¹²⁸ albeit not displaced for any reason other than the mutual interest of lords and peasants. And the other, that the growing

123. Torró, Josep. "La dinámica...": 20.

124. For the case of Ayora, the settlers of which once again reach an agreement on the settlement conditions with Bernat de Sarrià in 1328, a date certainly close to the one mentioned here, a distinction is drawn between Moors who were owners and sarrahins habitants e habitants en la dita vall, los quals no hauran heretat ("muslims habitants in the valley mention before, who have not properties") Ferrer, Maria T. "La carta de població...": 91. Well into the following century, about the farmstead of Fondos (1489). Guinot, Enric. Cartes de poblament...: 685-689 (doc. No. 314). This in contrast with other situations, as in Catamarruc (1490), where Muslim peasants' rights over the lands that they farm are nowhere to be seen. Pla, Primitivo J. "Acerca de los contratos agrarios de los mudéjares valencianos; los 'Capítols' de Catamarruc". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 119-138.

125. "this particular house and this particular plot of land". Hinojosa, José. "Ares y Benilloba (Alicante). Dos comunidades mudéjares valencianas a fines de la Edad Media". *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 16-17 (1999-2002): 45-74.

126. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana...*: 308-317.

127. See Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 213-214.

128. Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal del territori...": 109-114.



space in that barren area —the *Almadig* valley— theoretically had to permit the maintenance of the family unit that settled there.¹²⁹

As for *gentilicios* [names given to the people of a particular region or country], it is worthy of mention that one of them adds to the Arab name another Christian one, with its surname: Çaato Pero Dies. The others are clearly Arab names, some belonging to the same family: three Abenaçim, three Atzintar too and an identical number for Caydo, two Abolaix and only one Atnayar, Abdurrafe and Alcayla. There is one Ayeix and another Hiayeix which I am unable to identify as belonging to the same family.

4. Some conclusions

The document does not mention the name which had to be given to the farmstead¹³⁰ of the *vall d'Almadig*, unless it was the actual toponym, the meaning of which —*al-madiq*: pass, gorge, narrow— would refer to a site drawn by a narrow valley through which a mountain trail runs.¹³¹ We know that the geographical area of *castri et vallis de Pop* contained several small villages inhabited by Muslims. A number of farmsteads appear —the names of some being known to us— which have Murla as the centre, with the category of *locus* and undoubtedly of *caput territorii* as an agglutinating place for the Christian population of that valley.¹³² Pere de Vilanova's deed of possession dated in February 1375 mentions Parcent, *Benituerdi*, Alcanicia, Benalbacar, Benigembla and Verniça as such.¹³³ They are undoubtedly not the only ones, though; firstly because when the aforesaid document mentions them —even though it does so in a first block referring to the first ones, and later to the last two—, it speaks about their inhabitants and about those of *aliis alqueriis dicte vallis*, and secondly, because the *Repartiment*, as highlighted by Pierre Guichard, mentions Parcent, Ceylent, Rahalabelbahar and Benilacruci together with some of the ones listed above —Alcanicia, Benigembla, Benalbacar and Verniça.¹³⁴ With the

129. Glassow, Michael A. "The concept of carrying capacity in the study of culture process". *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 1 (1978): 3148. Collected in Eiroa, Jorge A. "Pasado y presente de la arqueología de las alquerías". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 398-399.

130. Even though the document never mentions the term alquería ("farmstead"), but puebla nueva ("new farming village"), in my opinion there is no doubt that this puebla nueva was an alquería according to its relation between habitat and growing lands. See Lagardère, Vincent. *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus (VIIIe-XVe s.)*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1993: 176-177.

131. Groom, Nigel A. *A Dictionary of Arabic Topography and Placenames*. Beirut: Longman & Librairie Du Liban, 1983: 159. I thank Professor Francisco Franco-Sánchez, a magnificent Arabist and better friend, for the clarification of this toponym.

132. Burns, Robert Iglesia. *El reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII (Iglesia y sociedad)*. Valencia: Del Cenia al Segura, 1982: I, 197. Burns, Robert I. *El regne croat de València. Un país de frontera al segle XIII*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1993: 199.

133. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.13.

134. Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 24-25.



exception of *Benituerdi*, the rest of those which would have been Islamic *qaryas* already existed prior to 1341. However, truth to be told, no archaeological remains are known in the area of the *barranc d'Almadig*, which leads us to wonder: did that farmstead, then deserted area, really exist or was it only a town project?

The lack of an archaeological print—for the time being—makes the second option more likely. In fact, despite the absence of this empirical element, it is attested that at a time near the fourteenth-century critical epicentre, when signs become visible everywhere throughout Europe, including the Iberian peninsula—though with a certain dissymmetry—not so much of deceleration but rather of a fall in the economic push that feudal Europe had been experiencing for two centuries, the kingdom of Valencia and more precisely its southern border¹³⁵ sees a truly remarkable demographic and productive impulse.¹³⁶ The fact of having entered western Christendom *en los umbrales de la crisis*¹³⁷ and of still having an under construction status at that time¹³⁸ prevented it from assuming the structural weaknesses of the feudal system. As for the clearly slow incorporation of Christian elements—an issue which caused demographic voids in the colonising territories—came to be offsetted with a loss of Islamic population which, unlike what happened in Murcia and Andalusia, was continuous but not traumatic for radical. This made it possible to maintain production levels, which immediately readapted to the new course followed by feudal economy. Furthermore, the kingdom of Valencia's connection with the sea, through its capital city, allowed for some of those necessarily non-Christian productions to fit in with the great lines of Mediterranean trade, where the kingdom of Valencia was then subsidiary to the Catalan and Majorcan mercantile projects, through the penetration of the market into rural economies.¹³⁹ Along these lines, both the structure and the situation made it possible for practically the whole kingdom, but specifically for the Valencian border lands, to remain free from the spasmodic convulsions of the feudal system experienced in the heart of

135. Barrio, Juan A. "Un repartimiento inédito. El repartimiento de Orihuela de 1330", *VI Congreso de Estudios de Frontera, Población y poblamiento*. Alcalá la Real-Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 2006: 79-92.

136. Furió, Antoni. "Disettes et famines en temps de croissance. Une révision de la crise de 1300: le royaume de Valence dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle", *Les disettes dans la conjoncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale*, Monique Bourin, John Drendel, François Menant, eds. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011: 343-416, 354-360, 384.

137. "at the threshold of the crisis". Borrero, Mercedes. "El mundo rural y la crisis del siglo XIV. Un tema historiográfico en proceso de revisión". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 49.

138. Furió, Antoni. "Una introducció", *València, un mercat medieval*. Valencia: Diputació Provincial de València, 1985: 17.

139. See Cabezuelo, José V. "Segregación social y complementariedad económica de los mudéjares en la sociedad valenciana bajomedieval", *Islam i Cristiandat. Civilitzacions al món medieval / Islam y Cristiandad. Civilizaciones en el mundo medieval*, Elisa Varela, Gerardo Boto, eds. Girona: Documenta Universitaria, 2014: 251-255. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales...* Soler, Juan L. *El comercio en el reino de Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV: instituciones, rutas y grupos mercantiles*, 2 vols. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (PhD Dissertation), 2015. Courtesy of the author, Soler, Juan L. "Comercio musulmán...": 229-247. Soler, Juan L. "Relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y el Norte de África en la primera mitad del siglo XIV". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 37-38 (2003-2004): 125-157.



Europe, except for very concrete issues.¹⁴⁰ In fact, far from showing exhaustion, these territories showed the vitality inherent to a new society. The events linked to the plague at the end of that decade, the impact of which—if any—still remains to be assessed, and essentially the consequences of the war between the two Pedros in these *comarcas* (“areas”), which resulted in deaths and the abandonment of places with an Islamic population, will be the tip of the critical iceberg. For the case at hand, the certainly still weak demography in that context¹⁴¹ causes the dominant structure—which revolves around kings and lords—to activate mechanisms aimed at attracting non-exclusively Christian human elements to those areas,¹⁴² which as shown before, had a quantitatively significant population at that time and space which maintains and adapts its economy (or sees how it becomes determined by the events)—agricultural production in this case—to the demands of a new order which already influences the market to a certain extent by then. The stimulus provided by the demand largely helps originally Islamic productions to become better known and accordingly to develop much more than they had traditionally done, thus turning out to be useful for the settlement of barren spaces. We are talking about a project with an economic basis which mainly benefits the landowner, the lord, increasing his income level in quantitative terms, which was certainly stable except for some specific episodes of bad crops, by preventing an update of the levy to raise it, and tangentially, even though its influence should by no means be neglected, the Aragonese monarchy itself in its attempt to settle a borderland and to introduce the feudal society’s forms of organisation into it. Such an agricultural development, albeit highly localised, can be observed on those same dates in the nearby Guadalest valley which, after more than three decades being under the rule of a lord, once again depended directly on the king, by putting barren lands into production.¹⁴³ The peasant family will be relegated to the bottom of that gradation since, despite obtaining a plot of land on an ownership basis, something that entails stability, the family will do so based on the criterion that the yield of its work is the one that underpins the upper power structures.

140. Rubio, Agustín. “A propósito del ‘mal primer any’: dificultades cerealistas en la Corona de Aragón en los años treinta del siglo XIV”, *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1982: III, 476-480. Rubio, Agustín. “Crisis agrarias y carestías en las primeras décadas del siglo XIV: el caso de Valencia”. Saitabi, 37 (1987): 131-147. Estal, Juan M. del. “Extrema escasez de pan en Alicante: el año 1333”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 49-63. Riera, Antoni. “Els pròdroms de les crisis alimentàries de la baixa edat mitjana a la Corona d’Aragó: 1250-1300”, *Homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent*. Tarragona: Publicacions de la Diputació de Tarragona, 1991: 35-72. Benito, Pere. “Fams i caresties a la Mediterrània occidental durant la baixa edat mitjana. El debat sobre ‘les crisis de la crisi’”. *Recerques*, 49 (2004): 179-194.

141. Torró, Josep. “La población de la conquista. Inmigración colonial, ocupación del espacio y reparto de la población en el reino de Valencia”, *La población valenciana. Pasado, presente y futuro*. Alicante: Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1998: I, 321-343.

142. Cabezuelo, José V. “Las comunidades judías del Mediodía valenciano en el siglo XIV. De la vitalidad a la supervivencia”. *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 29-30 (2005-2006): 75-104. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation....” Cabezuelo, José V. “Segregación social...”

143. ACA. C. reg. 860, f. 47v (second numbering), (17th October 1336) and reg. 872, ff. 74v-75r (26th October 1341).



Halfway through March 1344, Maria Lladró, *pro indiviso* owner of the Pop valley together with her son Vidaló, relinquished her part as a usufructuary in favour of the latter, who was already married to Alcamdona, so that he could be its only lord from then on. Ramon de Vilanova's widow argued that she was tired, and that she aspired to having a quiet life, leaving her son and daughter-in-law, with whom she had stayed until then, so that they could *in pacis tranquillitate cum propia familia vivere*.¹⁴⁴ Since that moment, different descendants of the Vilanova lineage will be the lords of that valley, which suffered serious damages during the war between the two Pedros,¹⁴⁵ eventually getting hold of other places located in that southern border, such as Montixelvo, Terrateig or Castalla.¹⁴⁶

Appendix

Document number 1

26 September 1296, Valencia

Jaime II grants the castle and town of Pop to Ramon de Vilanova for life, in return for the services delivered.

ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-v.

*Eiusdem*¹⁴⁷

Cum deceat regalem clemenciam bene merentes milites suos ac sibi legaliter servientes graciis suis ac beneficiis decorare, idcirco nos, Jacobus, Dei gracia, et cetera, attendentes grata et continua servicia que vos, dilectus miles noster Raimundus de Villanova, nobis semper fecistis et cotidie facere non cessatis, idcirco per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de Villanova, ad vitam vestram tantum castrum nostrum et villam de Pop cum terminis et pertinenciis suis et cum hominibus et feminis cuicumque legis seu condicionis existant et cum domibus, campis, vineis et terris, cultis et incultis, et cum // arboribus, fructiferis et infructiferis, et cum montibus et planis, silvis atque garricis et cum aquis et aqueductibus et cum furnis et molendinis et balneis et cum censibus, almagranis ac çofris, alfardis et cum cenis et monetaticis et cum iurisdiccionis et iusticiis civilibus et cum omnibus suis terminis ac pertinenciis et iuribus universis. Predictum vero castrum et villam de Pop dividi terminos cum termino de Alaguar et ex alia parte cum termino de Castel et cum termino castris de Exaloc et ex alia parte cum termino castris de Tarbena. Iamdictum itaque castrum et villa de Pop cum omnibus supradictis et singulis damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de

144. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.13.

145. ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 1945 (1st August 1382).

146. ACA. C. reg. 900, f. 23v (25th February 1358). Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista...*: 627. Cabezuelo, José V. "El castillo de Castalla en el sistema de fortalezas fronterizas del reino de Valencia (Ss. XIII-XIV)", unpublished.

147. Non-contemporary writing.



Villanova, ad vitam vestram pro francho et libero alodio, prout melius dici potest et intelligi ad comodum et salvamentum vestri et vestrorum et ad dandum, vendendum, obligandum et alienandum in vita vestra tantum. Constituentes nos predictum castrum et villam cum omnibus terminis et pertinentiis suis pro vobis et vestro nomine possidere et quasi possidere donec de predictis plenam apprehenderitis potestatem quam liceat vobis apprehendere licenciam nostri minime expectato. Mandantes procuratoribus, baiulis, iusticiis, iuratis et universis aliis officialibus nostris, presentibus et futuris, quod predictam donacionem et concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent et faciant inviolabiliter observari ut superius continetur et non contraveniant nec aliquem contravenire permitant aliqua racione.

Data Valencia, ut supra.

Signum (blank) Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Aragonum, et cetera.

Testes sunt: venerabilis episcopus valentinus; Berengarius de Vilaracuto; Berengarius Guillelmus de Entença; venerabilis episcopus dertusensis; et Guillelmus Durfortis.

Document number 2

29th May 1328.

The infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, sells to Maria Lladró, Ramon de Villanova's widow, and to Vidaló, son of both, the Pop castle and valley together with the mere and mixed empire, the tercio diezmo and the monedaje of the farmstead of Murla for 140,000 Valencian sueldos.

ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 90r-93r.

*Marie Latronis, uxoris Raymundi de Villanova*¹⁴⁸

In Dei nomine, pateat universis quod nos, inffans Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi, \bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum comes,/ etc. Bono animo et spontanea voluntate et ex certa sciencia per nos et omnes successores nostros, cum presenti publico instrumento perpetuo valituro vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus atque concedimus vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raymundi de Villanova, quondam, ac etiam Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro et dicto Raimundo de Villanova comuni, et vestris ac quibus velitis imperpetuum, nec non vobis, Vitali de Villanova, consiliario domini regis, tanquam tutori et curatori testamentario dicti Vitaloni et eius nomine, ementi et recipienti castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinentiis ipsius castri. Quod siquidem castrum dictus dominus rex quondam nobis dedit atque concessit pro hereditate titulo pure, perfecte et irrevocabilis donacionis inter vivos in feudum honoratum sine aliquo servicio inde sibi vel suis successoribus faciendo predictum. Itaque castrum de Pop, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinentiis ad ipsum castrum spectantibus vendimus et ex causa

148. Non-contemporary writing.

vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, dictoque Vitalono, filio vestro, ac vectris perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori ac curatori predicto nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, pro feudo honorato iuxta Consuetudines Catha-//lonie, cum militibus et domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis, tam christianis quam sarracenis, in predicto castro et valle habitantibus et habitaturis, et cum terris cultis et incultis, alchareis, aquis, furnis, molendinis, redditibus et exitibus, proventibus et iuribus universis, et cum omnibus terminis et pertinentiis eorumdem et singulorum, et cum iusticiis accum mero et mixto imperio et omni iurisdiccione, et cum hoste, exercitum et cavalcata et redempcionibus eorumdem, \et cum tercia decima/ et cum monetatico ac cum pace, guerra et adempriviis, talliis, collectis, subsidiis, questis, caloniis, districtibus, placitis et firmamentis, bannis, faticis, dominiis, carnalagiis, herbaticis, mensuraticis, pensis, obvencionibus, invencionibus sive trobis, et cum omnibus et singulis que nos ibi habemus et habere debemus aut possemus et prout melius et plenius hec et singula ad nos spectant et spectare debent ex dicta donacione regia nobis facta vel aliis quibuscumque causis, iuribus sive modis. Predictam itaque vendicionem de dicto castro cum valle eiusdem facimus vobis, dicte Marie atque Vitalono et vestris acquibus velitis perpetuo, et vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori predicto, nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, sub hoc modo et condicione, quod dictum castrum de Pop, cum valle eiusdem et terminis et pertinentiis suis vos et vestris teneatis in feudum honoratum absque aliquo servicio secundum Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathalonie pro domino rege et herede suo universali qui rex fuerit Aragonum et Valencie et successoribus eius regibus Aragonum et Valencie et non pro quocumque alio et teneamini vos et vestri pro predictis prestare et facere homagium dicto domino regi et eius successoribus antedictis et etiam teneamini vos et vestri, irati et paccati, dicto domino regi et predictos successoribus eius dare potestatem vel postestates de dicto castro et fortalicio suo et terminis eius secundum predictos Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathalonie quamdocumque et quocienscumque inde fueritis requisiti et alia facere que alii tenentes pro ipso domino rege in Cathalonie feuda honorata facere tenentur et debent. Et est sciendum quod dictum castrum de Pop afrontatur et terminatur ex una parte cum valle de Alaguar et ex alia cum valle de Exalo et ex altera cum castro seu loco de Tarbena et ex altera cum valle de Castell. Item gratiis et certa sciencia vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, nato vestro, et quibus velitis perpetuo vobisque, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, ementi et recipienti, per franchum et liberum alodium, merum imperium atque mixtum \et terciam partem decime/ et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loci de Murla, prout melius nobis competunt et ad nos spectant ex concessione seu concessionibus inde nobis factis per // illustrissimum dominum Alffonsum, regem Aragonum, karissimum fratrem nostrum, et alias quacumque racione vel causa. Hanc autem vendicionem et ex causa vendicionis, tradicionem et concessionem de castro predicto de Pop et valle eiusdem ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio et \tercia parte decime/ et monetatico loci de Murla per franchum et quitium alodium et de aliis supradictis facimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali de Villanova, nomine tutoris supradicto, sicut superius continetur, prout melius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum vestrorumque comodum et salvamentum et bonum etiam intellectum. Extrahentes predicta omnia et singula que vobis vendimus de iure, dominio et posse nostri et successorum nostrorum eademque in vestrum vestrorumque ius, dominium et posse mitimus et transferimus irrevocabiliter ad habendum et perpetuo pacifice possidendum



et quasi. Et de presenti inducimus vos in corporalem possessionem omnium predictorum que vobis vendimus, volentes et permitentes quod dictum castrum et vallem de Pop, quod et quam vos, dictus Vitalis, tenetis et possidetis ratione vestri violarii, vos decetero nomine predicto teneatis et possideatis et tenere ac possidere possitis ex causa et titulo vendicionis presentis sic quod aliam tradicionem nos vobis facere non oporteat ex quo iam penes vos existit ratione vestri violarii supradicti. Preterea ex causa huius vendicionis et tradicionis cedimus vobis, dicte Marie dictoque Vitalono et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo et vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, omnes acciones et voces ac omnia iura que nobis ratione dictarum donacionum et alias competant et competere possunt ac debent aliquo modo in predictis que supra vobis vendimus et contra quascumque personas et res ratione eorum quibus accionibus et iuribus supradictis possitis vos et vestri et quos volueritis perpetuo ute et experiri agendo, respondendo, deffendendo, excipiendo et replicando (sic) et omnia alia faciendo in iudicio et extra iudicium quecumque nos possemus ratione dicte donacionis regie nobis facte ante presentem vendicionem et iurium cessionem vel etiam postea quandocumque. Nos enim facimus et constituimus vos in hiis dominos et procuratores ut in rem vestram propriam ad faciendum inde vestras proprias voluntates sine contradiccione, impedimento et retencione quacumque nostri et successorum nostrorum et aliarum quarumlibet personarum. Mandantes cum testimonio huius publici instrumenti quod in hac parte volumus vicem epistole obtinere militibus, domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis predicti castri cuiuscumque generis, gradus aut condicionis existant et sub fide qua nobis ratione dicte donacionis ascripti sunt et tenentur quod vobis et vestris vel cui volueritis respondant et satisfaciant plenarie, integre et complete de omnibus singulis supradictis vobisque pareant, obendant et attendant atque homagium, iuramentum et fidelitatem prestant tanquam dominis eorundem. Nos enim ex nunc ut ex tunc et ex tunc ut ex nunc in posse notarii infrascripti paset paciscentis // pro personis quarum intersit absolvimus vos et eorum quemlibet ab omni fide, homagio, fidelitate et iuramento ac aliis omnibus quibus nobis ratione dicte donacionis ascripti sunt seu etiam obligati pro precio autem huius vendicionis confitemur nos habuisse et recepisse a vobis centum quadraginta mille solidorum regaliu Valencie super quibus renunciamus et certa sciencia excepcioni non numerate peccunie et non recepte et doli, mali et in factum accioni. Renunciamus etiam quantum ad hec ex certa sciencia et consulte legi vel foro que subvenit deceptis ultra dimidia iustiprecii et omni alii iuri foro, rationi, statuto et consuetudini contra hec repugnantibus, dantes et remittentes vobis et vestris graciis et ex certa sciencia siquid hec vendicio plus valet vel potest valere precio supradicto. Insuper per nos et omnes successores nostros promittimus vobis, dicte Marie, et Vitalono, eius filio vestro vobisque, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori eisdem et eius nomine paciscenti et recipienti, quod predicta omnia et singula que vobis vendimus faciemus vos et vestros et quos volueritis habere, tenere et possidere et quasi in pace perpetua contra omnes personas et quod tenebimur vobis et vestris de firma et legali eviccione eorum. Et si forsan aliqua vel alique persone facerent vel moverent vobis vel vestris aliquo tempore aliquam questionem, petitionem sive demandam in predictis que vobis vendimus vobis ratione eorum, promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod nos incontinenti cum a vobis vel vestris inde fuerimus requisiti opponemus nos deffensionem vestri et vestrorum et respondebimus et satisfacimus pro vobis et vestris cuilibet querelanti seu querelantibus et quod in principio litis seu litiu suscipimus in nos anus litigii et agemus et ducemus causam seu causas propriis sumptibus a principio usque ad finem et quod vos et vestros servabimus super hoc prosus indemnes vel vos aut vestri

possitis ipsam causam vel causas agere et ducere si malueritis per vos ipsos et hoc sit in eleccione vestri et vestrorum. Nos enim per nos et omnes successores nostros remittimus vobis et vestris ex pacto necessitatem denunciacionis. Et si vos aut vestri eligeritis tractare et ducere causam seu causas in propria persona promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod restituemus et solvemus vobis et vestris ad vestram voluntatem omnes expensas circa littem vel lites factas et quicquid ac quantum a vobis et vestris evictum fuerit cum omni damno et interesse que inde vos et vestri facietis et sustinebitis aliquo modo sive obtinantis in causam seu causas sive etiam succumbatis. Et credatur vobis et vestris super predictis omnibus et singulis plano et simplici verbo nullo alio probacionum genere requisito pro predictis autem omnibus et singulis complendis et attendendis obligamus vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra tam [habita] quam habenda. Et ad maiorem // vestri et vestrorum cautelam rogamus humiliter prefatum illustrissimum dominum Alfonsum, regem Aragonum, fratrem nostrum karissimum, ut premissa concedat, laudet, approbet, ratificet et confirmet et se vobis etiam fideiussorem constituat pro premissis.

Ad hec nos, Alfonsus, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, considerantes predictam vendicionem de expresso assensu, licencia et voluntate nostra fore factam certificati ad plenum de substitutionibus, condicionibus et retencionibus appositis et adiectis in donacione dicto domini regis, patris nostri, vobis, dicto inffanti Petro, fratri nostro karissimo, de dicto castro de Pop, ut premittitur facta ex si vos videlicet vel succesor vestri quicumque sine masculini aut feminini sexus decederetis sive decederent quod absit quandocumque absque prole legitima quod inter cetera vobis tunc data atque concessa predictum castrum de Pop, cum valle ipsius, ad dictum dominum regem seu eius heredem universalem qui esset pro tempore rex Aragonum atque Valencie libere et absque contradiccione, onere et impedimento quolibet integraliter devolveretur ac etiam reverteretur dictusque dominus rex et sui in eo casu predictum castrum de Pop et eius vallem recuperet et recuperare posset propria auctoritate absque aliquo impedimento, contradiccione, onere et obligacione vestri, dicti inffantis Petri, atque vestrorum, prout in dicto instrumento vidimus contineri. Idcirco per nos et omnes successores nostros gratis et expontea voluntate predicta substitutione, condicione et retencione omnino sublati ex pacto vendicionem predictam per dictum inffantem Petrum, ut premittitur factam vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, et Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro, vobisque dicto Vitali, nomine tutorio et curatorio dicti pupilli, de dicto castro de Pop et valle eiusdicto, cum videlicet iusticiis, mero et mixti imperio et omni iurediccione et aliis superius in spe et genere expressatis ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio \et tertia parte decime/ et monetatico pro alodio francho et quitio predice alcaree de Murla laudamus, probamus, ratificamus et ex certa sciencia confirmamus atque de novo concedimus et donamus prout melius et largius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum commodum et vestrorum. Promittentes vobis quod racione dictarum substitutionum, condicionum vel retencionum nunquam contraveniemus vel aliquem contravenire faciemus aut etiam promittimus predice vendicioni vel aliquibus supra contentis predictis racionibus vel quacumque alia racione vel causa. Et ad uberiores securitatem vestri et vestrorum inducti precibus domini inffantis Petri constituimus nos vobis pro eo fideiussores pro premissis omnibus attendendis et firmiter ad implendis et pro firma et legali eviccione omnium premissorum que vobis promittimus facere, tenere, habere et possidere vel quasi et inde vobis de eviccione teneri cum dicto inffante et



sine eo contra omnes personas obligantes pro inde vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra // et renunciantes novo iuri dicendi quod prius conveniatur principal quam fideiussor et omni alii iuri, foro, rationi, statuto et consuetudine contra hec repugnacionibus quoquomodo. Et quia in carta dicte donacionis prefati domini genitoris nostri facta dicto infanti Petro specialiter continetur quod dictum castrum de Pop et cetera castra inibi expressata cum suis terminis et pertinentiis universis teneret dictus infans et sui in feudum honoratum pro dicto domino rege et herede suo universali qui esset rex Aragonum et Valencie eique tenerentur tradere potestatem cum inde existenter requisiti. Ideo volentes mentem et verba dicte donacionis et convenit rationi observare per nos et omnes heredes et successores nostros per solempnem stipulacionem concedimus et promittimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, vobisque dicto Vitali, tutorio et curatorio nomine dicti pupilli, pascienti nec non statuimus atque decernimus imperpetuum sub virtute iuramenti a nobis inferius prestiti quos directum et alodiarium dominium dicti castri de Pop et vallis ac terminorum eiusdem aut potestatem ipsius castri seu ius petendi ac recipiendi eandem. Nunquam dabimus, concedimus, vendimus, infeudabimus, impignerabimus, permutabimus, legabimus aut quocumque iure modo vel titulo alienabimus nec in alium sive fratrem aut filium nostrum preterquam in regem Aragonum et Valencie quomodolibet transferemus aut dividimus, aloditabimus, segregabimus vel quomodolibet separabimus a Corona regnorum Aragonum et Valencie, mediante vel immediate, imperpetuum ad violarium vel ad tempus immo ea omnia tenebimus nostre Corone regie perpetuo continue ac immediate incorporata, coniuncta, applicata, cognexa, pariter et unica, ita videlicet quod nos solum et successores nostri illi dumtaxat qui erunt pro tempore reges Aragonum et Valencie et non alii quicumque habeant directum pro alodiarium dominium ac potestatem in castro et valle predictis et terminis eorundem nec vos aut vestri alicui teneamini tradere potestatem nec de ipso feudo aliquatenus respondere vel alium dominum proclamare vel ei ratione dicti feudi perere. Immo si per nos aut successores nostros hiis existeret contrafactum predictum feudum reverteretur in alodium ipso facto vosque et vestri haberetis et teneretis dictum castrum pro franco alodio, quitio et immuni, nisi infra x dies post hostensionem huius publici instrumenti vel transumpti autentici eiusdem revocaretur alienacio supradicta et quicquid contra premissa existeret contra factum. Et ut premissa omnia maiori gaudeant firmitate iuramus per Deum // et eius sancta quatuor Evangelia manibus corporaliter tacta predicta omnia firmiter attendere et complere et in nullo contravenire aliquo iure causa vel aliqua ratione predicta. Itaque omnia et singula firmamus, pascimus et promittimus nos, rex, et infans predictis, in presencia manu et posse notarii infrascripti, recipientis, pascientis et legitime stipulantis pro vobis, dictis Marie, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, et pro vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, et pro omnibus aliis quorum interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum.

In quorum omnium testimonium et cautelam presens publicum instrumentum nos, rex predictus, plumbee bulle nostre et nos, infans predictus, sigilli nostri appencione iussimus comuniri. Quod est actum in castro regio civitatis Ilerde, IIII^o kalendis iunii, anno Domini M^o CCC^o XX octavo.

Signum (blank) infantis Petri predicti, qui hec laudamus, concedimus et firmamus.

Signum (blank) Alfonsi, Dei gracia \regis/ Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comitis Barchinone, qui predictis assenssum nostrum prestamus eaque laudamus, concedimus, firmamus atque iuramus.

Testes sunt qui presentes fuerunt: venerabilis et religiosus frater Petrus de Tous, magister domus ordinis milicie de Muntesia; Gondiçalbus Garsie, consiliarius; Petrus de Castlarino; Petrus Despens; Jacobus de Arteriis, iudices Curie dicti domini regis; et Bernardus Pallaris, notarius dicti domini infantis.

S (symbol) num Dominici de Biscarra, scriptoris dicti domini regis ac regia auctoritate notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis, cum litteris in raso positis in V^a linea ubi dicitur et de redempcionibus eorundem et cum tercia parte decime et cum monetatico, et in XI^a linea ubi legitur et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum, et in XII^a linea, ubi continetur tercia parte et monetatico loci de Murla et in XXX^a prima ubi dicitur honoratum et de mero et mixto imperio et tercia parte decime et in XXX VII^a ubi legitur in feudalibus impignoracionibus permitabimus.

Document number 3

15th June 1328, Lleida.

The infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, proceeds to appoint attorneys so that they could give the Vilanova family the possession of the Pop valley.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 2.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 8.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum quartodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

Noverint universi quod nos, infans Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie / et Impuriarum comes, attendentes nos vendidisse dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raimundi de Villanova, quondam, ac Vitalono, ipsorum coniugum filio, necnon venerabili Vitali de Villanova, tutori et curatori testamentario Vitaloni predicti, castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota / valle eiusdem et cuius mero et mixto imperio ac cum eius terminis, pertineneciis et iuribus universis ad feudum videlicet honoratum sine aliquo servicio. Vendidisse eis etiam per franchum et liberum alodium merum et mixtum imperium et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loco de Murla, prout in instrumento dicte / vendicionis plenius continetur. Idcirco, volens emptores predictos inducere in plenam et corporalem seu quasi possessionem omnium premissorum, cum presenti publico instrumento facimus, constituimus ac etiam ordinamus certos et speciales procuratores nostros vobis, Raimundi Castellani et Macianum Despelunt-/ cis, consiliarios nostros, et Guillermmum Texeda, de domo nostra, licet absentes tanquam presentes, quemlibet vestrum in solidum. Ita quod occupantis condicio potior non existat ad tradendum pro nobis et



nomine nostro dicte Marie Latronis ac dicto Vitalono necnon Vitali de Villanova nomine tutoris ipsius / vel cui voluerit loco sui plenam et corporalem possessionem vel quasi castri predicti de Pop et eius vallis, meri et mixti imperii ac omnium iurium ipsius castri et vallis pro feudo, videlicet honorato, necnon ad recipiendum a domino rege vel a deputatis per ipsum ad hec ad tradendum predictis emptoribus / possessionem meri et mixti imperii, tercie partis decime et monetatici dicti loci seu alcharee de Murla pro francho, quitio et libero alodio. Et ad faciendum eis fieri per habitatores castri predicti homagium, iuramentum fidelitatem et omniam aliam que eorum dominis facere teneantur ad que nos / teneamur ex dicta vendicione per nos eis facta vel alia quacumque ratione vel causa. Et ad faciendum fieri predicto Vitali de Villanova nomine proprio qui nunc precibus nostris cesit violario quod ex concessione regia percipiebat in dicto castro de Pop pro securitate ipsius violarii, quod / sibi super aliis locis duximus assignandum et eorum que sibi debebuntur occasione ipsius violarii sacramentum et homagium per homines de Gandia, de Denia et de Exabea, prout in instrumento inde per nos facto dicto Vitali plenius continetur. Et ad faciendum apocha vel apochas de soluto / et alias cautelas et absoluciones quascumque super precio antedicto. Necnon ad faciendum dividi et limitari terminos dicti castri et vallis de Pop cum terminis convicinis et eius contiguiis. Et ad faciendum poni in ipsis divisis terminis mollones vel fitas et ad laudandum, fir-/ mandum, approbandum ac ratificandum nomine et pro parte nostra omnes et singulas sentencias, divisiones, limitaciones mollonorum, fixuras que late et facte fuerunt in premissis. Et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendum, explicandum et expediendum, firmandum et obligandum super /premissis et singulis et super intendentibus et emergentibus ac dependentibus ex premissis que eis necessaria et vobis expediencia videbuntur etiam si mandatum exigant speciale queque nos possemus personaliter constitui. Nam vobis et cuilibet vestrum in solidum tradimus, concedimus atque committimus / super omnibus supradictis et singulis plenarie vices nostras et plenam, liberam et generalem amministrationem cum omni plenissima facultate. Promittentes vobis, dictis procuratoribus et cuilibet vestrum in solidum ac notario infrascripto stipulanti, paciscenti et recipienti nomine vestro / et dictorum emptorum et omnium aliorum quorum interest intererit ac interesse poterit in futurum nos gratum et ratum ac firmum habere perpetuo quicquid per vos et quemlibet vestrum in solidum super predictis et quolibet predictorum actum, gestum fuerit ac etiam procuratum et nullo tempore revocare / sub bonorum nostrorum omnium ypotheca.

Quod est actum Ilerde, septimo decimo kalendis iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.

S [cross] num inffantis Petri predicti, qui hec concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes sunt: Gaucerandus de Vilarig, miles; Petrus d'Espens, consiliarii, et Jacobus Fivellarii, scriptor potioris dicti domini infantis. /

Sig [cross] num Dominici de Biscarra, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis. /

S [cross] num Jacobi Crespi, iusticie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit et decretum. /



Sig [cross] num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobo Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati iusticie eius vissu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit. /

Sig [cross] num GERALDI de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatare ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit loco, die et anno in prima linea expressatis. /

Document number 4

16th July 1328.

Marking off the boundaries and divisions of the Pop valley.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 137, D. 14.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum sextodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

In Christi nomine. Sapien tuit que disapte, septimo idus iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo, / el loch de Gandia lo senyor En Vidal de Vilanova, per provisió del sant pare apostoli comanador maior de Muntalbà, presentà a l'honrat n'Orrigo de Quintavall una letra en paper del senyor rey, oberta e segellada ab son segell, de la qual és aytal.

Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, Valencie, / Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, dilectis nostris Enrico de Quintavalle et Raymundo Costa, militibus, salutem et dileccionem. Cum ratione terminorum castri de Pop, siti in regno Valencie, et quorundam aliorum castrorum seu locorum convicinarum dicto castro inter inclitum inffantem Petrum, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum co-/ mitem, karissimum fratrem nostrum, ad quem velut ad proprietarium dicti castri, idem castrum finito violario infrascripto debet devolvi, seu venerabilem et dilectum consiliarium nostrum Vitalem de Villanova, comendatorem Montisalbani, dictum castrum ad violarium detinentem, ex parte unam, et quasdam alias personas in ipsius castri / convicino populatis, ex parte altera, controversia seu questio at exorta seu oriri speretur. Nosque ipsam questionem [corrupted] vel alterum vestrum velimus decidi. Ideo, vobis et utrique vestrum expresse dicimus, comitimus et mandamus quatenus vocatis evocandis ad dicta castra seu loca vos vel alter vestrum personaliter acce-/ dendo visisque ad oculum terminis supradictis certificetis vos de ipsis, tam per testes antiquos locorum circumvicinarum etiam per instrumenta publica, quam alia legitima documenta, et ipsa certificacionem habita seu recepta terminos ipsos dividatis, prout de foro et ratione inveneritis faciendum, ponendo inibi mollones seu fitas / ad eternam rei memoriam et re deinceps insurgat questione super ipsis. Nos enim in predictis et circa predicta vobis et utrique vestrum in solidum plenarie comittimus vices nostras.

Data Cesarauguste, septimo decimo kalendis iunii, anno Domini millesimo CCC° vicesimo octavo.



La qual letra presentada, lo dit honrat en Vidal de Vilanova requerí / lo damunt dit n'Orrigo de Quintaval que, enantás a partició o divisió dels dits térmens, segons lo manament a ell feyt. Et lo dit honrat n'Orrigo dix que era aparellat d'obeyr lo manament del senyor rey en totes coses. Et, a instància del dit senyor En Vidal, cità lo noble en Bernat de Sarrià per / letra sua, segons que's segueix.

Al molt noble e molt honrat senyor en Bernat de Sarrià, de mi, n'Orrigo de Quintaval, jutge per lo senyor rey assignat a les coses deïus scrites, salut ab bona honor. Sapiats, senyor, que yo he rebuda una carta del senyor rey, la tenor de la qual és aytal. / *Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, et cetera*, segons que damunt és contengut pus longament, hi fo tota incorporada et après de la data fo hi ajustat, ço que's segueix, per que de part del senyor rey vos dich e us man e de la mia vos prech que, dins VI dies comptadors de la recepció de les presents, / comparegats per vós o per vostre procurador ledesmament stablit denant mi en la vall de Pop, aparellat de mostrar del dret que havets en los térmens dels castells e lochs vostres, veïns e contigües dels térmens del castell e vall de Pop e en altra manera enantat en les coses damunt dites, segons que de fur / e de rahó serà faedor. En altra manera passat lo dit terme, lo qual peremptori vos assigne, yo enantaria en lo dit feyt segons que serà faedor de fur e de rahó, no contrastant vostra absència e requerent vostra contumàcia. *Data in loco Gandie, septimo idus iulii, anno infrascripto.*

En après / el dit dia al dit noble assignat, comparech en la vall de Pop en Guillem Texeda, procurador del molt alt senyor infant en Pere, havent plen poder a les coses deïus scrites, segons que a mi, notari, fo cert per carta pública per en Domingo de Biscarra, per auctoritat del senyor rey notari per tota la / sua senyoria, *feyta septimodecimo kalendis iulii, anno predicto*, d'una part. Encara comparech per nom del dit noble en Pelegrí Romeu ab alguns moros veyls de Tàrbena e de Castell, de l'altra. Et lo dit jutge, ensemps ab los damunts dits Guillem Texeda e En Pelegrí Romeu, per nom / que dit és, e ab los dits moros de Tàrbena e de Castell e ab d'altres moros de la vayl de Pop anà als dits térmens a departir. Et com fo el dit loch, certificàs ab los pus antinchs moros de cascuna de les parts axí com mils poch ne pus plenerament dels dits térmens on se devien partir e en / qual loch se devien mollonar. Et haüda certificació, departí per sa sentència los dits térmens en aquesta manera.

Con yo, n'Orrigo de Quintavall damunt dit, vista la comissió e manament del dit senyor rey a mi fet e altres coses que a determenar los dits térmens veure pogui se en a manera / de jutge e haven Deus solament denant mos huylls dich e pronunci, per ma sentència, que los térmens de la vall de Pop e de Tàrbena e de Castell affroten a la part d'Almorog, ço és a la Carayra a un estret a avall l'Almorotg on fa punta lo cingle de la rocha tallada, axí que lo dit cingle de les / roques tallades a avall roman terme de Pop, e, de les cingles a amunt, roman per terme de Tàrbena, és axí emperó que de la dita Carrayra hon fa punta lo dit cingle del hom comptar IIII barranchs que venen ferir en lo dit cingle e del qual barranch, ço és del cap del cingle hon lo dit barranch/ a punta deu ferir a fita cuberta sus el cap de la rocha tallada, la



qual és appellada Alcubla. Et del cap de la dita rocha appellada Alcubla va ferir a la punta pus alta de sobrecap dalmuntanyer, axí que de la dita punta pus alta roman ves terme de Pop a avayl per terme de Pop e de la / dita punta a enlà de terme de Tàrbena, la qual damunt dita punta dalmontanery pus alta can ve que hom és en lo toçal de Bercha Cilim e guarda hom devés l'Alcubla veu hom la dita punta pus alta, axí que nenguna altra no-m par pus alta roman de vers lo terme de / Tàrbena Matil Albecim et Matil Tutilla. Et del dit cap dalmuntanyer, ço és de la dita punta pus alta, va dret ferir a la rocha de Penalba e per lo cap de la serra va ferir vers Coyl de Rates e les vertens de les dites montanyes devés Pop e devés Parçen, axí com hom les pot / veure lo mirar de Parçen, romanen per terme de Pop, aygües vertens del cap de les dites montanyes a avant ves Tàrbena roman per terme de Tàrbena. Emperò és axí que les guareytes que són o la terra que-s pot laurar en lo Coyl de Rates prop la rocha del castell, la hon passa lo / camí, roman a Tàrbena tro al molló que perteix terme entre Pop e Exaló. Item, dich e pronuncian lo terme de Castell ab lo terme de Pop que perteix terme de la part dayant ab lo barranch de Huedardach que va ferir al riu de Huadalmeyça, lo qual barranch és miger axí com talla a avant / tro sus a les roques on comença lo pla de la montanya hon s'és fet un claper de pedres en la dita roqua. Les quals roques són sobre-l dit barranch a la part devés la part de la vayl d'Almedech, terme de Pop, axí que devés les roquetes e claper devés lo barranch roman per terme d'Ayant terme / de Castell. Et de les dites roquetes e claper devés la dita vayll d'Almadech roman per terme de Pop aygües vertens e de les dites roquetes e claper vasen hom dreta linya per lo cerito a un puyet que hi pot haver un cir de pedra de ma dom e aquí en lo dit puyet ha un claper de pedres / et del dit claper de pedres per lo cerrito a avant devés les terres panificades de Tàrbena e d'Ayant vasen dret per lo cerito ha un toçalet ha un altre claper de pedres e les vertens devés la vayl d'Almadech romanen per terme de Pop e dels dits ceritos e clapers devés / Ayant roman per terme de Castell e del dit toçalet hon és lo dit claper de pedres pren hom per lo socosta un poch de la vayl d'Almedech e traversa hom la carrera hon apunta un barranch e puxa de la vayl d'Almadech e, sus en la punta del barranch alt en la loma, / pren a hom per la loma a avall, axí que-l dit barranch roman per terme de Pop e per la loma avall ha un claper de pedres e del dit claper de pedres va hom a fita cuberta al estret d'Alcarayta, que és en lo cap de la vayl d'Almedech, alí on s'afronten los termens de Pop e / de Tàrbena e de Castell. Et de la dita loma prop la punta del dit barranch e camí devés les laurades d'Ayant e devés Almorog tro en lo cap del dit estret appellat Alcarayta alt sobre-ls cingles de les roques roman ab l'Almorog per terme de Castell. Com del/ dit estret e cingles de roques segons que va ferir al dit molló de la dita loma segons que damunt dit és a avall ves les vertens roman per terme de Pop. Et tots los sobre dits clapers de pedres hi foren posats en presència de les parts.

Quod est actum apud alcharea / de Benigemble, septimodecimo kalendis augusti, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.



Presents lo dit en Guillem Texeda, procurador del dit senyor infant en Pere, e en Pelegrí Romeu per nom del dit noble en Bernat de Sarrià, qui spressament la / present sentència loaren e aprovaren.

Encontinent foren-hi encara presens Domingo Roiç, justícia de Tàrbena, Johan Darocha et Garcia Sánchez, jurats del dit loch de Tàrbena, et Johan Roys et Romeu Çavila, vehins del dit loch, Çayt Abenapdoramen, Mahomat Aberrafe, Azmet Quibir / et Hacen Abnapdalla et Çaat Ammane e Mahomet Abnaxup, sarrahins veyls de loch de Tàrbena, et Barcha Amparell et Alii Amparell et Cilim Abolaquen et Mahomat Abraquich et Jucef Algalinayri, moros de la dita vayl de Pop.

Foren-hi encara presens per testimonis en Pere / Fuster, tenent loch de batle en Xàtiva, Steve Suau, Pascal Descallar, Domingo d'en Ana, Martin Perez de Vera, Garcia Martí, Arnau Cau, Çayt Abuxaxell, alcadi de la vayl de Exaló, et Ramon Solzina. /

Sig (symbol) num Galcerandi de Lobera, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem domini regis, qui premissis interfuit et hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis. /

S (cross) num Jacobi Crespi, justicie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit ac decretum. /

Sig (symbol) num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobi Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati justicie eius iussu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit. /

Sig (symbol) num Geraldi de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatare ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit.

Document number 5

8th December 1341, Murla.

Establishment of population in the Almadig valley, within the area of the Pop castle, carried out by Maria Lladró for certain Muslims living in Murla.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 12.

ABC

ABC

ABC

Noverint universi quod nos, dompna Maria Latronis de Vidaure, uxor quondam venerabilis Raymundi de Villanova, militis, defuncti, ac domina loci de Murla et vallis de Pop, attendentes nos habere quandam vallem vocatam de Almedich, sitam in territorio et limi-/ tacionibus ac termino vallis predictae nostre de Pop, heremam et incultam, et velimus ac cupiamus ipsam



populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare. Ideo, in Dei nomine et eius divina gracia per nos et omnes nostros, presentes pariterque futuros, populamus sive ad populam / novam sub formis retencionibus et condicionibus infrascriptis donamus, tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus vobis Somade Abenacim, Mahometo Atzintar, Abraham Abolaix, Azmeto, filio de Çayt Abençaydo, Azmeto Alvalençi, Atnayar Azmeto, Açim Abenacim, Hilell / Abolaix, Çaat Podies, Solomen, filio de Taher Atzintar, Azmeto, filio Mahometi Ayeix, Ayeix Caydo, Jahiel, filio de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayeix, Ali, filio Azmeti Caydo, Caat Aldurrafe, Azmeto Alcayla et Faraig Abenacim, sarracenis et habitatori- / bus in dicto loco de Murla, equis partibus inter vos, presentibus et recipientibus et utrique vestrum et vestris ad imperpetuum vallem predictam nostram de Almedich, prout confrontatur cum terris nostris et nobis restantibus vallis de Pop et cum termino Tarbene et cum termino vallis de / Castell et cum camino publico per quod homo tenditur apud Ayalt et Godalest. Iamdictam itaque vallem, ut superius confrontatur et terminatur, videlicet domus seu hospicia que ibi feceritis cum solis rectis perietibus suprapositis et fundamentis, a çelo in abissum, et terras seu po-/ ssessiones que ibi sunt cum aquis, cequiis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint, introytibus, exitibus, affrontacionibus ac pertinentiis suis universis et singulis per omnia loca. Sic vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus donamus, / tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus in hunc modum, videlicet quospiam vallem laboretis seu agricultetis et melioretis et in alioquo non deterioretis ad usum et consuetudinem bonorum laboratorum et adquisitionum. Et quod faciatis seu edificetis ibi quisque vestrum do-/ mos vestras seu hospicia que incipietis facere seu prepari in hoc anno primo venturo et completo et ibi manere teneamini et semper facere residenciam personalem. In adiutorio cuiusquidem operis dictorum domorum nos damus cuicumque vestrum viginti solidos et de gracia spe-/ ciali quos nunquam nobis nec nostris dare, solvere ac tradere teneamini. Immo sint vestri et vestrorum perpetuo et in aiutorio dicti operis ut dictum est. Et quod vos et vestri detis ac dare teneamini nobis et nostris perpetuo et quolibet anno pro çensu et iure nostro quisque vestrum / quinta parte omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit. Detis inquam nobis et nostris pro çensu dictarum domorum seu hospiciorum vestrorum perpetuo et / quolibet anno in festi natalis Domini unum par gallinarum. Detis etiam perpetuo et annuatim pro quilibet capite animalium seu vultuum vestrorum propriorum que ibi habueritis et tenueritis unum denarium. Et pro qualibet colmena apum seu abellarum / similiter alium denarium. Et quod teneamini ibi facere plantare quilibet vestrum vineas et figuerallos et alias plantas, quas vineas, figuerallos ac plantas faciatis et facere teneamini hinc ad quatuor annos primos, venturos et completos. Et nos de gracia speciali con-/ cedimus vobis quos vos eligatis per nos in et quilibet anno duos vestros qui cum officiale nostro estiment seu acarraqent expleta que in dicta valle fuerint. Et quod non eligatis seu proclametis alium dominum seu patronum, nisi tantum nos et successores / nostros. Et sic vos et quilibet vestrum et vestri succesoros amodo habeatis predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo teneatis, possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum, obligan-/ dum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestras et vestrarum voluntates perpetuo faciendas, exceptis militibus atque sanctis, clericis ac personis religiosis. Salvo tamen semper nobis et nostris censu et parte et aliis iuribus predictis dominio, laudimiis et faticis et alio ple-/ no iure emphiteutico in omnibus ad forum Valencie. Promittentes in fide



bona convenientes predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo vobis et vestris perpetuo deffendere et salvare et facere, habere, tenere, possidere et expletare / quiete, potenter et in sana pace contra omnes personas conquerentes vel aliquid perturbantes ad forum Valencie. Et tenemur inde vobis et vestris perpetuo de firma et legali eviccionem et ab omni dampno ac etiam interesse. Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris nos et / omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Preterea confitemur et in veritate recognoscimus nos a vobis habuisse et recipisse pro intrata huius stabilimenti duas carricas lignorum seu lenye quare renunciamus scienter / omni excepcioni intrate predictae a vobis non habite et recepte, ut predictur et doli. Ad hec autem vos, dicti Somade Abenaçim, Mahometus Atzintar, Abrafim Abolaix, Azmetus, filius de Cayd Abencaydo, Azmetus Alvalenci, Atnayar Azmetus, Acim Abenacim, Hilell Abolaix, Çaat [corrupted] filius de Taher Atzintar, Azmetus, filius Mahometi Ayeix, Abeyx Caydo, Jahiel, filius de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayei [corrupted] Caydo, Çaat Abdurrafe, Azmetus / Alcayla et Faraig Abenaçim, sarraceni sepedicti [corrupted] a vobis, domina supradicta, stabilimentum predictum ad dictum censum, partem et tributum et ad dictam intratam, et sub formis retencionibus et comisionibus antedictis. Promittentes et fide bona convenientes / tes predictam vallem et partem ipsius cuilibet vestrum con[corrupted] exermare, agricultare, plantare et meliorare et dictas domos seu hospicia nostra ibi facere et edificare et hoc adversum convenientem bonorum populorum, agricultorum et adquirentium / et dictam partem censum, tributum et omnia alia iura nostra per vos superius penes vos retenta vobis et vestris solvere et deliberare perpetuo et quolibet anno, et omnia alia supradicta per vos et quamlibet vestrum attendenda et complenda vobis et vestris attendere / et complere ut superius dicta scripta ac narrata [corrupted] Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris, videlicet quilibet vestrum pro parte sua vallis predictae omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Renunciantes super hiis çune et / xare sarracenorum et omni alii iuri contra hec veniendi.

Quod est actum Murle, sexto idus decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo primo.

S (cross) num nostri, dompne Marie Latronis de Vidaure.

S (cross) num So-/ made Abenacim.

S (cross) num Mahometi Atzintar.

S (cross) num Abrafim Abolaix.

S (cross) num Azmeti, filii de Çayt Abençaydo.

S (cross) num Azmeti Alvalenci Atnayar.

S (cross) num Azmeti Açim Abenaçim.

S (cross) num Hilell Abolaix.



S (cross) num / Çaat Pero Dies.

S (cross) num Solomen, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cross) num Azmeti, filii Mahometi Ayeix.

S (cross) num Ayeix Çaydo.

S (cross) num Jahiel, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cross) num Çaat Hiayeix.

S (cross) num Ali, filii Azmeti /Çaydo.

S (cross) num Çaat Abdurrafe.

S (cross) num Azmeti Alcayla.

S (cross) num Faraig Abenaçim,

sarracenorum populatorum et adquisitorum predictorum, qui hec laudamus, approbamus et omnibus concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes huius rei sunt: Michael Peris, alcaydus de Beniomar, termino Denie; Jacobus de Calidis, vicinus Gandie, et Eximinus Martini, vicinus Murle, et Ayeix Abenayeix, sarracenus, habitator in Parçen, termino vallis de Pop, et / Mahometus Abenhadir, sarracenus Murle.

Sig (symbol) num Mathei Boix, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totum regnum Valencie, qui hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis.



MEMORY, MEDICINE AND CHILDHOOD IN MIDDLE AGE

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ABSTRACT

In this article we will follow the medieval childhood since the caring of the expecting mothers to the first foods, steps, movements, words and diseases of children. Medieval medical treatises play an important role throughout all this process.

KEYWORDS

Middle Ages, Children, Medicine.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Medium Aevum, Pueri, Medicina.

According to the medieval conception of the world and society, motherhood was so important in woman's everyday life as marriage or family origins. The principal woman's purpose in life was to get pregnant and have babies. Lack of children was seen as misfortune. Although different forms of contraception and abortifacients are known to have existed,¹ childbearing was the central focus of a married woman's life. Marriage and procreation constituted moral obligations of spouses, especially for the woman, since to have children represented the possibility of being rescued from the Eve's sin. To bring children into the world, continuously until death was, beyond virginity, as the Dominican Nicolau de Gorran (d.1295) recalled, the only way for the woman to achieve salvation.²

The twelfth century can perhaps be pointed as the period in which the image of motherhood changed subtly. As the church promoted the cult of the Holy Mother, multiplying and diversifying the representations of Mary as a mother, motherhood acquired higher status as well. The Virgins of Expectation or of Childbirth are one of the visible aspects of this change, since they contributed to associate Blessed Virgin not only with motherhood but also with the pregnancy itself. In churches, the mother of Christ was seen as the pregnant woman who caressed her prominent belly with one hand, while, with the other, greeted or blessed her devotees (see figure 1). Like the Virgin, pregnant women should be socially respected and honoured. The Virgins of Milk also contributed to the evaluation of maternity by giving special importance to maternal breastfeeding (see figure 2). Likewise the images of the Holy Mothers, based on the maternal genealogy of Christ, emphasized the contribution of women to family reproduction (see figure 3).

A woman could become a mother very early in her own lifetime. The age of majority for girls was around twelve years in most parts of the Mediterranean. Whether this was an accurate reflection of the average age of menarche is unclear, but given the universal distaste evinced in legal texts towards underage marriage, the completion of the twelfth year must have carried some connotation of sexual maturity.³ Isidore of Seville, in the seventh century, stated that girls could be married at any time after menarche.⁴

Though giving birth and bringing up children was the 'role' of married women, this does not mean that the mysteries of 'female production' did not represent an area that was almost always kept to women, being rarely addressed by some literate medieval culture, which was predominantly male. In fact, both pregnancy and childbirth or child care were still considered female and private affairs and functions, to which men had little access. The knowledge of what was happening

1. Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *A Criação na Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Teorema, 2007: 78-85.

2. Vecchio, Silvana. "A boa esposa", *História das Mulheres*, 5 vols., Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, eds. Porto: Afrontamento, 1993: II, 163.

3. Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *O dia-a-dia em Portugal na Idade Média*. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2015: 257-258.

4. Hispalensis, Sanctus Isidorus. "De Ecclesiasticis Officiis", *Patrologiae. Cursus completus*, Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1862, LXXXIII, col. 811-812.





1



2

ILLUSTRATION 1. VIRGIN OF EXPECTATION, FOUTEENTH CENTURY, LISBON, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARTE ANTIGA (H. 91 x L.25,5 x P. 6 CM). PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATION 2. VIRGIN OF MILK, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, GUIMARÃES, MUSEUM OF ALBERTO SAMPAIO (H. 38 x L. 21 x P. 15,5 CM). PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.



ILLUSTRATION 3. HOLY MOTHERS, SANTA ANA WITH THE VIRGIN AND THE LITTLE CHRIST, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, LISBON, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARTE ANTIGA, COL. COMANDANTE ERNESTO VILHENA (H. 73 x L. 37 x P. 28 CM). PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.



in the parturient's room was locked by a veil of secrecy and shame that neither the husband nor the physician could easily access.

As women generally did not write down or record their lives, the literate medieval information about the transmission of life is very scarce, being almost all of it concentrated in three types of sources: medical and scientific treatises, moral education manuals for women and hagiographies and books of miracles. I am going to address the first one: the scientific and medical treatises, more specifically the *Medical Works* of the Portuguese Pedro Hispano,⁵ the Hispanic Arabic compendium of obstetrics and paediatrics, known as *Book of the Generation of the Fetus*⁶ and the manual written in French by Aldebrandino de Siena, under the title *Le Régime du Corps*.⁷ All of them compile knowledge, techniques and regulations regarding pregnancy, childbirth and the care of the newborn, though we do not know whether they were practices socially followed or not.

1. Pregnancy

A sterile marriage left the couple under suspicion either of using contraceptives, performing abortion or practicing infanticide, or engaging in sexual pleasures not directed to their only legitimate function —the procreation. A good marriage should be prolific and a good wife should be a mother.

Infertility, usually attributed to women, could be cause for marital repudiation. Thus, from pilgrimages to the shrines of devotion, use of relics previously belonging to saints, prayers, invocations, promises, to the use of many and varied miracle potions, everything was done so that the woman could conceive.⁸

Medical treatises begin with the enumeration of the several problems associated with sterility, followed by advices and recipes to encourage the development of pregnancy, recommending temporal and positional prescriptions, food and dietary regimes to correct the excesses of heat or dryness that were considered causes of sterility, as well as many home potions to be applied on the woman's body, usually mixing animal, vegetable and mineral elements. For instance, donkey's milk, deer's horn or elephant's urine, incense, lemon balm or mint, alum, myrrh or gypsum.⁹ It is interesting to analyse what medieval texts say about the woman's body. Most of those texts were written by men, many of whom were clergy and members of the

5. Hispano, Pedro. *Obras Médicas*, ed. Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1973.

6. Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro de la generación del feto, el tratamiento de las mujeres embarazadas y de los recién nacidos (Tratado de Obstetricia y Pediatría hispano árabe del siglo X)*, ed. Antonio Arjona Castro. Córdoba: Pons, 1983.

7. De Siena, Aldebrandino. *Le Régime du corps*, eds. Louis Landouzy, Roger Pépin. Paris: Champion, 1911.

8. About sterility, see: Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *A Criança...*: 48-58 and Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *O dia-a-dia...*: 15-20.

9. Hispano, Pedro. *Obras Médicas...*: 234-238, 242 and 262-270.



church who had taken a vow of celibacy and thus could neither have sex or, as men, enter the birthing chamber. Many of them believed that the female sexual organs were male organs turned inwards. Women were deemed subordinate to men as their sexual organs had not grown outside of the body and so were not fully formed or developed. In essence, they were inferior versions of men.

Some people even believed that they could choose the sex of their baby by the types of foods they ate, the infusions they drank, the positions they should have during sexual intercourse or a kind of medicines they invented. To generate twins there were recipes, as well; one of them was to drink, in equal parts, by man and woman, a liquid obtained by mixing cooked and dried asparagus, goat's milk, cow's milk, honey, and pepper. Another one recommended the ingestion, by the future mother, of a preparation of ground ginger mixed with milk of woman, donkey and camel in equal parts. They had no concept that it was the male sperm that dictated the sex of the child. It all laid heavily upon the woman's shoulders.¹⁰

For Hildegarda of Bingen, the German naturalist and mystical Abbess of the twelfth century, if it was the force of the male seed that determined the sex of the embryo, it would be the love between the child's parents that would determine the moral qualities that the child would have. Thus, a great love between the spouses and a strong or weak masculine seed would, respectively, generate a virtuous boy or a virtuous girl. The lack of love between the couple would generate a bad son or a bad daughter.¹¹

Initially, some women would not have even known they were pregnant until they felt the first movement of their baby inside them: the fetus of a boy would begin to move around three months, the fetus of a girl would begin to move a month later.¹² A woman's lack of regular menstruation could be related to several factors including illness, breastfeeding, excessive fasting or even a poor diet. It may seem amazing to us that a woman would not know that she was pregnant for several months, but there were no reliable tests for pregnancy during this period. One pregnancy test was to examine the colour of the urine and if it was a pale yellow to white colour with a cloudy surface, the woman could be pregnant. Other tests involved examining a needle left in the woman's urine to see if it rusted, or seeing what happened when wine was mixed with the woman's urine. Also if the woman had drunk water with honey before going to bed and during the night she felt pain around the navel or if she had put a garlic in the vagina before falling asleep and the next morning still smelled of garlic, she was surely pregnant.¹³

The appearance and posture of the expectant mother denoted the sex of the unborn child. Therefore, if she had a beautiful and a cheerful face, a clean skin, and light movements, all would indicate that a boy would be born, because he reinforced the mother's warmth while activated her senses and facilitated her movements. A

10. Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *A Criança...*: 53-58.

11. Thomasset, Claude. "Da natureza feminina", *História das Mulheres*, 5 vols., Georges Duby, Michelle Perrot, eds. Porto: Afrontamento, 1993: II, 84.

12. Ibn Sa'id, Ārib. *El libro...*: 68-73.

13. Ibn Sa'id, Ārib. *El libro...*: 68.



maternal skin with dark spots, accompanied by sunken eyes and numb movements and senses would indicate a girl, because she brought the cold that altered the mother's skin and cooled her blood. It was also possible to know the sex of the child to be born by the future mother's walk: if she laid all the weight of her body on her heels, it would be a boy; if she unloaded it on her toes, she expected a girl.¹⁴

Since pregnancy was a risk and its end unknown, once having reached the desired fertilization, a set of recommendations and requirements to be considered for a successful pregnancy came forward. The vulnerability of pregnant women to many infections and diseases worsened the already poor conditions of gestation of the fetus, among which, especially for socially disadvantaged groups of women, were the violent work and the malnutrition that caused many miscarriages. Enemas, ointments and several types of food were part of the medical prescriptions that sought to prevent the multiple causes of abortions, such as falls, excessive fatigue, sadness, anxiety, weakness of the uterus or of the sperm, hunger, blood flow or even diarrhoea. Therefore, the medical treatises proved to be very careful with all these symptoms. Thus, if the woman got sick and her breasts suddenly got smaller, an abortion should, most certainly, be expected; if milk dripped from the breasts, it also meant that the fetus was weak. The sunken eyes, the face, the body and the swollen feet, the white nose and ears as well as the greenish lips also indicated the birth of a stillborn baby or of a child who could only survive for a short time after being born.¹⁵ Such a great attention given by medical treatises to the gestation period is also due to the high infant mortality rates at the time, which, in Portugal, reached values that were close to the 30 per cent in the rural areas and to the 12 per cent in the urban areas or cities.¹⁶

In the medieval medicine treatises, a great attention to the eating habits of the pregnant was also granted, since the health of the fetus was not indifferent to the nourishment habits of his genitor. Accordingly, doctors recommended that the mother should be properly fed and avoid salty or bitter food, otherwise, the child could be born without nails or hair and even more sensitive to diseases. Spices, including salt and pepper, could cause leprosy. Some meats were also forbidden, being the white meat particularly recommended. Heavy meals were strongly inadvisable. However, to this diet, with no salt or stimulants, energy and sugary drinks could be added; wine was completely forbidden, because if the expectant mother drank it, the child could become epileptic. The hunger of the pregnant was also referred as hurting the developing fetus, since, without food the mother's stomach grabbed dangerous bodily secretions, leading to nausea, pains and lack of appetite that would weaken her blood. It was advised that, although the pregnant should eat and drink with moderation, she should live happily so that these good habits could be transmitted to the fetus.

14. Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 59-60.

15. Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 91-93.

16. Coelho, Maria Helena. "Os homens ao longo do tempo e do espaço", *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Século XIV*, Maria Helena Cruz Coelho, Armando Luís Carvalho Homem, eds. Lisbon: Presença, 1996: 180-182.



The first forty days of pregnancy were the most dangerous for abortion. During this time, it was recommended both to avoid sudden movements, jumps and dangerous foods as well as moderation in baths and body washes, while, at the same time, it drew attention to the harm that violent sneezing could do. Therefore, several prescriptions were provided for stomach disorder, vomiting and abnormal appetites. Nevertheless, after the seventh month, frequent baths and laxative food were advised to prevent pregnant women from the labor pains.¹⁷

2. During Labor

The cares during childbirth, the last stage of an uncertain journey, deserved particular attention.

In preparation for the child's arrival, women kept the birthing room warmed and clean, or purified with scented herbs. It should be closed off and, if possible, tapestries would be hung over the windows to block out as much light from the outside world as possible. The idea was to recreate the womb: warm, dark and quiet. Only a single window would have been left open to allow fresh air into the room and only a small amount of light, as it was believed that too much light could damage the expectant mother's eyes.

When the pains started, the pregnant woman was advised to walk slowly and to take some rest breaks. During the birth itself, the presence of the midwife, a traditional birth attendant, was suggested; she should be sitting in front of the pregnant woman, with her nails well clipped to better feel the placenta and receive the baby. It was advisable that three more women were present: two on each side of the mother to hold her tight, to cheer her up, to encourage and comfort her; the third one, behind, to hold her when she leaned back (see figure 4). The midwife's central role was safely to deliver a mother's unborn child. To ease her pain and bring her to a quicker parturition, the midwife would rub her patient's belly with a salve.

The birthing room was the domain of women, where midwives or other women who were mothers assisted the delivery and encourage the mother. The presence of a doctor with the woman in labor very rarely should occur, not only for reasons of decency (these were women matters), but also because their small number tended to concentrate them on more serious issues and in the main population centers. Labor was thus a private and domestic event.

Various positions are known to give birth, such as sitting in birthing stools or chairs supported by their female companions (see figure 5) or being on their knees (see figure 6).

At the moment of the expulsion of the child, the midwife was advised to carefully try to take the head before the members and, at the same time, to act in order to

17. Ibn Sa'īd, Ārib. *El libro...*: 87-91 and Thomasset, Claude. "Da natureza feminina"...: 164.





ILLUSTRATION 4. JAKOB RUEFF (CA. 1500-1558), THREE MIDWIVES ATTENDING TO A PREGNANT WOMAN, 1554, FROM <<https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/catalog/nlm:nlmuid-101436177-img>>.



ILLUSTRATION 5. GIVING BIRTH SITTED, MINIATURE, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL. REAL BIBLIOTECA DEL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, *MS. T.I.1*, CANTIGA 89. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

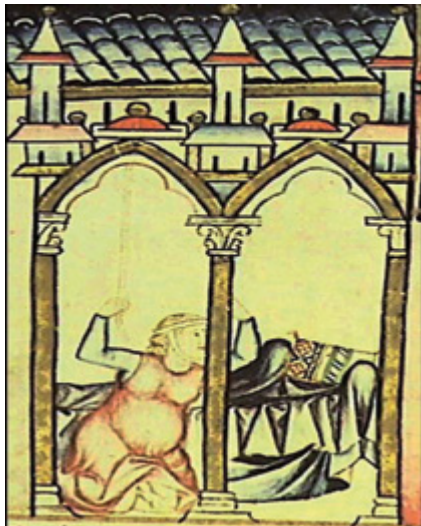


ILLUSTRATION 6. GIVING BIRTH ON KNEES, MINIATURE, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL. REAL BIBLIOTECA DEL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, *MS. T.I.1*, CANTIGA 17. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

avoid any deformations.¹⁸ There was no way of monitoring the baby's heart rate or to take blood pressures, and thus women relied heavily upon other experienced women to support and help them. If the labor was difficult or dangerous, which it often was, many options were available for the woman who was giving birth but none were particularly effective. Largely these consisted of herbal poultices, folk remedies and devout prayer. In fact, women often clutched holy relics, images, icons or recited religious prayers and chants to help them and give them strength throughout the birthing process. Amulets and amber could also be placed upon the mother's stomach, or prayer rolls could be read or even wrapped around the stomach to help with the pain of labor and to aid safe delivery of a baby.

Among the women of the various social groups, objects and amulets of various natures, that were believed to help in this difficult and uncertain moment, were used and lent. Queen Isabel of Aragon, in her testament of 1327, left to the convent of Santa Clara, in Coimbra, a Virgin with the Child that, for being focused on Mary's maternity, would be considered a good omen for both marriage and procreation. This image would be loaned to women who needed it and returned to the convent thereafter. (see figure 7). Equally, the queen D. Beatriz, the queen of the Portuguese king Afonso IV, left in testament to her grandson, the future king D. Fernando, a gold cup with the image of *Agnus Dei* that, among other attributes, was believed to provide a good childbirth.

Many women invoked the Virgin of Expectation or Saint Margaret, the patron saint of pregnant women and childbirth. Saint Margaret had been eaten by a dragon but managed to get out of his womb due to the crucifix she was holding. It was hoped that babies would be delivered as easily as Saint Margaret had come out of the dragon (see figure 8).

Although physically these things could not have assisted in the birth, the faith and belief that women had would have helped them psychologically and could have helped them to deal with their fear and worries over childbirth. The pain associated with labor and childbirth was thought to be due to Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden. Her original sin meant that all women had to suffer great pain and many women turned to religion to provide them with the support and relief they greatly desired. There was also the strong possibility that a mother in labor could die, so religion and faith played a hugely important role in everyday life and also within the childbirth. Young mothers, older mothers, poor or rich mothers, all could die not only in giving birth but also due to complications afterwards. The process was so risky that women were urged to confess their sins and to write their wills before they gave birth in case they could not survive the delivery.

Childbirth was, undoubtedly, a mix of emotions —pain, fear, anxiety, anguish, despair, but also hope and love.

18. Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 96-106.





ILLUSTRATION 7. THE VIRGIN AND THE CHILD, FOURTEENTH CENTURY, COIMBRA, NATIONAL MUSEUM MACHADO DE CASTRO, TREASURE OF QUEEN D. ISABEL. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.



ILLUSTRATION 8. SAINT MARGARET, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, LISBON, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARTE ANTIGA, COL. COMANDANTE ERNESTO VILHENA (H. 68,5 x L. 44,5 x P. 20cm). PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

3. The Birth Assistants

Throughout all this process, the midwives played an important and decisive role. Their medical training was, most certainly, quite elementary, making special use of the knowledge and techniques that experience and tradition had taught them. Some of them had years of experience delivering babies and thus had a great expertise. A candidate for midwifery usually learned from an older experienced midwife, and from her she usually acquired the necessary information and direction for her specialized duties.

However, considering that some treatises included specific instructions specially addressed to the midwives, as well as many illustrations of the many positions the fetus could take at birth, (see figure 9 -1,2,3-) we are led to believe that some of

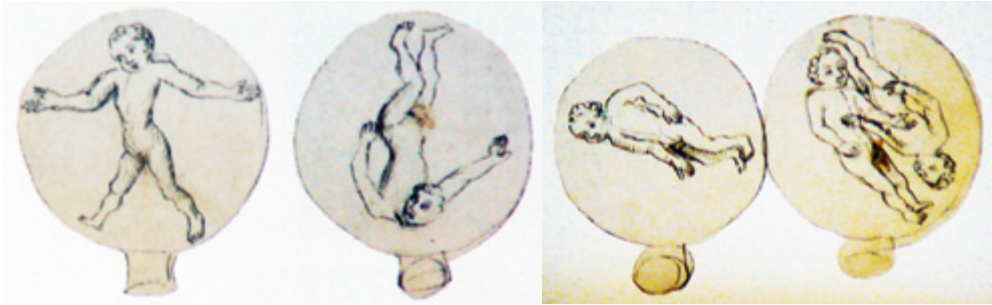


ILLUSTRATION 9. ILLUSTRATIONS OF FOETAL POSITIONS IN THE WOMB. MINIATURES, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, COLLECTION OF MEDICAL TREATISES, MS LATIN 7056, F. 88v-89r. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

them were literate, or, at least, were able to read. In such situations, the medical textbooks recalled us how midwives should be careful and have great experience, also suggesting several ways on how to deal with the various positions taken by the baby at birth, advising them to force him to take the right position, showing them how, while they should treat carefully the part of the body already out, they would have to handle, carefully and smoothly, the part of the little human being still inside the mother's womb, since it was very common the difficult births to end up with decapitated fetuses or dead children in their mothers' wombs.

Facing the difficulty or impossibility of a vaginal delivery, a caesarean birth could be tried, although its techniques were still highly unreliable (see figure 10). The role and responsibility of midwives were essential for the decision and implementation of a caesarean section. It was their responsibility to evaluate the real death of the parturient and the choice of the right moment for the caesarean, since the possibility of saving the child was dependent of a short period of time between the confirmation of the mother's death and the surgical intervention. This situation was often not easy to fulfil, since complicated childbirths lasted for several days, through successive episodes of exhaustion and loss of consciousness, and it was difficult to assess the exact moment of death of the pregnant woman. Notwithstanding, they were done, in general, *post-mortem*, aiming the baptism of the unborn children whose mothers had died during childbirth, even though their chances of survival were very low. The loss of a child, no matter the time, is a traumatic experience that has huge emotional impacts upon the family.

In fact, medieval birth attendants faced a lot of pressure. Not only they had to do their best to help the mother and the baby to survive the birth, but they were also responsible for the newborn's soul. If they fear the infant's life was in danger they must baptize him before he dies so his soul could go to heaven. Given the high rate of child mortality, the concern for the salvation of children's souls has forced





ILLUSTRATION 10. CAESAREAN BIRTH, MINIATURE, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL. REAL BIBLIOTECA DEL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, MS. T.I.I., CANTIGA 184. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

ecclesiastical acceptance that, in the event of a child's death, the baptism could be done without a priest and by a layperson who knew how to do it. If the child survived, baptism should be confirmed by a priest.¹⁹

The act of baptism would remove the natural sin and cleanse the soul; it was the only time that a woman was ever allowed to deliver one of the sacraments but only to be done if the child was going to die. The correct recitation of the formula before the moment of death was vital for the salvation of the baby's soul. In fact, if a birth attendant failed to baptise an infant quickly enough before his death, or forgot a word or phrase of the formula, she would be tempted to lie in order to allow the infant to be buried in sanctified ground and reassure the parents that the child's soul was not lost. Their ability to perform baptism was, certainly, one of their sadder duties.

In addition to cases of death, complicated deliveries were also responsible for the birth of children with serious health problems or physical-anatomical deformations. There was a very strong feeling that malformed babies indicated a sin committed by their parents, particularly some kind of sexual deviation, such as having sexual intercourses at times proscribed by penitentials, for instance, Sundays, during Lent or during the woman's menstrual period. In this last case, women could generate red

19. About the baptism in medieval times, see: Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *O dia-a-dia...*: 39-43.

haired and tendentially leprous children, given the efforts of the fetuses to get rid of the maternal menstrual blood that would be contained in their porous members.²⁰

Some medical treatises, however, attributed this situation not to a complication of childbirth but to a badly constituted uterus. Thus, if the child was born deformed, this was due to the fact that it was a product of a deformed mold that prevented the correct development of the male sperm.²¹

4. After Childbirth

To born was, however, only a first obstacle to overcome: the spectre of death continued to haunt the little being that had just left the warmth of the womb and come into a new life and to a world full of adversity. Fearing that, during the first days of life, the fragility of the child would not resist to the changes that his body would inevitably come through, the medical treatises recommended that he should be well treated, protected and strengthened, explaining how the newly born child should be lightly received by the hands of the midwife and immediately placed on a dry cloth and gently warmed to protect him from the cold. Then, it was prescribed the practice of movements to stimulate and test the joints, and, for that, the midwife was advised to bend and extend the limbs of the child.

The bath followed, and the same texts had also guidelines about the precepts after that. They explained how the midwife ought to hold the baby with her left arm and wash him using the right hand, being always attentive to prevent the water from entering into the child's ears. The midwife's finger wet with aromatic oil was advised to clean the baby's drool and the inside of his mouth, especially the tongue and gums. The child should only be removed from the bath when his body was red and hot, and then he should be dried with a soft cloth. His body should then be massaged with oil by the midwife.

After the bath, it was advised to cover the wound in the navel with a bandage, to cut the nails and to put eye drops, all of these done with great care and gentleness.²² The child was then ready to be wrapped in swaddling clothes and bands of lightweight fabric, usually a strip of linen. This was believed to provide warmth, encourage the baby's limbs to grow straight and vital to prevent the newborn from an always feared and unintended deformation of the body. One common belief was that the limbs were loosely-jointed and that sudden movements were harmful to the development of the child.

Swaddling clothes generally consisted of a square of cloth with two or more additional bandages for securing. The baby was laid on the cloth diagonally and the corners were folded over the body and the feet and under the head with the

20. Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *O dia-a-dia...*: 23-24.

21. Ibn Sa'id, Ārib. *El libro...*: 82.

22. Ibn Sa'id, Ārib. *El libro...*: 102-104, 111-112.



bandages being tied securely around the baby. This formed the baby's clothing until it was about eight or nine months old (see figures 11 and 12).

Following the positions taken by Philippe Aries,²³ several investigators have considered the children's dressing and swaddling as a confirmation of the alleged medieval affective indifference of parents for their children, caring little about their healthy development.²⁴ Nowadays, such an opinion seems too biased and prejudiced. On the contrary, regardless of any harm that this practice might have caused in their growth, it prevented the children to become injured or bitten by animals which shared the streets and the human houses, also avoiding the malformations resulting from excessive kicking or the hernias caused by convulsive sobs.²⁵

5. Caring for baby's food

In the fifteenth century, the treatises of child health gave particular importance to the nutritional care of the newborns. Therefore, they advised that, before eating, the child's stomach should be cleaned by sucking the mother's finger previously dipped in honey with no foam. The mother, herself, should breastfeed the child, at least in his first four days. Only after that, if needed, she can be replaced by a wet nurse (nanny).²⁶ According to the doctors' opinion, it was through the breast milk that the virtues of the mother and of her lineage were transmitted. Equally relevant is the theory that breast milk is the result of the transformation of the blood which had fed the child during pregnancy.²⁷ Also the Church felt that if the Virgin breastfed his own child, then noble women should do likewise. The proliferation of images of the Virgin of Milk since the thirteenth century has contributed to the progressive valuation of the importance of breastfeeding and of a new ideal of motherhood, more nourishing and protective than merely reproductive.

Despite all this, many noble women were often not too involved in the direct upbringing of their babies, preferring to hire the services of a wet nurse instead of breastfeeding the children themselves. Given the high child mortality that occurred even in the privileged social groups, it was necessary to have many children to ensure the preservation of the lineage and the succession. Taking

23. Ariès, Philippe. *A criança e a vida familiar no Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 1988.

24. Hunt, David. *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972; DeMause, Lloyd. "The Evolution of Childhood", *The History of Childhood. The Untold Story of Child Abuse*, Lloyd DeMause, ed. New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1988.

25. Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *A Criança...*: 101.

26. See Roy, Emile. "Un regime de santé du XV siècle pour les petits enfants et l'hygiène de Gargantua", *Mélanges offerts à E. Picot*. Paris: 1913: I, 153; Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 103.

27. Alexandre-Bidon, Danièle; Lett, Didier. *Les enfants au Moyen Âge (Ve. – XVe. siècles)*. Paris: Hachette, 1997: 123 and 263.



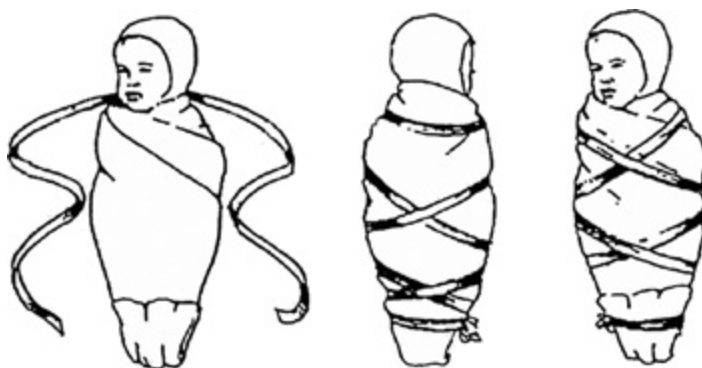


ILLUSTRATION 11. DESIGN BY R. KITABGI (TEXTILE-ARTS). BIDON, ALEXANDRE; CLOSSON, MONIQUE. *L'ENFANT À L'OMBRE DES CATHÉDRALES*. LYON: PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE LYON, 1985: 96.



ILLUSTRATION 12. MASTER OF THE TŘEBOŇ ALTARPIECE, THE ADORATION OF JESUS, c. 1380, HULBOKÁ, ALSOVA JIHOCESKA GALERIA. THE DETAIL FROM THE TŘEBOŇ SHOWS THE BABE SNUGLY WRAPPED FROM TIP TO TOES. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.



into consideration that breastfeeding, if prolonged, provided, in statistical terms, greater difficulty in getting pregnant breastfeeding was discouraged to noble women. Soon after birth, in order for a new maternity cycle to begin, the breast milk should be dried.

If the option was to have a wet nurse, then the choice should follow very strict criteria. Firstly, she had to fulfil some physical requirements. Doctors and educators shared the opinion that she must look like the biological mother, be healthy enough and aged between twenty-five and thirty-five years old. Wet nurses having big breasts were not advisable taking into account the prevention of malformations in the baby's face.²⁸ Having one or more children was considered an advantage because it could mean better milk.

Moreover, the choice of wet nurse also required the evaluation of certain behavioural qualities. They should not, for example, be angry, sad, fearful or silly. Similarly they should not be too talkative so that the child being breastfed would not acquire such habit. They should, however, be able to sing songs for rocking and comforting the baby. Then, while exercising their functions, they should be supervised to ensure that they would not harm the children entrusted to them. Therefore, it was advisable to assure that they would neither eat salty, spicy or acidic foods, as well as old meats and spices, nor drink pure wine because these could harm the child's brain. On the other hand they were recommended to consume enough rice, fresh fish, lots of raw or boiled milk, and the right amount of water that helped her milk not to become too thin or thick.

Finally, foreign travels were avoided, so that fatigue did not diminish the quality of the food supplied and, especially, the prohibition of any sexual intercourse, as any pregnancy would divert to the unborn baby the blood due to strengthen the milk of breastfeeding.²⁹

The wet nurses took the mother's place in many different areas such as giving affection to the baby they were taking care of, bathing the baby, singing lullabies, comforting the baby when he fell or when he was sick, and sometimes even chewed the baby's bread or meat.

In fact, the weaning stage should be done gradually; it was recommended to start by the ingestion of bread previously chewed by the wet nurse, being progressively replaced by a crust of bread, honey and milk. It was advisable to start this new diet around the age of two and not be started in the hot months, in order to avoid gastrointestinal problems since the weaning stage coincided with a period of marked morbidity.³⁰

28. De Siena, Aldobrandino. *Le Régime du corps...*: 77.

29. Alexandre-Bidon, Danièle; Lett, Didier. *Les enfants au Moyen Âge...*: 124. About the generality of the care to be taken with the choice of the wet nurse, see Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 114-116.

30. About the baby's nutrition, see: Rodrigues Oliveira, Ana. *A Criação...*: 104-111.



6. The baby begins to walk and to speak

Soon came the time when the child began to move and wanted to explore the space by himself, gradually developing his autonomy. Starting to walk meant an important step in this new phase. The age of a year or so, was mentioned as desirable to start walking, since before that, his members were so fragile that they could easily twist or break. To prevent this, it was even recommended that the children should not be allowed to walk too much, nor to stand for too long before they were seven years old.³¹ The use of a wooden walker, to help the child moving was advised (see figure 13).

As for the learning and development of the child speaking, the medieval medical treatises considered essential the care with the teething, since the correct or the poor and incomprehensible articulation of the first words were dependent on the teeth. Consequently, they prescribed the massage of gums with butter, chicken fat, or even roast hare brains, in order to bring up and develop a healthy dentition. Then, as soon the child began to babble his first words, his mouth should be rubbed with rock salt and honey, as well as washed with barley water, to strength the teeth and prepare the proper functioning of bone and muscle joints of the oral cavity.³²

Finally, aiming the learning of words, suggestions were given to start with the easiest to pronounce, or with those not needing many tongue movements, such as 'Mom' and 'Daddy'.



ILLUSTRATION 13. ANGELICUS THE BARTHOLOMEUS, LIVRE DES PROPRIÉTÉS DES CHOSES, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL DE FRANCE, MS FRs 218, F. 95. WOODEN WALKER TO HELP THE CHILD MOVING, DETAIL OF A MINIATURE. PICTURE BY THE AUTHOR.

31. De Siena, Aldobrandino. *Le Régime du corps...*: 78.

32. Riché, Pierre; Alexandre-Bidon, Danièle. *L'enfance au Moyen Age*. Paris : Éditions du Seuil-Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1994: 81.



7. The baby's diseases

The death of children was embedded in the social daily life of Middle Ages. Many children died before they even lived for a full year. Generally, most infant deaths occurred as a result of accidents or disease. Undoubtedly, children who came from poorer families experienced a higher rate of infant mortality because it was harder for poorer families to obtain medical help or health care. Nevertheless, few were the families, even those of the elites, who have not suffered the loss of one or more children before adolescence. According to the Lecturer Oliveira Marques, the number of surviving children of a Portuguese family from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries would be, on average, two, being common the households in which only one child went beyond the majority.³³

Therefore, the medieval medical treatises considers an amount of advices and therapies to prevent the most common diseases connected with the successive stages of child development from birth until the permanent teeth came up.

Concerning the early life of the child during his forty days after birth, they draw attention to the dangers of thrush in the mouth or tongue and to the vomiting caused by nutrition problems due to the fact that the child started to be fed by mouth instead of being fed through the umbilical cord. Cough was also referred, remembering the need to guarantee to the little baby a not too dry atmosphere and a mild climate similar to the womb.

In addition to these disorders, the beginning of children's lives was also related to insomnia and night terrors attributed to a heavy stomach by excessive breastfeeding. Thus, not only was advised to decrease the amount of milk to be ingested by the baby, as well suggested to the wet nurse, to do everything to improve the quality of her milk. It was also recommended to always have near the child water with boiled violets, considered as tranquilizer, or to grease his nose with violet oil mixed with a little saffron.

In those first months of life, the diseases caused by infections were worrying, such as the ones of the navel, worsened by the screams and the cries of the newborns, which were treated with egg white bandages placed on it for three days; also the ear infections, attributed to the excess of humors in the little child's brain, whose cure could be achieved by placing on the ears a wool sponge, soaked in water and honey. The pustules and rashes arising in the baby's head were treated by using a paste made of a mixture of several natural products put on the baby's shaved head. It was also ordered to those who breastfed the baby, to abstain from hot food, which burned blood and yellowed milk.

Having clarified the symptoms and treatments of all these early diseases, obstetricians and pediatricians are now focused on the health disturbances corresponding to a second stage of child growth, which is the one that ended at the age of seven months, with the appearance and consolidation of the first dentition. This brought the related pains, fevers and convulsions resulting from infections of

33. Oliveira Marques, António H. de. "A morte", *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: 1974: 210.

wounds and swollen gums. To rush the appearance of the teeth, it was advised not only to relieve the pressure on the gums caused by feeding, but also to decrease the frequency and speed of feedings, and giving the body more energy and vitality, either by frequent hot baths or through the use of ointments to massage the gums. It was also recommended to those who were breastfeeding, to abstain from eating meat, drinking wine, having hot baths or making efforts that produced too much heat.

For cramps and diarrhea that weakened the child, it was suggested a variety of potions, from patches, brews, pills and powders to be taken by both the infant and the woman who nursed it.

At the same time, it is also considered a consequence of the first dentition, the possibility of brain damage or sense organs injuries, thus alerting for the screening of epilepsy and strabismus.

After the teething period, pediatricians felt that the health of children could become severely threatened when they began talking or when they stopped being breastfed. The first case was associated with the possibility of the appearance of tumors in the throat or bone deformities produced by the retreat of the occipital vertebrae, forcing the tonsils to move towards the nape preventing them from doing their function, which is to filter the residual blood still existing in the head.

Less theoretical and speculative, the problems related to poor child weaning refer mainly diseases of the urinary and digestive systems. The kidney problems are mentioned with regard to obstructive calculations for which are recommended hot water baths twice a day, among other therapies, to remove them. As far as the digestive system is concerned, intestinal parasites in connection with the appearance of worms are cited, presumably caused by the putrefaction of food in the stomach, and allergies described by the bubbles that spread throughout the body. That could be caused by the rubbing of clothing and corruption of the milk that took too long to be abandoned as children's nutrient.

Finally, having gone through the last step of the acquisition of permanent teeth, the pediatrics' treatises became significantly deficient and evasive, just noting the possibility of children to be disturbed by asthma, conjunctivitis, acute fevers, smallpox or measles, for which examination and treatment they advise consulting a general doctor. Thus we get into the medicine for adults, having to deal with manuals and treatises that were no more interested in children.³⁴

8. Conclusion

Medieval medical treatises played an important role in medieval childhood recognition, multiplying and providing recommendations concerning breastfeeding

34. About the etiology and treatment of childhood diseases referenced by the Hispano-Arabic pediatric medicine, see: Ibn Sa'id, Árib. *El libro...*: 119-165.



and the best way to dress, lie down and feed the children. The medical discourse, at the same time normative and sensible, is essential to better understand how the medieval society considered childhood; in fact, in defining the specificity of the ages of life, they developed and released advices to protect and ensure the survival of their children.

For a long time it was thought that in a world where death took one out of three little children, these would only be regarded as lives on hold or deaths announced, to which great care and affection would not be granted. The consultation of multiple and varied sources made the medieval childhood came up differently. And if the care and concern for the child since its conception is visible in the normative, didactic, theological or canonical sources, among others, so it is in the medical sources. In fact, medieval medical treatises played an important role in medieval childhood recognition, multiplying and providing recommendations concerning breastfeeding and the best way to dress, lie down and feed the children. The medical discourse, at the same time normative and sensible, is essential to better understand how the medieval society considered childhood; defining the specificity of the ages of life, they developed and released advices to protect and ensure the survival of their children.



PRIMARY EDUCATION IN MEDIEVAL CASTILE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we make a brief approach to the study of an initial education in Castile during the lower Middle Ages. Knowing some basic subjects like reading, writing and calculus was presented often as a professional requirement, and familiarity with them was valued as possessing real working tools. This learning was possible in very diverse centres, as an additional resource to using a private tutor.¹

KEYWORDS

Initial education and training, Basic subjects, Working tools, Learning centres, Private tutors.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Prima educatio et disciplina, Subiecta basica, Instrumenta laborandi, Scholae, Mentores.

It is a difficult challenge to tackle the subject of primary education in Castile during the Middle Ages, as we know practically nothing about its very existence as such. Moreover, our insufficient data about education before the Late Middle Ages refer to very specific areas, disciplines and social groups which did not affect large spectra of the population in the slightest. The few working schools had been set up to satisfy the needs of the ecclesiastical and noble estates and were practically inaccessible for the rest of the population.² However, the resurgence of the towns and cities, the development of trades and commercial expansion generated requirements for education that affected what we would nowadays call primary education and which, in some cases, we must consider as genuine professional training. Many of the men of this “new city” who participated in the increasingly complex network of relations: merchants, artisans, tax collectors... clearly needed better education to carry out their activity, which was becoming increasingly complicated.³ From this necessity, a specific education arose, purely utilitarian, instrumental and practical aimed at these sectors and which I will refer to, as, during the Late Middle Ages, elementary instruction was a consequence of clear professional necessities.

I focus first on the contents, disciplines and mechanisms used in learning and teaching, then on the sites dedicated to this, as well as on the people directly involved: masters and disciples. The duration of the instruction and the age of access will appear throughout this presentation, as there are very few data available.

1. The disciplines: reading, writing and counting

Reading, writing and counting were the basic skills, the first social imperatives that young people had to submit themselves to, while memorising and reciting prayers and parts of the catechism. There is no doubt that these were the first phase of any learning process, including the specifically urban one referred to below. It is obvious that drawing up contracts, receipts, bills of exchange, etc., required this, as did the exchange of commercial information, a very common practice among the new group from the thirteenth century on. Learning these skills was a real necessity,

1. This paper has been prepared in the framework of the research project HUM 2007-63856, *The transmission of technical and professional knowledge: technical literature in Medieval Spain*, funded by the *Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación* of the Government of Spain.

2. For teaching in the medieval monasteries of disciplines like arithmetic that constituted the targets for elementary education in the Late Middle Ages, see: Caunedo, Betsabé. “Three Castilian Manuscripts on Mercantile Arithmetic and their ‘problems of alloys’”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 3 (2009): 171-188.

3. Giving young men the chance to learn the techniques of the profession which they would dedicate themselves to in a near future was a target for different urban sectors. Traders at all levels, from retailers to the great international companies, different groups of artisans or tax collectors... formed part of a group which continuously grew between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and which demanded specific training that had to go beyond the exclusively private realm although not underestimate it. For this question, see: Caunedo, Betsabé; Córdoba, Ricardo. “Oficios Urbanos y desarrollo de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Baja Edad Media: La Corona de Castilla”. *Norba, Revista de Historia*, 17 (2004): 41-68.

a technical-professional requirement, and one valued as a work tool that helped with organising and managing a wide range of affairs and business. According to Antonio Castillo Gómez, it supplied a utilitarian, practical and professional literacy. This was a limited literacy, in which learning, *no era un fin en si mismo, sino consecuencia de un uso necesario o directamente útil*.⁴

1.1 Reading

Reading and writing are and were different cognitive processes, and in those times, few people progressed from the former to the latter. Learning to read enough to decipher a text preceded learning to write and required less effort.⁵

The reading method was spelling and syllabication. The sequence began with the recognition and pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet in both forms: upper and lower cases, before moving on to syllabication, first of two, then three letters. Once this had been mastered, the next step was reading words and then ending up with sentences. When the pupil had mastered spelled out reading, the advice was to read manuscripts in bastard secretary alphabet or round handwriting.

This school reading was aloud reading and in the Middle Ages, it was initiated after learning prayers (Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer) and the Ten Commandments.⁶

Specific short texts, the ABC booklet primers, were used to teach this. In the Peninsula, they were known as: ABCs, alphabets or *beceroles*.⁷ Their contents: the alphabet, the syllabary, common prayers and an elementary catechetical synthesis, was very much similar, as corresponds to such an elementary pedagogical instrument. Víctor Infantes has carried out an exquisite edition of the first Castilian primers,⁸ some of them criticised in the mid-sixteenth century for their monotony and purpose, even reproached then as intended more for teaching Christian doctrine

4. "was not an end in itself, but rather the consequence of a necessary or directly useful application". Castillo Gómez, Antonio. *Escrituras y Escribientes. Práctica de la cultura escrita en una ciudad del Renacimiento*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Gobierno de Canarias, 1997: 271.

5. There were people who knew how to read with more or less difficulty, but not to write. Viñao Frago, Antonio. "Alfabetización y primeras letras (S.XVI-XVII)", *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes*, Antonio del Castillo, Armando Petrucci, eds. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999: 67.

6. Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. "Aprender a escribir en la Península Ibérica: de la Edad Media al Renacimiento", *Escribir y leer en Occidente*, Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, Antonio Petrucci, eds. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1995: 125-144. On page 130, he analyses a Castilian manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century conserved in the Library of the Royal Palace in Madrid, that indicates three steps regarding this education: First: teach him the Sign of the Cross and the Ten Commandments in romance language and show him all questions...; Second: IIII or Sunday prayers: Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer, Credo, Salve Regina...; Third: The ABC, recognize letters both vowels and consonants and joined in syllables, spelling out: ba, be, bi, bo, bu...

7. Viñao Frago, Antonio. "Alfabetización y primeras letras...": 64.

8. Infantes, Víctor. *De las primeras letras. Cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer de los siglos XV y XVI: Preliminar y edición facsímil de 34 obras*. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1998.



than how to read.⁹ This close link is mentioned below when talking about the places of learning.

After the primers, some printed writings, loose spreadsheets or string booklets of up to 20/24 sheets (40-48 pages) were also used to teach reading. These printed materials combined teaching with a certain degree of entertainment, without renouncing devout, moral and pious texts. They resorted to singing, versification and dialogue as didactic resources, a very widespread practice which is well-known nowadays thanks to the classic studies by Menéndez Pidal and Rodríguez Moñino¹⁰ and the more recent ones by Víctor Infantes.¹¹

The first reading book as such was *El Catón*, a work that had, and also benefited from, a widespread medieval diffusion.¹² To complete this short repertoire of works for initiation in reading, we also have some materials for use with children, both at school and away.¹³ The contents of these were of two types: either religious or moral, with advice about behaviour in life, with cases that combined both these educations in the same text. This is what we find in the oldest surviving work, *Espejo de Doctrina*, by Pedro de Veragüe, which presents first a catechism in verse for children, followed by *Trabajos Mundanales*, a set of advice for use in life, covering matters both of good manners and economics, what we would nowadays call a guide for human relations. This mid-fourteenth century work was reprinted in 1520.¹⁴

9. In 1564, Juan de Robles said that the primers he knew were aimed more at learning the Christian doctrine than at reading: *las cartillas que yo he visto mas se ocupan de enseñar doctrina cristiana que no a leer y en algunas penas sabe el niño las letras y pónole a deletrear en el pater noster [...]*. ("The primers which I have seen try to teach Christian Doctrine rather than learning to read and, in some of them, barely the child knows the alphabet he is put to spelling out the pater noster [...]"). Shortly before this complaint he had himself prepared a primer somewhat more extensive which included some advice to the teacher about the pedagogical development of the method, an explanation of each of the letters, the syllables with words as examples, the way of reading and a gloss of each commandment in the form of a psalmody or prose. Baranda, Nieves. "La literatura del didactismo". *Criticón*, 58 (1993): 26.

10. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Romancero Hispánico (Hispano-portugués, americano y sefardí)*. Teoría e historia, 2 vols. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968: II, 185; Rodríguez Moñino, Antonio. *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos (siglo XVI)*. Madrid: Ediciones Castalia, 1970.

11. Infantes, Víctor. "La poesía que enseña. El didactismo literario de los pliegos sueltos". *Criticón*, 58 (1993): 117-124; and Infantes, Víctor. "De la cartilla al libro". *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1 (1995): 33-66. Eloy Benito Ruano also published a description in verse of the letters of the alphabet, upper case and lower case, in line with their usual spelling in the latter years of the sixteenth century: Benito Ruano, Eloy. "Una descripción rimada del alfabeto (s. XVI)". *Scriptorium*, 22 (1968): 51-55.

12. From the end of the fifteenth century until the early seventeenth century there were 15 editions confirmed although Víctor Infantes believes there were many others more: Infantes, Víctor. "El Catón Hispánico: versiones, ediciones y trasmisiones", *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, 2 vols., José Manuel Lucía Megías, ed. Alcalá de Henares: Servcio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 1997: II, 839-846.

13. Baranda, Nieves. "La literatura del didactismo...": 27-28.

14. The work of Veragüe has been studied and had a critical Edition: Piero, Raúl A. del. "Dos escritores de la Baja Edad Media castellana, Pedro de Veragüe y el Arcipreste de Talavera, cronista real". *Boletín de la Real Academia Española. Anejos*, 22 (1970): 6-79.



1.2 Writing

The procedure adopted to reach the necessary skill in this first learning seems to have been fairly similar. It meant constant exercising, imitation with assistance, mechanical repetition to try and imitate graphic models, some samples of writing or *exempla* that first contained the alphabet, then the syllables and, finally, the maxims and phrases with varied contents.

Thus, there were three levels of exercises: individual letters, syllables and words organised into a sentence with correctly formed handwriting. After observing the primers or *becerolos* mentioned above, we can say that the easiest vowels to write methodically were 'i' and 'u,' then 'e' and lastly, 'a' and 'o,' as the latter required more complex hand movements. When the vowels had been learnt, the consonants were introduced. After these, they began to link letters and to write the first words.

After initiation in these graphic exercises, they could continue with calligraphic exercises, in order to reach the final phase, which was to set a purpose for writing, both administrative and accounting management, or to provide varied professional or personal information, or to convey feelings. Moreover, attention had to be paid to the basic organisation of the information, as the receiver of the message had to understand it without asking for explanations. Writing correctly required bearing in mind the purpose of the specific text and the characteristics of its target reader. This was a complex task and very few people managed to reach this level.

Learning to read and to write were not simultaneous processes.¹⁵ Writing came afterwards and it seems that it did not start until the pupil could read acceptably. Moreover, writing required more time and effort, and a higher investment, as the material required was costly: quills, ink, inkwells and especially, a lot of paper. Aurora Egido collected some commentaries about this process following the instructions of Luis Vives that, although from the sixteenth century, should not, I think, be very different from the instructions in earlier times.¹⁶ For example, he emphasises how the children or anyone learning to write had to take care that the words were straight, and the letters neither uneven nor unclear. We are given examples of how to set margins, mark the interlineal distances and indicate the distinct body of each letter. He also describes the instruments used: goose or hen quills (the most widely used at that time), as well as how to cut, use and hold them. The pupils watched over

15. Viñao Frago, Antonio. "Alfabetización, lectura y escritura en el Antiguo Régimen (siglos XVI-XVIII)", *Leer y escribir en España. Doscientos años de alfabetización*, Agustín Escolano, ed. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez-Pirámide, 1992: 45. It seems that the simultaneous learning of reading and writing did not become common until the nineteenth century.

16. Egido, Aurora. "Los manuales de escribientes desde el siglo de oro. Apuntes para la teoría de la escritura". *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1 (1995): 67-94. In the work by Vives, *Diálogos*, there are different commentaries about the art of reading and writing and also in his work, *Tratado de Enseñanza*. A brief sample of these can be found in: Esteban Mateo, León; López Martín, Ramón. *La Escuela de las Primeras letras según Juan Luis Vives: Estudio, Iconografía y textos*. Valencia: Departamento de Educación Comparada e Historia de la Educación, 1993.



each other in the stroke of the letters, the cutting of the quills and other necessary actions, the best of them helping to teach the newer ones.¹⁷

1.3 Accounting

Basic notions of calculation were the last stage of what we are defining as the school curriculum in primary education.¹⁸ It was the longest, most arduous and complicated task, as in this field, over the previous challenges, the instructors had to face an extraordinary novelty. I am referring to the large-scale introduction of the Indian system of numerals and the positional system on base 10,¹⁹ which would prevail in the western world given its enormous operational advantages, which we know well nowadays.

The study of accounts was structured into a series of stages that were explained consecutively but independently. It began with the knowledge of the numbers and their written depiction in what was for many the only phase. First, from 1 to 9: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Then came 10, the most difficult theme as this numeral is composed of two digits, 1 and 0, and 0 did not exist in Roman numeration.²⁰ An explanation was always given about this 0, considered a special symbol and highlighting that on its own, it had no value, but with one or more symbols placed before it, it acquired a high value.

After this first stage and having learnt the ten numerals or digits, the value of the position was explained, that is that the digits changed their value depending on their position in the written number. Thus from right to left, the first position corresponds to the units, the second to the tens, then the hundreds, the thousands, the tens of thousands, the hundreds of thousands... The position of each digit as we move from right to left, tells us its relative value, and that is why this is called a positional system. The base of the system is 10. Ten units of any order form a unit of

17. Egido, Aurora. "Los manuales de escribientes...": 70-71. She also indicates that from the sixteenth century on, manuals by Hispanic scribes who followed the Italian example began to proliferate.

18. Although it lies out with this theme, we must mention the excellent and broad overview of European mathematical training presented by: Hoyrup, Jens. "Mathematics Education in the European Middle Ages", *Handbook on the History of Mathematics Education*, Alexander Kart, Gert Shubring, eds. New York: Springer, 2014: 109-24.

19. This was a major contribution by the Muslim mathematicians, who also set again for the discipline a practical purpose, applying it to various situations of everyday life that required quantitative results. They typified a type of accounts and its denomination, mercantile arithmetic, examples of which were shown in their manual *Liber Mahameleth*. Some of its best examples can be found in the Iberian Peninsula. A good token of it is a Latin version of the manual from the second half of the twelfth century attributed to Johannes Hispalensis, which has been studied by Professor Jacques Sesiano. There are references of it in: *El arte del Alguarismo. Un libro castellano de aritmética comercial y de ensayo de moneda del siglo XIV*. Edición y Estudio, eds. Betsabé Caunedo, Ricardo Córdoba. Salamanca: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 2000: 30-33.

20. In the first Castilian manual of mercantile arithmetic, *El Arte del Alguarismo*, the author considered the 0 a special symbol. He gave it the category of *çifra* and made notes that this *çifra* by itself had no value, but when one or more digits were placed before it, it acquired a high value, which apparently puzzled the author himself, and led him to assign to the digit the category of *çifra* (*cyfer, code, mystery*).



the immediately superior order. Ten units make up a ten, ten tens make a hundred, and ten hundreds make a thousand... It was much stressed that the new system was based on two principles: ten as a base for the system and the position.

It was also explained how the system of position regulates the writing of numbers. The digits are placed one after the other on a line, given the direction of reading. Any sequence of digits represents a number and only one, and reciprocally, any number is represented by a sequence of figures and only one. This scripture has the additional advantage that the longer the sequence, the bigger the number, and vice versa, which enables a quick and easy comparison. For example, 1001 is longer than 888 and is bigger. If we compare this with traditional Roman numbers, it has an important advantage: in the latter system, 1001 is written MI (with a length of two figures), and 888, which is smaller, is written DCCCLXXXVIII (twelve figures in length).

1.3.1 Learning the fundamental arithmetical operations

After explaining the decimal system of numeration, the basis for understanding the fundamental operations, these were presented: addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, the four rules, as they were named in those times. The proportional distribution, rule of thumb and fractions were only dealt with at a higher level, or in specialised education such as mercantile instruction, given the enormous use the professionals made of these.

The beginning was always to clarify what types of action were associated with the operation studied, so that the pupils could understand what this operation was for. So, for example, in the case of addition, it was explained that it was used to combine various quantities into one. The procedure was the same as nowadays, but the + sign was not used. It seems that this and the - sign, the simplest mathematical signs, were not used until the late fifteenth century. Until then, words were used to express the relation between the numbers and their operation. This competed with the signs throughout the sixteenth century, until the latter prevailed due to the French algebraists.²¹

Subtracting was *amenguar, sacar un cuento de otro*.²² The importance of the column position of the numbers was emphasised. The lesser one had always to be placed below the greater one.

21. Crosby, Alfred W. *The Measure of Reality. Quantification and western society, 1250-1600*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1997: 117, mentions the origins of the mathematical symbols as being obscure. The simplest ones, + and - first appear in print in Germany in 1489. They are attributed to Johann Widman. The = sign seems to have been an English invention, by Robert Recorde, in the sixteenth century. The origin of the signs, * and: for multiplication and division is even more complicated. They appeared in medieval manuscripts, but first had other functions. See the work by: Cajori, Florian. "Historia de los símbolos matemáticos", *A History of Mathematics*, Florian Cajori, ed. New York: Philosophical Library, 1980.

22. "Subtract, take one account from another". *El Arte del Alguarismo...*: 135.



After explaining addition and subtraction, the next step was to teach the pupils to check that the operation had been done well. This check also showed that addition and subtraction were opposite operations.

Multiplication was considered a repeated sum, “2 times 2 are 4, 3 times 3 are 9 and four times 4 are 16 [...]”. Although the sense of the operation was explained, in this phase, the memorisation of multiplication tables, *tablas de coro*, (“choir tables”) prevailed. There was a distinction between the *tabla menor* (“lesser table”) and the *tabla mayor* (“greater table”). The first nine numbers made up the *tabla menor* and, besides the nine numbers above, the *tabla mayor* also presented the larger numbers: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 41, 43, 47, 51, 53, 57, 59 and 61, which they also memorised. The results of multiplying numbers greater than 10 also appeared, beginning with units times tens, continuing with tens times tens, tens times hundreds, hundreds times thousands and concluded with hundreds times hundreds. After memorising all these tables, the pupils were shown how to multiply other quantities by different methods.²³

Division is the opposite operation to multiplication, and its purpose is to find the number of times that a given number contains another. [...] *e partir es dicho asy, como quien dis partir 4 cosas a dos partes e viene a la parte 2 e partir 6 cosas a 2 partes e viene a la parte 3.*²⁴ This is called *partir*, ‘to split.’ It was considered that to do these operations, it was necessary to have prior strong knowledge of how to add, subtract and multiply.

23. The method that ended up prevailing was the so-called *de la ala* (‘wing method’), considered the most common in the early sixteenth century and which we continue to use nowadays; but there were other methods used. *Has de saber que ay muchas maneras de multiplicar, pero dos maneras solamente quiero poner en este capitulo y la practica dellas y cómo se llama cada una manera. La primera se llama multiplicar de la ala y es la más común y usada multiplicación entre todos los mercaderes por todas partes de los cristianos y llámase de la ala por causa que fecha la operación y su suma quedará la figura de aquella operación así como una ala. La segunda manera se llama multiplicar morisco que es el modo y uso de los moros, la qual manera de multiplicar es la más sana y la más segura, en cara que entre los mercaderes cristianos no se usa porque no la saben, ca si la supiesen otra manera no usasen [...].* (“You must know that there are many ways to multiply, but I only want to put two ways in this chapter and the practice of these and what each one is called. The first is called ‘wing multiplication’ and it is the most common and widely-used multiplication among all the merchants in all Christian parts and it is called ‘wing’ because the operation is done and the result appears in a wing position. The second way is called Moresque multiplying, which is the method used by the Moors, and which is the easiest and safest but it is not used by Christian merchants because they do not know it, because if they knew it they would use no other [...].”). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Raros, 9124, f. 31r. See: Caunedo, Betsabé. “Un manual de aritmética mercantil de Mosén Juan de Andrés”. *Pecunia*, 8 (2009): 83. In: *El Arte del Alguarismo...*: 137-141 (ff. 9r-14v): *las cartillas que yo he visto mas se ocupan de enseñar doctrina cristiana que no a leer y en algunas penas sabe el niño las letras y pónole a deletrear en el pater noster* (“The primers which I have seen try to teach Christian Doctrine rather than learning to read and, in some of them, barely the child knows the alphabet he is put to spelling out the pater noster [...].”), which is an earlier textbook, other methods are explained. We do not consider those as adequate for a primary education.

24. “and divide is called so, as say divide 4 things into two parts and each part comes to 2 and divide 6 things into two parts and each part comes to three.”. *El Arte del Alguarismo...*: 140-141 (f. 14r). Then the book becomes more complicated with larger quantities. It chooses the example 144 divided by 12. 144 is the number to divide and 12 is the number of parts. It places the numbers on the sheet and then describes the procedure to be followed. Concerning the procedure, the operational systematic is similar but the placement of the partial results is not the same as presently, and so it is difficult, the least to say, to keep track of the sequence of operations in the numbers written down. According to the author, *es la más*

In specialised education such as mercantile education, the cycle was closed with the other operations: fractions, rule of thumb and proportional apportionment, as well as a wide repertoire of practical cases very well adapted to the world of trade, as they addressed journeys, prices of merchandises, interest and exchange rates, apportionments..., situations very similar to what they would find in their work, and which nowadays, with the necessary adaptations of time and place, we still find in the manuals of elementary mathematics for teaching basic arithmetic.²⁵

noble e la mas sutil e mas provechosa del arte del alquarism. ("it is the most noble and subtle and productive part of the 'alquarism'"). *El Arte del Alquarismo...*: 140-1.

25. *Syete romeros van a Roma e cada // uno lleva 7 servientes e cada serviente 7 canastas y cada uno 7 fogaças y en cada uno 7 cuchillos y en cada cuchillo 7 vaynas y en cada vayna 7 dineros, agora me di ¿quántos heran los romeros? agora me di ¿quántos heran los servientes e las canastas y las fogaças y los cuchillos y las vaynas y los dineros todo fecho una suma? multiplicando de 7 en 7, para bien mientes al multiplicar desta cuenta que as de multiplicar de 7 en 7 e di asy, 7 vezes 7 son 49 e después di 7 vezes 49 son 343 e después di 7 vezes 343 son 1401, desta guisa faz fasta en 7 sumas e todas estas sumas ajúntalas en uno asy como aquí están.*

7 son los romeros
49 son los sirvientes
343 son las canastas//
2401 son las fogaças
16807 son los cuchillos
17649 son las vaynas
823543 son los dineros
suma. 959799 dineros

("Seven pilgrims are going to Rome, and each one has 7 servants and each servant, 7 baskets and each 7 loafs and in each 7 knives and in each knife 7 sheaths and in each sheath 7 coins, now tell me how many were the pilgrims? Now tell me how many were the servants and the baskets and the loaves and the sheaths and the coins all added? Multiplying by sevens, you are right to say that multiplying in this manner you must multiply by sevens and therefore say 7 times 7 is 49 and then 7 times 49 is 343 and then 7 times 343 is 1401, and in such manner do all 7 additions and all these add in one, written down as shown here.

7 are the pilgrims
49 are the servants
343 are the baskets
2401 are the loaves
16807 are the knives
17649 are the sheaths
823543 are the *dineros*
addition. 959799 *dineros*.).

Problem n. 144 of *El Arte del Alquarismo*. *El Arte del Alquarismo...*: 202.

Faz esta cuenta, dos troteros salen de Sevilla e quieren yr a Roma e salieron ambos en uno y el uno anda cada día 50 millas y el otro anda el día primero una milla y el otro día anda 3 millas y el otro día anda 5 millas y el otro día anda 7 millas y el otro día anda 9, asy que va acreçentando cada día 2 millas. Demándote ¿en quántos días alcançará al que anda 50 millas cada día?. E tu debes dezir, quantas millas el // primero anda cada día, en tantos días alcançará el que va en pos del primero, ca el anda 5 días e cada día 50 millas e di 50 veses 50 son 2500 y el que va en pos del anda quanto es de uno fasta 50 por menudo, que son 5 vezes 50 que son otros 2500, asy que lo alcançará en 50 días. ("Do this account, two trotters leave Seville and want to go to Rome and both leave at the same time and one travels 50 miles every day and the other travels one mile the first day and the next day he travels 3 miles and the other day 5 miles and the other day 7 miles and the other day travels 9, thus increasing every day 2 miles. I ask you; in how many days will he overtake the one which travels 50 miles each day? And you must answer, the number of miles the first travels every day, the same number of days will it take the second to catch him up,



We also find examples of problems without numbers, which they called recreational arithmetic and that we still repeat nowadays.²⁶

The problems were presented in two parts: the statement or approach and the calculations that led to the solution. The statement itself was also divided into two parts: a description of the situation where the data and conditions to be complied with were presented, introduced by sentences like *fas esta cuenta*,²⁷ and then the question itself presented by expressions like *agora dime, agora pregunto, demándote*.²⁸

We find a total dominance of written text even during the resolution of the problem, when a detailed description of the operations was done [...] *di 4 e 3 son 7, sácalos de 12 e son 5 que fincan*²⁹; *e tu debes multiplicar 7 en 7, que son 49 e después multiplicar 7 en 10 que son 70*.³⁰

The basic aim of using the knowledge acquired in similar circumstances to those in which it was acquired is also reflected in the statement of the problems with expressions such:

e asy faras otra cuenta, e como esta cuenta feziste asy farás todas las otras quantas que desta manera sean, e segund esta cuenta se fizo se fara otra cualquier semejante desta [...] E como esta cuenta feziste, asy farás todas las otras cuentas que desta manera vinieren e fueren,³¹

[...] o [...] e por esta regla faras todas las otras semejantes a estas.³²

because the first travels 50 days and 50 miles each day and you say 50 times 50 is 2500, and the one behind advances from 1 to 50 in steps of 1 per day, that is 1 into 50, which means 50 times 50 which is 2500 again, so it will catch up the first in 50 days"). Problem n. 44. *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 163.

26. *Faz esta cuenta, un ome bueno levava una cabra e un lobo e un faz de yerva y a de pasar un rio en que // ay un barco y aquel barco no puede pasar más pasar de dos cosas o él y el lobo o la cabra o la yerva, demand ¿en qué manera lo pasó que no comiese el uno al otro?, e tú debes desir, que él pasó primero la cabra e dexóla del otro cabo e después tornó por el lobo e pasolo e dexolo del otro cabo e tomó la cabra e tornola al otro cabo do estava primero el lobo e después pasó la yerva e dexola del otro cabo con el lobo e después tornó a pasar la cabra y asy los paso todos 3.* ("Do this account, a gentle man carried a goat and a wolf and a bundle of grass, and he must cross a river in which there is a small boat and that boat can carry no more than two things, he and either the wolf or the goat or the grass, I ask how did he cross so that one thing did not eat another? And you must answer that he crossed first with the goat and left it on the other bank, and then went back for the wolf and he crossed with it and left it on the other bank and he took the goat and crossed back to where the wolf had been and then he crossed the grass and left it on the other bank with the wolf and then he went back to get the goat and thus he crossed all 3"). Problem n. 149. *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 204.

27. "do this account". Problems 35,36,37. *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 160-161.

28. "now tell me,". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 156. "now I ask,". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 234. "I ask you to tell me". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 161-2, 241.

29. "say 4 and 3 are 7, take this from 12 and it is 5 remaining". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 160-61.

30. "and you must multiply 7 by 7, that is 49 and then multiply 7 by 10 which is 70". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 170.

31. "and so you will do a calculation, and the same as you did this calculation will you do the other calculations which are in this manner, and as this calculation was done so any other calculation similar to this one [...] and as you did this calculation, so will you do all other calculations which come and are in this manner". Problem n. 93. *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 177. Practically all the problems of *alguarismo* (algorithm, arithmetic) include this type of expression.

32. "[...] or [...] with this method will you do all other accounts similar to this one". Caunedo, Betsabé. "De Arismetica". Un manual de aritmética para mercaderes. *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 78 (2003-2004), 35- 46, especially 44.



Some didactic resources used in this education, noticeable after a careful reading of the abacus manuals, are as follows:

- All the problems stated are solved. Statement and result form an integrated entity.
- They usually appear sorted in order of increasing difficulty. First the easiest and, as the pupil progressed, the difficulty also increased.
- Some statements include a generic or specific warning to draw the attention of the reader or pupil. These had a familiar tone, *acuérdate, para mientes, para mientes en este punto, para bien mientes*,³³ *'miénbrate'*³⁴ recalling questions where particular emphasis would already have been placed. They precede the resolution of the exercise and are totally necessary to avoid making mistakes.
- Exceptionally signs, drawings and/or operations are used that give the exercise a special value and clearly facilitate its understanding, memorisation or invite the reader to concentrate on especially difficult cases.³⁵ There were few of these in the earlier textbooks but they became more frequent as time went by.
- Also, on occasions, we are shown how the result can be verified, encouraging us to check that the operation is correct, *para saber sy estas cuentas se fassen bien fechas e bien çiertas, hase de faser la prueba desta manera*.³⁶ In the case of this quote, the check also allowed the knowledge already acquired to be reinforced, as this was a check on the result of a subtraction. With the test, it shows that the addition—which had already been explained—and the subtraction are reverse operations. Expressions like, *sy quisieres faser la prueba, fasla desta manera or e para saber sy esta cuenta es fecha bien fas la prueba como aquí esta asygnada e sy no te saliere tanto, no es çierta la cuenta*³⁷ are found in the texts of various problems.
- In an attempt to show their notable mastery and skills, some authors show us a double method, presenting two alternative ways to reach the correct solution: *Otro sy, sy quisieres faser esta cuenta o regla por otra manera [...] and esta quenta misma,*

33. "remember, for memory, for remembrance on this point, for good remembrance". These are expressions that appear in: *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 164 (problem n. 49), 170 (problem n. 69), 171 (problems n. 74 and 75) // 183-184 (problem n. 102), 191 (problem n. 118), 194 (problem n. 123), 195 (problem n. 125), 195-196 (problem n. 126) // 187-188 (problem n. 109), 192-193 (problem n. 120) // 202 (problem n. 144, and practically in all the problems in these collections).

34. "remember". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 187 (in problem n. 108); *E miénbrate que qualquier cuenta que ayan de faser semejante en que ayan maravedís e dineros que lo as todo de faser dineros* ("remember that in any similar account to be done with *maravedí* and *dinero* coins, you must put all in *dinero* [...]").

35. Care must be taken not to confuse the signs of the textbook with those written later by someone else than the author.

36. "to know if these accounts are well done and completely right, the test must be done in this way". *El Arte del Alguarismo*...: 137.

37. "if you wanted to do the test, do it in this manner", "and to know if this calculation is well done, do the test as here described and if you do not obtain the same, the calculation is not right." See, for example, problems 88, 89, 110. *El Arte del Alguarismo*: 174, 188.



sy la quisieres fazer por otra manera, bien lo puedes fazer,³⁸ or asy por estos dos modos faras estas e otras semejantes quantas.³⁹

The existence of these textbooks and the corresponding methodology are evidence of the didactic practice of this new discipline in Castile, which was not an elementary education but nor was it a subject of attention in the universities. We could rather talk about an authentic professional training, resulting like all development of education, from a new social demand, new necessities clearly generated by urban development.

2. Schools

In the Iberian Peninsula, we find clearly defined institutions for the first stage of learning, which clearly existed, although it was not based on stable educational institutions. Antonio Castillo Gómez talks about a 'didactic chaos' when he presents the picture of education in the Late Middle Ages in the Peninsula and insists forcefully and precisely on the non-existence of a single model of learning. Learning was adapted to the demands of each moment, with several variants at the same time.⁴⁰ Gimeno Blay also insists on the lack of a single model.⁴¹

What we could call private initiative dominated. However, it is also true that during the fifteenth century, a certain 'awareness' appeared in the Castilian municipal councils about the necessity for instruction, with the idea increasingly prevailing that intellectual knowledge augmented the qualities of the individual and provided better preparation for the specific activities of his group. This awareness was reflected in agreements for a mixed organisation of the existing cathedral schools, which, despite the diversity of formulae, tended to have a point in common, which is that the civilian power came to manage the financial resources. One of the first examples of this educational policy is from Burgos, where at the end of 1380, a royal privilege was obtained that empowered the local authorities to appoint a lecturer in canon law, paid from royal rents and more specifically from the *alcabalas*, to take care of educating the children of the upper groups.⁴² It is not clear if he taught anything beyond reading and writing. Nor is

38. "Otherwise, if you wanted to do this calculation or rule in a different manner" and "this calculation, if you wanted to do it in a different way, you can do so". Problems number 125 and 128. *El Arte del Alguarismo...*: 195-96.

39. "so in this two manners will you do these and other similar calculations": Caunedo, Betsabé. "De Arismetica' Un manual...": 44.

40. Castillo Gómez, Antonio. "Entre la necesidad y el placer. La formación de una nueva sociedad de lo escrito (ss. XII-XV)", *Historia de la cultura escrita: del Próximo Oriente Antiguo a la sociedad informatizada*, Antonio Castillo Gómez, ed. Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2002: 179-270.

41. Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. "Aprender a escribir...": 127.

42. Beceiro Pita, Isabel. "Entre el ámbito privado y las competencias públicas: la educación en el reino de Castilla (siglos XIII-XV)", *Pensamiento Medieval Hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago Otero*, José María Soto,



it very clear what education was given in the various schools scattered all over the Crown of Castile, as documented by Susana Guijarro, although, in this case, it points to grammar schools.⁴³ We find the masters of grammar running these schools, professionals whose situation gradually improved, as during the fifteenth century, different council acts and service books show them holding positions considered of general importance for the towns.⁴⁴ This consideration had royal assent, and so we can see how during John II's campaigns against the Kingdom of Granada, the solicitors of the urban sector in the General Cortes (Royal General Assembly) of Burgos in 1430 and Zamora in 1432 requested the sovereign to dispense from sending the council officials and members of various professions to war, including among these *los maestros de gramática e escrivanos que muestran a los moços leer e escribir*.⁴⁵ This royal mercy was initially only for 1430, but was extended two years later, after a request from the solicitors, for the duration of the war, except if the Crown's needs became pressing. It is clear that there was a close link between the grammar master and the council scribe.⁴⁶

At the end of the fourteenth century, there was already a certain concern among the public authorities to control somehow the masters of primary education. The earliest references we know of correspond to Henry II Trastámara (1369-1379), who, in 1370 wanted to establish nomination procedures to prevent incompetent masters. The decree was ineffective given the weakness of the monarchy at that time, but it did set an important precedent by submitting the masters to state, not ecclesiastic control,⁴⁷ as the latter were clearly trying to intervene. Although some earlier timid examples can be found, the Council of Valladolid in 1322 can be considered as the beginning of real concern about primary education, although in this case, it was in Christian doctrine.⁴⁸ In other cases, close collaboration was established between catechism and the children's parochial school where Christian doctrine was taught.

ed. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988: 881-885.

43. Guijarro González, Susana. "Los centros de cultura urbana en el siglo XV: las escuelas de gramática castellano-leonesas", *1490 en el umbral de la Modernidad. El Mediterráneo Europeo y las ciudades en el tránsito de los siglos XV-XVI*, José Hinojosa, Jesús Pradells, eds. Valencia: Consell Valencià de Cultura, 1994: 243-256. Also: Guijarro González, Susana. "Las escuelas y la formación del clero de las catedrales en las diócesis castellano-leonesas (siglos XI al XV)", *X Semana de Estudios Medievales. Monasterios, espacio y sociedad*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2000: 61-97, where she gives various data about the intervention of the municipal councils in hiring the masters of grammar.

44. Beceiro, Isabel. "Las vías de acceso a la instrucción en la Baja Edad Media", *Alcalá de Henares y su estudio general*, Antonio Castillo, ed. Alcalá de Henares: Instituto de Estudios Complutenses, 1996: 43.

45. "the masters of grammar and scribes who teach the young men to read and write". Becerro, Isabel. "Las vías de acceso...": 43.

46. This close relation was maintained throughout the Ancien Régime. Laspalas Pérez, Francisco Javier. *La reinención de la escuela. Cinco estudios sobre la enseñanza elemental durante la Edad Moderna*. Pamplona: Ediciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 1993: 28.

47. Kagan, Richard L. "La enseñanza de las primeras letras", *Universidad y sociedad en la España Moderna*, Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1981: 53.

48. Sánchez Herrero, José. "La legislación conciliar y sinodal hispana de los siglos XII a mediados del XVI y su influencia en la enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana". *Revista Española de Teología*, 46 (1988): 185.



A good example is the Synod of Toledo in 1480 which requested that each priest have with him:

*otra persona de saber y honesta que sepa, pueda y quiera enseñar a leer, escribir y contar a cualquier persona y especialmente a los hijos de los parroquianos y les enseñen [...] la doctrina cristiana. Y los curas amonestaran los domingos y festivos a sus parroquianos para que envíen a ella a sus hijos.*⁴⁹

This was the creation of the parish schools where, together with reading writing and counting, Christian doctrine was taught by a competent person. The Synod of Jaen in 1492 identified this competent person with the sacristan, although it did not clarify whether the sacristan taught in the parochial school or only in the catechism. In 1497, the Synod of the Canary Islands, repeated in Osma in 1511, clearly talked about the clergyman or sacristan who fulfilled both positions, as teacher and catechist, *clérigo o sacristán que enseña a los hijos de los parroquianos leer, escribir, contar, buenas costumbres, apartarse de los vicios*.⁵⁰ Besides the parish school and heedful of the existing diversity, the synods acknowledged the existence of other non-parochial schools of primary education in which they also requested Christian doctrine to be taught.⁵¹ We see the interest of the public powers for a primary education increasing, but this education still depended on private initiatives in all medieval years, in very different modalities. Thus, in various cities, there were centres for primary education and other centres for teaching reading and writing, privately owned, and attended by both children and young people who wanted to learn. There were also disciples who went to the master's house for a certain number of hours and were given the stipulated education individually, or others who through a contract for boarding and learning, lived in the master's house and were provided with food, clothing, accommodation and teaching. Nor was it rare for a boy or youth to serve in the home of a master or other person who knew

49. "another person of knowledge and honesty who knows, can and wants to teach [how] to read, write and count other persons and especially the sons of the parishioners, and teach them [...] the Christian doctrine. And the priests shall admonish the parishioners on Sundays and feast days to send their sons there". Sánchez Herrero, José. "La legislación conciliar...": 209.

50. "clergyman or sacristan who teaches the sons of the parishioners to read, write, count, good customs, keep away from the vices". Sánchez Herrero, José. "La legislación conciliar...": 209.

51. Sánchez Herrero, José. "La legislación conciliar...": 210. In 1492, the Synod of Jaén stated: *Y si alguna persona pusiese escuela para vezar niños, procure tenerla cerca de la iglesia, para que los niños vayan cada día a ella, o al menos, al tiempo en que se alza y adora el Corpus Christi, y que tales maestros, ante todo, enseñen a los niños la cartilla en que estan los mandamientos, los artículos y otras cosas santas y buenas* ("and if any person would set up a school to instruct children, he must try to set it near the church, so the children go there every day, or at least at the time when the Corpus Christi is lifted and worshipped, and that said masters especially teach the children the primer booklet which contains the commandments, the articles of faith and other holy and good things"). Later, in 1553, the Synod of Calahorra insisted *que los maestros que enseñan a leer los niños una vez cada día les hagan decir en voz alta la doctrina cristiana... una vez cada día* ("that the masters who teach the children to read once a day make them say the Christian doctrine aloud [...] once a day"). Independently of this school, there were discussions in the synods at the end of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century about one single catechism.



these arts—for example, a banker—who, in return for his services, provided board and lodging and taught him reading and writing, which was considered a contract of service and learning.⁵² In each circumstance, the specific contents of the education contracted were specified, and this could mean from the simplest rudiments of reading and writing, to learning some specific type of writing, or the most complete at this level: learning reading, writing and notions of arithmetic. In the latter case, the operations that the disciple had to master at the end of the period were also stipulated. These grew more complicated with time, although, as we can see, the calculations expected in the mid-sixteenth century were already clearly explained in the above-mentioned *Arte del Alguarismo* from the fourteenth century. Thus, we find examples in which it is specified that the youngsters had to be able to

*contar, las cuatro reglas que son sumar, restar, multiplicar e partir, to contar, sumar, restar, multiplicar, medio partir y partir en guarismo, sumar, restar en llano y reglas de tres con compañía, con tiempo, y sin tiempo, to sumar, restar, multiplicar, medio partir e partir por entero, regla de tres con tiempo y sin tiempo, reglas de oro y plata, and also to sumar e restar e multiplicar e partir e regla de tres e compañías con tiempo e sin tiempo e anejas de fraudes y reglas de a tanto por ciento para redimir tributos.*⁵³

These were the specific contents demanded in Seville, very similar to those demanded in Malaga, Cordoba or any other city studied.⁵⁴

Besides all these possibilities, there was also the resource of the private tutor (preceptor particular) working in the family, a method that was mainly used by the wealthiest families⁵⁵ and which appears the first that is traceable. There are even

52. A good overview of all these possibilities is offered, for example, by: Sánchez Herrero, José; María Pérez González, Silvia. “Aprender a leer y escribir, libros y libreros en la Sevilla del último cuarto del siglo XV”. *Revista de Historia*, 1 (1988): 47-90, especially on 49-50. Also: Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. “Aprender a escribir...”: 125-44; and Castillo Gómez, Antonio. “Entre la necesidad y el placer...”: 179-270. Isabel Beceiro also presents many examples of the mentioned works.

53. “count the four rules that are add, subtract, multiply and divide”; “count, add, subtract, multiply, divide in parts and with decimals, add, subtracting in plain and rules of thumb with company, with times and without times”; “add, subtract, multiply, divide in half and by an integer, rules of thumb with times and without times, gold and silver rules”; “add and subtract and multiply and divide and rules of thumb with company, with times and without times and rules with percentages to redeem taxes”. Álvarez Márquez, María Carmen. “La enseñanza de las primeras letras y el aprendizaje de las artes del libro en el siglo XVI en Sevilla”. *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 22 (1995): 85.

54. After studying the *Libros de Repartimiento* of the city of Malaga, María Teresa López Beltrán offers a very comprehensive analysis of the situation of education in the city. López Beltrán, María Teresa. *Educación, Instrucción y Alfabetización en la Sociedad Urbana malagueña a fines de la Edad Media y principios de la Edad Moderna*. Malaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1997; and the Cordobese case was studied by: Escobar, José M. “La educación en Córdoba durante la Baja Edad Media: la enseñanza primaria”. *Inbaco*, 5 (1984): 37-44. It does not seem to have been any different in the Crown of Aragon. See for example: José M. Cruselles, who takes us into the Valencian situation. Cruselles, José Maria. “Maestros, escuelas urbanas y clientela en la ciudad de Valencia a finales de la Edad Media”. *Estudis, Revista d’Història Moderna*, 15 (1989): 9-44.

55. It seems that the earliest documented examples in the Peninsula correspond to members of the Catalan bourgeoisie. In 1391, the artisan Jaume Olesa contracted a student to teach his children to read,



records of self-tuition. A. Castillo Gómez mentions this, as do some of the arithmetic textbooks from the epoch, *qualquier que este libro tenga, por si mesmo y sin maestro puede ser buen contador*.⁵⁶

This “didactic chaos” observed when referring to the schools should not prevent us from defining some general characteristics that they shared. The boundaries between parochial and town schools are very confusing, but it is evident that essentially and for all practical purposes, they were very similar; they represented the response of local communities, both secular and ecclesiastical, to the demand for education by different families. Their characteristics were:

- They were small institutions, run by a single master, who, in very exceptional cases, could have had an assistant. Thus, a school corresponded to a single master, one single classroom.
- These were local institutions, financed by the councils, the parishes, by those concerned or by all them. They operated with autonomy and were not subject to any official regulations.
- The school was run by the master, who ran the centre, especially in the pedagogical area. Sometimes they had a contract with the council.
- Most of the pupils contributed to paying the teachers a stipend, which varied from place to place and was related, as mentioned above, to the education agreed: reading, writing and/or counting.
- This huge diversity characterised the organisation of education, although it would be more accurate to refer to lack of organisation, as the concept of school years did not exist in the Middle Ages. There was no set age at which the children had to start school, nor one for finishing. Nor was there a specific time of the year for children to be at school. Thus, they could not be taught with a common programme; each had to progress individually.⁵⁷

Despite its shortcomings, there was a clear concern for the organisation of primary education in late-medieval Castile, a time when all its structural elements were conformed and became visible in the early period of the Renaissance. Thus, it should be no surprise that Juan Luis Vives, one of the representatives of humanism in Spain, a man in the transition between a century finishing and another being born, addresses them in different works.⁵⁸ In these works, Vives clearly advocates:

- A public approach to education and the problems regarding its public organisation.

and in 1395, the merchant Antoni Despuig did the same. Castillo Gómez, Antonio. “Entre la necesidad y el placer”...: 192.

56. “anyone who has this book, all by himself and without teacher can be a good accountant”. This statement is at the beginning of the arithmetic textbook by Mosén Juan de Andrés cited in footnote 64. Castillo Gómez, Antonio. “Entre la necesidad y el placer...”: 193, makes some comments about this type of learning.

57. Laspalas Pérez, Francisco Javier. *La reinvencción de la escuela*...: 250, who also shows how the reorganisation of education was favoured by the of the education institutions of religious orders prevailing, these including Jesuits and piarist fathers.

58. All these works are in: Vives, Juan Luis. *Primera traslación castellana íntegra y directa, comentarios, notas y en un ensayo biográfico*, ed. Lorenzo Riber. Madrid: Aguilar, 1947-1948. The second volume contains Vives, Juan Luis. *Las Obras de educación y de reforma de los estudiós*, ed. Lorenzo Riber. Madrid: Aguilar, 1948.



- The rational establishment of schools all over the country.
- The training and selection of the masters.
- Certain advice to the students.

At this point, on the threshold of a new period, we finish this work.



PRESENCE AND PERSISTENCE OF CATALAN CULTURAL PATTERNS IN THE KINGDOM OF SARDINIA THROUGH AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PSYCHO-SOCIAL STUDY OF THE 'CORTS'

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ABSTRACT

It is presented a study in its initial phase where the comparison of the Corts, summoned for the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is combined, as a survey methodology, with the field theory and the concept of perception and, in particular, of redundancy, from Gestalt psychology and the psychology of communication, a derivation of Gestalt psychology. To analyse the structural functioning of a society we believe that it is essential to make use of a 'hybrid approach and methodology,' which borrows theories from other disciplinary fields, in order to attempt an epistemological interaction between various disciplines aiming to historical research.¹

KEYWORDS

Corts, Parliaments, Principality of Catalonia, Giudicato of Arborea, Gestalt theory, Perception, Redundancy, Communication theory, XML/TEI.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Curiae, Parlamentum, Principatus Cathaloniae, Iudicatus Arboreae, Doctrina Gestalt, Sensus, Redundantia, Doctrina Communicationis, XML/TEI.

1. Introduction and aims

Herein is presented a study in its initial phase where the comparison of the *Corts*, summoned for the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is combined, as a survey methodology, with the field theory and the concept of perception and, in particular, of redundancy, from Gestalt psychology and the psychology of communication, a derivation of Gestalt psychology.²

This paper aims to demonstrate that the Principality of Catalonia, within the balance of Crown of Aragon, was the dominant state entity, at least in respect of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and as such it naturally established itself as cultural model.³

To analyse the structural functioning of a society (how did it respond to an external entity with the aim of incorporating it? How did introjection mechanism act? And first of all, is it possible to talk about introjection between societies?) we believe that it is essential to make use of a 'hybrid approach and methodology,' which borrows theories from other disciplinary fields, in order to attempt an epistemological interaction between various disciplines aiming to historical research. It is also well known that reality is extremely complex and articulated and, as such, unknowable in a comprehensive and simultaneous approach except for some aspects considered singularly. Always bearing in mind and being aware

1. Used Abbreviations: AAC, Archivio Arcivescovile di Cagliari; ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; ACC, Archivio del Comune di Cagliari; AHCB, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona; ASC, Archivio di Stato di Cagliari.

2. The Gestalt psychology started developing at the end of nineteenth century as *Gestaltpsychologie* mainly in Germany and then it spread to America and to the rest of the world influencing other branches of psychology and other sciences. The year of birth of Gestalt is anyway conventionally fixed in 1912, when Max Wertheimer, one of leading *Gestalt's* theoreticians with Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Köhler, published an article on *phi* phenomenon and the crisis of theoretical correspondence between stimulation and sensation, between material level, that is the physical reality, and sensorial level as phenomenal reality. *Gestalt* studies the aspects of perception, memory, reasoning / problem-solving, learning and social psychology. The philosophical assumptions that Gestalt inherits and is based on come from the European cultural milieu of the nineteenth century. Some of the philosophically fathers of Gestalt are usually identified as such: Kant for the synthetic a priori judgement theory by which he attempts a solution to the rift between Empiricism and Rationalism and Brentano for whom the object of psychology is not to see, to remember, to take, but the act itself of seeing, remembering and taking. For an explicative summary of the history of the Gestalt psychology epistemology, see: Legrenzi, Paolo, ed. *Gestalt: Storia della psicologia*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003: 105-132. On the Kantian philosophy you can see: Abbagnano, Nicola; Fornero, Giovanni. *Filosofi e filosofie nella storia*, 2 vols. Turin: Paravia, 1986: II, 427-478.

3. When here we mention the concept of cultural model we recourse to the Cultural anthropology field where the concept of culture is the mode according to which in a given place, in a specific period of time, a given group of person more or less numerous and internally structured give response to the nature. Culture is therefore the way to eat, to dress, to live together and to organize themselves socially, to create religious beliefs, features that people has been given themselves in history. While the different cultural models are the effective tested and transmitted realizations of the culture itself of that particular people. Therefore, they represent the distinctive and identity features of a constant human aggregation in a response to nature specific place.

that the “whole is other than the sum of the parts”,⁴ the ultimate purpose of interdisciplinary choice lies in the attempt to figure out from reality the intentions and the socio-structural functioning, in this case from a specific and in many ways known historical reality. It is considered that responses could be closer to the complexity of reality here in issue (and to the way it was actually experienced) by going beyond the usual source analysis, attempting to query them through a plurality of disciplinary points of view. In particular, the aim is to bring evidences and explain them with methodologies *other* than the usual methodological standards used in Historical fields.

In this case, taking as starting point for the analysis the sources (specifically the Acts of the Catalan and Sardinian Parliament, *Corts*), the above-cited theories—field theory, perception and redundancy—can be helpful for the analysis and interpretation of the operating structure that is possible to distinguish, and which appears, even if not well defined, when reading the data source.

The purpose of this work is therefore to provide a validation method in order to verify the relationships between different kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon, namely the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia, from an institutional-legislative and socio-political standpoint. By studying the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia history we can actually observe similar paths. The Kingdom of Sardinia, founded by the Principality of Catalonia after its conquest, shows Catalan elements. It is not known how the transmission of cultural models was actualised and carried out, such as how they lived and, above all, how both local people and Catalans relocated in Sardinia experienced these Catalan elements. It would be good to do at least a temporal distinction between the experience of the first years of the realisation of the *Regnum* (1324-1355) and that probably more suited to a well-formed kingdom, the Kingdom of Sardinia, by now completely within the interests of the Crown of Aragon as well as a century later (1421). It is supposed that the Catalan elements were imposed. The level of violence by which this process happened can be supposed by knowing the different insurrections that took place in Sardinia. Although, it should be stressed that the fact there were insurrections does not mean that the transmission of cultural models was violent or coercive or somehow aggressive.⁵

4. The phrase “whole is other than the sum of the parts” as the maximum representation of Gestalt psychology, on one hand expresses the philosophical background in which the current psychological at issue developed (the phrase above is against the elementarism, popular in the nineteenth century), on the other hand it synthetically expresses the logic structuring of thought (e.g. an element considered outside the whole has a different meaning when considered in relationship with its belonging set). Already Aristoteles in his work *Metaphysics* referred that a such considered will be different when compared to the sum of the different elements of the same set. He postulated, according to this principle, that mind and body are a unique set. To exemplify the phrase at issue it gives the example of a puzzle, which, when completed, represents a full figure, while the single pieces will be elements with a different meaning when taken out of their place in the design to represent. You can see: Sini, Carlo. *I filosofi e le opere*, Milan: Principato, 1984: 113-114.

5. On the Kingdom of Sardinia and the conquest, you can see: Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese*. Sassari: Chiarella, 1990; Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La storia di Sardegna*. Pisa-Sassari: Edizioni ETS-Carlo Delfino editore, 1992; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. “Giacomo II d’Aragona e la conquista del



Herein, our purpose is to start outlining the operational ways of the realization and the transmission of a cultural model from the Principality of Catalonia toward the Kingdom of Sardinia.

Ultimately, the present study would be set to answer, in forthcoming works, at these questions: which social environments produced the guidelines to export Catalan cultural model. Maybe the environments close to the reigning house or rather the different social classes were eager to profit from economic and human investments carried out in the past. Shortly, who the main actors were, from which districts of Catalonia they came and, therefore, which regions had the power and the socio-political and cultural weight to pursue an international policy based on the installation of a Catalan representative cultural model.

2. The field theory

The field theory is one of the above cited instruments which will be used here to start develop our 'hybrid method.' This theory has its genesis in the European scientific pioneering environment of the early twentieth century, halfway between psychology and sociology. The field theory was developed by Kurt Lewin, a German social psychologist who adhered to the Gestalt psychology. This theory focalizes its attention on social analysis concerning the forces in play and it is used to identify those tending to affect a given situation and establish themselves as model.

Lewin's theory is usually expressed by the following equation: $B=f(P, E)$. This equation explains the fact that the Behavior (B), of the individual or the group, can be represented by a function (f) of interdependent factors such as the Personality (P) and the Environment (E), in which the subject, or the group, lives and interacts. The individual and his environment set up a psychological field, while the group and its environment set up a social field. The field is an entirety made of coexisting facts in their interdependency.⁶

Regno di Sardegna e Corsica". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 20 (1995): 251-316; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "Contributi finanziari di città e ville della Catalogna alla conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica (1321-1326)". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 20 (1995): 317-352.

6. Kurt Lewin was born in 1890 in a village in Poland and he died in North America in 1947. He grew up in Berlin where he studied and took his degree in Philosophy remaining in the Berliner academic until 1933, when he emigrated in the United State of America. He developed his theories oriented to the social psychology, focusing his attention and his studies on the field theory, the T-groups, the group dynamics, the research-action. The Lewin's studies are useful to analyse the contingent objects of reality where the observer lives in. Lewin, therefore, talked about topological psychology for its way of representation of the psychic reality of the individual and the group. This expression (topological psychology) meant the spatial condition of the psychic experience, essential element never considered until then. Some of his studies can be found in new editions that collect several of his essays: Lewin, Kurt. *Teoria dinamica della personalità*. Florence: Giunti, 2011; Lewin, Kurt. *La teoria, la ricerca, l'intervento*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005.

3. Perception and Redundancy

The perception theory has been developed from the end of nineteenth century to the Sixties of the twentieth century. In the Gestalt psychology environment this theory was initially defined as the action, or the imagine, that is perceived by the sense of sight and that, through neural stimulus and elaboration of the brain, interprets the observed images. Throughout the years, the studies have focused on the enlargement of the perception theory on not only exclusively visual fields. Then, the studies found out that the theory of unification of perception can be applied to every aspect of human life. This Gestalt concept is, in fact, the basis of the relationship of the individual, of groups and of the relationships between them. Shortly and simplifying we can say that, in connection to how the individual perceives himself and the reality, more correctly the environment, he will react. The group acts in the same way, even if in more complex and articulate ways.

A case in point of the concept of perception, in this case 'visual perception,' is offered by the example proposed by the Gestalt theorists of the early twentieth century, who said that when a person looks out at the window immediately sees the objects that form (part of) the view and not the individual elements that structure it (colours, brightness...). According to Gestalt psychology, human beings do not perceive the individual stimulus, but they are inclined to unify the sensorial faculty. Then, the mental processes involving the perception have a global nature and they are well structured. Therefore, mental processes are not a conglomeration of simple elements joined together, but they are elaborated just as included in their totality. It is possible to extend this concept also to groups, as groups and societies have mental process and their working principles are very similar to that of individuals. In fact, groups have sensations and perceptions too and through them respond to the environment.⁷

4. Applications in historical field

The just outlined field theory and the concept of perception and redundancy gave a remarkable theoretical contribution to the evolution of psychology thinking concerning individual and groups. In order to best implement the outlined 'hybrid methodology' it is good to raise a few questions concerning the use of these theories in the historical field and identify the main application methods. The first arising issues are the following: how we can use the theoretical and practical contributions

7. Concerning the initial theories of the Gestalt psychology about the system of perception, we can consult Wertheimer, Max. *Il pensiero produttivo*, ed. Paolo Bozzi. Florence: Giunti, 1997. In the psychology field of communication oriented to the social analysis, we point the study developed at the end of Sixties of twentieth century by a Palo Alto research group: Watzlawick, Paul; Helmick Beavin, Janet; Jackson, Don D. *Pragmatica della comunicazione umana. Studio dei modelli interattivi, delle patologie e dei paradossi*. Rome: Astrolabio, 1971.



in the History field; which elements should be used and/or preferable; how to use them; in which historical context; for which purpose.

To answer these questions and provide an initial procedure for the utilization of these concepts it is useful to divide them and treat the individual elements that make them up in order to ease the highlighting of their use for historical research.

It has been said that we can talk about perceptual unification because the mind, in order to organize within itself the different information coming through the perception from the environment, tends to unify the different information that it accumulates, tending therefore to the unity of meaning. The elements that help the unification of perception are various, the major ones, which can affect the historical investigation, are:

- redundancy (it means the repetition of an element within a repeated pattern with the ultimate aim of making it habitual. In the historical field, for example, it can be noted the redundancy of specific legislative actions);
- proximity (it can be intended both physical and space proximity but also environmental as meant by psychologically Gestalt. This concept, transposed in the historical field, could be understood as the cultural proximity between two population);
- penchant towards closure;
- continuity (the tendency to perceive as unitary the elements which are inclined towards continuity compared to others. In the historical field we can think about a long-term debate concerning the social perception *ante* and *post quem*);
- similarity (similar items and elements are perceived as united);
- meaningfulness (the sets of stimuli that have simplicity, order, symmetry, regularity and stability are perceived as a *unicum*).

The just analysed elements can be used both singularly and in systemic way in order, for example, to corroborate a perceptive unification.⁸

Redundancy is both a useful element to help the realization of perceptive unification and a concept which is unrelated to the Gestalt theory of perception, but which can be found in various branches of knowledge. The psychology of communication considers redundancy as the repetition of behavioural patterns carried out with the aim of affirming a dominant behavioural model. The redundancy is present in linguistic and in informatics and technological fields too. It represents a very important element for the historical analyses because it can be used to highlight an intentional individual or group will, otherwise unexpressed in the sources, which is usually employed to refer to in the historical research.

The field theory briefly exposed above is a useful instrument in the historical analysis because it allows valuing the potential and the influence of the different social, political and cultural strengths in a specific period or environment.

8. *I principi di Wertheimer hanno il compito di darci delle indicazioni su come si comporta il campo fenomenico* ("The principles of Wertheimer have the duty to give us the indications about how the phenomenal field behaves."). Sambin, Marco. "La psicologia della Gestalt", *Storia della psicologia*, Paolo Legrenzi, ed. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003: 115-117.



Lewin's theories, correlated to the study of individual psychological field and to the social field, are useful also to try to better define the natural grouping of people and, consequently, better frame them in a social structure and therefore analysing them from an historical point of view, highlighting not already well-known dynamics. This focus on the historical study based on structuring of psycho-social analyses would be particularly successful especially concerning different social stratification which can be found in Sardinia from the fourteenth century up to the first decades of the fifteenth century. In fact, during this period, in Sardinia two State entities meet and collide, *Iudicatus Arboreae* and Kingdom of Sardinia, which carry at least as much culture who, forced by the events of the conquest, coexist and cohabit, at times living even together, until the demise of *Iudicatus* reality.

The analysis here suggested aims to be a key data carried out in structural way.

Addition to the elements of the theory of perception and the field theory is the momentary change of the point of view of the historical analysis: the aim of our research is to try to outline or to foresee the life-experience of individuals and groups in a given moment in history. In this work, the historic moment is the period between the beginning of fourteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth century in Sardinia. According to what previously outlined, the questions that could be seen as problematic headlights are the following: how did the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Sardinia of Catalan origin and descendants act towards the inhabitants in the Principality? And compared to natives of *Iudicatus Arboreae*? How did the perception of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Sardinia, in its various fringe and social components, change in regards of Principality of Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon in about two centuries (1324-1511)? How did the *Arborensi* perceive the cultural model provided, or imposed, by the Principality in the fourteenth century? And how the Catalan, who were rooted in the island from a century, could experience that in the fifteenth century? In addition, what about those taking part to the conquest? There were differences between the two identified macro groupings? What were the political subdivisions, the cultural and experiential subdivisions, internal to the two macro-groupings?

The analysis allows us to better understand the implementing method of incorporating accomplished by the Principality of Catalonia towards the Kingdom of Sardinia with the explicit aim to bring new state entities into the orbit of the Crown of Aragon. We consider that this process occurs in the Kingdom of Sardinia, and also in the Kingdom of Sicily and, in general, in those State entities with less socio-political and economic power than the Principality.



5. The analysed data sources and what they can tell us

The main contents of this study are the parliamentary meetings held by the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia from the end of the thirteenth century until the early sixteenth century.⁹

Although a chronological period of two centuries has been identified, the attention in this work was mainly focused on the analysis of the fourteenth century and the first decade, until the twenties of the fifteenth century. This choice is functionally to the result obtained by the research and the hypothesis presented herein. In fact, we notice that as soon as the Kingdom of Sardinia is reconciled and the *Iudicatus* rights of Arborea are acquired by the Crown of Aragon king Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1420, we do not find any issue concerning this Kingdom in the Act of Catalan Parliament neither any reference in the Sardinian Parliaments. We can find only one reference to the Catalan *Corts* after 1420 in the Sardinian Parliaments, which is a chapter court of the Military arm of 1511 stating that the form of convening and running of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Sardinia must be the one adopted in Catalonia.¹⁰ This is a proof of the fact that, in this case, the cultural model proposed

9. In the period from 1350 to 1458 the Parliament of the Principality of Catalonia was summoned in the following years: 1350-1351, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1362-1363, 1364-1365, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1367-1368, 1368-1369, 1370-1371, 1372-1373, 1375, 1376, 1377-1378, 1379-1380, 1383-1384, 1388-1389, 1396-1397, 1406-1410, 1413, 1414, 1416, 1419-1420, 1421-1423, 1429-1430, 1431-1434, 1435-1436, 1436-1437, 1438-1439, 1439, 1440, 1442-1443, 1446-1448, 1450-1453, 1454-1458. We consider this time span because we can find a complete documentation of the Acts of Parliament from 1350; we consider 1458 as an ending term because Alfonso the Magnanimous died in that year. He was the second king from the new Castilian dynasty Trastámara, which marks the transition from medieval to modern era for conception of the power and the institutions. For a detailed examination of the occasions when the Parliament of Principality of Catalonia was summoned during this period, see: Conde, Rafael; Hernández, Ana; Riera, Sebastià; Rovira, Manuel. "Fonts per a l'estudi de les Corts i els Parlaments de Catalunya. Catàleg dels processos de Corts i Parlaments", *Les Corts a Catalunya. Actes del Congrés d'Història Institucional* (28, 29 i 30 d'abril de 1988). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, 1991: 25-61. Parliamentary meetings held by the Kingdom of Sardinia were those of 1355, 1421 (1446 and 1452), 1481-1485, 1495, 1497, 1500 and 1504-1511. Regarding the primary sources situation of the Acts of Parliament held by the Kingdom of Sardinia and to its conservation in the various Italian State Archives and in those foreigners, see: Era, Antonio. "Impiego di documenti d'archivio", *Il Parlamento sardo (1481-1485)*, Antonio Era, ed. Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, 1955: 15-16; Ferrai, Marinella; Lai, Maria Bonaria. "Appendice I. Fonti documentarie sui Parlamenti di Sardegna conservate negli archivi sardi e spagnoli (1421-1843). Prima indicazione", *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. Istituzioni rappresentative nella Sardegna medioevale e moderna, Atti del Seminario di Studi (Cagliari, 28-29 novembre 1984)*, 21 vols. Cagliari: Consiglio Regionale della Sardegna, 1986: I, 397-414; Olla Repetto, Gabriella. "La collana 'Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae'". *Archivio sardo del movimento operaio contadino e autonomistico*, 47-49 (1996): 75-90; Meloni, Giuseppe. "La documentazione", *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. Il Parlamento di Pietro IV d'Aragona (1355)*, 21 vols., ed. Giuseppe Meloni. Cagliari, 1993: II, 14-40; Schena, Olivetta. "Analisi archivistica e diplomatica degli Atti", *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. I Parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnanimo (1421, 1452)*, 21 vols., ed. Alberto Boscolo. Cagliari: Consiglio regionale della Sardegna, 1993: III, 87-102; Oliva, Anna Maria; Schena, Olivetta. "La documentazione", *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. I Parlamenti dei viceré Giovanni Dusa e Ferdinando Girón de Rebolledo (1495, 1497, 1500, 1504-1511)*, 21 vols., ed. Anna Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena. Cagliari: Consiglio regionale della Sardegna, 1998: V, 9-27.

10. It was requested that the parliamentary practice of the Kingdom of Sardinia was normalized according to the Catalan custom, as there wasn't a precise model to follow in the past, the conclusion of the works



by the Principality of Catalonia was the one to be followed concerning the practise to undertake for the performance of political and institutional meetings.

In the Acts of the Catalan *Corts* we often find a forceful interest of the Principality toward the Kingdom of Sardinia. Sometimes the Kingdom is mentioned as an issue for the Principality to be solved, other times as a kingdom needing rescue or oppressed by the *iudex* of Arborea, considered as a villain. There are, in the Acts, also some Parliaments in which it is legislated and are engaged-in procedures intended not only to manage a 'capricious' kingdom, but also to put in place various strategies to plant a cultural model which implies a dependency relationship with the Principality. In several chapters court, during the dissertation presented by the Catalan members of three Staments, there are episodes in which it is developed an identity memory mechanism, through which it is highlighted and claimed a felt and effective cultural belonging feeling of the Kingdom of Sardinia towards the Principality of Catalonia.

In details, the *Corts* of the Principality of Catalonia that interest in some way the Kingdom of Sardinia are convened during the years and with specific reasons as following:¹¹

1305: it is the first Catalan Parliament that appears the lettering *rex Sardinie et Corsica* in the titling of the sovereign. The Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica was nominally created in the 1297 by Pope Boniface VIII to try to resolve the issue of the war of the Sicilian Vespers. The *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*, this is the complete name, was granted as perpetual fief to the sovereigns of the Crown of Aragon, and these would have to conquer it to gain possession. Actually, the birth *de iure* of the Kingdom dates back to the beginning of the conquest of the Sardinian territory by king James the Just, which occurred in 1324.¹² It should be noted, however, that

was delayed involving participants' detriment. In this manner, by adopting the Catalan style, it was intended to eliminate errors of forms normalizing the legislative institute of the *Regnum* according to a dominant model. [...] *se haian celebrar e prosseguir juxta lo still y pratica de Cathalunya*. ("[...] have to be held and continue according to the style and practice of Catalonia.") See the fourth chapter of court issued by Military arm in 1511 and edited in *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. I Parlamenti dei viceré Giovanni Dusa...*: V, 726.

11. The issue of the Acts of the Parliament of the Principality of Catalonia was published by the *Real Academia de la Historia* in the edition project of the Parliaments of the Kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and the Principality of Catalonia. The project took shape in the edition of the Acts of only *Corts* of the Principality of Catalonia held from 1064 to 1479. This remodelling project, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragon Y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, consists of twenty-six volumes and was published between 1896 and 1922. For synthesis of the initial project see: Fita, Fidel; Oliver, Bienvenido. "Prólogo", *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña publicadas por la Real Academia de la Historia*, 27 vols., Bienvenido Oliver, ed. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1896: I, V-XX.

12. According to a proposal of Pope Celestine V, in the attempt to put an end to the issue of the Sicilian Vespers James the Just, king of Aragon, and Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples, stipulated a peace treaty in Anagni in 1295. According to the agreement Charles obtained the Sicilian throne, James' excommunication was revoked and granted him the newborn Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica as perpetual fief. On the Treaty of Anagni and the expansionism towards the Mediterranean area offered to the Crown of Aragon by the terms anagnine you can see: Salavert, Vicente. *El tratado de Anagni y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Imprenta Heraldo de Aragón, (1952). The



a period of eight years occurred, 1297-1305, before we can find reference to the 'Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica' appellation.¹³

1323: it is the first Catalan Parliament summoned for issues concerning the *Regnum*. The titling is as following *Super generali Curia quam dominus Rex ordinavit celebranda in Cathalonia in civitate Barchinone pro negociis Sardinie et Corsice instanti festo Sancte Marie Magdalene proximi mensis Julii anni Domini M.CCC. vicesimi Tercii*¹⁴. The text here related from the edition of the Acts continues, after the convening of the archbishop of Tarragona and the members of the three Estates, with a communication to convened people about the forthcoming acquisition of the Kingdom of Sardinia.

1349: In the Acts we can find the warning about the fact that the Kingdom of Sardinia is under threat and needs help. The king addresses

*als Universitats de les ciutats e viles reals de Cathalonia per rahó de la creença per lo dit Senyor com[ana]da al dit en Bernat en les letres quel Senyor Rey tramet a les dites Universitats per lajuda molt necessaria que ha mester per socorrer el regne de Serdenya qui esta en gran perill.*¹⁵

He specifies that *com aquests affers del dit regne de Serdenya sien a ades pus perilloses, de les quals ajudes lo dit Senyor novellament havia scrit a les Universitats damunt dites*.¹⁶

The situation in which the Kingdom of Sardinia goes through is, in the opinion of the sovereign, more serious than the Valencian and Castilian contingent problems, so it is more urgent to intervene there. The seriousness of the island status is the fact that Marianus IV, *iudex* of *Iudicatus Arboreae* from 1347, since the first years of his government, provides signals of intolerance towards the Catalan-Aragon. However, the most important worry was caused by the Doria family behaviour. In fact, the king Peter the Ceremonious advised that *de Auria...rupto vassallaggii vinculo quod Nobis servare illesum*. Hereinafter, just sketching a war —we think he can relate to the pitched battle *Aidu de turdu* in 1347,— he affirms *totum dictum Sardinie regnum est*

documentation related to the nominal feoffment by Pope Boniface VIII of the *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* is in: Tola, Pasquale. *Codice Diplomatico della Sardegna*, 2 vols. Sassari: Delfino, 1985: I, 456 (doc. No. 138).

13. This fact can be seen in relation with the end of the Vespers war, which occurred in 1302 by signing the peace treaty of Caltabellota. James the Just from now takes seriously to realize materially the Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica.

14. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: I, 272.

15. "in the Councils and the royal council towns and cities of Catalonia according to the power our lord the king has given said Bernat through the letters that the Lord King has sent to said Councils for the very economic assistance to save the kingdom of Sardinia that was in great danger. He specifies that as these affairs of the said kingdom of Sardinia are currently more dangerous, of the mentioned economic help said Lord had again written to the Councils mentioned above". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: XII, 397.

16. "as these affairs of the said kingdom of Sardinia are currently more dangerous, of the mentioned economic help said Lord had again written to the Councils mentioned above". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: XII, 397.



in tam evidenti periculo positum.¹⁷ For this reason, the king requires *auxilio et subsidio celeri*.

1354: the Parliament is entitled *Super negocio concessionis facte domino Regi per syndicos Universitatum et civitatum villarum Cathalonie in auxilium viaggi Sardinie in Parlamento Barchinone celebrato*.¹⁸ We notice that the Parliament held in 1354 was summoned to gather supports for the next travel to Sardinia that king Peter the Ceremonious would have shortly undertaken. The letters of convocation are dated January 30, it is known that the king was in Sardinia at the end of June and remained there until the beginning of September 1355, after having completed the work of the first Parliament of the Kingdom of Sardinia, summoned in the first months of 1355. In order to better frame this travel, please remember that the declaration of war against the Catalan-Aragon and the Kingdom of Sardinia by the *iudex* of Arborea Marianus IV is dated 1353. Moreover, this war concludes the alliance between the two State entities of the island, Kingdom of Sardinia and *Iudicatus Arboreae*, which lasted for over twenty years.¹⁹

1355: in this Parliament the king informs the Catalan majors that the *iudex* of Arborea and Matteo Doria do not behave as good vassals. And so the king *fa executió de justícia contra lo dit Jutge e En Matheu Doria e lurs bens ab osts e ab gents de cavall e de peu*.²⁰ Besides, it is sought and received a funding of “*vi milia libras barchinoneses, de les quals se servesca en pagar sevents e companyes qui lan servit e vuy lo servexen*”²¹ in the Kingdom of Sardinia.²²

1366: the Parliament is entitled *Capitula facta super dono sive subsidio concesso in sucursum Regni Sardinie in parlamento celebrato Barchinone per universitates civitatum*

17. During the battle of *Aidu de turdu* in 1347 the Doria troops hardly defeat Catalan-Aragon's. See: Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La storia di Sardegna...*: 425-426.

18. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: XII, 443.

19. About the *iudex* Marianus IV, the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia and the *Iudicatus Arboreae*, and the trial for felony see: Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La storia di Sardegna...*: 347-356 and 426-429; Cioppi, Alessandra. *Battaglie e protagonisti della Sardegna medioevale*. Cagliari: AM&D, 2008: 83-91; Gallinari, Luciano. “Alcuni ‘discorsi’ politici e istituzionali nello scontro tra Pietro IV d’Aragona e Marianus IV d’Arborea”, *Sardegna e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Francesco Cesare Casula*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, eds. Genoa: Brigati, 2009: 149-184. About the travel of the king Peter the Ceremonious in Sardinia see: Meloni, Giuseppe. *L'Italia medioevale nella Cronaca di Pietro IV d'Aragona*. Cagliari: Edizioni Della Torre, 1980.

20. “applied justice against the said *iudex* and Matthew Doria and their property by the host and armed men on horseback and footsoldiers”. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: I/2, 477.

21. “6,000 Barcelonan pounds, which he used to pay servants and armed companies that have served him and now serve him”. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: I/2, 478.

22. In 1355 the trial of felony against the Arboreas and Matteo Doria starts and it will end in 1393. Until now the already edited three volumes are Armangué, Joan; Cireddu, Anna; Cuboni, Caterina, eds. *Proceso contra los Arborea*, 3 vols. Pisa: ETS, 2001: I; Chirra, Sara ed. *Proceso contra los Arborea*, 3 vols. Pisa: ETS, 2003: II and III. In 1355 the first Parliament of the Kingdom of Sardinia were convened and the peace of Sanluri took place; peace lasted ten years. See: *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. Il Parlamento di Pietro IV d'Aragona (1355)*, ed. Giuseppe Meloni. Cagliari: Consiglio regionale della Sardegna, 1993; on the peace of Sanluri see: Tola, Pasquale. *Codice Diplomatico della Sardegna*, 2 vols. Sassari: C. Delfino, 1984: I, 769-773 (doc. No. 103).



*et locorum Regalium Cathalonie anno a nativitate domini M CCC LXVI.*²³ Peter the Ceremonious asks for help to the Royal Estate and exposes the serious problem of security for the Kingdom, threatened by the vassal of the king, the *iudex* of Arborea. There is a moment of identitarian memory, aimed to remember the huge resources employed until then, which would have been completely lost if there wasn't the required help to restore the order in the Kingdom of Sardinia. Dealing directly with the Kingdom of Sardinia the chapter of court XII (the king is requested to abolish the ordinance —established for the Kingdom of Sardinia— concerning the inheritance only for knights, and to extend it to all citizens. It is also required that the constitutions issued by a *Cort* of the Kingdom of Sardinia are suppressed by a *Cort* of the same Kingdom), XIII (it is requested that the cities and the royal villages pay the royal right and not be exempt, as it happens instead. If this carries on, it will be difficult to ensure the defence in terms of economic), XIV (it is an exhortation of the Royal Estate to charge both the other two Estates and the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia and Majorca for the expenses required for the extraordinary management and the defence of the Kingdom of Sardinia), XVI (it is specified that the money must be exclusively used for the defence of the Kingdom of Sardinia. This money should be used for the journey that Pedro de Luna would have with *CCCC homens a cavall et ab M servents et ab V galeas*)²⁴ and XVII (we note that the guaranteed money for the defence of the Kingdom would not be bestowed if the *iudex* of Arborea renounced to his warlike intentions). In 1365, the truce signed in 1355 in Sanluri was broken, this Parliament is an involved and worried political-economic response to the contingent problems.

1367: What is said in this Parliament is very interesting to better understand the policy developed by the Arboreas and the Catalan-Aragonese: in fact, this Parliament is mainly focused on the defence of the Kingdom of Sardinia from the continuous attacks carried on by the *iudex* of Arborea and Brancaloneo Doria. The *iudex* of Arborea got the ownership of six galleys by which he meant to attack the island territory owned by the king. For this reason the mayors and the councillors of the Catalan cities are recalled and invited to take into account the urgent need emphasizing the issue that the danger in which the Kingdom is, affects the person of the king and his crown, his subjects but, above all, the people of the Principality.

1368: in this Parliament it is reaffirmed that the island, in which the Kingdom of Sardinia belonging to the king headquarters, is occupied by the *iudex* of Arborea, a vassal of the king. It is stressed that the Kingdom needs urgent protection. This defense is calculated in *Mille Quingentorum equitum et octo mille peditum et decem galearum armatarum*. Economically were *necessarie CCCC. XXV Mille libre*.²⁵

1371: one hundred and fifty thousand florins are required to shelter the Kingdom of Sardinia.

23. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: III, 421.

24. "400 men on horseback and with 1,000 servants and with five galleys". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: III, 428.

25. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: III, 11.



1372-1373: during the meetings of the Parliament, it is reminded that the state of the conquest and the security of the Kingdom of Sardinia is long-standing and awkward. A loan for an expedition is granted with cost statement of two years for repayment. The Parliament grants a loan of thirty thousand florins, which must be exclusively used to shelter Alghero, Cagliari and other places staying under the royal jurisdiction. That amount is also necessary for the galleys already located in Sardinia and for those to be added to.

1379-1380: the king of the Crown of Aragon asks help to achieve an expedition planned to restore the order, which was subverted by his vassal the *iudex* of Arborea, in the Kingdom of Sardinia. The Kingdom of Sardinia risks being lost. The Estates approve the expedition and its aim. The other kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon are urged to participate in the cost of expedition. It is reminded moreover to the king to take care of the other kingdoms of the Crown as he deals with the Kingdom of Sardinia. The ecclesiastical and royal Estates lend fifty thousand Barcelonan liras to protect the Kingdom of Sardinia. This amount will be returned by the Principality and individual Catalan people. The king is required to summon *Corts* in every realm, including the Kingdom of Sardinia. The military Estate provides a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand Barcelonan liras to protect the Kingdom of Sardinia.

1400-1401: the Parliament approves various chapter of court which plan the organization of the institutional and political-administrative life of the Kingdom of Sardinia.²⁶ It is established to restore the two old governors instead of the only existing, reinstating the old order. It is also required that barons and nobles cannot play this role, that it is impossible to appoint a replacement except for cases of real need. These roles must be five-year. It is stated that problems occurred because of a wide jurisdiction from the governors of the Kingdom. Therefore, it is required that these wide jurisdictions are downsized as they were in the past times. It is also required that the governors are supported by some city councilmen of Cagliari and Alghero in their offices. The governors' and *vegher* appointments should have been under sovereign jurisdiction. There is the attempt to put a legislative stop to the nepotism denying the possibility to be appointed as *vegher* if *algun qui sia domestic familiar o parent o acostat del dit Governador*.²⁷ High officials of the Kingdom were excluded from trades because they mainly had previously abused. It is required that

26. See: Ferrer, Maria Teresa. "Barcelona i la política mediterrània catalana: el Parlament de 1400-1401", *XIV Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero 19-24 maggio 1990)*, *La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII-XVIII)*, 5 vols., Carlo Delfino, ed. Sassari: ETS, 1995: I, 427-444. See also: Olla, Gabriella. *Studi sulle istituzioni amministrative e giudiziarie della Sardegna nei secoli XIV e XV*. Cagliari: Edizioni AV, 2005: 13-40, 107-120 and 183-261; Gallinari, Luciano. "Nuevas hipótesis sobre la relación familiar entre Brancaléone Doria y el futuro juez de Arborea Mariano V en las fuentes de finales del siglo XIV". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 11-1 (2013): 191-232; Gallinari, Luciano. *Una dinastia in guerra e un re descurat? i giudici d'Arborea e Giovanni I re d'Aragona (1379-1396)*. Cagliari: Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2013; Gallinari, Luciano. "Brancaléone Doria ¿fallido juez de Arborea?", *Tra il Tirreno e Gibilterra. Un Mediterraneo iberico?*, Luciano Gallinari, Flocel Sabaté i Curull, eds. Cagliari: Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2015: 547-599.

27. "see if anyone is family member or relative or close to the said governor". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1901: IV, 381.



the office of the general *Bailia* of the Kingdom of Sardinia is abolished and that it is split according to the rules of the Governor's office. In the cities of Cagliari and Alghero the offices of *Saliniere* are entrusted to local citizens and not to foreigners. The chapter of court IX states that messengers or mayors of the cities of Cagliari and Alghero can show up and take part to the General *Corts* and *encara particulars del Regne de Mallorques o del principat de Cathalunya*.²⁸

1412: in this Parliament it is asked to help either accomplished and ongoing challenges, such as the conquest of the Kingdom of Sardinia that, due to delays, cause a feeling of triple shame: to the Principality, in regards to the sovereigns and to the Crown. This in the king's *proposicio*:

*la segona que per vosaltres nos sia donada manera e ajuda per quitament de nostre patrimoni, perque nos puscam mils fer la justicia e viure segons nostre stat requie, car no havem voler de viure de remissions e transaccions injustes ne so bornacions com no haïam acostumat viure de tals coses ni semblant. E en aço deveu considerar les grans missions que havem fetes tro aci e axi mateix suportam ara, ço es la conquesta de Cerdunya, que ab tanta desonor de aquest nostre regne e series de Nos e Nostra Corona, sino si providia segons se pertany.*²⁹

The battle of Sanluri took place in 1409, although without ratifying the final capitulation of the resistance led by last Arborea *iudex* William II of Narbona-Bas. We have to wait until 1420 to assist at the transfer of right on the territories belonging to the *Iudicatus Arboreae* in favour of the Kingdom of Sardinia³⁰ for one hundred thousand florins.

1414: the *proposicio* talks about the sovereign debt towards the *Corts*, justifying it by the costs for the numerous and expensive past missions to conquer the Kingdom of Sardinia. In a chapter we can find out an explicit request about the fact that there must be only Catalan in the leading position of the Kingdom.

28. "Courts and still private individuals of the kingdom of Majorca or of the principality of Catalonia". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1901: IV, 383.

29. "the second that for you that you give us some way and help to repay the debt that burdens our heritage, because we can do justice better and live according to what our status requires, as we have not wanted to live from unfair remissions and transactions nor extortion, as we are not used to living by such behavior or similar. And that we should consider the great missions that we have done until here and so still enduring it now, that is the conquest of Sardinia, that with such dishonour to Us and Our Crown, but rather acting as one should". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1907: XI, 19.

30. About the last stage of existence of the *Iudicatus Arboreae* see: Gallinari, Luciano. "Guglielmo III di Narbona, ultimo sovrano di Arborea, e la guerra dei cent'anni". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 18 (1993): 91-121; Conde, Rafael. *La batalla de Sent Luri. Textos y Documentos*. Oristano: S'Alvure, 1998; Gallinari, Luciano. "Gli ultimi anni di esistenza del Regno giudicale d'Arborea: riflessioni e prospettive di ricerca". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 25 (2002): 155-190; Sini, Giovanni. "Sanluri, una villa di confine nel periodo tardo medioevale". *Quaderni di studi e ricerche*, 1 (2008): 115-134; Sini, Giovanni. "Elia de Palmas. La professione di diplomatico ecclesiastico durante un periodo di mutamento a cavallo tra XIV e XV secolo". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 12 (2014): 107-136; Sini, Giovanni. "Reflections on the socio-political and cultural transmissions at the end of the Giudicato of Arborea. Identity-based resistance and(re)construction of historic memory?", *Sardinia from the Middle Ages to Contemporaneity. A case study of a Mediterranean island identity profile*, Luciano Gallinari, ed. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018: 101-116.



*LXXXII milia florins. E ultra les dites quantitats per supplir e satisfer a moltes e diverses coses tocants honor de la Corona real e gran profit e utilitat de tots nostres regnes e terres e per la recuperacio del nostre regne de Cerdenya, cerca la qual los dits notres predecessors han treballat e disposat ells e sos vassalls e bens a diversos perills e dampnatges [...].*³¹

1416: Parliament has an important involvement for the Kingdom. There are mayors and councilmen of Cagliari with a plea for help the Kingdom of Sardinia. In their request, they appeal to the identity memory of fathers who, with huge human and economic losses, believed in the Sardinian enterprise and they pursued. There are also two chapter of court directed to legislate on the Kingdom. In chapter XXI it is required that there are only Catalan in the leading position of the Kingdom; while chapter XXXV states that the office of the *Conservator* of the Kingdom is to be abolished because its task is already carried out by others officials and it is therefore wasteful and unnecessary. These *ordinacions* are not approved by the king, even if in chapter XXXV, which talks about the Parliament convened for the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1421, we see that there is legislative redundancy as the office at issue was already abolished. Regarding the request of Catalan people in leading position of the Regnum, we may find, in fact, that the praxis was that. Moreover, about a fifteen people are present and active during the parliamentary proceeding and they will also take part in the Parliament convened by the Kingdom of Sardinia which was held in Cagliari in 1421.³²

1419-1420: in the *proposició* ("legal proposition"), the king announces the Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica, in constant revolt, was finally brought into obedience to the Crown. This information reached the ears of the sovereign thanks to whistle-blowers, who enjoy the honour and loyalty of the king. The king ordered some provisions and asks for advice to the three Estates. It is established that the jurisdictional offices, harbourmaster's offices and castles are entrusted to natives Catalan. The motion already proposed in the *ordinaciones* ("ordinances") in 1416 is presented again to solicit the abolition of the *Conservador* ("great curator") office, which was considered as unnecessary and wasteful. Please note that the office of Governor must be assigned to native Catalan, otherwise the office is revoked, as for Bernat Centelles. It is also prohibited to take on the double office of Governor and Viceroy.³³

31. "LXXXII thousand florins. And, also the said quantities to supply and satisfy many and varied things regarding the honour of the royal Crown and great profit and utility of all our kingdoms and lans and for the recovery of our kingdom of Sardinia, about which our said predecessors have worked and had, themselves and their vasals and assets in various dangers and damages [...]". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1907: XI, 345.

32. Concerning the Catalan Parliament celebrated in 1416 and the redundancies legislation of 1421 Sardinian Parliament see: Sini, Giovanni. "Alcune note sul Parlamento del Principato di catalogna tenuto nel 1416". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 6 (2011): 7-24.

33. Most of the Acts here analysed are stored in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. We examined the following archival documentation: ACA. Cancilleria. *Procesos de Cortes*. reg. 29; AHCB. Consell de Cent. 16, 43. For the Parliaments held in 1305 and in 1323 see: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*: I/1, 194 and 272-277. The editions of the *Corts* convened in 1349, 1354, 1416 and 1419-1420



Regarding the *Corts* held for the Kingdom of Sardinia those we want to report for their Catalan influence are as follows:

1421 (1446 and 1452): it is the second Parliament of the Kingdom and the first one since the Kingdom is completely pacify and unified *de iure*. It presents different elements of legislative and people redundancy when compared to the Catalan Parliament held in 1416, as previously reported.

1504-1511: it is considered an important Parliament as, in a chapter of court of the military Arm held in 1511, it is stated that the parliamentary meetings convened for the Kingdom of Sardinia had to be occurred according to the Catalan manner. This in order to avoid drawbacks of formal defects and delays in works, as happened until then. It is explicitly stated that the cultural model to comply with was the Catalan one, not merely for imposition but rather for necessity and institutional and formal superiority.³⁴

The comparative analyses of some of the parliamentary meetings summoned and held for the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia further highlighted the proximity, the continuity of the actions, the similarity, the exchanges and the common interests between the two State entities also testify by the people redundancy in the *Corts*.

We think it could be relevant to notice the presence of legislative and human elements that we call here 'redundant.' This expression, as mentioned above, is borrowed from the technological and psychological environment. In the technological field, it generally refers to the addition and/or the repetition of parts to increase reliability of a process. In the psychological field, simplifying the concept,

are available in *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1908: XII, 1-52, 66-69, 197-207, 295-352, 395-399 and 443-453. The one held in 1355 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1899: I/2, 474-481. Those of 1366, 1368, 1371 and 1372-73 are published in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1900: III, 10-15, 192-245 and 421-445. The one in 1367 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1899: II, 448-455. Those of 1379-1380 and 1400-1401 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1901: IV, 481. Those of 1366, 1368, 1371 and 1372-1373 are published in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1900: III, 10-15, 192-245 and 421-445. The one in 1367 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1899: II, 448-455. Those of 1379-1380 and 1400-1401 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1901: IV, 189-219 and 318-397. Those of 1412 and 1414 in: *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón...*, 1907: XI, 18-19, 305 and 344-347.

34. We examined the following archival documentation: ACA, Cancillería, reg. 2671, 2784, 2795, 2632 and 2637; ASC. Antico Archivio Regio. *Parlamentari*. reg. D7 and K5; ACC. Sezione Antica. vol. 4/1 and 5; AAC. *Diversorum*. vol. 2. For the publications you can also see: Boscolo, Alberto, ed. *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. I Parlamenti di Alfonso il Magnanimo (1421, 1452)*, 21 vols. Cagliari: Consiglio regionale della Sardegna, 1993: 105-215; Oliva, Anna Maria; Schena, Olivetta, eds. *Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae. I Parlamenti dei viceré Giovanni Dusay e Ferdinando Girón de Rebolledo (1495, 1497, 1500, 1504-1511)*, 21 vols. Cagliari: Consiglio regionale della Sardegna, 1998: 281-805. Concerning the Parliaments and *Corts* reunions during the Medieval period see: Schena, Olivetta. "Funzione e composizione della commissione degli 'examinadors de greuges' nei Parlamenti del Regno di Sardegna (secc. XV-XVI). Prime note". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 13/2 (2014): 9-29; Oliva, Anna Maria. "Le commissioni per il donativo nei Parlamenti del regno di Sardegna tra tardo Medio evo e prima Età moderna". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 13/2 (2014): 31-51; Martí Sentañes, Esther. "Procuradores y consejos asesores de las ciudades reales en las Cortes catalanas y en los parlamentos sardos del siglo XV". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 13/2 (2014): 53-85; Sini, Giovanni. "Aspetti assembleari del Braccio ecclesiastico durante il XIV e il XV secolo nel Principato di Catalogna e nel Regno di Sardegna". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 13/2 (2014): 87-115.



it refers generically to the repetition of behaviour patterns carried out with the aim of making them common. This repetition of the pattern or the structure would confirm the infiltration of a practice and the rewarding of relevance, for those who put in place, to the object. In our case the object is the Kingdom of Sardinia, while those who realize the redundant action are the Catalan social classes presumably belonging primary to the military and royal Estates. We are aware that the use of the expression is rather unorthodox in the historical scope and specifically when related to humans. However, we use this expression and its relative concept because it expresses into image circular action of multiplication of the exchange actions with the aim to optimize and get perfectly functioning the assimilation process between two State entities as the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia. According to the theory of perception, some phenomena tend to the unification of perception in cases such as proximity, similarity, continuity, penchant towards closure and meaningfulness. It is possible that the Crown of Aragon put in place a process of unification of perception toward the kingdoms that incorporated, which basically would simplify the social inclusion in the Crown. In fact, as we previously observed, phenomena respecting the condition above mentioned tend to converge. We can probably say the same thing concerning the process put into effect by the Crown against the Kingdom of Sardinia. The Crown, and more precisely the Principality of Catalonia, carries out a process of unification of perception and structural redundancy regarding some institutions, practices and people to put more and more in their interest the Kingdom of Sardinia.

6. Prospects of study and amplification of the study with XML/TEI of the Acts

This study, as already stated, is in its starting phase. In fact, it should be opportune to develop such studies from theoretical and methodological aspect, in a perspective of potential interdisciplinary in the historical analysis. The field theory applied to the dynamics of various elites is an aspect that is worth being examined in depth. Such study would be useful to improve the modalities of analysis of the social forces in the field.

It would be opportune to examine the Acts of the parliamentary meetings here treated to infer possible redundancy of people between the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Sardinia. It is highlighted that there are redundancies in the Parliaments of the first decade of the fifteenth century, it is not known from the studies carried out so far if the same had happened even in the period before and after.

To complete the comparison of certain legislative action carried out by the Principality of Catalonia towards the Kingdom of Sardinia it would be worth checking the documentation produced by the Kingdom of Sardinia as they were accepted and eventually implemented such laws. This study would involve the



extension of spectrum of sources to analyse to the entire production carried out by the Kingdom of Sardinia, except for the legislative one as already in analysis.

Parallel to this and connected to the comparative study of the Legislative Institute of the Crown of Aragon, it would be useful to put in place the coding and mark-up of the entire documentation relating to the Acts of parliamentary meetings held in the various kingdoms of the Crown from the beginning to the end of the Institution itself, which took place in modern times. This work should be carried out through the use of meta-languages and international standards of digital encoding text. To reach this purpose we think about making use of XML/TEI.³⁵ The aim of a work as impressive and ample as this, stands in the necessity to have a reference tool for scholars in order to relate institutional structures or part of them, to search persons, laws or whatever and compare them with further elements of different Acts of other kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon chosen by the individual scholar from time to time, in the aim of maximum search customization. In this way, we could have a flexible instrument for quick comparative and cross research. The amount of resulting cross data would be considerable and, certainly, they could face researches that are currently limited or take several years to collect the data and to accomplish the comparison phase obtained by the analysis of the sources. This would lead to a highly customizable tool for the scholar, a tool that would accelerate the research on a wide range of information obtainable from an extreme chronological and territorial span, which is the span of life and rootedness of the institution of the *Corts* in the various kingdoms of the Crown, from their starting to their end.

Finally, the data extrapolated through this coding and mark-up of the text of the Acts would be available for analysis through the 'hybrid methodology' referred to in this study are shown the basics. In this way, you might be able to have a complete, as far as human and subjectively possible, and comprehensive concept of the political-institutional reality through the legislative aspect of the social relationship between the different kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon.

The digitalisation of the historical sources is nowadays considered as a current fact. The coding and the mark-up of sources in the humanities is getting specialized and it requires its own coding which depends on sources you plan to scan. It would be desirable to create a specific encoding dedicated to the peculiarities of the legislative source in order to reach the aims here proposed concerning the parliamentary Acts. In this work we would apply skills and knowledge from different disciplines

35. The references on the procedure to put into effects are traced in several papers published by the writer: Sini, Giovanni. "Gli strumenti informatici di collaborazione nella ricerca e nello studio della Storia: prospettive e mutamenti". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 2 (2009): 173-92; Sini, Giovanni. "Informatica umanistica. Appunti e riflessioni sullo stato dell'arte e individuare prospettive", *Sardegna e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Francesco Cesare Casula*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, eds. Genoa: Brigati, 2009: 363-392. See also: Sini, Giovanni. "La circolarità virtuosa della conoscenza, riflessioni per un'introduzione / The virtuous circularity of knowledge, considerations for an introduction". *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 1/1 n. s. (2017): 5-24; Sini, Giovanni. "Digital Humanities models practices for History", *Teaching and Valuing the History of Sardinia. Reflexions, Experiences and Best Practices*, Esther Martí, ed. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche-Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2017: 87-105.

as computer science, XML/TEI programming, expertise in history, especially that concerning the Crown of Aragon parliamentary meetings.

7. Conclusions/results

The study here presented has a strong interdisciplinary approach, which arises from the belief of the writer that the reality, both the present and the past reality, can be understood only by the subjectivity of the individual scholar which is subservient to the use of methods and methodologies from different disciplines that converge on the sole purpose of trying to understand (taking all together) the reality, object of the analysis. The latter being pluralistic and multi-facet, it is necessary to turn to different tools to get an analysis as humanly possible complete. In this study we try to approach to a drawing-up of a alter manner of interpretation of the past through the use of the theories and the concepts borrowed from Gestalt psychology and communication. We think we have here put down the basis for a future broad and hopefully coral work where we could explore and refine the theoretical assumptions generated by the 'hybrid methodology' to reach a better utilization of this methodology for historical aims.

At the moment we can only make a partial consideration on the results because we consider impossible to propose an interdisciplinary structural analysis model through a single work.

The present work has anyway achieved its goal in placing elements of analysis of the human reality typical of other disciplines in the historical research, not yet used for this aim until now. This work also provided the occasion to glimpse the freedom that, probably, existed in the participating to the different Parliaments of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon. It is assumed that there were several elites belonging to a small number of families, which were more or less close to the royal house. Some exponents had the opportunity, and maybe the assignment, to participate to the parliamentary meetings of different kingdoms. Moreover, it has been noted that the Principality of Catalonia firmly legislated for the Kingdom of Sardinia until the first decades of the fifteenth century. The taking in charge of the political-institutional and economic functioning of a kingdom added in royal Union (the Crown of Aragon) through the Catalan *Corts* seems to be a common practice of the fourteenth century. This habit seems to be dissolved at about the end of the fifteenth century.



ASSAULTS, MURDERS, INSULTS AND BLASPHEMIES: RURAL VIOLENCE IN THE FARMLANDS OF CORDOBA IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

This work examines violent actions and crimes committed in the farmlands around Cordoba, in the south of the Crown of Castile, during the Late Middle Ages. The first section deals with the sources used in this study, especially Cordoba's municipal archive and the records of court cases preserved in the archive of the Chancellery in Granada —a hitherto under-exploited source of information for the kingdom of Cordoba. Subsequently, I shall present some examples of personal confrontations that began with insults and threats and often led to physical assaults and murder. Then, I shall examine verbal insults and blasphemies, which were often the origins of more serious affrays, as well as their portrayal in the written record.¹

KEYWORDS

Violence, Castile, Kingdom of Cordoba, Farmlands, Late Middle Ages.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Violentia, Castella, Regnum Cordubae, Agri, Medium aevum ultimum.

1. Introduction

Violence in the Late Middle Ages has received much scholarly attention in various European countries, starting with Great Britain and France in the 1970s.² This trend did not begin in Spain until later, but since the 1990s there has been a substantial increase in the number of publications and scientific meetings on the topic,³ including a number of historiographical overviews.⁴ These publications have examined the concept of violence, and have attempted to characterise its different manifestations. Attention has been paid to the most common types of crime committed during the Middle Ages; the circumstances that triggered personal confrontations; the motivations behind criminal acts; the judicial processes; royal pardons; the character of judicial convictions; and the creation of the *Hermandad* as a policing institution against rural criminality, to mention but a few topics.

1. Used Abbreviations: AchGr, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada; AGS, Archivo General de Simancas; AHPCO, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba; AMCO, Archivo Municipal de Córdoba; LAC, Libro de Acta Capitular; PNCO, Sección de Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba; RGS, Registro General del Sello.

2. The abundant bibliography includes (but is by no means limited to): Bellamy, John G. *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages*. London-Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973; Given, Buchanan James. *Society and Homicide in Thirteenth-century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977; Carter Marshall, John. *Rape in Medieval England. An Historical and Sociological Study*. New York: University Press of America, 1985; Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997; Hanawalt, Bárbara. *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1979; also Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violent death in Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Century England". *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18 (1976): 297-320; Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violence in the Domestic Milieu of Late Medieval England", *Violence in Medieval Society*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000: 197-214; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape. Délinquance et criminalité dans la région d'Avignon au XIVe siècle*. Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1984; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial. Crime, état et société en France à la fin du moyen Age*, 2 vols. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1992, also Gauvard, Claude. "Conclusion", *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Age. Actes du XXXF Congrès de la SHMESP (Angers, 2000)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001: 369-391 and Gauvard, Claude. "La violence commanditée. La criminalisation des 'tueurs à gages' aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge". *Annales Histoire. Sciences Sociales*, 5 (2007): 1005-1029; Bourin, Monique; Chevalier, Bernard. "Le comportement criminel dans les pays de la Loire Moyenne, d'après de lettres de rémission (vers 1380-vers 1450)". *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 88 (1981): 245-263 and Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village. Sociabilité et comportements populaires en Artois du XVe au XIIe siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989.

3. Among the most recent are: Munita Loinaz, José Antonio, ed. *Conflicto, violencia y criminalidad en Europa y América. IV Jornadas de Estudios Históricos del Departamento de Historia Medieval, Moderna y de América (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 11-13 de noviembre de 2002)*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2004; Iglesia Duarte, José Ignacio de la, ed. *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales (Nájera, 4-8 de agosto de 2003)*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004; Sabaté i Currul, Flocel, ed. *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004)*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2005 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo, ed. *Mujer, marginación y violencia entre la Edad Media y los tiempos modernos*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2006.

4. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. "La delincuencia a fines de la Edad Media. Un balance historiográfico". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 20 (1993): 335-350; Segura Urra, Felix. "La historia de la delincuencia en la España Medieval (1998-2008)". *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 273-340 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Conflictividad social en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media: aproximación historiográfica". *Vínculos de Historia*, 3 (2014): 34-53.



Works that focus on Andalusia and, specifically, on the kingdom of Cordoba, are few, being restricted to Emilio Cabrera and Ricardo Córdoba's contributions,⁵ although recent publications are beginning to expand our knowledge of different aspects of conflict in the city and its hinterland.⁶ Most of these recent works, however, cover the whole of Andalusia and only provide a very general overview of criminality and violence in the kingdom of Cordoba. The aim of this article, therefore, is to examine in more detail the gravity and frequency of violent events in the rural areas of Cordoba, especially in the farmlands to the south of the city. Focus will not be limited to blood crimes, which are relatively well represented in the written sources, but will also extend to the crucial theme of verbal aggression, especially insults and blasphemies. Different types and levels of confrontation will be examined, ranging from mere verbal fights to murder, which will allow us to reappraise the social role of conflict in 15th-century Cordoba and its more violent countryside.

5. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Usurpación de tierras y abusos señoriales en la Sierra cordobesa durante los siglos XIV y XV", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval II*. Cordoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978: 33-80; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia en Andalucía durante el siglo XV", *La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492). Actas de las III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval*, Antonio María Claret García Martínez, Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero Camacho, eds. Seville: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1991: II, 1063-1079; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo en Andalucía durante el siglo XV". *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval*, 1 (1994): 9-38; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Violencia urbana y crisis política en Andalucía durante el siglo XV", *Violencia y conflictividad en la sociedad de la España bajomedieval*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1995: 5-25; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Conflictos en el mundo rural. Señores y vasallos", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, ed. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia y adulterio en la Andalucía bajomedieval", *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: La sociedad medieval andaluza. Grupos no privilegiados*. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984: 263-273; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia sexual en la Andalucía del siglo XV", *Las mujeres en Andalucía. Actas del II Encuentro Interdisciplinar de Estudios de la Mujer en Andalucía*, Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1993: II, 105-126; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El instinto diabólico. Agresiones sexuales en la Castilla medieval*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1994; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Adulterio, sexo y violencia en la Castilla medieval". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Historia Moderna*, 7 (1994): 153-184; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia cotidiana en Castilla a fines de la Edad Media", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 393-444; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Marginación social y criminalización de las conductas en la sociedad hispana bajomedieval". *Medievalismo*, 13-14 (2004): 193-322 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba- Ayuntamiento de Durango, 2007. (Initially published in *Clío & Crimen*, 2 (2005): 277-504).

6. Carpio Dueñas, Juan Bautista. "Escándalos, alborotos, bandos y parcialidades. Los conflictos políticos de la segunda mitad del siglo XV y su incidencia en el mundo rural", *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Emilio Cabrera*, Ricardo Córdoba, José Luís del Pino, Margarita Cabrera, eds. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2015: 79-92; Pino García, José Luis del. "Usurpaciones de bienes realengos en Córdoba durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV", *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Emilio Cabrera*, Ricardo Córdoba, José Luís del Pino, Margarita Cabrera, eds. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2015: 431-466 and López Rider, Javier. "Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla. Conflictividad rural en el sur de la Córdoba bajomedieval". *Ámbitos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 40 (2018): 11-25.



2. The sources

Some years ago, it was argued that studying violence in southern Spain in the Late Middle Ages was a task rife with difficulties. The main problem is the scarcity of documentation for Castile prior to the 15th century, and the indirect nature of the written sources that exist.⁷ Unlike other regions, such as Valencia, where the archives are more substantial and provide detailed information,⁸ in Castile the record barely allows for the reconstruction of crimes, their perpetrators and circumstances, the sentences passed by the courts and, perhaps more importantly, witness statements and interrogations.⁹ As pointed out by Ricardo Córdoba, for the Crown of Castile the historian is to a large extent limited to the *Registro General del Sello*, *Archivo General de Simancas*, where the information available is, at any rate, succinct, and to the notarial protocols of Castilian cities, where hardly any documents that predate 1460 exist.¹⁰ In most cases, the information available refers to the mid- or the late 15th century. The documentation includes royal letters of pardon and the Crown's instructions concerning specific investigations and arrests. Notarial books make sporadic reference to violent events, but the information provided is brief and unreliable, and leaves little scope for a detailed study.¹¹ Sometimes, municipal archives, in Cordoba and the rest of Castilian cities, keep records of protests filed by the citizens, which occasionally describe violent episodes. For example, in the late 14th century, the inhabitants of the parish of Santiago, Cordoba, refused to pay certain taxes and, after pelting the tax collector Mateo Sánchez with stones and stabbing him, abandoned him to lie on the street.¹² As a rule, however, this source of information is not very eloquent, and only provides a very concise description of events.

7. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad en la Castilla bajomedieval: los límites de la documentación", *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004), Flocel Sabaté i Currul, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2005: 319-338.

8. Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia ciudadana en la Valencia bajomedieval (1369-1399)*. Valencia: Premio Senyera, 1990; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "Las fuentes valencianas para la historia de la criminalidad", *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004), Flocel Sabaté i Currul, Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2005: 349-375. This notwithstanding, there are some outstanding works about violence and criminality in Castile: Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad en el País Vasco en la transición de la Edad Media a Moderna*. Vitoria: Departamento de Interior, 1995; and Bazán, Iñaki. "La criminalización de la vida cotidiana. Articulación del orden público del control social de las conductas", *La vida cotidiana en Vitoria en la edad moderna y contemporánea*. San Sebastian: Txertoa Argitaletaria, 1995: 141-154; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión en la Castilla bajomedieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999; Lojo Piñero, Fernando. *A violencia na Galicia do século XV*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1991.

9. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia...": 1066.

10. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El instinto diabólico...*: 11-12; and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...": 320-321.

11. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo, "Violencia cotidiana...": 393-398.

12. Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. "Luchas nobiliarias y movimientos populares en Córdoba a fines del siglo XIV", *Tres estudios de historia medieval*. Cordoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1977: 13-65, 43-47.



Concerning the study of violence in rural areas, which is the specific purpose of this article, the most eloquent sources are those which deal with jurisdictional conflicts between towns and those which are concerned with personal confrontations over the use of economic resources.¹³ For the southern farmlands, I shall be using hitherto unused forensic documentation, which is currently preserved in the municipal archive of Cordoba (sections *Policía urbana y rural*, *Terrenos realengos*, *Términos jurisdiccionales*, *Predios rústicos y Sentencias de términos*).¹⁴ Sometimes, these documents describe blood crimes, especially assaults and physical injuries. The court cases stored in the archive of the royal chancellery of Granada, on the other hand, provide much richer information, concerning both physical and verbal attacks. Witness statements, taken from people living near the location of the events, provide us with detailed descriptions of said events; occasionally, these statements come from the victims or the perpetrators themselves. In any case, Ricardo Córdoba pointed out that witnesses were often influenced by the parts and even bribed to give a certain version of events, muddle the truth or exaggerate the facts to ensure that the defendant was met with harsher punishment; thus, we must approach these documents with caution.¹⁵ How often such episodes of corruption happened can be inferred from the general oath that witnesses had to pronounce in front of the judge; after stating their name and age, witnesses declared *que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes en ningún grado e que venza el pleito el que tuviese justicia* o *que no ha sido sobornado ni dadivado ni atemorizado por ninguno dellos para que diga e disponga esta cabsa el contrario de la verdad*.¹⁶

Despite these caveats, these sources greatly contribute to fill the lacunae left unfilled by the notarial protocols and the *Registro General del Sello*. Unfortunately, records that predate the 15th century are as scarce in the municipal archive of Cordoba and the chancellery of Granada as they are everywhere else, and we can only hope to gain a glimpse of earlier periods on the rare occasions when elderly people recollect events that occurred when they were young.

3. Threats and cartas de seguro

Threats were a common occurrence in the Late Middle Ages, as they were a natural consequence of personal rivalries and confrontations. The ubiquity and intensity of threats at that time may be inferred from the pervasiveness of the co-

13. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo...": 11-13.

14. Some of these sections have been previously used by other historians, and some of them have been cited above; however, our knowledge of violence in Cordoba during the Late Middle Ages has received little specific attention, especially for the rural areas.

15. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...": 327.

16. "Not to be a relative of any of the parts, and [were] willing for the tribunal to act as is just, giving true testimony driven by neither bribe nor threat from any of the parts". This is shown in any medieval lawsuit.



called *cartas de seguro* (“letters of security”); these were documents that afforded people some protection against physical violence and murder. Threats attested in the record are generally direct, and were often reinforced by some menacing physical gesture, which aimed to intimidate the victim even further. In rural locations, this gesture often included scattering the victim’s livestock, taking some of his or her possessions, and even attacking him or her with stones or clubs. In 1481, an inhabitant of the village of Santaella, Antón Ruiz de Aguilar, declared that one of his neighbours, Alfon Ruiz de las Infantas, and his relatives, had taken possession of a property —later known as the *cortijo* of Barrionuevo— *por fuerça lo defendían (...) que los corryan y amenazavan y que algunos apaleaban y de tal manera lo fasian que nadie no osava yr por allá ni entrar dentro con sus ganados ni a faser leña (...)*.¹⁷ Several years later, Alfon’s descendant, Aldonza de las Infantas, and her husband, Luis Ponce de León, took this attitude even further, stopping the inhabitants of Santaella from entering a royal highway that was traditionally used by locals to fetch firewood. According to Antón García’s account:

*Por mandado de la dicha doña Aldonça o de su marido, que an defendido e defienden el dicho camino, e que este testigo vido que porque pasó un moçacho de Pedro Ruiz Almogávar por el dicho camino con leña que traía de lo realengo, le prendaron e quitaron por prenda unas sogas e un capote e que fasta oy nunca se lo an vuelto (...) e asy mesmo vido este testigo que porque atravesó un Juan Chicón, vecino desta dicha villa, con leña viniendo de lo realengo por tierra de la dicha doña Aldonça, le tomaron un capote por prenda e que nunca se lo an dado e que esto pueden aver un año e que asy mesmo a oýdo dezir que a todos los que pasan por el dicho camyno con bestias los prendan e penan.*¹⁸

For his part, Alonso García de la Fuente recalls that he *envió un moço por leña a los montes realengos e que viniendo cargado con su leña por Barrio Nuevo, salió el mayordomo Aranda a él e que acuchilló las sogas e le derribó las cargas en el suelo e que le tomó un hocino e un capote e una halda e ge las llevó (...)*.¹⁹ Antón Ruiz de Juan Esteban claimed that *Luys prendó a este testigo una ves, porque yva por agua a la fuente en un asno y le levó un par de pollos por pena, que una vez por otra, el asno con los cántaros le levó y los cántaros quebró*.²⁰ Aldonza’s son Martín continued with the “family tradition” of pestering the neighbours. In this case, the threats were made in no uncertain terms.

17. “Forcefully defended it [...] with such threats and clubbing that nobody dared go there to graze the animals or gather firewood”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 109v (30th October 1513).

18. “On [the] orders of doña Aldonça or her husband, the road is closed, and I’ve seen Pedro Ruiz Almogávar’s lad walking that path with some firewood that he’d collected from the royal land, and they took his cloak as punishment and never gave it back (...) and I’ve also seen Juan Chicón, who lives in the village, carrying firewood collected from the king’s estate down that same path, which runs across doña Aldonça’s land, and how they took his cloak too, and he’s never had it back. I’ve heard that they also punish everyone who comes down that road with animals”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 109v (30th October 1513).

19. “Sent a lad to the king’s land to get firewood, and as he returned through Barrio Nuevo, the butler Aranda came out, cut the ropes of the firewood bundle and took the lad’s cloak and doublet”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 31v (30th October 1513).

20. “Luys attacked me once, as I was on my way to take some water with my ass (...) and my jugs ended up broken”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 70v (19th October 1513).



According to Antón Ruiz de Gálvez, mayor and inhabitant of Santaella, in 1511 Martín stopped Pedro García de Valderrama from coming to the spring, *llevándole de pena 4 reales porque entró a beber la dicha agua con los dichos puercos, e que el dicho don Martín en persona, le dijo al dicho porquero que no volviese más ally sino que le mandaría dar de palos (...)*.²¹ Bartolomé Sánchez Ballestero, inhabitant of La Rambla, was told not to enter the estate of Montemayor, which was common property, because otherwise *veréis si os valdría la corona*.²² Alonso Rodríguez de Estúñiga confronted one of Pedro Jurado's guards, who left saying *que iba a Montemayor a llamar a Pedro jurado e que juraba por Dios que le avían de llevar a Montemayor maniatado (...)* *que le avian de alancear*.²³ Bartolomé Sánchez, a shepherd and foreman of Juan de Góngora, knight *veinticuatro* in Cordoba, denounced a servant of justice Bañuelo because he had *corrieron a este testigo una manada de ovejas paciendo las hierbas en el término realengo y concejil (...)* *y se lo echaron fuera de allí*; he also claimed he was told *quel dicho jurado mandaba faser así e que amenazaron a este testigo diziéndole que sy volvía más allí con las dichas ovejas, le prendarían e aun le descalabrarian (...)*.²⁴ In another lawsuit from 1510, Andrés Fernández Pastor also testified against justice Bañuelo:

*Que estando este testigo e otro pastor guardando vna manada de ovejas en los baldíos de la faça las Marranas e de los Pinedas, las quales dichas tierras no están labradas, vido este testigo cómo vino el dicho jurado Luys de Bañuelo, cuyas son las dichas tierras, con ciertos criados suyos e esclavos, a las dichas tierras e echó a este testigo e al otro pastor e al ganado fuera de las dichas tierras, amenazándolos que los avia de prender sy durmyan allí de noche con el ganado, e que asy mesmo el dicho jurado Bañuelo, no contento con lo suso dicho, vio este testigo como dijo a sus mozos 'quemaldes todos su fato e las redes' e que el dicho jurado o sus criados, le tomaron a este testigo e a su compañero, tres pellejos de ovejas mayores e dos pellejos de corderos e la red donde tenía este testigo las dichas ovejas, vido este testigo como en presençia del dicho jurado le pusieron fuego e la quemaron e que los pellejos o los quemaron o se los llevaron e que sy no fuera porque dijo vn fijo del dicho jurado que no les quemase todo el hato, se lo quemaran todo e les quebraron los cántaros (...) e que después que se avia ydo de allí el dicho jurado, dijeron los dichos sus moços a altas bozes 'biba el jurado que otra fisa e saliose por ella e también se saldrá agora con esta'.*²⁵

21. "Taking 4 reales from him, just because he'd gone to drink from the spring with his pigs, and Martín himself told [Pedro] not to come back, or he'd have him beaten up". AMCO. C-277. doc. 4, ff. 16v-17r (18th October 1516).

22. "The king himself will not be able to protect [him]". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

23. "He was on his way to Montemayor to tell Pedro Jurado, and swore by God that they were to take [Alonso] in shackles to Montemayor (...) and he also swore to stab him". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

24. "A flock of sheep that were grazing in the king's and the council's estate disbanded" (...) "the justice decided what could and couldn't be done on that land, and that if [Bartolomé] dared return, he'd be arrested and even beaten up". AMCO. C-1027. doc. 31-1, no folio (7th February 1518).

25. "I was with another shepherd looking after a flock of sheep in the barren lands of faça las Marranas and los Pinedas; these lands were not farmed, but justice Luys de Bañuelo, who owns this land, and some of his servants and slaves, kicked us and our animals out, telling us that if we stayed overnight with the animals we'd be arrested, and not content with this, justice Bañuelo told one of his men to burn all our things, and they took three hides of sheep and two hides of lamb and they set fire to them or took them away. And if one of the men of the justice had not asked him not to burn all our things, we would



Another interesting case was recalled by the shepherd Juan Martín, inhabitant of Villalpando. As he was on his way south, he went through the *cortijo* of Fuencubierta, in the farmlands, where he was accosted by the farmer Pedro de Hoces:

Lo tomó uno de los dichos arrendadores que se llama Luys Pérez y que iba a caballo con una lanza y le dijo a este testigo que le diese una prenda y el testigo dijo que lo que le plasía, y se le llevó una burra, y dijo que como no estaba contento con aquella prenda sino que se avia de debarcar los çapatos este testigo, y que este testigo que se los descalçó, e los puso en el suelo e que con el fierro de la lança los alcançó del suelo e se los llevó e dejó descalço a este testigo, e que le dijo el dicho arrendador a este testigo que sy supiera que este testigo syn mandargelo su amo oviera entrado en el dicho cortijo con el dicho ganado, que a este testigo alañçería allí, e que sy allí tuviera al dicho jurado Uzeda, su amo, que también lo alañçería (...).²⁶

Juan López Crespo was a farmer, and he had another similar case to recount:

Una vez vio que unos pastores de Lorenzo de las Infantas, pasó con su ganado por la cuesta de Abencáñez e lo quisieron prender los guardas de Fernán Núñez, y que los pastores de Lorenzo se defendieron y no los prendaron. Después estos guardas fueron a Fernán Núñez e se lo dijeron lo ocurrido a Alonso de los Ríos, señor que era en ese momento de Fernán Núñez. Este envió a dos caballeros suyos para que los aguardasen e los prendasen en la sierra de la cuesta de Abencáñez, e los desnudaron hasta dejarlos en camisones e les llevaron las prendas a Fernán Núñez (...).²⁷

As a result of these frequent threats and the intimidating behaviour, many people requested letters of security from the Crown. In the north of the kingdom of Cordoba, 30 inhabitants of Gahete and their procurator, who were fearful of Vasco Alfonso de Sosa, were granted one such letter;²⁸ in the village of Las Posadas, a Diego Díaz applied for a letter of security because he was scared of two former justices and the family of the mayor Antonio de Benavides.²⁹ In the south of the kingdom, Andrés de

have lost the lot, and our jugs would have been broken (...) and after the justice was gone, some of his men shouted "hail the justice, who gets away with everything and will get away with this too". AMCO. C-1027. doc. 31-2, no folio (10th March 1515).

26. "One of the tenants, called Luys Pérez, who was on horseback and carrying a lance, asked the witness to give him something as a form of punishment, and the witness said that [Luys] may take what he pleased, and so [Luys] took a donkey, but not being content with that, he asked the witness to take his shoes off. The witness did so, and left the shoes on the ground, where [Luys] picked them up with the lance and left him barefoot. The tenant also told the witness that if he ever saw him again inside those lands without his master's permission and with the animals, the witness would be speared down, and if [the witness's] master, justice Uzeda, was there, he would be speared down too". AMCO. C-171. doc. 15, no folio (8th September 1513).

27. "Once, some of Lorenzo de las Infantas's shepherds were walking up the slope of Abencáñez, and the guards of Fernán Núñez tried to arrest them, but the shepherds defended themselves and no arrests could be made. Afterwards, the guards went to Fernán Núñez and told Alonso de los Ríos, who was at the time lord of the village. The lord sent two of his knights to arrest the shepherds at Abencáñez; there, [the shepherds] were stripped naked and their clothes taken to Fernán Núñez (...)". AchGr. leg. 1211, num. 1, no folio (16th century).

28. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Usurpación de tierras y abusos...": 52.

29. AGS. RGS, f. 295r (7th March 1494).



Morales was expelled from La Rambla after threatening certain witnesses who were going to declare against him;³⁰ Juan Sánchez de Écija and Martín Sánchez Zahonero were the first to request a letter of security against him,³¹ followed only a few days later by Gonzalo López Melero, Blas López, Miguel López, Bartolomé Sánchez and Antón Martínez, all from La Rambla.³² According to their testimony, Andrés de Morales accused them of *le tienen odio y enemistad y malisçia en su persona, y que si los denunciaba lo mataría, heriría, lisiaría, prendaría o tomaría u ocuparía sus bienes*.³³ In a similar case, Pedro de Aguilar and Alonso Pérez had been in constant conflict since 1518, until the latter ended up stabbing the former with a lance in 1524.³⁴

These examples demonstrate that, very often, personal confrontations began with threats and insults. Sometimes these invectives did not go any further, but on other occasions they soon evolved into something more serious, and were but the preamble to physical violence and, sometimes, murder.

4. Blood crimes: assaults and homicides

Late Medieval Spanish sources provide abundant information about personal disputes ending in violence. In the 1990s, Emilio Cabrera argued that Andalusia was the Spanish region where more blood crimes were committed between 1475 and 1485. Based on his estimates, during this period one crime was committed in Andalusia per every 4716 inhabitants, followed by the Basque Country, with one crime per 3086 inhabitants.³⁵ The accounts of the *Hermandad* suggest that many resources were committed to finding and arresting criminals all over the country, but the cities that absorbed the most policing resources were in Andalusia, with Jaén, Seville and Cordoba taking the lead.³⁶ The case files preserved in the *Registro General del Sello* and studied by Ricardo Córdoba record a total of 570 blood crimes in the period 1476-1496; 283 (49.6%) of these crimes took place in the kingdom of Seville, 158 (27.8%) in the kingdom of Cordoba, and 129 (22.6%) in the kingdom of Jaen.³⁷ This appears to confirm Emilio Cabrera's argument that Seville and Cordoba, followed by Jerez, Écija, Úbeda, Baeza and Carmona, were the most violent cities in

30. AGS. RGS, f. 104r (19th August 1490).

31. AGS. RGS, f. 157r (2nd July 1490).

32. López Rider, Javier. "Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...": 18.

33. "Hating him and wishing him ill, and [Andrés de Morales] had sworn to kill them, hurt them, cripple them, and take their property if they reported him". López Rider, Javier. "Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...": 18.

34. AHPCO. PNCO. 14146P, 5, f. 2r (5th April 1522).

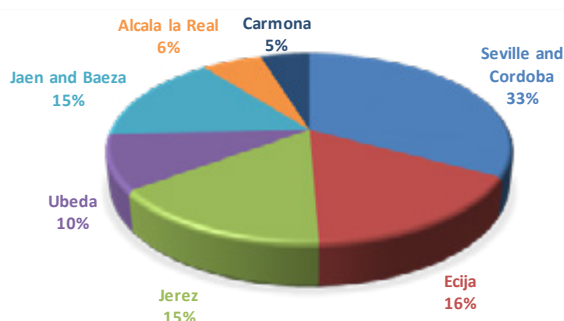
35. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo...": 14.

36. Sánchez Benito, José Manuel. "Criminalidad en la época de los Reyes Católicos. Delinquentes perseguidos por la Hermandad", *Estudios de Historia Medieval en homenaje a Luis Suárez Fernández*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991: 411-424, 413-415.

37. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 32.



the 15th century.³⁸ Ricardo Córdoba provides further confirmation of this. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of homicides in Andalusia. Seville and Cordoba combined account for almost one-third of the total (349 cases); it seems reasonable that the largest and most populous cities would witness more violent episodes.³⁹ At any rate, we must take into account that these figures are based on those cases which were reported to the courts, and we presume that further violent crimes, of which we know nothing, were committed.



GRAPH 1. DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDES IN ANDALUSIA IN 1477-1496.⁴⁰

In any case, it seems that Cordoba suffered from a high crime rate for the size of its population. This is not exclusive to the Christian period. María Arcas collected 20 examples of crimes committed, most of which occurred in the city of Cordoba, during the 10th and 11th centuries, homicides being particularly common.⁴¹ We may linger for a moment on one of these cases dated to the Andalusi period: a man called Ibn Barīha or Burayha was accused of injuring several people, of engaging in cases of corruption and of causing material damages in the farmlands; despite this, only Muhammad b. Kulayb or Kalīb could present evidence against him. After being

38. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo...": 16.

39. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 46-47; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia...": 1073; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo...": 16 and Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violent death ...": 301.

40. Figure after data published in Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 33.

41. Arcas Campoy, María. "Fuentes sobre los delitos de sangre en al-Andalus: dos ejemplos referidos a Córdoba (siglos X-XI) y la frontera oriental Nazarí (siglo XV)". *Clío e Crimen*, 10 (2013): 95-109.

sentenced, Ibn Barīha mended his ways, fasting during the month of Ramadan and reading the Quran, which helped him to regain his freedom.⁴²

4.1 Types of assault and murder

The sources attest to a large number of assaults and murders occurring in the farmlands of Cordoba during the 15th century. These episodes can be divided into different categories. The most common are assaults that caused some bodily harm to the victim, especially to the head and face.⁴³ Amputations resulting from injuries caused by lances, daggers, swords, stones or arrows, are also attested.⁴⁴ Juan Gómez el Rogado, an inhabitant of La Rambla, recalled that, when he was in the centre of the village, *hubo ciertas palabras críminosas entre él y Juan de Lucena, vecino de la dicha villa y llegado a efecto Juan de Lucena le hubo herido en la cabeza*; however, he pardoned his attacker because Juan de Lucena had helped him to recover from his injuries with 166 reales.⁴⁵ Head injuries are generally referred to using the expressions *escalabraron* or *descalabraron* (literally, “broken head”). In 1492, Juan de Montilla, an inhabitant of Fernán Núñez, declared that people *que algunas veces quisieron ascalabrar a este dicho testigo porque pasavan los bueyes por su tierra, por cabo el camyno de la Ranbla*.⁴⁶ Martín Ruiz Escribano declared that *unos criados deste testigo, porque entraron a dar agua en la dicha fuente a unas ovejas suyas, los descalabraron por ello y que así se pusieron a defender que no entrasen los dichos ganados a dar agua en la dicha fuente (...)*.⁴⁷ Antón López de Almogávar recalled that *una vez por estar el dicho Juan López borracho, en tiempo de agosto, se descalabraron en la segada con unos de Espejo, puede haber nueve años*.⁴⁸ The use of a water spring called Alcoba, in the *cortijo* of Barrionuevo, was the motivation behind the extreme violence unleashed by a group of men on the orders of Aldonza de las Infantas. Hernando de Palma, inhabitant of La Rambla, claimed that these men not only burned the camp of a group of shepherds who were nearby but also stabbed some of them. A testimony from 1506 explains the circumstances of this case in the following terms:

42. Arcas Campoy, María. “Fuentes sobre los delitos...”: 99.

43. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Crimen y castigo...”: 22; Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 37 and Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 234.

44. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia cotidiana...”: 411 and Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Sobre la violencia...”: 1074-1076.

45. “Had some words with Juan de Lucena, one of his neighbours, and ended up taking an injury to the head”. AHPCO. PNCO. 14131P, 3, f. 37v (13th December 1493).

46. “Tried to *ascalabrar* him several times, for taking his oxen down the road of La Rambla”. AMCO. C-258. doc. 3, no folio (7th December 1492).

47. “Some people who claimed ownership of the water spring *descalabraron* several of my servants who had gone there with some sheep”. AchGr. leg. 2468, num. 8, no folio (1519).

48. “One day during the August harvest, about nine years ago, Juan López and others, on account of being drunk, got into a fight with some people from Espejo, and they *descalabraron* each other”. AchGr. leg. 2468, num. 8. ff. 109v, 114r-114v, 116r and 119v (1519).



*Ha visto estar acuchillados a los pastores de Martin Escrivano, vecino de la Rambla, e porque entraban a beber las aguas de Barrio nuevo el alto e del cortijo bajo, que sabe que un Juan de Madrid, vecino de Santaella, teniendo su ganado en el baldío de dicho cortijo el bajo, fueran contra él e sus pastores quatro ombres por mandado de la dicha doña Aldonza, e que ellos asy lo decían que venían en su nombre, e le quemaron el sombrero e le tomaron una hazada por prenda (...).*⁴⁹

Juan Conde, *alcalde* of the *Hermandad* and resident of Santaella, was even more explicit. He stated he heard that *oído diz que unos pastores del dicho contador del Marqués de Priego, avían acuchillado a otro pastor de un vecino de la Rambla, e que le dieron tales cuchilladas que les paresçen la asadura, porque avía estado con sus ganados en la fuente (...).*⁵⁰ Juan de la Puente reported Francisco, the servant of Gonzalo Contador, because during the festivity of San Miguel Juan took his sheep to the well at Barrionuevo, but a number of farmhands that were there did not let him. According to the witness, *e le echó y defendió que no bebiese de la dicha agua y no contento con lo susodicho le acuchillaron e le dyeron muchas heridas de que llegó a punto de morir.*⁵¹ Referring to the same well, Martín Ruiz declared that two of his shepherds who went there to drink, “*Juan de la Puente and Pedro de Castilla*”, were also stabbed.⁵² Sometime later, the attackers apologised and *enviaron a rogar a este testigo que fiziese a los heridos que los perdonase e aquellos querían pagar la cura (...).*⁵³

Similarly, the confrontation between the inhabitants of the villages of Montalbán and Aguilar, over the use of a meadow for grazing, led to numerous tense situations. On one occasion, Marcos Alonso Doblas the Elder, from La Rambla, declared that, around 1502 *vn pastor con ganados ovejunos del contador de don Alonso, que entra en la dicha dehesa con las dichas ovejas, y que los dichos labradores y renteros lo fueron a prender, y que entonces y porque no les quiso dar la prenda, que lo acuchillaron.*⁵⁴ In the late 15th century, violent confrontations between the people of the manorial village of Montemayor and the royal village of La Rambla were common. For instance, Alonso Cofrade, resident of La Rambla, suffered an attack and was wounded *huyendo dellos*,

49. “I saw the shepherds of Martin Escrivano, from La Rambla, stabbed because they had entered to drink the water of Barrio nuevo, in the lower cortijo, and a Juan de Madrid, from Santaella, having his animals in the uncultivated part of that cortijo, was set upon by four men on the orders of doña Aldonza, and they burnt his hut and took his cloak as a token”. AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, no folio (20th September 1516).

50. “The shepherds of the purser of the Marqués of Priego, had stabbed another shepherd, working for a resident of La Rambla, and so many times that his guts were showing, for no other reason than going to the well with his animals”. AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, no folio (20th September 1516).

51. “They did not let him in to drink, and not content with that, they stabbed him many times, and caused him so many wounds that he nearly died”. AMCO. C-1031. doc. 5, no folio (30th October 1513).

52. AMCO. C-1031. docs. 5 and 6, no folio (30th October 1513).

53. “Called this witness, to ask for the injured men’s pardon, and to offer to pay for the cure”. AMCO. C-1031. doc. 6, no folio (30th October 1513).

54. “A shepherd leading the sheep of don Alonso, entered the meadow with his animals, and the farmhands and tenants set upon him, and because he refused to go, they stabbed him”. AchGr. leg. 951, num. 3, no folio (11th March 1503).



*lo persiguieron con ballestas armadas y por defenderse le dieron una cuchillada en el oreja izquierda, y mostróla, y que le llevaron todas las cosas susodichas.*⁵⁵

Murders and homicides were also common in the farmlands of Cordoba, and some of the murderers attained great notoriety. The charter granted by Ferdinand III to the city establishes two kinds of homicide: those caused by negligence and those caused by malice. Concerning the former:

*Si algún hombre incurriere en homicidio u otro crimen, sin su voluntad, y lo probare con testigos verídicos, si presentare fiador, no sea recluso en la cárcel; pero si no tuviere fiador, no sea conducido fuera de Córdoba, sino que sea custodiado en la cárcel de la ciudad y pague la quinta parte de la multa nada más. Si se le acusase de muerte sospechosa de cristiano, de moro o judío, y no hubiere testigos verídicos y fieles, júzguenle conforme al Libro de los jueces.*⁵⁶

Concerning wilful homicide, however, the charter stated that *quien matare a hombre no apercebido para tal daño, con el mal no hubieren mediado antes palabras injuriosas ni disputa ni contienda, ni en el momento de la muerte ni antes, muera por ello y pierda todos sus bienes y tómelos el Rey.*⁵⁷ This definition of homicide remained in place during the reign of Alfonso X, who included it in the *Partidas* and the *Fuero Real*, where a distinction is made between homicide *por ocasion* (“incidental or accidental”), and *culposo* (“committed with full knowledge of the nature of the action”).⁵⁸ The record attests to numerous fights that resulted in death. In 1484, Juan de Lucena tried to obtain a royal pardon for the murder of Antón de Dios in the village of La Rambla by joining the army in Teba and Ardales.⁵⁹ In 1487, Martín de Palma, from Santaella, was granted a privilege and pardon in Antequera after murdering another man in that same city ten years earlier.⁶⁰ A substantial number of murderers were awarded the so-called *homiciano* privilege, which was a letter, addressed to the Royal Council, from a castle commander or a council official: this letter certified that the murderer had been serving at the frontier and thus had earned the Crown’s pardon. Frontier outposts from which these letters were particularly common include

55. “As he ran, but they chased him with crossbows, and when he tried to defend himself, they stabbed him in the left ear, and took all of his possessions”. AchGr. leg. 952. num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

56. “If someone commits homicide, or some other crime, against his will, and he can prove it with reliable witnesses or a guarantor, he will not be put in jail; should he lack a guarantor, let him not be exiled but locked in, and his fine will be one-fifth of the normal amount. Should he be accused of killing a Christian, a Muslim or Jew, and no reliable witness can be found, let him be judged according to the Book of Judges”. Hurtado de Molina Delgado, Julián. *Delitos y penas en los fueros de Córdoba y Molina*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2003: 214.

57. “Whoever killed another without warning, without previous exchange of angry words, or other impassioned exchange, at the time of the death or beforehand, let him be executed and his property pass to the King”. Hurtado de Molina Delgado, Julián. *Delitos y penas...*: 214-215.

58. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...”: 331-332 (*Partida VII, título VIII, leyes 2 and 3; and Fuero Real, libro IV, título VII, ley 6*).

59. AGS. RGS, f. 114r (21st July 1484).

60. AGS. RGS, f. 249r (15th October 1487).



Santa Fe, Salobreña, Jimena, Íllora, Alhama and Xiquena, among others.⁶¹ There is also evidence for Good Friday pardons, which were quite common in Castile.⁶² A document from 1493 grants this pardon to Pedro de Santaella, who was accused of having killed *a vna mujer del partido que se llamaba la Cardenosa* in 1491.⁶³ Duels were not an unknown way to settle personal differences. In the testimony of Juan Ruiz de Gálvez, the following was noted:

*Puede haber veynte años que vio este testigo en el anoria que está a los olivares de la Ranbla, que el dicho Martín Gómez, tinajero, e Juan de Salamanca Capano, vesynos de la Ranbla, se desafiaron e se salieron a acuchillarse a la dicha anoria e allí vio que el dicho Martín Gómez dio una cuchillada al dicho Juan Salamanca en la garganta que sobre esta herida que murió en la dicha villa, e que oyó decir, que el dicho Martín Gómez mató otro hombre en Lucena.*⁶⁴

Several more residents of La Rambla confirmed this account. According to Pedro Jiménez de Laguna:

*Que hace 20 años o más, que vio enterrar a un vecino de la Rambla que no se acuerda de su nombre, que falleció de ciertas heridas que oyó decir en la dicha villa, que le había herido el dicho Martín Gómez Tinajero, y le vio este testigo andar ausentado de la dicha villa y que oyó decir este testigo que mató a otro hombre en Lucena.*⁶⁵

Alonso Gómez del Horno and Gonzalo Sánchez Granado also confirmed the murder and the subsequent disappearance of the murderer. In the words of the latter:

El dicho Martín Gómez Tinajero hirió a uno que se dice Juan Salamanca, vecino de La Rambla de una herida en el pescuezo de que murió porque este testigo lo vio herido y lo vio que murió de la dicha herida y le ayudó a enterrar y le vio al dicho Martín Gómez andar

61. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Fortalezas fronterizas con privilegio de homiciano en época de los Reyes Católicos", *IV Estudios de Frontera. Población y poblamiento. Homenaje al profesor Manuel González Jiménez*. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2006: 193-208.

62. González Zalacaín, Roberto José. "El perdón real en Castilla: una fuente privilegiada para el estudio de la criminalidad y la conflictividad social a fines de la Edad Media. Primera parte. Estudio". *Clío & Crimen*, 8 (2011): 290-352. The second part of the volume deals with the documentation: 354-454.

63. "A local woman known as la Cardenosa", AGS. RGS, f. 12r (13th April 1493).

64. "[It] Could be 20 years ago, that this witness was near the waterwheel by the olive groves of La Rambla, and saw Martín Gómez, potter, and Juan de Salamanca Capano, who were both residents in La Rambla, challenging each other with knives near the waterwheel, and Martín Gómez got Juan Salamanca on the throat, and he died soon after in the village; I've also heard that Martín Gómez also killed a man in Lucena". AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, no folio (17th January 1519).

65. "It was 20 years or more that a man from La Rambla, I forget his name, died of some wounds that, according to the rumours, were inflicted by Martín Gómez Tinajero, who disappeared from the village afterwards, and I also heard that this same person had killed somebody else in Lucena". AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, no folio (17th January 1519).



*ausente sobre la muerte de la dicha villa y se fue a vivir a Lucena adonde oyó decir que había matado a otro hombre.*⁶⁶

Also in La Rambla, there is evidence for an investigation, carried out in 1495, concerning Antón Ruiz de la Rambla, who was accused of having killed a man in 1492.⁶⁷ Also in the 1490s, two men from La Rambla —Pedro Fernández Ballester, better known as *Pedro Zamarrón*, and Diego Posero— were accused of having committed a murder at the very entrance to the church of the village of Fernán Núñez. Alfon Gómez de Juan Montilla, declared that he had heard in Fernán Núñez that *Pedro Fernández Ballester, que también dicen Pedro Zamarrón, él e Diego Posero, sacaron de la eglesia desta villa a vn ombre que se desçía Esteban Sánchez e que sacado, el dicho Diego Posero lo mató.*⁶⁸ Afterwards, the witnesses clarified that he knew all this because he had heard it from Miguel de Aguilar, who *vio todo aquello siendo mozo porque estaba en esos años sirviendo en la citada iglesia.*⁶⁹ The most detailed information was provided by Antón Gómez:

*Sacaron de la yglesia desta villa, con palabras, a un ombre que se llamaba Esteban Sánchez de Cabra, que estaba retraído en la dicha yglesia, disiendo que lo querían llevar a Montemayor, y él salió con ellos pensando que desçía verdad e que salido de la yglesia conoció que era engaño que le hacían e que se volvía corriendo a la dicha yglesia, e como se volvía para tornar a la dicha yglesia, que el dicho Pedro Zamarrón abrazó al dicho Esteban Sánchez e lo tuvo mientras el dicho Diego Posero le dio de puñaladas e lo mató, e esto que lo sabe porque luego a la hora, este testigo e otros muchos desta villa fueron a la dicha yglesia della e hallaron al dicho Esteban Sánchez muerto e algunas personas que vieron lo susodicho lo dijeron (...).*⁷⁰

Finally, in a witness account dated to 1514, Juan Ruiz declares knowing Juan Ruiz Pacheco *que es homeçida que mató vn hombre.*⁷¹

66. “Martin Gómez Tinajero injured another who was known as Juan Salamanca, from La Rambla, on the throat, and he died of this wound. I saw the injured man and helped to bury him. Martín Gómez left the village for Lucena, where I heard that he’d killed someone else”. AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, no folio (17th January 1519).

67. AchGr. leg. 1615. num. 8, no folio (27th February 1495).

68. “Pedro Fernández Ballester, also known as Pedro Zamarrón, and Diego Posero, dragged a man called Esteban Sánchez out of the church, and Diego Posero killed him”. AchGr. leg. 535. num. 3, f. 145r (25th February 1492).

69. “Witnessed these events when he was a lad, because he was an altar boy in that church”. AchGr. leg. 535. num. 3, f. 145r (25th February 1492).

70. “A man called Esteban Sánchez de Cabra, who was hiding in the church, was lured outside, with the promise that he would be taken to Montemayor. On coming out, he understood the trick, and tried to go back running into the church. At this point Pedro Zamarrón tackled him and held him, while Esteban Sánchez stabbed him and killed him. I know this because barely an hour later I went with some other residents of the village and found Esteban Sánchez dead outside, and some people who had witnessed the events told us what had happened”. AchGr. leg. 535. num. 3, f. 147r (25th February 1492).

71. “A murderer that killed a man”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 4, no folio (23rd October 1513).



4.2 Weapons

In the examples presented in the previous section, most criminal actions were committed with knives or daggers. It was, however, not uncommon for other weapons to be used in violent actions: for example, lances, crossbows and stones.⁷² Juan Alonso de Dueñas, resident from Santaella, declared that when he was a young man *el padre deste testigo dijo vna vez al dicho Alphon Ruiz de las Ynfantas, que por qué defendía los montes del Rey, que le dio vn contomazo con vna lança e le fyso callar que no ose desir más nada*.⁷³ In 1492, three farmhands (“Antón, known as Carcelero’s son, his servant, and Juan Castellano, a servant of Chacón”) used their lances and knives to wound Antón de Ávila, a shepherd at the service of Juan de Écija, and scattered his animals, near *cortijo del Tocino*. The most detailed account of these events came from the victim and includes the following:

*Que él yendo cuyo domingo a la hora del mediodía, poco más o menos, con su ganado, que guardaba del dicho Juan de Écija y cercándolo por el cortijo que dicen del Tocino, que vinieron a él tres hombres, los dos con dos lanzas y el otro con el puñal y que llevaba piedras en las manos dándose fama el uno al otro y que lo cual otro a otro y a otro, llegaron a este dicho testigo, y el primero que llegó que se llamaba Antón, fijo del Carcelero de la Rambla, y le echó un bote y entrole por el brazo en la mano que no llegó a la carne salvo entre la camisa y la carne y diola un palo con la dicha lanza, y el otro su criado le dio de palos hasta que quebró la lanza en la mano y que este dicho testigo les decía que lo dejasen y tomasen la prenda que pregonado estaba (...) y que no la quisieron sino que lo había dejar tendido allí, y que después dijeron ellos a este que degollase él una oveja allí, y que él quiso, diciendo que antes no quería, que la degollasen ellos si querían, a fin que anduvieron de tomar un cencerro y se lo quitaron y que echaron al ganado a menudo de su tierra y que porque unos con del dicho Juan de Écija, su amo, había dicho que por qué corrían el ganado, le dieron de palos hasta que dieron con él en suelo.*⁷⁴

Other residents of La Rambla declared that they were being attacked by certain people from Montemayor. Lázaro Calderón declared that *hace poco tiempo el concejo*

72. This is a well-known aspect of violence during this period: Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 188; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 186-189; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia...*: 74 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 56-68.

73. “Saw his father reprimanding Alphon Ruiz de las Ynfantas for taking over the King’s land, and beat him around with a lance, so he dared not reply”. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 101r (30th October 1513).

74. “Being on his way on the Sunday, approximately at mid-day, with the animals which he kept for Juan de Écija, when he was close to the so-called cortijo del Tocino [the witness] met three men, two armed with lances and one with a knife, and all also carrying stones. They were egging each other on, and when they got to where he was, the first one, named Antón, son of Carcelero, in La Rambla, thrust with his lance, and did not hurt him but the lance came between the flesh and the shirt, but [Antón’s] servant beat him up until the lance broke. The witness implored them to stop and to take whatever they wanted from him (...) but they left him lying there, and asked him to slaughter a sheep then and there, and he said that he wouldn’t, but that they could if they wanted to. In the end they took a cowbell from him and drove his animals away from the estate. Some other man, also working for Juan de Écija, asked them why were they scattering his master’s animals, and they beat him up as well until he fell down”. AMCO. C-257. doc. 7, no folio (29th October 1492).



de Montemayor a puesto guardas que defienden los dichos caminos e entradas en las dichas heredades.⁷⁵ Later he added that:

Un guarda que se dice Pedro Jurado, anda a caballo con una lanza y unas corazas vestidas y corre a los vecinos desta villa que tienen las dichas heredades. Y haçe 5 días, este testigo fue a su viña con sus tres fijos a hacer gavillas y que se venía por el camino real a esta villa y vino el dicho Pedro Jurado, guarda a caballo y armado con una lanza, y corrió tras ellos echándoles botes.⁷⁶

The previously mentioned Alonso Rodríguez de Estúñiga also claimed to have had an altercation with another of Montemayor's guards, who threatened to arrest him in Pedro Jurado's name. The guard asked Alonso for a hoe that he was carrying, and because Alonso refused *la dicha guarda terció su lanza para le dar un bote de lanza y la dicha guarda viendo que este testigo se ponía en gelaquitar ge la dejó (...)*.⁷⁷ This time, Alonso was victorious and managed to walk away unharmed; Antón Ruiz Escobar was not so lucky. He declared that, a year or so before his statement, he was hunting in a vineyard with his crossbow, but all of a sudden Pedro Jurado turned up and:

*Pedro Jurado, vecino de Montemayor, cabalgando en una yegua de silla y hablóle a este testigo, y este testigo a él y desque emparejó con este testigo púsole la mano a la llave de la ballesta y soltóla el dicho Pedro Jurado, y dijole a este testigo así se caza la tierra y tomóle la ballesta, e demandó la gafa, e este testigo no se la quería dar, y en esto vio este testigo otro hombre que venía con el dicho Pedro Jurado y llegó a ellos con una ballesta armada y el dicho Pedro Jurado le acometió con una lanza y este testigo les dio la gafa y llevósle la dicha ballesta y gafa (...).*⁷⁸

Pedro de Aguilar also suffered a lance injury at the hands of Alonso Pérez. They had been quarrelling since 1518, and insults and threats were commonly exchanged. One night, in June 1524:

Estando el dicho Pedro del Águila en la dicha villa de la Ranbla, en la calle que dizen la plaçuela de Polvadera, el dicho Alonso Pérez salió y vino contra el dicho Pedro del Águila con vna lança en las manos en cuerpo y vna espada y vn broquel y vn guante y vn caxquete con ánimo e yntinción de matar al dicho Pedro del Águila, y le tiró con la dicha lança muchos

75. "As of recently, the council of Montemayor has deployed guards on the roads and the entrance to those estates". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

76. "A guard known as Pedro Jurado rides around with lance and armour, and pesters the residents of [La Rambla] that he sees near those estates. And 5 days ago this witness was on his way to his vineyards with his three sons and Pedro Jurado made for them on their horse, and forced them to flee". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

77. "The guard prepared his lance for thrusting, which [Alonso] tried to take away from him". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).

78. "Pedro Jurado, from Montemayor, riding on a saddled mare, confronted this witness, who talked back to him, and put his hand on the witness's crossbow, and tried to take it from him, while also demanding he be given the witness's hooks, but the witness refused; at this point, a companion of Pedro Jurado turned up with a loaded crossbow, while Pedro Jurado thrust with his lance, so [that] the witness was forced to let go of the crossbow and the hooks". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, no folio (28th January 1525).



*botes de los quales le dió vna lançada en el muslo derecho que le cortó el cuero y carne y le saliό mucha sangre.*⁷⁹

In 1486, Cristóbal Cubero was attacked in *cortijo* La Culebrilla, near Santaella, by a group of farmhands armed with lances. The victim declared that:

*Que el martes pasado en la noche, primer día de agosto, pasando por el cortijo de la Culebrilla en término de Córdoba, Cristóbal Cubero y Cristóbal de Esmero, ambos de la dicha capitania y otros dos hombres de la capitania de don Francisco, dijeron a los que estaban en el dicho cortijo que les acogiesen allí por sus dineros dos o tres horas para que durmiesen allí. Y que luego más de 25 o 30 hombres labradores que estaban en el dicho cortijo salieron al dicho Cristóbal y a sus compañeros con lanzas, diciendo "a los putos ladrones" muchas veces, y que a la hora le dieron al dicho Cristóbal dos lanzadas en la espalda y otras dos lanzadas a un caballo rucio arrodado que traía, el cual caballo está a punto de muerte o cree que es muerto, por cuanto lo dejó en Écija, y pidió al dicho alcalde que le haga cumplimiento de justicia contra los sobredichos.*⁸⁰

Fuencubierta de Guadalmazán was violently claimed by Pedro de Hoces and his men, who victimised the shepherd Benito Ruiz, from Cordoba, who declared that Pedro de Hoces's men were always scaring and threatening the shepherds who were trying to graze or drink in the land of the *cortijo*, and that:

*A este testigo lo han defendido muchas veces y le han corrido los ganados y le han atemorizado para que no entrasen a beber las aguas o pastar las hierbas (...) y vio un criado del dicho Pedro de Hoces, el nombre del cual no se acuerda, defendió tres días el cortijo encima de un caballo con una lanza, un ballesta y un puñal, y que oyó decir que el dicho criado avía prendado y penado en el dicho cortijo a un pastor del jurado Uzeda.*⁸¹

At other times, when there were no other weapons to hand, people used stones. We can illustrate this point with two examples, dated to the late 15th and the early

79. "Pedro del Águila was in the village of La Rambla, in a street known as Plaçuela de Polvadera, when Alonso Pérez arrived and attacked Pedro del Águila with a lance". He was also armed with a sword, a shield, a gauntlet, and a helmet, and his intentions were to kill Pedro del Águila. And he thrust many times, and he once got [Pedro del Águila] in the thigh, and cut his skin and flesh, and much blood came out". AHPCO. PNCO. 14146P, 5, f. 2r (5th April 1522).

80. "Last Tuesday night, first day of August, as they were walking past cortijo la Culebrilla in the municipality of Cordoba, Cristóbal Cubero and Cristóbal de Esmero, (...) and another two men (...) offered some money to those in the cortijo for a few hours of shelter. But then 25 or 30 farmhands that were in the cortijo came out armed with lances, shouting "the dastardly thieves" repeatedly, and Cristóbal was stabbed twice with lances, and a horse that he had was stabbed twice as well, and the horse, which he left in Écija, is nearly dead or dead, and he has asked the city's mayor to punish the attackers". AHPCO. PNCO. 13666P, f. 506r (7th August 1486).

81. "This has happened to this witness many times; he's had his animals scattered; he's been threatened not to enter for water or pasture (...) and he's seen a servant of Pedro de Hoces, whose name he cannot remember, defend the estate on horseback for three days, armed with a lance, a crossbow and a dagger, and that this same man had set upon a shepherd at the service of justice Uzeda". AMCO. C-171. doc. 15, no folio (8th September 1513).



16th centuries. In 1498, Diego de Jerez recalled that, a month before he made his statement, he was walking the road between the village of La Rambla and the inn of Castañeda, *él y otros tres que con él iban, hubieron cierta cuestión y ruido con Pedro de Mora, pastor, y con otros gañanes, en el cual dicho cuestión dio a Pedro de Mora una pedrada en la cabeza, que ha estado mal hasta hoy en el hospital de la Santa Caridad de Jesucristo desta ciudad*.⁸² In the end, however, it seems that the injured party forgave the culprit. In a similar example, Miguel Fernández, resident of La Rambla, declared that:

*Vio guardando su ganado en el dicho cortijo e a la redonda deste e apacentándolo, que un boyero que guardaba los bueyes de los labradores de la dicha doña Aldonza, que solían en el dicho cortijo de Barrio nuevo, que no sabe cómo se llamaba, defendió a un cabrero que se dize Andrés de la Rambla, guardando un rebaño de cabras suyas e trayéndolo para beber a la dicha fuente, la defendió que no entrase a beber con las dichas cabras que an traído a la dicha fuente, e que por ello, los vio andar a pedradas deziendo el uno que avia de entrar a beber e el otro que no lo avia de entrar, e hasta que se dieron cada dos o tres pedradas en las costillas, pero que en fin no bebió el agua con los dichos ganados (...).*⁸³

The evidence suggests that most blood crimes perpetrated in the farmlands near Córdoba were committed with bladed weapons. This hypothesis is also reflected in the notarial records analysed by Ricardo Córdoba, which attest to the use of swords, daggers, knives, lances or javelins, but also, though less often, to stones and work tools.⁸⁴

4.3 Crime scenes

Crimes happened everywhere: cities, roads, fields and meadows could easily become a crime scene. According to Muchembled, 17% of the crimes committed in Artois occurred on the streets and the roads,⁸⁵ while Ricardo Córdoba argues that, in Cordoba, one in four criminal cases took place in a rural setting; the evidence for Ronda suggests a similar proportion in this municipality.⁸⁶ Juan Miguel Mendoza

82. "Along with another three men; [and] they had some altercation with the shepherd Pedro de Mora and a few more oafs like him, and Pedro de Mora was hit on the head with a stone, and to this day he remains in a bad way in the hospital of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo, in this city". AHPCO. PNCO. 14137P. 3, f. 14v (5th January 1498).

83. "He took his animals to said cortijo, when an ox driver in the service of Doña Aldonza, whose name he doesn't know, intercepted a shepherd who was on his way with his goats to the spring, and compelled him to go away by lobbing stones at him, and I saw both of them lobbing stones at one another, and they hit each other in the ribs several times, and in the end the shepherd and his goats went away without drinking". AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, no folio (20th September 1516).

84. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 61-69. 62% of the crimes attested were committed with bladed weapons, 31% with projectile weapons such as javelins, and 7% with other weapons.

85. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo, "Violencia cotidiana...": 402 and Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 145.

86. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 35-36 and Espejo, Juan Luis. "Sobre conflictividad social urbana. Violencia y agresión en Ronda a fines de la Edad Media", *Las ciudades*



has emphasised the prominence of isolated and solitary places, such as fields, remote hills and faraway roads, where the victim could not ask for help.⁸⁷ Places where a floating peasant population congregated following the agricultural cycle also feature prominently in the record as crime scenes. Farmhouses, inns, springs, flourmills, and other such locations were often witness to altercations, owing to the forced coexistence of a largely itinerant population; under these conditions, murders were not at all rare. This is what Inaki Bazán referred to as the “sociability of violence”.⁸⁸

Sometimes, the criminal acts stretched over the territory of different villages and the municipal territory of Cordoba. For instance, in 1478, Andrés de Morales *veinticuatro* in the city council of Cordoba, started raiding the vicinity of La Rambla. Juan de la Cruz, resident in Cordoba, claimed to be afraid of Andrés de Morales and requested a letter of security because *se teme y se reçela de Andrés de Morales, veçino desta dicha çibdad, de ciertas feridas que ciertos hombres suyos, por su mandado, le avian dado (...)*.⁸⁹ In 1490, a number of residents of La Rambla filed a collective complaint against the excesses committed by Andrés de Morales and his men. They claimed that:

*Defiende las tierras y montes que son comunes y realengos, como si fueran dehesas, prendándolos por entrar en ellas, y no queriendo devolver las prendas que así les hace, y además, no contento con esto, dis que va a la dicha villa e los desonrra pública mente. E asy mismo fasen ayuntamiento a alcaldes (...) e los corre e ençierra en sus casas.*⁹⁰

These complaints against Andrés de Morales did nothing but increase throughout the 1490s; some even claimed that *les entran en las casas a la medianoche*.⁹¹ In 1504, however, it was Andrés de Morales who reported Juan de Mesa, a junior bailiff, for *vna noche deste mes, le dio a un hijo del dicho Andrés de Morales una cuchillada en el brazo de que lo mancó*.⁹² Something similar occurred in 1489, when Vasco González, from Castro del Río, declared he had an open quarrel with Juan Zapatero concerning *ciertas heridas que hubo dado a su hijo y por las que quedó manco*.⁹³

andaluzas (siglos XIII-XVI). *Actas del VI Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991: 585-589, 588.

87. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 156-157.

88. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 205.

89. “He is afraid of Andrés de Morales, a resident of Cordoba, and of some of his men, who had hurt him”. AGS. RGS, f. 78r (8th December 1478) and López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 16.

90. “[Andrés de Morales] claims common and royal land for himself, taking the possessions of whomever dares enter this land, and doesn’t give them back, and not content with this, he follows them to the village and humiliates them in public. And he does this even to the town mayors (...) whom he chases until they hide in their homes”. AGS. RGS, f. 233r (14th August 1490).

91. “His gang were entering houses in the dark of the night”. López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 16.

92. “Entering his house during the night and stabbing Andrés de Morales’s son in the arm, which is now crippled”. AMCO. LAC, no folio (11th September 1504).

93. “The injuries inflicted upon [Vasco González’s] son, who lost an arm as a result”, AGS. RGS, f. 364 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 189 (26th August 1489).



In Santaella, Martín Tamayo and his wife were the subject of attempted murder. According to their testimony, four months previously, comendador Noguera, Martín de Noguera, his brothers-in-law, Juan de Alarconcillo, her cousin, Alfon de Sosa, his father-in-law and others, for instance Domingo López de Castillo, from Palma, presented themselves in his home *vna noche, dos oras de la noche*.⁹⁴ They asked him to come out to talk and he did: *él salió salvo e seguro que se abraçó con todos ellos e dis que el comendador descabalgó de un caballo en que venýa a que como se abraçó con él le tovo abrazado y en ese momento intentó clavarle un puñal que llevaba pero se escapó*.⁹⁵

After this, Tamayo declared that they all took possession of his house and took his wife away, to Cordoba. Domingo López de Castillo and Pablo de Ortega, who were in the *comendador's* party, went away perturbed by the *fera trayción lo que fasya* that was being committed.⁹⁶ Martín Tamayo claimed that *de las feridas estovo dos meses e más tiempo en cama e que como él se levantó se fue a la cibdad* to demand the liberation of his wife.⁹⁷ When he presented himself at the house of one of the perpetrators, who was a court official, they said that they did not have his wife. At that juncture, Martín Tamayo confronted the son of the official:

Salió con una espada sacada e vna adaraga tyrándole cuchilladas fasta que le ovo de encerrar en la iglesia de San Myguel e que des que vido quedándole seguro por su defender aviendolo muchas veces requerido que le dejase, puso mano que vna espada que traya e defendiéndose de los dichos golpes que le tyrava retamatando ferió de vna muy pequeña feryda en la cabeça de la qual dis que fue sano, estando diez días por lo cual dis que le covyno encerrado en la dicha iglesia el dicho jurado (...).⁹⁸

According to the record, a substantial proportion of criminal actions took place during the night, which is hardly surprising: the dark concealed the identity of perpetrators and facilitated their escape; witnesses were fewer and succour was harder to come by. This is especially the case in the countryside. The direct relationship between criminality and the hours of darkness has been emphasised by multiple researchers, such as Rafael Narbona, Juan Miguel Mendoza, Iñaki Bazán, Fernando Lojo and Ricardo Córdoba.⁹⁹ This relationship between darkness and

94. "In the second hour of the night". AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16th February 1485).

95. "Thinking himself safe, he hugged all of them; the comendador then got off his horse and while he was hugging him, he tried to stab him with the knife that he was carrying". AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16th February 1485).

96. "Treasonous act". AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16th February 1485).

97. "The wounds had kept him bedridden for two months, and finally when he was better he got up and went to the city". AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16th February 1485).

98. "He pulled out a sword and a leather shield, and tried to stab him repeatedly, until [the official's son] found refuge in the Church of San Myguel. After repeatedly asking [Martín] to leave him alone, he finally got out a sword that he had and defended himself, until he injured [Martín] slightly on the head, which took ten days to heal", AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16th February 1485).

99. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 131-148; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 166-168; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia...*: 75-76; Lojo Piñeiro, Fernando. *A violencia...*: 79 and Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 44-48.



criminal activity also existed in the rest of Europe. According to Robert Muchembled, three-quarters of all the murders committed in Artois took place after dusk; in the whole of France, the proportion was 80%, according to Claude Gauvard; and in 14th-century England, the figure stood between 86% and 90%, as noted by Bárbara Hanawalt. The evidence presented by Jacques Chiffolleau also confirms this direct link between night and violence.¹⁰⁰ In Cordoba, carrying arms was prohibited in many circumstances, especially at night. The council regulations established that if anyone *sacare armas e las toviere desnudas e queriendo con ellas ferir o matar, e alguacil llegare a los prender, aya las tales armas*.¹⁰¹ Similarly, if the bailiff, during his rounds, *sy fallare armas algunos de noche, que ge las tome e aya para sy* and *que ningunos non traygan espadas ni cuchillos ni otras armas vedadas en esta cibdad porque los ruýdos e muertes se escusen (...)*.¹⁰² These measures were intensified on special occasions; for the procession of the Corpus Christi, it was established that *que ninguno non sea osado de traer armas por las calles donde aduviere la dicha processyón, estarán veynte días en la cárcel pública desta cibdad*.¹⁰³

4.4 Causes and protagonists

As demonstrated by the evidence that has been presented, blood crimes were not rare in the farmlands to the south of Cordoba. These crimes, which ranged in degrees of intensity, from mere aggressions to grave assaults and, in the most extreme cases, murder, were a reflection of conflict but also of the internal mechanisms of society; crime and its recurrence was a proxy for the wider social dynamic. Obviously, the evidence presented has no statistical value, and cannot be used to claim that medieval man was involved in constant disputes. Blood crimes and personal confrontations did not happen every day. As pointed out by Ricardo Córdoba, a dramatic outcome was the result of a certain set of circumstances; in a context in which tension was rife, the tiniest spark could flare a confrontation, resulting in physical damages and even murder.

100. Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 118; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 293; Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violent death...": 304 and Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 140.

101. "Took arms out with the intention of wounding or killing, the bailiff could confiscate these arms". González Jiménez, Manuel; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo; López Rider, Javier; Criado Vega, Teresa; García Martínez, Antonio M^a Claret eds. *El libro primero de Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba. Edición y estudio crítico*. Madrid, Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2016: 134.

102. "Should find arms at night, he should confiscate them" and "nobody should carry forbidden swords and knives, so that deaths are avoided". González Jiménez, Manuel; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo; López Rider, Javier; Criado Vega, Teresa; García Martínez, Antonio M^a Claret eds. *El libro primero de Ordenanzas...*: 134.

103. "Nobody dare carry arms in the presence of the procession, or they will spend twenty days in the public prison". López Rider, Javier. "Las ordenanzas de carácter institucional y urbanístico", *El libro primero de Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba. Edición y estudio crítico*, Manuel González Jiménez, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, Javier López Rider, Teresa Criado Vega, Antonio M^a Claret García Martínez eds. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2016: 29-48, 47.



One recurrent motivation behind many of the unlawful acts that we have been examining are jurisdictional conflicts between seignorial and royal land. The precise location of the boundaries between these jurisdictions was often behind fights—fights which frequently resulted in some personal tragedy, especially if the use of some valuable economic resource was at stake. As such, violence was common around the boundary lines that separated La Rambla, Santaella and the city of Cordoba, as well as around those lines separating Montemayor, Fernán Núñez and Montalbán. The record is full of guards and servants who claimed possession of the countryside, generally upon their masters' orders. Parties that stopped others from using springs, meadows and roads were involved in constant, and sometimes severe, scuffles. The actions of the Las Infantas family, the tricks deployed by Andrés de Morales and the measures implemented by the lords of Aguilar over Montalbán are sufficient indication of how far some people were willing to go to protect their personal interests. The victims were often residents of the area, who were carrying out their everyday duties; they were shepherds, lumberjacks and peasants who needed to use the area's resources or, simply, to travel the roads, and were not allowed to do so by the servants of the oligarchy (who often resorted to unrestrained violence). That said, it is important to note that physical violence, let alone murder, was not an inevitable outcome; many times, confrontation went no further than the exchange of sharp words.

5. Verbal aggression: insults and blasphemies

Verbal insults are abundantly documented for the Late Middle Ages,¹⁰⁴ a period in which personal dignity and honour were considered paramount, and in which, therefore, publicly disgracing rivals by means of insults and slander was a universal feature of personal confrontations. Juan Miguel Mendoza argued that verbal aggression was *un arma de gran efectividad cuyo uso, en manos de quien sepa manejarla, puede causar más daño a las personas que un golpe o una pedrada, porque los golpes se curan con el tiempo, pero la honra atacada no hace sino deteriorarse aún más*.¹⁰⁵ In order to work to their full effect, these insults had to be full of wit and ingenuity; indeed, senseless and empty words held no power over the victim.

104. Segura Urrea, Félix. "La historia de la delincuencia...": 302-304; Gautier-Dalché, Jean. "Remarques sur l'insulte verbal dans quelques textes juridiques leono-castillans". *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 39 (1983): 117-126 and Madero Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas. La injuria en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV)*. Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1992.

105. "An effective instrument, which, if skilfully used, could cause more damage than a punch or a stone, because these are bruises that go with time, but time does nothing to injured honour, except to deteriorate it even further". Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel. "Sobre la delincuencia femenina en Castilla a fines de la Edad Media", *Mujer, marginación y violencia entre la Edad Media y los tiempos modernos*, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, ed. Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2006: 75-126, 101-105.



5.1 Insults and slander

Normally, insults and slander were spread in public places (squares, churches, markets, festivities) where a large audience was assured. According to Iñaki Bazán, in the Basque Country most public brawls, which sometimes ended in physical injury or death, were the result of a previous public insult.¹⁰⁶ Verbal offences occupy a prominent place in the records of the chancery; they are the third-most commonly reported offence, totalling 422, between 1495 and 1510—a figure only behind robberies and assaults.¹⁰⁷ In La Mancha, they amounted to 14% of all offenses reported between 1495 and 1507.¹⁰⁸ Again, the situation in Europe is similar.¹⁰⁹ Claude Gauvard argues that, in France, 86% of conflicts leading to murder began with an exchange of insults, while, according to Muchembled, 50% of murders committed in Artois began with such an exchange.¹¹⁰ Verbal offences totalled 5.3% of all offences reported in Todi in the second half of the 13th century, 6.7% of those filed in Avignon in the 14th century and 8% of reported cases in Stockholm and Arboga in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹¹¹

In southern Castile, insults and slander were also often the origin of fights. For instance, we can cite examples of *palabras feas e injuriosas* (“ugly and insulting words”) being used in Ronda (Malaga) and Pilas (Seville) in order to publicly dishonour the neighbours.¹¹² Mercedes Borrero has attested that, in Pilas, men called each other *puto* (“faggot”) or *cabrón* (“cuckold”), while women *se estaban llamando la una a la otra y la otra a la una de putas muchas veces, bellaca, ruzia y puta después de casada, (...)*.¹¹³ Sometimes the insults were a lot sharper; a woman called Catalina accused another

106. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 211-214.

107. Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel; Almagro Vidal, Clara; Martín Romera, M^a de los Ángeles; Villegas Díaz, Luís Rafael. “Delincuencia y justicia en la Chancillería de Ciudad Real y Granada (1405-1510). Primera parte. Estudio”. *Clio & Crimen*, 4 (2007): 290-352, 211-214. The second part of the volume deals with the documentation: 489-585.

108. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 258.

109. Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 716-726; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 149-150; Ruggiero, Guido. *Patrizi e malfattori. La violenza a Venezia nel primo Rinascimento*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982: 273-274; and Kotkas, Toomas. *Royal Police Ordinances in Early Modern Sweden: the emergence of Voluntaristic Understanding of Law*. Leiden: Brill, 2014: 51, 78, 77 and 117.

110. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 51-52; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 716 and forward and Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 43.

111. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 258; Lesnik Daniel R. “Insults and Threats in Medieval Todi”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991): 71-89; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 108 and Österberg, Eva; Lindström, Dag. *Crime and Social Control in Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Towns*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988: 44 and 88.

112. Espejo, Juan Luis. “Sobre conflictividad social urbana...”: 585-589.

113. “Called each other whore, again and again, and rascal”. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. “Violencia entre vecinos. Las tensiones cotidianas en el ámbito rural medieval”. *Homenaje al profesor Eloy Benito Ruano*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2010: I, 145-158.



one, called Antonia *que solía andar escogiendo los mangos gordos entre los delgados e que ahora se hacía la buena, e otras cosas muy feas que no son de decir para mujeres*.¹¹⁴

Concerning Cordoba, insults also feature prominently in the record among all social classes, with those directed at undermining the reputation of the recipient being the most common. In the countryside, where communities were small and generally poor, most insults aimed to besmirch the character, personality or habits of the victim. Iñaki Bazán and Juan Miguel Mendoza have listed a long repertoire of insults, including *traidor* ("traitor"), *falso* ("cheat"), *mentiroso* ("liar"), *ladrón* ("thief"), *pobre* ("beggar"), *borracho* or *beodo* ("drunk"), *perro* ("dog"), *ruin* ("miser"), *cobarde* ("coward"), *vil* ("villainous"), *sucio* ("filthy"), *sapo* ("toad") and *logrero* ("profiteer").¹¹⁵ According to Marta Madero, doubts about the masculinity of the victim were common, with constant references to impotence and homosexuality, which is often referred to using the expression *fodido* or *fududunculo*.¹¹⁶ This expression, however, is rarely attested in Cordoba; there are only two instances: one involving a member of the Church and one involving a case of adultery. Other common topics are sexual morality —*puta* ("whore"), *puto* ("faggot"), *cornudo* ("cuckold") and *alcahueta* ("go-between")— the family —*hijo de...*, *judío*, *moro* ("son of a ... Jew, Moor, etc.")— religious beliefs —*hereje* ("heretic"), *hechicera* ("witch")— economic conditions —*pobre* ("beggar") *harapiento* ("ragbag")— and illnesses and physical and psychical defects —*loco* ("madman"), *sarnoso* ("mangy"), *jorobado* ("hunchback"), *orejotas* ("big-ears"), etc.¹¹⁷ For instance, Ferrán Sánchez Robles was called *que es cornudo e lo a seydo e lo consintió e vendió los cuernos e adulterio que su mujer le fizo por dineros como hombre sin vergüenza (...) que vendió por dineros su honra e cuernos e los perdona como sabidor inábil e infame*.¹¹⁸ In 1493, a number of residents in La Rambla pointed to Andrés García Bermejo as a *pobre, raes, de liviana opinión y borracho que se hace con vino y nunca dice ni trata verdad*.¹¹⁹ Others also accused him of being *andar en tranpas y mentiras con ellos*.¹²⁰ Others were picked on because of their mental weakness: Pedro Gil de Ávila, from Santaella, was described as *persona muy pobre, miserable y raes y borracho que se hace con vino y hombre de poco tiento que no sabe lo que dice y se hizo juez en*

114. "Of choosing the fat handles rather than the thin ones while pretending to be virtuous, and doing other ugly things that do not become ladies". Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Violencia entre vecinos...": 145-158.

115. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 262-263 and Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 267.

116. Madero, Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 65-70.

117. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 253-274; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 255-272 and Madero Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 72 and following.

118. "A consenting cuckold, who sold his own horns consenting to his wife's adultery for the money, as a man who has no shame (...) for money he infamously gave away his honour and pardoned his horns". AMCO. C-1018, doc. 44.1, no folio (28th December 1519).

119. "Poor person, of little import and a drunk; the moment he gets his hands on wine, you cannot get him to tell the truth". AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

120. "A cheat, always involved in dodgy dealings". AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).



*esta causa y fue amojonar la dicha tierra sin mandamiento de juez y estuvo preso por ello.*¹²¹ Antón Martín de Ávila was characterised as *onbre que no tiene juicio en la dicha villa (...) por su mala memoria y mengua de juicio*, and Juan Alfon el Rico, was described by a neighbour as *onbre muy viejo y que le ha visto decir palabras desatentadas con la mucha edad que tiene así en la plaza como en la iglesia de la villa de la Ranbla, tales que muchas veces se reían de él.*¹²² Pedro Alfon Arroyo was accused of being *pobre, vil y raes, muy grande borracho y perjuro (...) lo ha visto jurar en falso en un dicho que le fue tomado*. A man named Juan Francisco was called “a cheat and a liar”, and it was added that he was *tranposo y onbre de mala verdad y lo saben porque vieron tras él a algunas personas para lo que les debía.*¹²³

There are also allusions to “puteros” (“brothel-goers” or “pimps”), such as Juan Ruiz Prieto, who lived in La Rambla but later moved to Estepa. Some of his former neighbours in La Rambla said that *entraba en el mesón donde estaban las mujeres del partido y las besaba y abrazaba*. Others, more explicitly, stated that *va a las mujeres del partido en la villa de Estepa, donde vive, y les echa mano de la barba y burla con ellas (...) que es de edad de 80 años y más tiempo.*¹²⁴ Pedro de Jaén was described as a *rufián, adúltero y difamador de mujeres casadas*; Pedro admitted that his life was not like everyone else’s: he admitted to having spent 13 years *andando por el mundo tratando mujeres del partido.*¹²⁵ Martín Morales confirms this, claiming that he was always *siempre lo vio vivir entre putas y rufianes.*¹²⁶ Some of Pedro’s neighbours were even blunter. Juan López de Benito García declared that *era rufián e traía mujer al partido, lo sabe porque lo a visto traer a esta villa de Montemayor, e que ahora, ha oído decir que es padre de las mujeres del partido de la villa de la Ranbla.*¹²⁷ Juan Sánchez Ballesterero declared that:

Ahora que tiene una casa suya en que están las dichas mujeres del partido en la Ranbla. Lo sabe porque lo ha visto en esta villa e en la villa de la Ranbla tener mujeres del partido que

121. “Poor and miserable, and a drunk, who doesn’t know what he is saying when he is drunk, and [he] also took justice into his own hands, and went to plant some boundary stones in that estate without a court order”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

122. “A man with no judgment (...) little memory and even less judgement” (...) “a very old man, who’s been known to say ludicrous things in the square and church of La Rambla, because of his old age, to the glee of everyone”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

123. “Poor, villainous, a great drunk and a perjurer”. “He’s been known to swear falsely”. “Being chased by people to whom he owed money”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (25th February 1492/14th June 1495).

124. “He frequented the inn where the whores were, and kissed them and hugged them”. “He goes to the whores in Estepa, where he lives now, and gropes them, and fools around with them (...) although he is 80 or more”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, ff. 143r-151r (25th February 1492/14th June 1495).

125. “A ruffian, and an adulterer and a slanderer of married women”. “Wandering the world, going with whores”. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, no folio (10th October 1496).

126. “Among whores and ruffians”. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, f. 78r (10th October 1496).

127. “[Pedro] is a ruffian and deals in whores, and the witness knows because he’s seen him bringing them to Montemayor, and now he’s heard it said that he owns the whores in La Rambla”. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, f. 98r (10th October 1496).

*le ganaban dineros públicamente, e que sienpre lo vio usar de bellaquería siendo hijo de un hombre honrado e bueno e tío deste testigo (...).*¹²⁸

Juan Sánchez, barber, added the following:

*Fue rufián y deformatador de mujeres casadas (...) porque en el dicho tiempo, ahora puede haber veynte e cinco años e antes e después, fue rufián e le vio en esta villa de Fernán Núñez tener mujer en la mancebía a ganar dineros en la mancebía públicamente e porque llevó en el dicho tiempo vna mujer casada desta villa e aún era la mujer que llevó, mujer de Bartolomé Zamorano, vesyno desta villa.*¹²⁹

In the context of a long lawsuit on the usurpation of royal lands, several people accused a man called Pedro Alonso del Arroyo of *habla de oídas y creencias y lo hace de mal tiempo y que se hace con vino y fue frecuentador de tabernas*.¹³⁰ Antón Ruiz, from La Rambla was called *palabrero y mentiroso que no dice verdad*.¹³¹ In a document dated to the early 16th century, Hernán Ruiz, from La Rambla, is described as *es onbre bien borracho y que se beoda muchas veces y juegan los muchachos con el infame, que muestra sus vergüenzas en la plaza públicamente, y alocado a las vergüenzas públicamente en la iglesia con una soga a la garganta por su mala lengua*.¹³² Pedro Moyano declares that, after spending a good while playing cards and drinking, Bartolomé Ruiz Prieto *salió de allí borracho y salió a la plaza y como hombre fuera de tiento, mostró sus vergüenzas en la plaza a muchas personas que reían y burlaban con él y esto vio este testigo y otras muchas personas*.¹³³ Gonzalo Gómez Cabello and Alonso Sánchez, from Fernán Núñez, are described in similarly insulting terms; they are defined as *onbre revoltoso y levantador de pueblos*.¹³⁴ Two lawsuits (one to the north and the other to the south of the kingdom of Cordoba), make explicit allusion to unruly behaviour. Diego Hernández, an old man, is described as *onbre syn tiento e desvariado e desvergonzado e como tal fonbre e persona que seyendo más mozo que avía de tener más tiento, se meó en vn cuerpo públicamente e andaua*

128. "Now he owns a house in La Rambla, where his whores are kept. The witness knows because he's seen him in La Rambla whoring some women out openly, being used to this sort of wretched behaviour, despite his father being a good and honest man, who was the witness's uncle". AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, f. 142v (25th February 1492).

129. "He was a ruffian and a perverter of married women (...) and after all this time, which could well be 25 years, he was seen in the village of Fernán Núñez, where he whored his woman out publicly, and this woman was the wife of a Bartolomé Zamorano, from [La Rambla]". AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, f. 122r (25th February 1492).

130. "Speak[ing] without foundation, especially when he's been drinking, for he frequents taverns". AchGr. leg. 1615, num 8, no folio (13th April 1496).

131. "A gossip and a liar that cannot speak truth". AchGr. leg. 1615, num 8, no folio (13th April 1496).

132. "A drunk, and the plaything of the young lads, and he is always showing his privates in the square, and he's been brought to church with a rope around his neck, to punish him for his poisonous tongue". AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, ff. 78r-79v (1575).

133. "Left the place drunk, and went into the square like a madman, showing his privates to everyone around, to the delight of all the onlookers, who made fun of him, and [the witness] saw this and many other people saw it too". AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, f. 91r-v (1575).

134. "Rowdy and peace-breakers". AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, f. 91r-v, (1575).



*mostrando su natura a las mujeres e diciendo no haceys vosotras lambien (...).*¹³⁵ Following a ruling against them, the residents of Montemayor did not hesitate to insult the judge and threaten him. Pedro Jiménez Escribano overheard a conversation between Juan Albertos, Diego de Baena and the surgeon Alonso de Lorca while on the road to Montemayor; Juan Albertos first said that *en chancillería había hecho burla desde supieron que el juez de términos había entrado en la fortaleza de Montemayor y no le habían trabucado con un cabestro de las almenas abajo.*¹³⁶ Juan Albertos agreed, adding that *juro a Dios que si ese hi de puta judío dese juesejo o esa basura, no estoviera asy, que no se obiera revuelto nada de lo que asy se a revuelto, que ello a revuelto todo.*¹³⁷ Pedro Jiménez then warned them: *juro a Dios que lo abéis de hallar juez e bien grande e por tal lo envían.*¹³⁸ After this, Diego de Baena replied that *sino oviese bellacos en medio no se harían estas cosas, que andan destos términos para contra el juez.*¹³⁹ Juan Gil likewise heard that Don Martín *había 15 días que estaba en la corte y que si estuviera en Montemayor, no se hubiera hecho lo que el juez ha hecho, que de los adarves abajo lo avían de echar.*¹⁴⁰ Don Alfonso de Aguilar, for his part, had no qualms about insulting his own farmhands, for hindering the neighbours of the nearby castle of Montalbán from using a meadow. He asked his farmhands and tenants for their complaints, and they said that the people from Montalbán *que muy grande que les comían su dehesa y les vebían las aguas;* Don Alonso's answer was clear: *fides putas villanos non guardarles su dehesa y non les bebáis las aguas.*¹⁴¹

Sometimes, insults targeted the physical or mental defects of the victim or their lifestyle.¹⁴² For instance, a person was nicknamed *Juan Myntrón* because was *muy mohatro e virtuoso hablador e sinvergüenza e persona a quien no le dan fe ni crédito como onbre valdío e de liviana opinión e por tal que le llamaban.*¹⁴³ In La Rambla, Juan Sánchez was known as *Patínates* because he had very large feet, and Antón Martín de Ávila

135. "Man with no judgement and little moral restraint, whose age should make him know better. He went around pissing publicly and showing his privates to women and asking them to do likewise". AMCO. C-1018, doc. 44-1, no folio (28th December 1519).

136. "In the chancellery there are jokes circulating about the judge taking over the fortress of Montemayor, when all he deserves is to be lobbed out of the tallest tower", AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28th January 1525).

137. "I swear to God that if it wasn't for that Jew son of a bitch, that filth, things wouldn't be as muddled as they are", AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28th January 1525).

138. "I swear to God you'll come up against the judge, and you'll regret it, for he was sent for a reason", AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28th January 1525).

139. "That wouldn't happen if there were fewer ruffians around here, because with good reason is the district up in arms against the judge", AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28th January 1525).

140. "Has been at court for these 15 days, but had he been in Montemayor the judge wouldn't have done what he's done, and he would be in the fortress no longer". AchGr. leg. 952, num. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28th January 1525).

141. "Did them much harm, because they ate much of their pasture and drank their water" (...) "sons of a bitch and villains, do not close their meadow and do not stop them from drinking water". AchGr. leg. 951, num. 3, no folio (11th March 1503).

142. Madero Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 72.

143. "A mohatro, a chatterbox and a rascal, a man whom nobody trusts because his opinions are worthless". AMCO. C-1018, doc. 44-1, no folio (28th December 1519).



was made fun of because he suffered *es enfermo de perlesía y tiene la lengua turbada (...)* *que habla que a duras penas ge le entiende, hombre con la mala lengua que tiene*.¹⁴⁴ Others said that he was *loco y sordo y borracho y menguado de juicio* or had *de mal juicio y de poco tiento* adding that *razón que le dicen responde otra y no tiene memoria ni razón de hombre cuerdo*.¹⁴⁵ Finally, Juan Alfon was called *Maxmordón* because he was *onbre que no tiene mucho tiento*.¹⁴⁶ We have to stress the use of words no longer used in Spanish, such as *mohatro* (“fraudster”), *perlesía*, to refer to some weakness of the mind or the body caused by old age, and *maxmordón*, to refer to a person lacking in judgement.

5.2 Blasphemies

The record also conveys the quarrels between the Church and individual citizens, who are forthwith defined as blasphemous enemies of the Catholic faith. A clear example is that of Juan Muñoz de Coria, from La Rambla, who was found guilty of blasphemy in the city of Cordoba. According to the record, as he passed the image of Our Lady of Consolation, he was addressed by Diego Jiménez, brother of Alonso de Antequera, with the words *vamos a ver a Dios*, to which Juan Muñoz replied: *ir vos que yo no quiero ver al diablo*.¹⁴⁷ On a different occasion, while in the village square, Miguel del Río said *buena entra esta luna*, to which Juan Muñoz replied: *cágomes en la luna y en lo demás que está en el cielo*.¹⁴⁸ Juan Muñiz accused him of *muchos remilgos e blasfemias*.¹⁴⁹ They both were in a meadow when, for no particular reason, Juan Muñoz started yelling *descreo de Dios, dime vos, ¿no me prometistes a mí de hacer buen tiempo, cómo no cumplido la palabra?*¹⁵⁰ Hernando de Baena was a similar case. A sacristan from Montemayor declared that:

Sabe que es pobre y entra en las tabernas muchas veces a beber y que síguele tomar vino, porque estando este testigo un domingo en la iglesia de la dicha villa diciendo la misa mayor, estaba en ella el dicho Hernando de Baena, junto al claro de la dicha iglesia donde estaba este testigo y otros clérigos, y vomitó y echó por la boca mucha cantidad de comida y bebida que olía de vino, de tal manera que quedó amortecido, de tal manera que la gente allí estaba

144. “Perlesía and his tongue is all tied up (...) it is hard to follow what he says”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

145. “Mad, or dumb, or drunk, or slow” or had “no judgement” adding that “if you talk to him about something, he answers about something else, and has no memory or judgement, like sane men do”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

146. “Short of judgement”. AchGr. leg. 535, num. 3, no folio (14th June 1495).

147. “Come to see our Lord”, “You go, I’d rather not see the Devil”. AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, f. 78r-v (1575).

148. “We have a good moon today”, “I shit on the moon and everything else in heaven”. AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, f. 78r-v (1575).

149. “Being full of complaints and blasphemies”. AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, f. 78r (1575).

150. “I don’t believe in you, God, did you not promise me good weather?”. AchGr. leg. 875, num. 1, ff. 78r-79v (1575).



*tomaron en brazo y lo sacaron fuera de la dicha iglesia, y después de sacado volvió a vomitar (...).*¹⁵¹

A remarkable case saw a Church member from Fernán Núñez being accused of pederasty and homosexuality in the 15th century. The residents of the village declared that their lord, Fernando de los Ríos, used to execute judicial sentences on his own authority. One of these sentences was especially famous in the town. According to the statements, the lord *ahorcó y quemó a un santero de la ermita de San Sebastián, situada en el camino desta villa hacia Córdoba*, for being a *puto* ("fagot").¹⁵² Alonso López Cañadilla statement says that he *vio quemar a un santero de la ermita de San Sebastián, que está en el ejido y término de esta villa (...) que lo quemaron porque se decía que con un muchacho que tenía en la dicha ermita, que había dormido o dormía con él*.¹⁵³ Finally, slander and blasphemy are rarely found in written form. The most paradigmatic case concerns a resident of Cordoba, who was accused of writing a defamatory letter and nailing it to the door of a house. She was sentenced to 100 lashes, to pay the court expenses, and to go into exile. Upon appeal, the amount to be paid was increased, but her exile was suspended.¹⁵⁴

This evidence illustrates that, sometimes, verbal aggression was as harmful as physical assault; indeed, many of the incidents that led to physical harm or even death began with an exchange of insults. The more explicit the cause of dishonour, the more it undermines the prestige of the target of the insult, and thus there is a higher chance that the injured party will take matters into their own hands and physically attack the other. This is, of course, a reflection of the moral values that prevailed in Castile in the Late Middle Ages; different insults had very different results, and the status of the target was also an important factor, as the examples involving the Church amply demonstrate.

6. Conclusions

Based on the information conveyed by the archival record, Cordoba was no exception to the violence that peppered everyday life in the Crown of Castile. The types of crime detected in the kingdom of Cordoba are the same as those attested

151. "He is a beggar, he spends his day drinking wine in the tavern; the witness was in the church one Sunday, saying mass, and said Hernando de Baena was out in the square, and in the presence of the witness and other clerics he threw up much food and drink, reeking of wine, and afterwards lost consciousness; some people lifted him and brought him out of the church, at which point he threw up again". AchGr. leg. 324, num. 2, f. 54r-v (1557).

152. "Hung and burnt a hermit of the chapel of St. Sebastian, on the road to Cordoba". AchGr. leg. 1211, num. 1, no folio (16th century).

153. "Saw a hermit from the chapel of St. Sebastian, which is in the term of this town, burnt (...) because it was said that he slept with a young man who lived with him in the chapel". AchGr. leg. 1211, num. 1, no folio (16th century).

154. Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel. "Sobre la delincuencia femenina...": 104-105.



in the rest of the Crown. In the 15th century, physical violence was not rare, and murder was relatively common. The most common type of murder was committed with bladed weapons and during the night. Verbal insults and blasphemies were also common. In most cases, these insults alluded to the lifestyle, the physical defects and, to a lesser extent, the sexuality and religious beliefs of the recipient. One absence is remarkable, although this may be explained by the very nature of the Late Medieval record: there are hardly any reports concerning robberies and theft. This is particularly noticeable in the countryside, where one would expect animals, crops and tools to be a prime target. The closest crime akin to theft that may be found in the record was the taking of a token item (for example, a cloak), but this cannot be considered a theft in the full sense of the word, but rather a sort of security or punishment for a given action. Sometimes, in fact, the item was eventually returned to the victim. The record clearly conveys that violence was generally a projection of everyday activities; the causes of violent episodes were as a rule very prosaic, such as the use of a spring or a meadow, or the desire of some aristocratic families to protect their private interests. On other occasions, the causes reflect internal family quarrels: for instance, the undesirable marriage of Martín Tamayo.

In short, physical and verbal violence were regular features of life in the countryside. The main causes behind these forms of violence were the normal quirks of coexistence and conflicts over the use of valuable natural resources. Some of these were legally open to all, but in practice seignorial encroachments of common land were very frequent. Competition over the use of these natural resources often led to a violent outcome, especially through the action of agents of powerful social groups, particularly the aristocracy. Conflict provides us with insight into Andalusian society in the 15th century, especially in relation to how far some were willing to push their personal interests without regard for possible legal consequences.



III PART

THE PAST EXPLAINED
AND RECREATED

COLORED AS ITS CREATORS INTENDED: PAINTED MAPS IN THE 1513 EDITION OF PTOLEMY'S 'GEOGRAPHY'

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ABSTRACT

The article examines all of the extant hand-colored exemplars of the 1513 edition of Ptolemy's Geography, whose maps were made by Martin Waldseemüller, in an effort to identify the coloring scheme intended by the creators of the edition. Almost half of the existing exemplars were found to have essentially the same coloring scheme. Further, some remarks made by Waldseemüller about the coloring of maps, as well as some experiments with color printing of maps in the 1513 edition of Ptolemy, allow the identification of this scheme as the workshop scheme. The results shed light not only on Waldseemüller's workshop practices and early modern hand-coloring techniques, but also on the cartographic and aesthetic philosophy behind the coloring of these maps.

KEYWORDS

History of cartography, Hand-coloring, Martin Waldseemüller, Ptolemy's Geography, Sixteenth Century.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Historia cartographiae, Manupicturatum, Martinus Waldseemüller, Ptolemaei Geographia, Sextumdecimum saeculum.

The earliest set of instructions on how to hand-color printed maps appears in a surveying manual printed in London in 1610, William Folkingham's *Feudigraphia: The Synopsis or Epitome of Surueying Methodized*.¹ Even for some decades after this date, we usually have little evidence to work with to investigate hand-colored maps other than the maps themselves, and this is all the more the case with maps made before Folkingham wrote. In this article I will examine hand-colored exemplars of the 1513 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, the most important edition of the sixteenth century, whose maps were made by Martin Waldseemüller, in an effort to identify the workshop coloring scheme, that is, the coloring scheme intended by the creators of the edition. The results should shed light not only on Waldseemüller's workshop practices and early modern hand-coloring techniques, but also on the cartographic and aesthetic philosophy being the coloring of these maps.

Before examining the coloring of the 1513 edition of the *Geography* it will be valuable to consider the workshop coloring scheme of the maps in the 1482 edition, which was printed in Ulm by Lienhart Holle, and 1486 edition, printed in Ulm by Johann Reger,² since Waldseemüller and his colleagues certainly considered the coloring of those editions in thinking about how to proceed with theirs. Other scholars had previously identified the workshop coloring schemes in these two editions, but Samir Murty has discussed them in great detail, both the evidence that they are the workshop schemes, and the exemplars of one edition that exhibit the coloring scheme of the other.³ In the 1482 Ptolemy the workshop scheme features rich blue oceans and seas, brown mountains, and green, yellow, and pink are used to help distinguish different regions (see illustration 1).⁴ The workshop coloring scheme in the 1486 edition has similar colors on the lands, but replaces the rich blue of the oceans with a light brown (see illustration 2).⁵ Murty shows that the

1. So Woodward, David. "Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance", *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, David Woodward, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007: I, 591-610, especially 605-606; the instructions are in: Folkingham, William. *Feudigraphia: The Synopsis or Epitome of Surueying Methodized*. London: William Stansby, 1610: 57-58. Other references to early descriptions of hand coloring are supplied in Ravenhill, William. *John Norden's Manuscript Maps of Cornwall and its Nine Hundreds*, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1972: 34-38; also see Ehrensward, Ulla. "Color in Cartography: A Historical Survey", *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, David Woodward, ed. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987: 123-146; and Stillo, Stephanie. "Putting the World in Its 'Proper Colour': Exploring Hand-Coloring in Early Modern Maps", *Journal of Map & Geography Libraries*, 12/2 (2016): 158-186.

2. On the 1482 Ulm edition of the *Geography* see Sanz, Carlos. *La Geographia de Ptolomeo*. Madrid: Librería General V. Suárez, 1959: 83-89; Skelton, Raleigh Ashlin. "Bibliographical Note", Ptolemy, *Cosmographia, Ulm, 1482*. Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, ed. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1963: v-xii; Campbell, Tony. *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472-1500*. London: British Library, 1987: 135-138; and Tedeschi, Martha. "Publish and Perish: The Career of Lienhart Holle in Ulm", *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, Sandra L. Hindman, ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991: 41-67. On the 1486 Ulm edition see Sanz, Carlos. *La Geographia...*: 90-95, and the same pages in: Campbell, Tony. *The Earliest Printed Maps...*: 90-95.

3. Murty, Samir. *Observations on and Explanations of Variances in the 1482 and 1486 Cosmographia*. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison (BA Dissertation), 1999.

4. Murty, Samir. "Observations...": 4-14.

5. Murty, Samir. "Observations...": 14-15.



exemplars printed on vellum were among the earliest of the 1482 edition; these exemplars consistently have rich blue oceans; and as a result this can be considered the workshop scheme. The coloring of the colored exemplars of the 1486 edition is very consistent, so there can be no doubt that the light brown oceans represent the workshop scheme.

Martin Waldseemüller and his colleague Matthias Ringmann began work on a new edition of the *Geography* in 1505; after various delays, it was finally published by Johann Schott in Strasbourg in 1513.⁶ In addition to the standard twenty-seven Ptolemaic maps this edition has twenty *tabulae modernae* or modern maps based on more recent data, all but one of them based on information from nautical charts.⁷ These maps constitute a cartographic parallel universe to Ptolemy's, a different vision of the world. One of the innovations in this edition was that it involved two experiments with color printing, something that Schott had extensive experience with.⁸ Bernardus Sylvanus had used red ink to print place names and the titles of the maps (and also the parrot in the border of the fourth map of Africa) in his 1513 edition of the *Geography*,⁹ but Waldseemüller and Ringmann and Schott had more ambitious plans.

6. For discussion of the 1513 edition of Ptolemy see Oehme, Ruthardt. "Martin Waldseemüller und der Straßburger Ptolemäus von 1513", *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft und Volkskunde: Festschrift für Ernst Ochs zum 60 Geburtstag*, Karl Friedrich Müller, ed. Lahr: M. Schauenburg, 1951: 155-167; Sanz, Carlos. *La Geographia...*: 123-146; Skelton, Raleigh Ashlin. "Bibliographical Note", Ptolemy. *Geographia*, Strassburg, 1513, ed. Raleigh Ashlin Skelton. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966: v-xx; Pastoureaux, Mireille. *Les atlas français (XVIe-XVIIe siècles): répertoire bibliographique et étude*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Département des cartes et plans, 1984: 371-385; and Hiatt, Alfred. "Mutation and Supplement: The 1513 Strasbourg Ptolemy", *Ptolemy's 'Geography' in the Renaissance*, Zur Shalev, Charles Burnett, eds. London-Turin: Warburg Institute-Nino Aragno Editore, 2011: 143-161.

7. For discussion of the *Tabulae modernae* or *Tabulae novae* added to manuscripts and editions of Ptolemy see Akerman, James Richard. *On the Shoulders of a Titan: Viewing the World of the Past in Atlas Structure*, State College: The Pennsylvania State University (PhD Dissertation), 1991: 228-253. On maps of the New World in printed editions of Ptolemy see Dilke, Oswald A. W.; Dilke, Margaret S. "The Adjustment of Ptolemaic Atlases to Feature the New World", *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, vol. 1.1, *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, Wolfgang Haase, Meyer Reinhold, eds. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994: 117-134; and for lists of the *tabulae modernae* in several printed editions of Ptolemy see Lindgren, Uta. "Die Geographie des Claudius Ptolemaeus in München: Beschreibung der gedruckten Exemplare in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek". *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 35/114-115 (1985): 148-239.

8. See Klein, Alice. "Hans Wechtlin and the Production of German Colour Woodcuts", *Printing Colour 1400-1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, Ad Stijnman, Elizabeth Savage, eds. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015: 103-115; Savage, Elizabeth. "Identifying Johann Schott as Hans Baldung Grien's Colour Printer, c.1511-12", forthcoming, and also her chapter, Savage, Elizabeth. "Innovation and Experimentation in Strasbourg, 1509-1515", *A Guide to German Renaissance Colour Woodcuts at the British Museum*, London: University College London Press, forthcoming.

9. Skelton, Raleigh Ashlin. "Bibliographical Note", Ptolemy. *Geographia*, Venice, 1511, ed. Raleigh Ashlin Skelton. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969: v-xi, especially x. The earliest map printed in two colors is that in Lilio, Zaccaria. *Orbis brevium*. Florence: Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini, 1493: f. 4v: see Campbell, Tony. *Earliest Printed Maps...*: 112.



1. Waldseemüller's and Schott's Interest in Colored Maps

In a few copies of the 1513 edition the first map of Europe is printed in two colors, black for the cartographic elements, and a dark green for the ocean (see illustration 3).¹⁰ The surviving copies of the map are evidently early proofs, for the inscriptions in the sea are incomplete. Only a handful of these maps survive, and it is not clear in what respect the experiment was found unsatisfactory, though it is easy to imagine that there were problems with registration, with getting the color-printed area of the sea to fit well within the borders of the map. But in any case, this experiment does show Waldseemüller and Schott's interest in adding color to maps. Much better known is the map of Lorraine in the 1513 Ptolemy which is printed in three colors—black, red, and green—and is usually the last among the modern maps in the book (illustration 4).¹¹ There were serious problems with registration in the printing of the map, with the color appears outside of its intended borders, and one can imagine that this is what dissuaded Waldseemüller and Schott from employing color printing in other maps in the edition.

Waldseemüller also expressed interest in using color on his 1507 world map.¹² He may have been thinking of hand-applied color, and there are no such colors on the one surviving exemplar of the map in the Library of Congress; if he was thinking about color printing, these plans certainly did not come to fruition. In chapter 9 the *Cosmographiae introductio*, the pamphlet that Waldseemüller and Ringmann had printed to accompany the map, they explain that:

The greater part of Africa and a part of Asia we have distinguished by crescents, which are the emblems of the Sultan of Babylonia, the Lord of all Egypt, and of a part of Asia. The part of Asia called Asia Minor we have surrounded with a saffron-

10. Shirley, Rodney W. "Karte der Britischen Inseln von 1513: eine der ersten farbig gedruckten Karten". *Cartographica Helvetica*, 19-20 (1999): 13-17; the example that Shirley discusses is a loose map in British Library. Maps CC.5.a.171; the exemplar in the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G1005 1513 Vault has the color printed version of this map, and the book is available in digital format at "Claudii Ptolemei viri Alexandrini mathematicae discipline philosophi doctissimi Geographie opus nouissima traductione e Grecorum archetypis castigatissime pressum, ceteris ante lucubrationum multo prestantius". *Library of Congress*. 15 March 2018 <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3200m.gct00262>>. The map is also printed in color in Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, Altbestand, Magazin Rara, ZBSO Rar II 157; and Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds ancient, Rés. 556.

11. On the map of Lorraine see Eiselé, Albert. "La carte 'Lotharingia-Vastum Regnum' de 1508-1513: Observations et réflexions". *Les Cahiers Lorrains*, 3-4 (1990): 297-318; and Gérardin, Jean-Marie. "1508-2008: A propos de la première carte imprimée du duché de Lorraine et du Vastum Regnum". *L'Annuaire de la Société du Val de Villé*, 33 (2008): 57-77. Plate 15 in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3...: part 1, shows the maps of Lorraine from four different exemplars of the 1513 edition of Ptolemy.

12. The unique surviving exemplar of Waldseemüller's 1507 world map is on permanent display at the Library of Congress; it is well reproduced in Hessler, John W.; Van Duzer, Chet. *Seeing the World Anew: The Radical Vision of Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 & 1516 World Maps*. Washington D.C.-Delray Beach: Library of Congress-Levenger Press, 2012: 24-47. There are two excellent high-resolution scans of the map available on the internet site of the Library of Congress: "Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii alioru[m]que lustrationes". *Library of Congress*. 24 April 2019 <<https://lccn.loc.gov/2003626426>>.



colored cross joined to a branding iron, which is the symbol of the Sultans of the Turks, who rules Scythia this side of the Imaus, the highest mountains of Asia and Sarmatian Scythia. Asiatic Scythia we have marked by anchors, which are the emblems of the great Tartar Khan. A red cross symbolizes Prester John (who rules both eastern and southern India and who resides in Biberith)....¹³

Given Waldseemüller and Ringmann's expression of interest in color on maps here, and also the experiments Waldseemüller and Schott made with color printing in their edition of Ptolemy, the question of the workshop scheme of hand-coloring for the 1513 Ptolemy, that is, the scheme intended by its creators, takes on a particular interest and importance.

2. The Workshop Coloring Scheme

Examining just a few hand-colored copies of the 1513 Ptolemy reveals considerable variation in the coloring, and thus is not very encouraging in terms of finding a consistent workshop scheme, but I undertook a global census of the hand-colored copies of the book, seeing some of the exemplars in person,¹⁴ while for the rest I ordered digital images of a selection of the maps. The results of the census are presented in the Appendix. Of the 35 surviving hand-colored copies of the book that I located, 16, or just under half, show a consistent coloring scheme. This scheme involves a light blue-gray wash for the seas; green for the mountains; yellow for the borders of the maps; and yellow, light red, a yellowish green, and a light gray wash for the lands. A dark blue was used for the clouds that surround the Ptolemaic world map, and for some of the islands in the Red Sea on the sixth map of Asia and the modern map of northern Africa. The high percentage of copies of the book that have this same coloring scheme makes the conclusion that this was the workshop coloring scheme inescapable. In addition, it is worth remarking that the colors used in this scheme overlap with those used in printing the map of Lorraine in the 1513 Ptolemy (green and red), and those mentioned by Waldseemüller and Ringmann in their *Cosmographiae introductio* (saffron and red). This latter is not strong corroboration of the connection between Waldseemüller and the coloring scheme, as these colors were readily available, but as various other colors were readily available too, the coincidence of colors is of some probatory value.

The exemplars of the book with workshop coloring whose colors remain the most vibrant are those in Aarau, Switzerland, in the Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek

13. The translation is from Joseph Fischer and Franz von Wieser, on the back of the diagram between pages 66 and 77, in: Waldseemüller, Martin. *The 'Cosmographiae introductio' of Martin Waldseemüller in Facsimile, Followed by the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, with their Translation into English*, ed. Charles George Herbermann. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1907: 66-77 (chapter 8).

14. The copies I consulted in person as part of the project are those in Cambridge (UK), London (2), Paris (6), Ann Arbor, Cambridge (MA), Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC (2)—see the census in the Appendix below.



(Magazin AKB RarF 1), and in Rouen, in the Bibliothèque Municipale (Inc. gg 25). In illustration 5 we have the modern world map, the so-called Admiral's Map,¹⁵ from the Aarau exemplar of the book; in some of the workshop-colored examples, the colorist adds some red highlights on the coast of Asia (this is found in the Rouen exemplar for example), but that is not present in the Aarau copy. Illustration 6 shows the same map in the exemplar in the Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress, where the colors have faded significantly.¹⁶ It is worth remarking that the same three islands are colored red in Southeast Asia on the two maps, but the red and yellow of Madagascar and Taprobana have been reversed, showing that there was some variation among the workshop colored examples.

Illustration 7 illustrates the second map of Europe in the Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek exemplar. This map is very instructive in terms of showing that the workshop colorists were following a model closely. On this same map in the 1482 edition of Ptolemy—see Illustration 1—there is a printed line indicating the eastern border of Lusitania that guided the colorist in applying the color so as to distinguish that province from Hispania. There is no such line in the 1513 version of this map, and the fact that in painting this map in the workshop-colored copies of the book the colorists respected this unprinted boundary is excellent evidence that they were following model maps.

The modern map of the Holy Land, divided into the twelve different lands of the twelve different Tribes of Israel, is a particularly useful map for distinguishing which exemplars of the book show workshop coloring. Illustration 8 illustrates the workshop coloring of that map in the Rostock copy of the book. There is some variation among the workshop-colored copies of the map: for example, the yellow color of the lands of the *Tribus isachar* is bounded by the River Jordan on the north on the Rostock copy and several other workshop-colored exemplars of the map, but on the Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek and Yale Center for British Art copies, the yellow continues northward into the lands of the *Tribus gad* (illustration 9). Illustration 10 shows non-workshop coloring of the same map in the copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 881, with an entirely different palette and the colorist using color to emphasize different boundaries between the Tribes of Israel.¹⁷

Illustration 11 shows another non-workshop variant of the coloring of the Holy Land at the University of Virginia, with another different palette. The University of Virginia copy of the book is an interesting case where the coloring seems to be based on that in the 1482 edition of Ptolemy: this is clear from the blue seas

15. See McCoskry Stanton, Samuel. "The Admiral's Map What Was It? And Who the Admiral?". *Isis*, 22/2 (1935): 511-515.

16. For discussion of decisions regarding the preservation of the Rosenwald Collection copy of the 1513 Ptolemy see: Albro, Sylvia; Brostoff, Lynn. "Integrating Analytical Tools in Treatment Decision-Making for a 1513 Hand-Colored Ptolemy Geographia Atlas". *Library of Congress*, 10 July 2013. 18 March 2018 <<https://www.loc.gov/preservation/outreach/tops/verdigris/index.html>>.

17. The Munich copy is interesting in that it is in its original binding, but it does not have the workshop coloring scheme. This indicates that a client bought the pages of the book and took them to his own preferred colorist and binder to have the book colored and bound.

and rivers, the vibrant coloring of the islands, and also the frames added around many of the place names in the ocean to match the 1482 layout. The map of the Holy Land in the copy at Colmar is also an interesting case (illustration 12): the palette is very similar to that in the workshop-colored copies (see illustrations 8 and 9), but the colorist uses color to generate borders where Waldseemüller intended none, choosing to divide colored regions along rivers rather than along the borders printed on the map.

3. Some of the Non-Workshop Coloring Schemes

A few of the non-workshop coloring schemes are unusual enough to merit particular notice. The copy in the Zentralbibliothek Zurich (Kartensammlung V ZZ 19), for example, has the oceans painted a bluish-green, the rivers painted blue (which is not the case in the workshop scheme), and the mountains painted brown, but makes no other use of color on land to distinguish continents, provinces, or other political units as the workshop copies do.¹⁸ In the copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Folio G87.P8 L3 1513 Cage) the seas are painted green and the land with a very light brown wash, and the rivers blue, and again there is no use of color to distinguish political units. This copy is unusual for its multicolored mountain ranges; the only other copy of this edition with similar mountains is British Library, Maps C.1.e.10.

One of the more interesting non-workshop coloring schemes is that of the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, H62/ CIM.P 54. The coloring of both the Ptolemaic and the modern world maps was evidently copied from a workshop-colored copy of the book: compare illustration 13, the modern world map from the Erlangen-Nürnberg copy, with illustrations 5 and 6, which show the workshop coloring. There are differences—in the Erlangen-Nürnberg map the mountains are brown rather than green, Africa is painted green rather than grey, etc.—but inspiration from the workshop coloring scheme seems undeniable. However, the colorist painted the regional maps, both Ptolemaic and modern, very differently indeed from the workshop scheme: all of the regional maps are simply painted in the color of their continent on the world map, with no distinguishing of political units at all. Illustration 14 for example, the modern map of northern Africa, shows the whole upper half of Africa in green, with no political divisions at all, part of Europe in red, and part of Asia in yellow.

18. Images of two of the maps in the Zentralbibliothek Zurich copy are available via the library's online catalog at <<https://www.zb.uzh.ch/>>.



4. The Philosophy of the Workshop Coloring Scheme

The workshop coloring scheme for the 1513 Ptolemy was certainly less expensive than those for the 1482 and 1486 editions, which used brighter paints with more expensive pigments for the oceans. The blue used in the 1482 edition in particular must have been costly.¹⁹ So it would seem that Waldseemüller and his colleagues hoped to reach a broader market with the hand-colored copies of their edition, which is an interest we would expect from a group that had experimented with color printing of their maps.

It is possible to detect the philosophy that underlies the workshop coloring scheme in the 1513 Ptolemy. The central part of most maps, presumably what was thought to be the most important part of the map, was usually left without color, while color was applied to the peripheral areas so as to indicate the political divisions between them and the central area. This organization of the coloring is particularly clear in the eighth map of Europe (illustration 16), the first map of Africa (illustration 17), and the sixth map of Asia (illustration 18).²⁰ Also see illustration 7, the second map of Europe: Hispania is left without color, while Lusitania, Betica, Gallia, and part of northern Africa are painted. The scheme would seem to be based on a tacit acknowledgement that color does interfere at least to some extent with reading place names, and the consequent belief that it is better to leave the most important part of the map uncolored. Cost-saving is another virtue of the scheme: by employing white (in effect) as one of the colors to distinguish regions, the colorist has to use at least somewhat less paint.

There are exceptions to this tendency to leave a central part of the map without color, for example in the Ptolemaic maps of the British Isles and Italy. The former map is illustrated in illustration 18: presumably all of the British Isles are the focus of the map, but they are not left without color: Ireland is painted red and the most of Britain yellow, while Scotland, which juts to the east, is colored with a light gray wash. With all due respect to Scotland, it does not seem that Waldseemüller and Schott intended to place particular emphasis on that region. Waldseemüller no doubt realized that if the British Isles were left without color, there would be almost no contrast between them and the surrounding lightly-washed sea. At the same time, differences in color were needed between the parts of the Isles (Ireland, England, and Scotland), and the light gray wash was chosen for Scotland. The situation is similar with the sixth map of Europe (Italy): if the Italian peninsula were

19. On the cost of hand-coloring see Woodward, David. "Techniques of Map Engraving...": 603, who says that coloring added 50% to the cost of a map. Ehrensvärd, Ulla. "Color in Cartography...": 139, says that coloring "very seldom contributed more than a quarter of the cost of an uncolored map". Imhof, Dirk. "The Production of Ortelius Atlases by Christopher Plantin", *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death, 1598-1998*, Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt, Peter Meurer, eds. Houten: HES Publisher, 1998: 79-92, p. 82, cites evidence that coloring could double the cost of an atlas; while Goedings, Truusje. 'Afs setters en meester-afsetters': *De kunst van het kleuren 1480-1720*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2015: 71, cites evidence that it could quadruple the cost.

20. Other maps in the workshop coloring scheme where this pattern is particularly clear are the third map of Africa, the second, third, and tenth maps of Asia, and the modern map of the Iberian Peninsula.



left uncolored, there would be almost no contrast between it and the surrounding seas.

The inspiration for this philosophy of coloring the maps in the 1513 Ptolemy is not far to seek: a similar system was used in the hand-colored copies of the 1482 and 1486 editions, though I have never seen this system identified or described in the scholarship about those editions. This scheme is evident in both illustration 1, from the 1482 edition, and illustration 2, from the 1486 edition. But Waldseemüller and his colleagues took the system further than those who initiated it in the 1482 edition: in illustration 1, the Ptolemaic map of the Iberian Peninsula, France and the northern tip of Africa are left uncolored, but they are colored in illustration 7, which is the same map in the 1513 edition. One finds a similar greater development of this system in the 1513 edition in comparing its maps with the corresponding ones in the 1482 edition. As a result, the system is easier to distinguish in the 1513 edition, so it is not surprising that it had not been noticed in the earlier editions. The fact that this system was current also means that it is not surprising that it is used in the non-workshop-colored copies of the 1513 edition.

5. Conclusions

In identifying the workshop coloring scheme in the maps of the 1513 Ptolemy, this study has allowed us to obtain a much better understanding of how Martin Waldseemüller, one of the most important cartographers of the sixteenth century, thought a map should be colored—that is, a much better understanding than is possible from the color-printed maps of the British Isles and of Lorraine in the same edition. The fact that the workshop scheme would cost less in terms of pigments than the workshop schemes in the 1482 and 1486 editions suggests an interest by Waldseemüller, Ringmann, and Schott in reaching a wider audience with their work, in the diffusion of visually attractive maps further down the social scale. And the scheme was based on sound cartographic logic: leave the central part of the map uncolored to make the place names in that region more legible, to use less paint, and to take advantage of the white of the unpainted page as a color for distinguishing political entities.²¹

21. I thank the Clements Library for their generous support of this research in the form of a Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowship, April to May, 2014. I first presented the results at the conference “Paint over Print: Hand-Colored Books and Maps of the Early Modern Period,” at the Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, February 19, 2015, which I co-organized with Larry Tise. I also thank Ad Stijnman for his comments on a draft of this article.



6. Appendix: Census of the Hand-Colored Exemplars of the 1513 Edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*

Copies of the book that have only a few hand-colored maps are excluded. When a digital version of a specific hand-colored exemplar is available, that is indicated with a note.

6.1. Europe

Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, Magazin AKB RarF 1
Workshop coloring scheme

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Kart. KS 2° Vp 2616
Workshop coloring scheme

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Inc C 202
Workshop coloring scheme

Cambridge, Cambridge University, Trinity Hall Old Library, E.II.30
Workshop coloring scheme

Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, S. 3796
Non-workshop coloring

Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, H62/ CIM.P 54
Non-workshop coloring
Available in digital format

Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, H62 Inc 1906a
Non-workshop coloring
Available in digital format

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cartografia, C.A. 152 V.
Non-workshop coloring
Available in digital format

London, British Library, Maps C.1.e.10.
Non-workshop coloring

London, British Library, Items Maps C.1.d.9.
Workshop coloring scheme

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 881



Non-workshop coloring
Available in digital format

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarin, 2° 4870 B 2e ex.
Workshop coloring scheme (twelve maps missing)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL SG BON S-3
Non-workshop coloring scheme

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-1009 RES
Workshop coloring scheme
Available in digital format from <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-1010 RES
Workshop coloring scheme
Available in digital format from <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Tolbiac RES-G-42
Non-workshop coloring

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Tolbiac, Smith Lesouëf. Rés. 35
Non-workshop coloring

Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, Cc-8673
Workshop coloring scheme

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Inc. gg 25
Workshop coloring scheme

Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, Altbestand, Magazin Rara, ZBSO Rar II 157
Non-workshop coloring

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Kartensammlung V ZZ 19
Non-workshop coloring

6.2. Middle East

Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, System Number 003092875, copy 5
Workshop coloring scheme.



6.3. *North America*

Ann Arbor, MI, Clements Library, Atl 1513 Pt, copy 1
Workshop coloring scheme

Bloomington, IN, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Vault Flat G1005 1513
Non-workshop coloring

Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, pf *65-592
Non-workshop coloring

Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, Special Collections A 1513.P76
Non-workshop coloring
Available in digital format

Chicago, Newberry Library, VAULT Ayer 6.P9 1513
Non-workshop coloring

La Jolla, CA, Map & Atlas Museum of La Jolla
Non-workshop coloring

New Haven, CT, Yale Center for British Art, Folio A 2011 10
Workshop coloring scheme

New York, New York Public Library, *KB+++ 1513, copy 2
Non-workshop coloring

Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, Folio G87.P8 L3 1513 Cage
Non-workshop coloring scheme

Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Rare Book and Manuscript Division,
Rosenwald Collection, Rosenwald 624
Workshop coloring scheme

Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Library, Am1513.P75 ffolio
Non-workshop coloring

6.4. *South America*

Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional
Workshop coloring scheme (colors very faded)
Available in digital format





ILLUSTRATION 1. THE SECOND MAP OF EUROPE IN A COPY OF THE 1486 EDITION OF PTOLEMY'S *GEOGRAPHY* THAT HAS THE 1482 WORKSHOP COLORING SCHEME. FROM THE RENAISSANCE EXPLORATION MAP COLLECTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY. COURTESY OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.



ILLUSTRATION 2. THE FIFTH MAP OF ASIA FROM THE 1486 EDITION OF PTOLEMY'S *GEOGRAPHY*, SHOWING THE WORKSHOP COLORING SCHEME, WITH BROWN OCEANS. BARRY LAWRENCE RUDERMAN MAP COLLECTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY. COURTESY OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.





ILLUSTRATION 3. THE TWO-COLOR-PRINTED MAP OF THE BRITISH ISLES IN THE 1513 EDITION OF PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY AT THE YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, FOLIO A 2011 10. COURTESY OF THE YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART.



ILLUSTRATION 4. THE THREE-COLOR-PRINTED MAP OF LORRAINE IN THE 1513 EDITION OF PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION, G1005 1513 VAULT: FOL. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.





ILLUSTRATION 5. THE “ADMIRAL’S MAP” WITH WORKSHOP COLORING IN THE AARAU, SWITZERLAND, COPY OF THE 1513 PTOLEMY, AARGAUER KANTONSBIBLIOTHEK, MAGAZIN AKB RARF 1. COURTESY OF THE AARGAUER KANTONSBIBLIOTHEK.



ILLUSTRATION 6. THE “ADMIRAL’S MAP” WITH WORKSHOP COLORING IN THE ROSENWALD COLLECTION COPY OF THE 1513 PTOLEMY, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT DIVISION, ROSENWALD COLLECTION, ROSENWALD 624. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.





ILLUSTRATION 7. THE SECOND MAP OF EUROPE IN THE AARAU COPY OF THE 1513 PTOLEMY, AARGAUER KANTONSBIBLIOTHEK, MAGAZIN AKB RARF 1. COURTESY OF THE AARGAUER KANTONSBIBLIOTHEK.

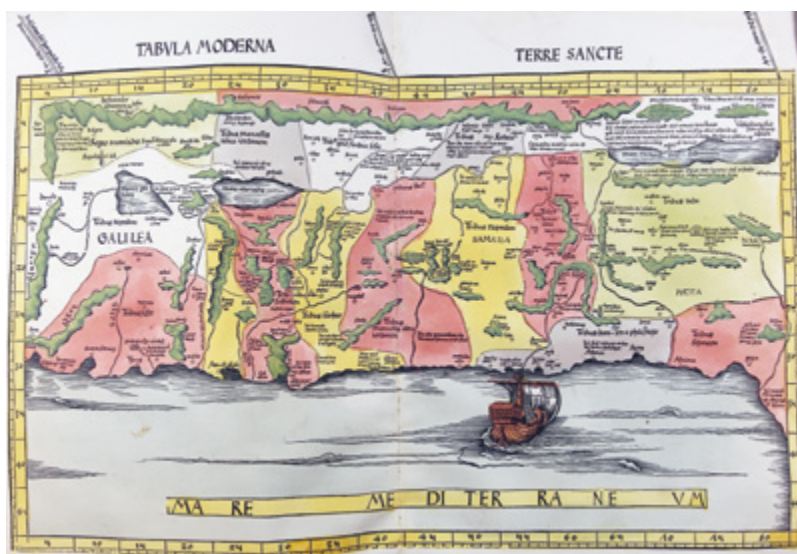


ILLUSTRATION 8. MODERN MAP OF THE HOLY LAND WITH WORKSHOP COLORING IN ROSTOCK, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ROSTOCK, Cc-8673. COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ROSTOCK.

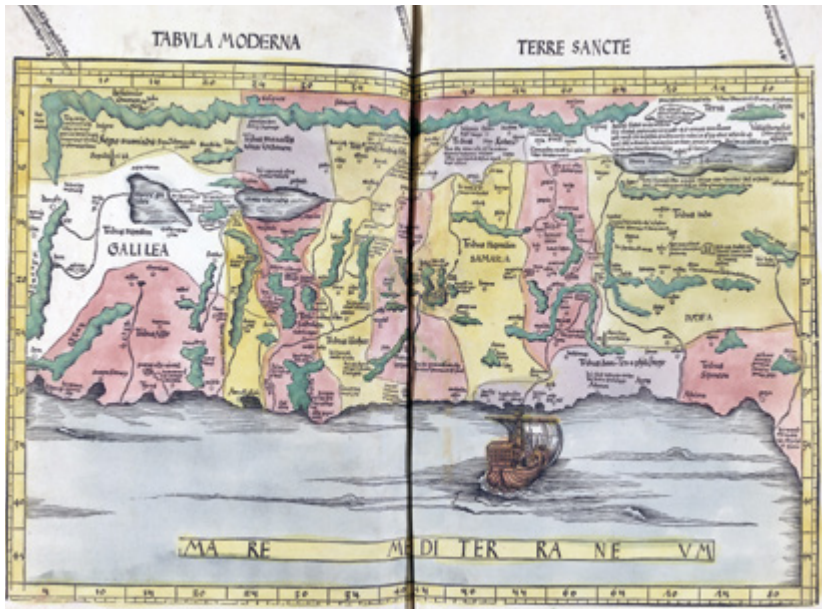


ILLUSTRATION 9. MODERN MAP OF THE HOLY LAND WITH VARIANT WORKSHOP COLORING IN YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, FOLIO A 2011 10. COURTESY OF THE YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART.



ILLUSTRATION 10. MODERN MAP OF THE HOLY LAND WITH NON-WORKSHOP COLORING IN MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, RAR. 881. COURTESY OF THE BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK.



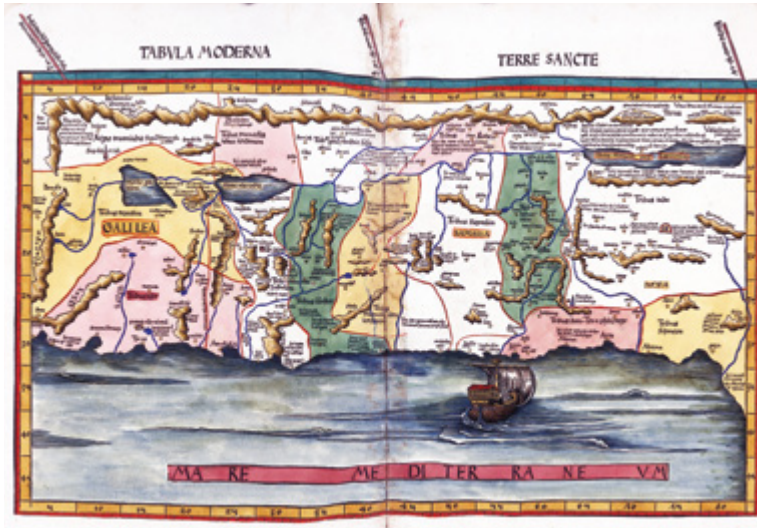


ILLUSTRATION 11. MODERN MAP OF THE HOLY LAND WITH NON-WORKSHOP COLORING IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS A 1513 .P76. COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARIES.



ILLUSTRATION 12. MODERN MAP OF THE HOLY LAND WITH NON-WORKSHOP COLORING IN COLMAR, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, S. 3796. COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE COLMAR.



ILLUSTRATION 13. MODERN WORLD MAP IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ERLANGEN-NÜRNBERG, H62/ CIM.P 54. COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ERLANGEN-NÜRNBERG.



ILLUSTRATION 14. MODERN MAP OF NORTHERN AFRICA IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ERLANGEN-NÜRNBERG, H62/ CIM.P 54. COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK ERLANGEN-NÜRNBERG.



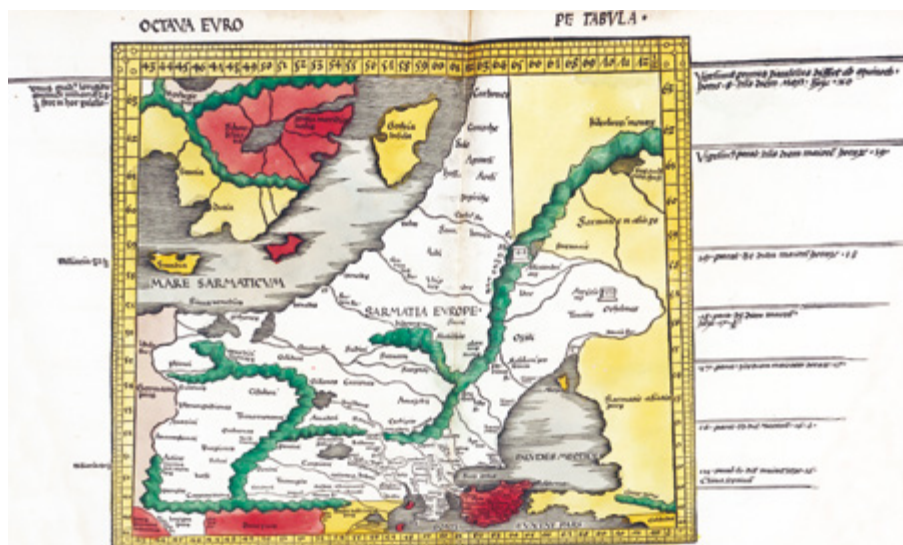


ILLUSTRATION 15. EIGHTH MAP OF EUROPE IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, KART. KS 2° Vp 2616. COURTESY OF THE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN.



ILLUSTRATION 16. FIRST MAP OF AFRICA IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, FOLIO A 2011 10. COURTESY OF THE YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART.



ILLUSTRATION 17. SIXTH MAP OF ASIA IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, FOLIO A 2011 10. COURTESY OF THE YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART.



ILLUSTRATION 18. FIRST MAP OF EUROPE IN THE 1513 PTOLEMY IN AARGAUER KANTONSbibliothek, Magazin AKB RARF 1. COURTESY OF THE AARGAUER KANTONSbibliothek.



NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY: RE-ENACTMENT IN SOUTHERN EUROPE, A VIEW FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DIDACTICS

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ABSTRACT

Historical re-enactment has arisen in recent years as an important tool for the dissemination of mediaeval history. However, in Spain a debate has developed around its consideration as a philanthropic practice or as a discipline assisted by historic method that may serve as a means for researching or communicating the past. Is this a valuable tool for the dissemination of mediaeval history? This article analyses the virtues and deficiencies of a model that has its roots in the English-speaking world, and which in Spain has been eclipsed by other archetypes rooted in folklore and popular festivals. We will reflect on the role that may be played by didactics to transform this, to a certain extent undervalued, resource.

KEYWORDS

Historical re-enactment, Didactics in the Social Sciences, dissemination, Middle Ages, didactical museography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Repraesentatio historica, Disciplina in socialibus scientiis, Dissemination, Medium aevum, Disciplina museographica.

1. Introduction

*Enseñar no tiene otro sentido que mostrar cómo difieren las cosas en sus diferentes propósitos, formas y orígenes. Por lo tanto, quien diferencia bien, enseña bien.*¹ With this quotation from his *Didactica Magna*, not pronounced by chance, John Amos Comenius lay the epistemological foundations for the teaching of scientific knowledge. Henceforth, it would not be a question merely of what we teach, but of how we teach, making methodological aspects the fundamental basis for any educational process.

With this article, I set out to approach how knowledge of the Middle Ages is being disseminated in southern Europe through the practice of historical re-enactment. The analysis will focus not only on the efforts made in recent decades in this respect but will also examine the new routes being taken by this method of disseminating the Middle Ages, with trends that compete with and exceed traditional initiatives for knowledge transfer. Thus, we will try to offer an analysis from the perspective of didactics, or, to put it another way: of the methodological processes that give rise to teaching-learning situations, developed in informal contexts and which, despite germinating from an interest in the simple dissemination of history, propose spaces for knowledge that make it possible to decode our mediaeval past and which could be included among the resources inherent to this scientific-pedagogic discipline. We will analyse the methodological premises with which mediaeval re-enactment is approached by the different groups by which it is performed, and whether we are really in the presence of a formally-constituted phenomenon by which to disseminate the past or rather a hobby that, tangentially, exercises dissemination in a complementary manner. The key, in this respect, will be to uncover the didactic elements in the development of this practice and to examine what should be present in the event that this is solely and exclusively a tool to educate on the past.

Currently the conception of re-enactment is related to diverse segments of activity. The performers themselves define what they do and why they do it in very different ways, and this establishes, to a certain extent, the way in which they re-enact. Indeed, the assumption of this discipline alternates between various relational areas imposed by the nature, training and aspirations of the performers. These areas include, for example, the scenic arts, narrative practices (such as role plays), education, dissemination,² scientific research (and its ties to

1. "To teach means scarcely anything more than to show how things differ from one another in their different purposes, forms and origins. Therefore, he who differentiates well teaches well". Comenius, Jan Amos. *Didactica magna*, transl. Saturnino López Peces. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1986: 133 (Chapter 16: Requisitos generales para aprender y enseñar. Esto es: De qué modo debemos enseñar y aprender con tal seguridad y necesariamente hayan de experimentarse los efectos).

2. This aspect is dealt with, almost exclusively, by the work of Cózar, in: Cózar Llistó, Guillermo. "La Recreación Histórica en España. Definición, caracterización y perspectivas de aplicación". *Glyphos: Revista de Arqueología*, 2 (2013): 9-11, in which he establishes a methodology for the systematisation of the practice from research to re-enactment, in order to preserve history. Also interesting, along the same lines, is: Agnew, Vanessa. "Introduction: what is reenactment?". *Criticism*, 46/3 (2004): 327-339. And at a less specialised level: Cabrera Asensio, Jonathan. "Las recreaciones históricas y sus fundamentos: (qué es, quiénes somos, cómo crearlas)". *ASRI: Arte y sociedad. Revista de investigación*, 3 (2013).

experimental archaeology), museology and museography, or philanthropic aims.³ Some, when they recreate, assume that they are actors and they interpret roles. Others, however, do so only to disseminate the past, therefore they concentrate on aspects of daily life or models, interpreting characters without identity, casting aside any allusions related to the interpretation and assumption of roles. Some examples of this would be reconstructing how dyes were made to dye clothes in the 12th century, reaping a field of wheat as it was done in Catalonia in the 15th century, or illuminating and writing in an empty codex with rotunda script for the choir of an abbey while dressed in Benedictine habits. And there are also those who recreate solely and exclusively to research the past in order to subsequently publish what has been experienced or to submit it to debate. In any case, it is assumed that the practice of historical re-enactment implies some unavoidable conditioning factors by which it differs from an ordinary theatrical play or performance. Ultimately it goes beyond mere entertainment. In fact, those who recreate coincide in that historical re-enactment is, solely and exclusively, the practice of reconstructing uses, customs, material culture and aspects of the past based on specifically scientific norms, to achieve objectives related to cultural dissemination and education. Historical re-enactment differs, therefore, from other manifestations related to history that lack this scientific support and the indissoluble factor of dissemination.

In this process various factors come into play, if we look at the definition provided. Of these, three, in particular, stand out: 1) research, 2) dissemination and 3) education. With regard to the re-enactment of the Middle Ages, not only in the southern European countries such as Spain, Portugal or Italy, but also in the rest of the continent, we will see that these three factors structure the framework in a very distinct way, and even on the basis of the inexistence of one or more of them.

As a consequence, one of the main aims of this study will be to look in depth at which heuristic procedures are adopted beforehand in order to practice the re-enactment of mediaeval history; which resources, skills and actions are used to achieve the dissemination of the past which is supposedly recreated; and which didactic methodologies are implemented, in the event that they are included in the development of the practice.

3. The inclinations, uses and different developments of historical re-enactment are dealt with thoroughly in the work of Jay Anderson, probably one of the authors who has examined this topic in greatest depth at global level: Anderson, Jay. *A Living History Reader*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1991: 3-12 (Chapter 1: "Living history"); Anderson, Jay. *Time machines: The world of living history*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1984; Anderson, Jay. "Living history: Simulating everyday life in living museums". *American Quarterly*, 34/3 (1982): 290-306; Anderson, Jay. *The living history sourcebook*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1985.



2. Regarding concepts

In any of the scenarios with which we closed the previous chapter, the concept of historical re-enactment is linked to that of “living history”,⁴ which is simply the result of reconstructing, staging and bringing back to life historical scenes. Thus, this concept is usually adapted to heritage spaces, museums or educational contexts, since its use is not unusual (especially in central and northern Europe) in castles, archaeological ruins, religious architecture, palaces and other heritage assets as the main attraction of their cultural offering.

It is appropriate to situate, albeit superficially, the origin of mediaeval re-enactments in Mediterranean societies. Recreating history is not a recent practice. It is fitting to remember the custom in Ancient Rome of representing scenes from the past to magnify the glory of the civilisation; these great events included the representation of feats of arms such as *naumachiae*, battles and other great undertakings.⁵ Although it is less widely known, just as Rome reconstructed its glories, mediaeval European societies did likewise with their own, and the Iberians, specifically, did so with relative frequency.

The ideological component has been the main factor behind the practices of commemorating the past by re-enactment. Since the 15th century, in an official and institutionalised manner, Mediterranean Europe has re-enacted its immediate past to reinforce its own cultural, political and religious nature. Thus, Spain, Italy and Portugal filled their festive and public events with representations of victories against the Moors. These re-enactments adopted different aspects, such as battles, parades, games, tournaments or dances. As early as the 16th century, the Habsburg monarchs normalised these practices in Spain with shows and pageantry that responded to a totally ideological motive: to justify and extol their Christian empire against the Muslim past, defeated long ago, for the glory of the civilisation led by the Christian princes. The roots of today's festivals of Moors and Christians lie in this Mediterranean tradition, despite the fact that the origin of the current celebrations in Spain dates from the 19th century. In any case, this mediaeval and renaissance model gradually replaced the ideological factor that propitiated them until they fell out of favour as of the 18th century, when their practice was restricted to rural environments, to be subsequently revived on the basis of a festive model such as that which still prevails.⁶ In any case, the phenomenon of the festivals

4. “Living history” is the original designation in English.

5. For further information on the projection of events of this type in Ancient Rome, and their ideological conditioning factors, see: Auguet, Roland. *Crueldad y civilización: los juegos romanos*. Barcelona: Aymá, 1972: p. 57; and Blázquez, José María. “Circo y fieras en la Roma antigua. Pantomimas y naumaquias”. *Jano*, 119 (1974): 91-97.

6. Understanding the sociological phenomenon of the festivals of Moors and Christians today is linked to the dualist concept that gives them their meaning. All in all, a notable aspect in this tradition is that this dualism was already present as a festive germ in the archaic mediaeval and renaissance practices, when dozens of practices were staged around this dichotomy, such as those known as *Morescas*, *Morismas* or *Soldadescas*, and even in mediaeval tournaments, the Hispanic nature of which was that of representing this dualism via, for example, the lance combats known as *juegos de cañas*. Precedents can also be found

of Moors and Christians is the irrefutable proof of the coexistence of an ancient tradition alongside the contemporary phenomenon of historical re-enactment. Re-enactment, compared with this type of folkloric events, is seen as a different, distant, alien practice. Contrast is seen not only in the enormous differences between both practices with regard to costumes, props and staging, but in their very development. They differ not only in purpose, but also in form. Re-enactment has taken history from the shelves, has made it palpable, brought it back to life and shows it to society to provide knowledge with supposed scientific guarantees. The festivals of Moors and Christians seek, and have sought, to maintain a cultural and folkloric tradition based on our past, but they lack informative spirit and scientific process in their articulation and implementation. Through re-enactment, by way of example, we can explain why it is convenient to cook goose feathers in sand, as in the Middle Ages, before using them as quills for writing.⁷ By means of festivals of Moors and Christians we cannot explain any of this; in fact, we do not attempt to explain anything by means of these festivals, they serve a different purpose. However, although they diverge with regard to “why” and “how”, they do not differ with regard to “what”. So different, yet so alike. How have we changed?

If, as we have seen, the origin of the phenomenon of re-enactment lies in the dawn of the Middle Ages, the origin of modern historical re-enactment is situated just a few decades ago. It began in the United States, specifically in the 1960s. It was during these years that the American Civil War (1861-1865) began to be commemorated by means of historical re-enactments. From then on, the number of groups and associations dedicated to this discipline began to grow and diversify, with societies and federations being formed at national level, a model that then spread to Europe shortly afterwards.⁸ In Spain, this cultural disembarkation can be situated in the middle of the 1990s, when the first ancient and mediaeval re-enactment groups began to form.⁹

However, we cannot say that the interests and motives of the groups that stage mediaeval re-enactments are the same; we referred to this in the introductory chapter. Although the ultimate purpose of re-enactment is exclusively dissemination, many groups that re-enact the Middle Ages lack serious and solid assumptions in this respect, when they do not contribute to glorifying other types of historical events of doubtful rigor. Furthermore, it is ascertained from circles and forums of mediaeval re-enactors that historical re-enactment, in Spain, boasts of an eminently didactic vocation, but in practice this is often not the case, since the great majority of those

in the religious tradition linked to the actual rites of the specific liturgies, as in the case of the vignettes, or *sainetes*, of Corpus Christi in the 15th century. See: Albert-Llorca, Marlène; González Alcantud, José Antonio, eds. *Moros y cristianos: representaciones del otro en las fiestas del Mediterráneo occidental*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2003.

7. They could not otherwise be used for writing.

8. Cortadella, Jordi. “Los grupos de recreación histórica (historical re-enactment)”, *La guerra en la Antigüedad desde el presente*, Jordi Vidal, Borja Antela, eds. Zaragoza: Libros Pórtico, 2011: 94.

9. Balbás, Yeyo. “La Recreación Histórica”. *Despertaferro-ediciones.com*. 24 July 2015. Ediciones Desperta Ferro. 17 November 2017 <<https://www.despertaferro-ediciones.com/2015/07/24/recreacion-historica/>>.



who practice this discipline are not familiar with the methodological principles that turn a demonstrative process into a didactic resource. To practice didactics, it is not enough to dress with more or less historical accuracy and live as in the Middle Ages.

For this it is necessary to clarify some of the concepts that intervene in the final result of the practice of historical re-enactment when it is accompanied by the dissemination of history and heritage. These terms include dissemination, interpretation and didactics, which are by no means synonymous.

The Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*) understands *divulgación* ("dissemination") as *Publicar, extender, poner al alcance del público algo*.¹⁰

Does historical re-enactment disseminate? Nothing makes us think otherwise, if it is performed with the aim of explaining what is done, and contextualising it in the environment in which it is being done if this is important for the practice itself. In this case, the level of projection would be the same as that represented by the communications media, non-specialised literature, videogames, role-playing games, cinema, documentaries or other traditional resources.¹¹ Dissemination, therefore, is no more than the act of transforming scientific knowledge into a processed construct that makes it possible to awaken the interest of a non-specialised audience. But there is no guarantee that this knowledge will be assimilated, learned, adopted or subsequently used by this seduced audience.¹²

10. "Publish, extend, make something available to the public". "Divulgar". *Real Academia de la Lengua Española*. 1 December 2017. <<https://dle.rae.es/?id=E1q9Jgy>>.

11. The bibliography of analysis on the dissemination of history and heritage in the Middle Ages is extensive, and we do not aim to offer a detailed study of the extent of the scientific studies in this respect, although as an introduction to knowledge in this field we recommend: Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "Reflexiones en torno a la difusión del Patrimonio Histórico", *Difusión del Patrimonio Histórico*, Marcelo Martín Guglielmino, ed. Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1996: 14-27; Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "Difusión del Patrimonio I: La Historia". *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, 5 (1993): 6-7; and Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "La difusión del patrimonio. Actualización y debate". *e-rph-Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 1 (2007): 195-215, from a generalist perspective. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. "Videojuegos y Edad Media". *Imago temporis: Medium Aevum*, 3 (2009): 551-587, with regard to videogames. Hernández Corchete, Sira. *La historia contada en televisión. El documental televisivo de divulgación histórica en España*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2008; Barrio, Juan Antonio. "La Edad Media en el cine del siglo XX". *Medievalismo*, 15 (2005): 241-268; Alonso, Juan José; Alonso, Jorge; Mastache, Enrique. *La Edad Media en el cine*. Madrid: T & B Editores, 2007; and Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Cultura Visual y enseñanza de la historia. La percepción de la Edad Media". *EARI – Educación Artística Revista de Investigación*, 2 (2011): 153-160, with regard to the Middle Ages in film and television. And Millán, M^a Dolors. "La simulación y la representación de la realidad", *Estrategias de simulación: Ora, un modelo innovador para aprender del medio*, Saturnino de la Torre, ed. Barcelona: Octaedro, 1997, if we wish to know more about games and simulation processes in the dissemination of this period; this latter article, also with perspectives for didactics.

12. Regarding the exclusively informative function of re-enactment see: Cózar Llistó, Guillermo, "La Recreación Histórica...": 9-11; Del Barco Díaz, Miguel. "La recreación histórica como medio para la divulgación de la historia", *La Divulgación de la Historia y otros estudios sobre Extremadura*, Félix Iñesta Mena, ed. Llerena: Sociedad Extremeña de la Historia, 2010: 243-254; and Rojas Rabaneda, Antonio. "Herramientas y estrategias de difusión del Patrimonio Histórico: los eventos de recreación histórica en Cataluña". *e-rph-Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 9 (2011): 89-110.

The concept of interpretation of heritage was coined by Freeman Tilden in 1977,¹³ and he says that it is:

*Una actividad educativa que pretende revelar significados e interrelaciones mediante el uso de objetos originales, experiencias de primera mano y medios ilustrativos, en lugar de simplemente transmitir la información de los hechos.*¹⁴

From this definition it is ascertained, first of all, that to interpret the past a conscious intermediation is necessary that prioritises strategies based on additional resources over the mere explanation of any scientific knowledge or content. Tilden, however, asserts that the act of interpretation in itself is already an educational action, which could carry the discussion to a different context from that which concerns us here.¹⁵ In any case it is evident that this interpretative process requires the projection of a methodology for its application. Historical re-enactment, taken as one of these strategies for the interpretation of the past, has many possibilities in this respect, despite the fact that in the majority of cases this interpretational process is not carried out with original objects, but with the evocation of material culture, customs and attitudes of the past. Likewise, the perspective changes if we take historical re-enactment as the protagonist in the intermediation of this interpretative action; not the end with which to interpret, but the means. And for this it is essential to link this practice with the heritage itself, in the context of either museums or buildings (monuments, archaeological sites...).

If we accept that historical re-enactment constitutes one of the most efficient strategies for the interpretation of the past, it is necessary to analyse whether this is also true with regard to its use as a didactical methodology for the teaching of history.

Didactics is a scientific-pedagogic discipline that studies the techniques and methods of teaching. Comenius defined it as the art of teaching, or *artificio universal para enseñar todas las cosas a todos con rapidez, alegría y eficacia*.¹⁶ Indeed, didactics

13. In his work, now a cult publication: Tilden, Freeman. *La interpretación de nuestro patrimonio*. Pamplona: Asociación para la interpretación del patrimonio, 2015.

14. An educational activity that sets out to reveal meanings and interrelationships via the use of original objects, first-hand experiences and illustrative media, instead of simply transmitting the information regarding the facts. Tilden, Freeman. *La interpretación...*: 37.

15. In order for an educational act to take place, a transfer is necessary, that is, *el efecto de un aprendizaje previo sobre uno nuevo o sobre la resolución de un problema* ("the effect of prior learning on new learning or on problem solving"); and for this to occur via what is known as significant learning. See Mayer, Richard E. *Psicología de la Educación. Enseñar para un aprendizaje significativo*. Madrid: Pearson, 2004: II, 7. Tilden's method lacks, a priori, a pedagogic study that allows us to guarantee the use of a fully educational methodology in this interpretation process. This does not imply that the interpretation of heritage in the terms proposed by Tilden is not a valid premise for education, on the contrary: Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía didáctica*. Lleida: Milenio, 2011: 42-43, especially if we observe that it is the basis for what is known as emerging museology: Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...*: 143 and ss.

16. "The whole art of teaching all things to all men with certainty, pleasantly and thoroughly". Comenius, Jan Amos. *Didáctica...*: 163.



concerns the strategies put into practice by the main theorists of pedagogy, therefore it should ensure that learning exists. Neither dissemination nor interpretation guarantees the existence of solid and lasting learning of history; didactics, therefore, is used in creating a transformation in the mind of the audience. As a discipline with a scientific foundation inserted in education sciences it needs a method, which leads us to ask ourselves: Is didactics all that surrounds the practice of historical re-enactment? No, as we will analyse below; not even, on occasions, the part that most boasts of this. Can it be a resource for didactics? Yes, but it is necessary to make changes in the current focus of mediaeval re-enactment in order for this to be the case without reservations.

3. Regarding models

Almost since its modern beginnings, the practice has become hierarchically structured with regard to the level of authenticity. In its formal circles three levels or categories are established, which are known in English as: *farb*, *mainstream* and *progressive*, the latter also being referred to as *hardcore*.¹⁷ It has also been associated with other terms, such as *elite warrior*.¹⁸

But if what we seek is an in-depth reflection from the point of view of the management of cultural heritage and the dissemination of scientific knowledge in relationship with the phenomenon of mediaeval historic re-enactments in southern Europe, we need to embark on the real debate that currently concerns this, which is none other than that of models. Returning to folkloric traditions which, as we have seen, have their roots in the festivals of Moors and Christians, the real phenomenon that has blurred the practice of re-enactment in Spain as an element of historic dissemination has been the appearance, in the 1980s, of a typically Iberian model: historical fairs. Historical fair and historical re-enactment are not synonyms, despite the fact that they are frequently erroneously compared. In fact, they correspond to two models that are, if anything, opposed with regard to the dissemination of history. We could say that there is at present a cultural *iron curtain* in Europe. This frontier would leave on one side the south of Europe and its historical fairs and, on the other side, the centre and north of Europe and English-speaking countries

17. These three scales refer to the level of authenticity of the re-enactor. Thus, *farbs* are those whose concern for full historic rigor would take second place; *mainstream* re-enactors make up the majority of the re-enactment community, with a greater interest in this authenticity; and *progressives* include the purist re-enactors, who set out to live a total immersion in the past. By way of example, the latter knit and sew their costumes by hand, they use totally handcrafted elements, select natural fibres and even dye them using totally historic methods. For further information on the terminology and the controversy that sometimes arises, see: Hodges, Phil. "Inglorious farb'terds". *War History Online*. 18 April 2015. War History Online. 17 November 2017 <<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/articles/inglorious-farbsterds-by-phil-hodges.html>>.

18. Referring to re-enactors keen on battles and combats, owing to their connection to leather and steel: Balbás, Yeyo. "La Recreación...".



with regard to historical re-enactment. As always occurs, the phenomenon of historical fairs is inherent to all the countries of the old continent,¹⁹ however, it is in countries such as Spain, Italy, France and Portugal where real cultural industries have been developed in this respect.

In Spain, historical fairs have become consolidated as a very powerful industry, with turnovers that other cultural industries would like to see. There are numerous examples that attract thousands of people every time they are held, such as Mediaeval Week in Montblanc (Tarragona); the Carthaginians and Romans festival (Cartagena), one of the most important events by volume of actions and participants, which was created in 1989; the *Festa del Renaixement* of Tortosa, held for the first time in 1996; or the celebration of the Marriage of Isabel de Segura, known as the Lovers of Teruel, also set in the mediaeval era. We could provide many more examples. The current *Asociación Española de Fiestas y Recreaciones Históricas* was created in the year 2000 in Cartagena. Today, the AEFRH has members in most of the regions of Spain.

These historical fairs are usually organised at municipal level, and their main identifying features are the boost given to local trade during the days on which the fair is held and the encouragement of tourism. Likewise, they facilitate the festive participation of citizens, contributing to the creation of local volunteer groups or amateur agents who act according to management criteria devised by local traders, councillors responsible for festivities or tourism, and private event management companies.

This is the context for the overwhelming proliferation of mediaeval fairs and markets, both of which are events that respond to similar criteria of organisation, management and scheduling. In general, these events almost completely lack historical rigor, and their aim, like that of the festivals of Moors and Christians, is not to communicate or interpret the past, rather they seek solely commercial, festive and recreational aims. On many occasions, events of this type are embellished with clichés of little academic value, taken from the cinema and literature. The fact that they have grown without vocation for dissemination has led to amateurism in both management and participation, creating real stereotypes of costume and impedimenta that have little or nothing to do with the periods in which they are said to be set.²⁰ The Middle Ages are, at national level, the period that stimulates the largest number of events of this type, mediaeval markets constituting an example of a real bubble in the proliferation of pseudo-cultural by-products, representing one of the main stumbling blocks for the definitive consolidation of these manifestations as quality products.

All in all, although their interest for the conservation, dissemination and management of cultural heritage has been testimonial, it would be unfair to deny the role played by these events in Spain in this respect in recent decades, since they

19. The European Confederation of Historic Festivals and Events was founded in 1991 and it brings together associations from various countries: *Confédération Européenne des Fêtes et Manifestations Historiques*. 1 December 2017 <<http://www.cefmh.eu/>>.

20. See, by way of example, Cabezas Barrios, María. *La distorsión histórica y de las culturas no occidentales en las recreaciones y fiestas históricas*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017.



have given rise to shrewd interests in the conservation of heritage assets where events of this type have taken place.

Unfortunately, the recreational and commercial aims of this model have been met by an almost tomb-like silence from the different professional, academic and scientific communities of the territories where they have been developed. It is currently unusual to find a heritage manager, a museum, a local study centre or a university that is behind, or even collaborating with, the design of criteria for the organisation and documentation of manifestations of this type, despite the fact that the latter are fed by and publicise the historical processes that such institutions, the majority of which are public, have as their main area of study. The complete antagonism between the academic world and citizen-led manifestations of history is such, that it is hard to believe that history and heritage have mingled with citizens such as never before, and these centres of academic knowledge, the purpose of which should be this and none other, have had nothing to do with it. Something on which we should reflect.

But in addition to all that has been argued above, it is fair to assume that the role played by many of these manifestations (historical fairs, specifically) with a view to the dissemination of mediaeval history and heritage has been and continues to be praiseworthy, regardless of the level of authenticity and historical rigor, or of the dissemination of debatably banal aspects of history compared to other more important aspects that have been left aside. One should not deny that these popular events have allowed interest in the past to grow, and history continues to be a travelling companion well into the 21st century.

In contrast with manifestations of this type we find the model based on historical re-enactment, the majority model in the sphere of the Nordic countries, central Europe and English-speaking countries. This model, not at all at odds with the economic development of cultural industries, understands that historical re-enactment should not be circumscribed to a show in the strictest understanding of the term,²¹ nor should it pursue strictly commercial aims. Historical fairs, thematic markets or stage shows with a historic setting do not form part of historical re-enactment, insofar as they may lack scientific support in their planning and design, and their main objective is not dissemination, rather they are based on commercial, scenic or merely festive aims (notwithstanding the fact that, in some of these manifestations, dissemination also forms part of these aims unrelated to re-enactment). The model of management and dissemination of heritage based on re-enactment is characterised by a primordial interest in communicating history and cultural heritage.²² Underlying this argument is a question that is not trivial: is

21. It lacks the resources inherent to a show: scenic, spatial or technological. It is a show in the sense that it promotes intellectual contemplation and provokes delight, astonishment or other emotions.

22. For further information on organisational premises for the development of historical re-enactment models in heritage assets, see: Del Barco Díaz, Miguel. "La recreación histórica...": 243-254; Rojas Rabaneda, Antonio. "Herramientas y estrategias...": 89-110; Cortadella, Jordi. "Los grupos de recreación...": 91-140; Guzmán Ramos, Aldo; Fernández, Guillermina; Fernández, Silvia. "La recreación histórica como herramienta de la interpretación para recuperar y preservar el patrimonio en

an academic and serious model at odds with the development of a cultural industry that can reach the general public? Not at all, as the European examples show us. Furthermore, it arises as a method that is able to offer this tool for reflection on the past. The reasoning behind this premise is that it is not sufficient to conserve and study heritage; without the dissemination and democratisation of historical knowledge a large proportion of its cultural and social value is lost. The participation of citizens is indirect and, when it is direct, it takes place via reconstruction groups or organised entities that have carried out the appropriate research.

On the other hand, it is curious to note how another of the aims sought by this model is the raising of awareness among citizens regarding the conservation of heritage assets for future generations. It is not enough merely to communicate and interpret history, rather the heritage that has been left to us should be conserved and bequeathed to the future as part of our identity; in fact, this premise is linked to the social function advocated by this model.

And, as a consequence, the creation is promoted of quality cultural products that generate flows of cultural tourism and which value and focus work on projects for historical re-enactment constituted according to professional criteria. These projects remain in contact with research groups and university departments that guarantee and support the work behind the practice.

The construction and development of quality didactic projects based on historical re-enactment, however, is not new. The model arose with what are known as open-air museums, founded first in the United States and immediately afterwards in central Europe. This is the case of the city-museum of Williamsburg, in the state of Virginia. This project reproduces a real colonial city of the 18th century, where the visitor is submerged in a space with unpaved streets, shops full of colonial products, saloons, reconstructed wooden buildings and buggies drawn by horses. The details, material aspects and dissemination are given the utmost care, in a dream-like space that is completely cultural and museographical. The visitor does not go to see a traditional museum but blends in with a living society of that century that contextualises scenes and actions in the period and responds to the nature of the town.²³

Two pioneering models in Europe, similar to those of America, are Biskupin²⁴ in Poland and Eketorp,²⁵ Öland, in Sweden, both of which recreate ancient history. Biskupin is the scientific reconstruction of an 8th century BC commercial city on the same Iron Age site. It is laid out in the same way as the site in the era stated,

peligro". *Boletín de Interpretación*, 23 (2010): 18-23; and Leon, Warren; Piatt, Margaret. "Living history museums". *History museums in the United States: A critical assessment*, Warren Leon, Roy Rosenzweig, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989: 64-97.

23. For the methodological aspects of this open-air museum: Handler, Richard; Gable, Eric. *The new history in an old museum: Creating the past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997; and regarding the didactic projection of the Williamsburg model: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía didáctica*. Barcelona: Ariel Patrimonio, 2005: 76-78.

24. *Biskupin*. 1 December 2017 <<http://www.biskupin.pl>>.

25. *Eketorp*. 1 December 2017 <<http://www.eketorp.se>>.



based on a complex reconstruction project of a completely museographical nature. Its people provide live historical re-enactment and it includes spaces for scientific work at the site itself where the livestock and agriculture of the site are researched via experimental archaeology.²⁶

Eketorp is a 1st century AD fort, built on its own site. This reconstruction has been carried out according to scientific processes, making it another live archaeological museum where the inhabitants keep livestock, perform trades appropriate to the Scandinavian Iron Age and live at different times of the year in the same way as the culture that built this type of defensive spaces in the Baltic territories at the commencement of our era. Like Biskupin, Williamsburg and so many others, Eketorp is intended to attract visitors, communicate, educate and research.²⁷

Similar adoptions for the Middle Ages have proliferated in Europe in more recent stages. The model based on re-enactment, as we have already seen, not only involves universities, study centres, museums and heritage managers, but, on occasions, state institutions themselves are behind the maintenance and projection of initiatives for the research and dissemination of heritage by means of this tool. We refer to consortia such as *Historic Scotland*²⁸ or *English Heritage*.²⁹ These organisations depend directly on the government of the United Kingdom, and their purpose is to manage, conserve and publicise a great deal of publicly owned heritage.

Such consortia usually carry out the management of heritage assets with groups, projects and companies for the teaching and dissemination of history and heritage which use re-enactment as the main vehicle. The phenomenon of mediaeval markets, historical festivals or fancy-dress parades, so typical of Southern Europe,³⁰ have no place in this model of heritage management and promotion, which attracts millions of visitors every year and has as its main aim the diffusion of the history

26. These initiatives for historical re-enactment are inserted in larger projects such as open-air museums and *in situ* reconstructions of archaeological heritage.

27. For further information on the museographical, archaeological and historiographic treatment of these spaces we recommend some articles such as (Eketorp): Edgren, Bengt. "Eketorp Rediviva: 'an ongoing scientific discussion'". *Museum international*, 50/2 (1998): 10-15; and (Biskupin): Piotrowska, Danuta. "Biskupin 1933-1996: Archaeology, politics and nationalism". *Archaeologia Polona*, 35 (1997): 255-285. Scientific literature in Spanish, in this respect and of a monographic nature, is practically inexistent. Some details may be found in: Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...*: 31-38; or, tangentially, in the context arising from the discussions on the reconstructions of archaeological heritage and the social function of archaeology: Masriera Esquerra, Clara. "Las reconstrucciones arqueológicas: problemas y tendencias". *Her & Mus. Heritage & Museography*, 1 (2009): 41-49; Ruiz Zapatero, Gonzalo. "Fragmentos del pasado: la presentación de sitios arqueológicos y la función social de la arqueología". *Treballs d'Arqueologia*, 5 (1998): 7-34; Belarte, Maria Carme; Masriera Esquerra, Clara; Paardekooper, Roeland; Santacana Mestre, Joan, eds. *Actes de la VI Reunió Internacional d'Arqueologia de Calafell*. Barcelona: Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2013; and Santacana Mestre, Joan. "La arqueología experimental, una disciplina con alto potencial didáctico". *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 13/57 (2008): 7-16.

28. *Historic Scotland*. 1 December 2017 <<https://members.historic-scotland.gov.uk/>>.

29. *English Heritage*. 1 December 2017 <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>>.

30. And Spain.



and heritage of the United Kingdom and the creation of quality cultural industries around it.

As a case in point, the most massive historical commemoration event in this country is the re-enactment of the Battle of Hastings, a contest that took place in 1066 and in which the Duke of Normandy, William 'the Conqueror', won the throne of England from King Harold. This great re-enactment, organised by *English Heritage*, brings together every year thousands of historical re-enactors from across Europe and tens of thousands of visitors. The controls of authenticity in dress, panoplies, type of arms, gold and silver smithery, equestrianism, archery, military encampment and other factors are extremely restrictive among the re-enactors, and stringent research is required and imposed for its staging.³¹ And all to offer the general public a quality product, covering from the least specialised consumer to the specialist, who demands a serious product. Events of this type are articulated around different actions, some of which require an entrance fee. It is, at the same time, a cultural industry in the same way as professional theatre, dance, opera or cinema, which offers the spectator a quality product with guarantees. Compared to the little-specialised event, free of charge and for entertainment such as the model referred to above, a type of industry is observed which not only offers seriousness and responsibility with history and heritage, which belong to everybody, but which employs professionals from this branch of the humanities and social sciences, undervalued in a model such as the previous one, which generates a turnover of millions of euros around history but which, paradoxically, does not require specialised labour. Furthermore, this industry is, in many cases, sustainable; that is: it is funded by the end consumer, and not by all citizens with their taxes as occurs with other models, in which case they cannot select the quality of these products when they are deployed in the streets.

Another similar initiative is the *Jorvik Viking Centre*³² project, created in 1984 in York, United Kingdom. The cultural consumer experiences real time travel in this space, by being taken to the era of the Danelaw, and submerged in the city of York in the early Middle Ages. The reconstruction makes it possible to visit the site itself, reconstructed with spaces from the old Viking settlement, and it even shows the work of the archaeologists, which can be visited in person and understood. The centre also has a museum, visitor centre and re-enactments throughout the year.³³

A special mention is also deserved by the Guédelon project,³⁴ which constitutes another singular open-air museum. Guédelon in itself is exceptional. Located in Treigny, France, the project involves the construction of a 13th century castle using only the techniques and materials used in the Middle Ages. The work began in 1997 thanks to Michel Guyot, proprietor of the nearby castle of Saint-Fargeau,

31. Gapps, Stephen. "Mobile monuments: A view of historical reenactment and authenticity from inside the costume cup board of history". *Rethinking History*, 13/3 (2009): 395-409.

32. *Jorvik Viking Centre*. 2 December 2017 <<https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/>>.

33. Ballart Fernández, Josep; Juan i Tresserras, Jordi. *Gestión del patrimonio cultural*. Barcelona: Ariel Patrimonio, 2012: 206; and in: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía...*: 428.

34. *Guédelon*. 2 December 2017 <<https://www.guedelon.fr/>>.



and will continue until 2020, when it will be fully completed. The architectonic management of the site proposed the project as the reconstruction of a castle of the era of Philip II, and its completion using strictly materials, techniques and procedures of the period.³⁵ The project is designed, on the one hand, as a vast open-air museum based on didactics and experimental archaeology. On the other hand, as an incentive for the creation of jobs.³⁶ It therefore involves research into mediaeval building techniques and procedures: pulleys and scaffolding of the 12th and 13th centuries are used, the clothes of the re-enactors/builders are those of the time, the working methods, transportation and decoration of the materials are those of the Middle Ages, and a long et cetera of factors that make Guédelon a living museum. The reconstruction is a focus of attraction for universities, schools of engineering and architecture, as well as primary and secondary schools. It is not only projected for research and dissemination, it is also becoming consolidated as a motor for tourism development: it currently attracts more than 300,000 visitors per year.

With regard to southern Europe, it should be pointed out that although the model of dissemination of heritage based on re-enactment has had, and continues to have, less impact, some projects worthy of mention are currently being developed. In the case of Spain, historical re-enactment, in general, is in the embryo stage. The authorities are not yet familiar with this resource as a vehicle for the dissemination of heritage, and the academic world has practically no relationship with this discipline. In particular, the re-enactment of the Middle Ages in Spain constitutes the most notable example of this diaspora of attention. Spanish mediaeval re-enactment currently debates between its fatal permeability within a cultural model dominated by mediaeval markets and historical festivals, and the revindication of its development as a serious practice with a scientific foundation. In this latter case, it lacks far-reaching projects to grant it a position of importance at national level, being limited to decontextualized initiatives and in a totally amateur setting.

In Italy, although the structuring responds to a similar profile, there are initiatives that collaborate closely with the authorities and public research projects, such as, for example, the *Rievocando* platform,³⁷ which although it brings together events and projects of different types, represents a point of reference for re-enactment groups and initiatives. Something similar is constituted by the CERS (Consortium of European Re-enactment Societies),³⁸ an institution that is present in several European countries, but is chaired from Italy. This consortium also covers events with various profiles, and it undertakes initiatives at European level in which it encourages cultural tourism based on history and heritage.

35. Baud, Anne; Martin, Maryline. "Guédelon: chantier d'archéologie expérimentale", *Actes de la VI Reunión Internacional d'Arqueologia de Calafell*, Maria Carme Belarte, Clara Masriera Esquerra, Roeland Paardekooper, Joan Santacana Mestre, eds. Barcelona: Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2013: 65-72.

36. It currently supports 55 permanent jobs.

37. *Rievocando*. 3 December 2017 <<http://www.rievocando.it>>.

38. *Consortium of European Re-enactment Societies*. 3 December 2017 <<http://www.cersonweb.org>>.



The proliferation of cultural groups and associations in Spain dedicated to the re-enactment of the Middle Ages has been notable in recent years. However, the positioning towards the organisation of private events and actions, with a completely amateur profile, has led, in some cases, to a lack of visibility of these groups by the authorities, which rarely use them for serious projects of heritage management, cultural management and communication or regional educational projects. Some groups, however, distinguished by their professional profile³⁹ have arisen as champions of this new model, and they enjoy visibility in documentaries or historical series and regularly attend prestigious European events. This is the case, for example, of the Clan del Cuervo,⁴⁰ an association that re-enacts later Ancient History and the early Middle Ages up to the 12th century.

Other projects have managed to bring together numerous groups around a specific era or period, generating events that little by little are beginning to enjoy visibility in the panorama of events at national level. We refer to Viking Hispania,⁴¹ a project that organises annual events attended by groups and associations from across Spain and which re-enacts, more or less accurately, the historical context of the Viking invasions in Iberia, as well as the kingdoms and territories to the north of al-Andalus in the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

Other initiatives did not enjoy the support of the re-enactment community, despite constituting a good start for the joining of forces in this respect with a view to encouraging a model for the authorities of which, in the majority of cases, they are directly unaware. These include the 1st International Congress for the Re-enactment of History, which was held in Barbastro (Huesca) in 2015 and which was attended by the most prominent representatives of this model at national level.⁴² Despite the praiseworthy commencement, it has lacked continuity.

These are just some examples, and more could be added. However, mediaeval re-enactment is also finding other focuses, such as the projects carried out in Europe with regard to the sporting practices that took place in the Middle Ages, and which are coming back to life from a re-enactment perspective. This is the case of mediaeval tournaments or jousting, a contact sport rooted in history which consists, as in the Middle Ages, of re-enacting passages of arms on horseback in which various knights fight to achieve victory. The tournaments have focused mainly on the 15th century, and they respond to an organisational profile similar to that followed in the late Middle Ages: a celebration of an urban nature, in cities or castles, where prizes were given in cash or in kind, and in which the various members of the noble elites contested their honour in armed combat. These historical tournaments, which in the Middle Ages, paradoxically, could also be re-enactments of earlier events, acquired a sporting nature as from the 14th century, owing to which the

39. Perhaps not to make their living from it, but in their approach: collegiate documentation and research, professional cultural management work and capacity for large-scale dissemination.

40. *Cultural Association El Clan del Cuervo*. 4 December 2017 <<http://www.clandelcuervo.com>>.

41. *Hispania Vikinga*. 4 December 2017 <<http://hispania-vikinga.blogspot.com.es>>.

42. Such as the management of the most important festival for historical dissemination in Spain: Tarraco Viva: *Festival Tarraco Viva*. 4 December 2018 <<https://www.tarracoviva.com>>.



arms were blunted and staging protocols were established for the enjoyment of the congregated populace. In today's tournaments, even with the familiar safety measures, the stages and objectives are reproduced, that is: the aim is to dismount the adversary at a gallop in the jousting stage, to strike with blunt weapons in the tournament stage as such, or to floor him in the unmounted combat stage. All of this is performed with replicas of armours that reproduce weights, measures and designs taken from museums. Despite constituting a practice that has been well-established for years in the United Kingdom, Germany, the USA and Canada, southern Europe lacks a similar tradition, with some honourable exceptions. This is the case of *Les Ecuyers de l'Histoire*,⁴³ in France, who organise one of the most famous tournaments in Europe: the tournament of l'Ordre de Saint Michel. Or the Italian company of *l'Aquila Bianca*,⁴⁴ which belongs to the Italian Federation of Equestrian Sports. In Spain the historical festival model has promoted in recent years the creation of theatre companies that perform shows with horses that they themselves call mediaeval tournaments. However, these self-styled tournaments bear no resemblance whatsoever to the way the practice took place in the Middle Ages. Clothing can be seen in colours and synthetic fabrics typical of the festivals of Moors and Christians, an absence of historic armour (when not directly made from plastic) and stages and procedures that are not documented anywhere in Europe in reference to events of this type. However, there is a re-enactment project named Jousting Iberia,⁴⁵ a pioneer at national level, that does organise completely historical tournaments and which in the last two years has implemented initiatives for the dissemination of real mediaeval tournaments in Spain, with presence at some heritage assets and at several events.

And, lastly, we will describe another sport which has experienced almost disproportionate growth in recent years, and which also has a historical foundation. As such, it is a competitive practice which does not seek to disseminate the past. However, the controls of authenticity in the armour and weapons (from the 14th century, in general) make it a violent practice based on European martial arts. This is the case of HMB (Historical Mediaeval Battles); Combate Medieval, as it is known in Spanish; or *bohurt*, in French. It arose in Russia in the 1990s, and it is defined as a full-contact sport which uses offensive and defensive weapons typical of the Middle Ages, and which has specific rules for each type of historical competition, assisted by a refereeing panel that enforces the rules in both the historical and sporting sense.⁴⁶ This is a violent practice where the combat is free with any type of real weapon.⁴⁷ The rules stipulate which blows are not allowed, or how a combat is to be finished to win the competition. Different modes exist in this type of

43. *Les Ecuyers de l'Histoire*. 4 December 2017 <<http://ecuyersdelhistoire.e-monsite.com>>.

44. *Compagnia dell'Aquila Bianca*. 4 December 2017 <<http://aquilabianca.org>>.

45. *Jousting Iberia, historical equitation*. 4 December 2017 <<http://www.joustingiberia.com>>.

46. Martínez Ciruelos, Jordi. *Bohurt, La melé del antiguo deporte de combate medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Alas, 2014.

47. Of course, the offensive weapons do not have points or blades, although they are metallic and of all types: swords, halberds, maces, axes.



tournament, and there is currently a large number of national teams from all over the world and an international association. The practice is gaining enthusiasts from all corners of the globe, and every event brings together tens of thousands of people. The latest international championships have been held in places such as the city of Carcassonne and the castle of Belmonte (Cuenca).

4. Medieval re-enactment, the problem of heuristics

As we have seen, the aim of historical re-enactment, in the strictest meaning of the term, is to communicate, interpret or educate on the past. However, this discipline is also a recreational practice. In either of the two cases, the projects that implement actions based on historical re-enactment consider prior research, based on historical method, to be essential.

And it is this aspect that makes this discipline a tool to be taken into account for the dissemination of the past. Historical re-enactment, without a heuristic stage of scientific method, loses its *raison d'être*.

How are the sources that make it possible located and compiled, and what relationship does this have with the other stages of the historical method? To respond to this question we need to understand that historical re-enactment, in itself, encounters considerable problems with regard to disseminating history beyond material culture itself. Currently, and owing to various factors, re-enactment has been unable to overcome the reductionism inherent to communicating, solely, very specific aspects with regard to clothing, impedimenta, material culture, customs, practices in disuse, ceremonial protocols, rituals or liturgies. In other words, a scene of *living history* is able to show and communicate what clothing was like, the table manners that were required or the nature of the combat techniques with sword and shield in the second third of the 15th century, but it is not able to explain, alone, the context and the consequences of the founding of the Peasant Syndicate in 1440, or the evolution of writing from cuneiform to the invention of the Guttenberg press in that same period, for example. Or, to put it another way, it is not able to contextualise and explain alone complex historical processes. Owing to all of this, it is logical that from the start it has been marginalised as a practice with an educational profile, and with reservations. However, as we will see below, this construct can be overcome by endowing the practice with other complementary resources. In any case, for the dissemination of history, at any level, historical re-enactment is based on the use of primary and secondary sources.

It would be appropriate to expect this practice to be informed mainly by secondary sources, but it is no less true that the historiography relative to the aspects of the past that constitute the back bone of re-enactment (material culture, especially) is not exactly abundant. Historiographic production on daily life underwent growth as from the birth of the concept of total history, something that occurred a few decades ago. Furthermore, other ancillary disciplines of mediaeval history, such as



archaeology, have had a relatively short life in southern Europe. For this reason, the heuristics that feed historical re-enactment, and specifically that which focuses on the Middle Ages, are based not so much on historiography and other secondary sources as on iconographic and archaeological sources and, to a lesser extent, documentary sources. That is: on primary sources.

Documentary sources provide and have provided historical re-enactment not only with knowledge regarding elements inherent to the material culture, but the designation used in the era for the elements to be reconstructed, their origin, their monetary value or how they were made. Therefore, it is not unusual to see that the sources of the re-enactors include diplomatic collections of institutions and congregations, trade or administrative documentation, and so many others that inventoried clothing, food, arms, armours, domestic items, military devices; as well as treatises on war, science, herbalism, poliorcetics, etc. The vision of this documentation, in many cases, examines in depth aspects that other researchers may consider trivial or irrelevant for their objects of study. However, it should not be overlooked that the information provided by documentary sources is textual and not visual. This allows the gathering of important but not essential knowledge for reconstruction. To reconstruct history we need, essentially, other primary sources such as iconography and mediaeval archaeology.

Consequently, a considerable proportion of the work of the researcher who is to re-enact history is centred on museums, heritage assets and others. This prerogative is complied with in theory, and sometimes not completely in practice. Currently, the historical re-enactor of the Middle Ages lacks in many aspects the assumption of a minimally professional research methodology. This is due, to a great extent, to his or her amateur profile. Although re-enactors assume that their practice is for dissemination, in reality they pursue it recreationally or as a hobby, leaving in second place rigorous processes of research of sources, as well as professional methodologies of dissemination and communication.

In this respect, mediaeval re-enactment in Spain suffers from some defects which it is necessary to overcome in order to provide the discipline with more rigor. On the one hand, the habit of the average re-enactor, with little training, of adopting elements seen in other re-enactors, without checking whether they are correct for the period; this often occurs with regard to re-enactors from other latitudes, whose cultures have nothing to do with our own which we wish to reconstruct. On these occasions, this practice implies the use of directly anachronic replicas. On the other hand, the re-enactor lacks a theoretical foundation for research into history and heritage, and is therefore unaware of: how to organise the archaeological material found at the sites; which collections are shown or stored by the museums, or which ones are (or not) inventoried; which publications or archaeological charts describe the sites that yielded archaeological remains of the period to be re-enacted; or the current knowledge with regard to the type of these materials and these sites. The lack of knowledge in some cases of procedures and resources that any researcher uses implies a reduction in the quality of the reconstruction of the Middle Ages.



Not only this. To the above reflection it should be added that a reconstruction of the mediaeval era involves confronting discussions on cultural details or elements that the archaeological or documentary sources do not discern, therefore it becomes necessary to take iconography as a first-hand source. In fact, it is possible to affirm that this constitutes the principal documentation in Spanish mediaeval re-enactment. Among the groups there is a proliferation of home-made manuals and digital photographs that only show iconographic sources to inform on how to dress or arm oneself; archaeology, on many occasions, is not added to these manuals. It is true that iconography allows us, on the one hand, to bridge the gaps left by archaeology, especially in relationship with perishable materials; but on the other hand it also favours the creation of idealised static images that entail the establishment of axiomatic models for the re-enactment community, the authenticity of which should be subjected to serious historiographic debate.

In general, the iconographic sources to which the mediaeval re-enactors have recourse to reconstruct the past are illuminated manuscripts, sculptural images and pictorial works, in different media.

Iconography currently receives two definitions: 1) the branch of art history concerned with the description and interpretation of that which is represented in the work of art, and 2) the subsidiary discipline of history concerned with the detailed study of the contents of the work of art, treating it as though it were a document.⁴⁸ Historical re-enactment takes this second definition within the method implemented in its documentation. However, it is important to understand that iconographic analyses of mediaeval art begin with the symbolic nature of the image in the analytical premises of any artistic figure.⁴⁹ In any analysis of sources of this type methodologies are implemented based on semiotics and hermeneutics,⁵⁰ an aspect that, although it is usually ignored by the mediaeval re-enactor, should not be taken lightly, since sometimes we forget that the mediaeval image is in itself a symbol and not a faithful representation of reality. We should not ignore the importance of the symbol and its significance in relationship with the era, the place, the recipient or the training of the artist; furthermore, the majority of mediaeval iconography is a phenomenon in the service of religious power.⁵¹

Thus, it is necessary to take the reconstruction of material culture on the basis of an artistic representation knowing the nature inherent to the work of art. If we

48. Santo Tomás Pérez, Magdalena. *Las imágenes como fuente para el estudio de la Historia*. Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2009.

49. Regarding symbology and duality in mediaeval iconography, see: Baschet, Jérôme. *L'iconographie médiévale*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2013: 15 and ss.

50. In fact, the bases of iconographical analysis of art can be located in the work of Erwin Panofsky, who considers three methodical levels in the analysis of any artistic image: 1) Pre-iconographical description, where the meaning of the phenomenon is captured to enable it to be described in its most technical aspect. 2) Iconographical analysis. To look in greater depth at the motives and meaning of the work and identify it with total precision. 3) Iconographical or iconological interpretation. The objective is to capture the deeper meaning of the work. Panofsky, Erwin. *El significado en las artes visuales*. Madrid: Alianza, 1995, 51 and ss.

51. Baschet, Jérôme. *L'iconographie...*: 18.



study to reconstruct the Middle Ages taking iconography as a source, it is necessary to adopt a prior research methodology that considers: 1) the real symbology of the image and 2) the identity of the artist, or at least his social background and whether he is presumed to have knowledge of the image he is representing. Only in this way will we validate the reliability of the source.

Therefore, we define the heuristic problems of historical re-enactment around four basic problems, which we will set out below. The first is what is known as *The problem of reality*. This is related to the intention of the mediaeval artist, which is not to represent images of the period with a high level of detail, but to use them to transmit a symbology, a message. The image is not the work in itself, but the symbol that this transmits. This problem may arise, for example, from the fact that the artist sculpts or illuminates details of costume or tools of daily life according to trivial and non-exhaustive aesthetic solutions. We insist: the authors do not set out to show reality with realism, but to communicate messages.

The second is *The problem of imagination*. Illuminated manuscripts, for example, were produced in strictly monastic contexts, however they are the most used sources for researching down to the last detail the impedimenta of armed men. The monks could have very limited knowledge regarding how 12th century knights carried their weapons, how their aventails or mail coifs were made, or which harnesses were worn by a war horse. However, the images from codices copied by monks are taken as unquestionable references to military sources, even when the references that inspired them to illuminate war scenes are unknown. Added to this randomness is the fact that some manuscripts were copies of the originals, which would have led to important changes with regard to the initial images. It is important to take into account that the author of the iconographic sources may have limited knowledge of what he is reproducing, and this leads to inventions in the work or solutions based on his imagination. If we reconstruct and show an element taken from a source whose author imagined it owing to lack of knowledge, we are assuming as real something that never existed.

A third reference is *The problem of territoriality*. This conditioning factor occurs when we take as valid an iconographic source by an author who reproduced it at a distance of hundreds or thousands of kilometres from the society we wish to recreate. The problem is revealed in illuminations, capitals, friezes or frescos. It is evident that the modes of dress, as well as other customs, were not the same everywhere. Many garments were worn in the Kingdom of Aragón in the 13th century, but are not documented in Bourgogne, for example. What is valid for one territory many not be correct for another. And this is aggravated when the production of some sources, as in the case of illuminated manuscripts, takes place in specialised workshops, and these served different territories of the Christian world. We have a case for this problem in the Vidal Mayor, which is conserved in the Museum of the J Paul Getty Trust.⁵² Professor Lacarra Ducay says of this codex:

52. Santa Mónica, California.

Estudiadas analíticamente las ciento cincuenta y seis miniaturas y sus decoraciones marginales confirman su parentesco con obras realizadas en territorio francés o en el sudeste de Inglaterra que constituyen, con las parisinas, una sola familia. A todas ellas cabe incluirlas dentro del llamado “Estilo inglés del Canal”, para expresar “el conjunto de caracteres comunes, independientemente de las diferencias locales.”⁵³

If this is so, the manuscript would have been produced in a scriptorium of the south of England or the north of France. Curiously, mediaeval re-enactors take its miniatures as an idealised example of Aragonese and Catalan characters of the second half of the 13th century, when the person who illuminated them, in all probability, took as models the people where he lived. There are even cases of re-enactors who reproduce the type of *capiello*⁵⁴ which appears in its illuminations, inexplicably flattened and contracted, without stopping to think about whether this garment was really like this or whether, as all would seem to indicate, it responds to artistic licence in the author's representation.

The last of the four problems with regard to the heuristics of re-enactment is *The problem of a-temporality*. No historical re-enactor would incarnate a Roman soldier of the 1st century AD armed with a *coselete*⁵⁵ of the 16th century, and yet it is in this way that many frescos and pictorial works show the Roman legionaries in the Passion of Christ during the Renaissance. As a general rule, artists reproduce in their works scenes identical to how they were in the reality of their own time. Mediaeval artists had no cultural constructs that enabled them to know how characters from the past dressed or armed themselves, therefore the characters from the Bible appear dressed in a way that is similar to how people dressed at the time they were painted or sculpted. This, which up to a point seems obvious, represents a problem when the artists represented past moments that are not so far back in time as, for example, passages of the New or Old Testament. This is the case, for example, of the murals in the Aguilar palace (Barcelona),⁵⁶ and which reproduce the conquest of Mallorca by the feudal troops of Jaime I. The frescos are dated at between 1285 and 1290, and they narrate events that took place between 1229 and 1231. Despite this chronological difference, the historical re-enactment groups that reconstruct the first third of the 13th century base their inspiration on these paintings with regard to weapons, armour and escutcheons. Sixty years passed

53. “Analytical studies of the one hundred and fifty-six miniatures and their marginal decorations confirm their relationship with works produced in French territory or in the south-east of England which constitute, with those of Paris, a single family. All of these can be included in what is called the English ‘Channel style’, to express ‘the set of common characters, regardless of local differences’”. Lacarra Ducay, María del Carmen. “El manuscrito del Vidal Mayor. Estudio histórico-artístico de sus miniaturas”, *La miniatura y el grabado de la Baja Edad Media en los archivos españoles*, María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, ed. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012: 20.

54. A hat or cap worn by men in the 13th century.

55. Half armour worn by the infantry of the modern era. The term is also used to denote members of the Spanish infantry regiment armed with this half armour, who usually held, owing to their veteran status, the most important positions in battle formations.

56. Currently in the Museo Nacional de Arte de Catalunya.



between the event represented and the production of the paintings, which makes it practically unthinkable that the authors preceded the artistic act with research to know what the panoplies of the knights and warriors during the conquest of the island were like. That is to say, it is very likely that they painted on the basis of the reality of their own era, that of 1290. Therefore, they reproduced a historical scene sixty years later, representing a technology contemporary with their work and not with the time of the conquest.

5. Medieval re-enactment, the problem of methodology

The interest in mediaeval re-enactment in the Mediterranean area has grown in recent years from a military perspective. The taste for recreating elements and constructs of military culture has left other aspects of this period to one side. It is no less true, moreover, that recently an incipient growth has been seen of amateur groups who stage other modes of re-enactment related to civilian life: daily life (of the different social classes), religious models (sacramental rites, ceremonies, eucharists...) and other civilian events (such as coronations, banquets, tournaments...).

From this military perspective, the mediaeval military re-enactment enthusiast usually carries equipment constituting what are known as fencing foils, characterised by reproducing historical models with no blade or point. At European level there are various regulated systems of sporting combat with prohibited bodily targets and other conditioning factors in the interests of safety. Likewise, it is appropriate to mention the growth in military practices related to *Historical European Martial Arts*, a sporting practice based on historic documentation which reproduces combat techniques with European weapons of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age. Its practitioners are organised in associated schools and academies, which are overseen by international bodies, such as the *Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts*. This entity defines its work and that of those who pursue this discipline as:

[...] focused on the research, reconstruction and resurrection of authentic mediaeval combative systems (armed, unarmed, armoured and unarmoured), firmly based on the works of the late 14th century Friulian swordsmaster by the name of Fiore dei Liberi, demonstrating the deadly practicality and effectiveness of the art as it applies to today's personal self-defence.⁵⁷

It is also true that the regulatory requirements with regard to safety blur in some way the total approximation to mediaeval combat, since they prohibit stabs and other fundamental blows in the martial procedures of the era. This, however, has

57. *Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts*. 4 December 2017 <<http://www.aemma.org>>.



not concealed the capacity of these practices to communicate other elements such as combat tactics.⁵⁸

Regardless of this interest in all things military, it is true to say that in Spain those who practice mediaeval re-enactment adduce that they implement methodologies close to historical method, to dissemination and, ultimately, experimental archaeology. Because the discipline not only allows history to be communicated for a better understanding, but it also serves as a means of research.

Experimental archaeology has become in recent years an extremely valuable discipline to interpret the past, now constituting a fundamental piece in the study of pre-history. However, it is necessary to understand that the information it provides differs to a large extent from that offered by other procedures,⁵⁹ and that the form of assumption and insertion in the scientific method will affect the interest that this may provide to any research. In relationship with historical method, the assumption of experimental archaeology to research the mediaeval era is an almost unheard-of practice, taking into account that it deviates considerably from traditional research procedures. In any case, and despite constituting a procedure to be explored, the mediaeval re-enactor may experience, from a purist praxis, aspects related to food, hygiene, military organisation or the manufacture of elements using techniques of the era, among other things.⁶⁰ We must not forget that to implement didactic experiences that teach the past, experimentation has been shown to be one of the most important tools,⁶¹ as already introduced by Dewey, for modern educational currents. Aside from these possibilities, it is no less true that in Spain the mediaeval re-enactor assumes little scientific vocation; the amateur communities lack connections with the world of research and an interest in disseminating serious studies in this respect in scientific circles.

Because if there is one thing that characterises the methodological premises of the practice of mediaeval historical re-enactment in Spain it is its amateurism. Although this factor seems to be an obligatory condition of the performers, which they proclaim and respect, the fact is that the non-specialised dedication to this discipline leads to a deficit of professional rigor in such important components such as communication, dissemination, didactics, cultural management, research or the publication of research results, in the case of a hypothetical experimental archaeology. Some mediaeval historical re-enactment groups have achieved good levels in reproduction of material culture of the Middle Ages, but they lack professional aptitudes that enable them to communicate with quality; they do not

58. Balbás, Yeyo. "La Recreación...".

59. Baena, Javier. "Arqueología experimental, algo más que un juego". *Boletín de Arqueología Experimental*, 1 (1997): 2-5. Also interesting, in this respect, is the in-depth work and reflection in: Reynolds, Peter; Espadaler, M. Pilar. *Arqueología experimental: una perspectiva de futuro*. Barcelona: Eumo, 1988.

60. Santacana Mestre, Joan. "La arqueología experimental...": 8-11. We should not forget, as we will analyse below, its value as an element not only for research, but also for didactics: Martín Piñol, Carolina. "La Edad Media: entre la empatía y la experimentación". *Iber: Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 13/57 (2008): 52-59.

61. Gómez Cardona, Gemma; Feliu Torruella, Maria. "Arqueología, vivencia y comprensión del pasado". *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 78 (2014): 15-25.



know the fundamental principles of didactics to show the past with rigor, or they follow organisational norms that do not obey cultural management methods for the development of quality projects. Aptitudes that are necessary, however, in any profession related to the dissemination of heritage.

This conception of re-enactment as a hobby generates a praxis with a private profile, where the re-enactor acts philanthropically and for himself, constituting himself as the centre of the practice. People currently re-enact because they enjoy doing so, as a pastime, consequently relegating to second place all that is related to a quality dissemination and communication of knowledge from a scientific perspective. Although there are many groups and individuals who do follow a scientific documentation procedure, the methodologies that they use to put it into practice show that what they are doing is, purely and simply, practicing a hobby.

In this respect, the proof of this is the inadvertence among cultural programmers and heritage managers of the re-enactment world. The latter, to a certain extent, is usually more concerned with organising events of a private nature (or public, but with reservations) to enjoy re-enactment as a private hobby. Something which explains, to a large extent, the scant acceptance of the model from the English-speaking world in cultural dissemination structures of Spain.

6. Conclusions and inertia: towards a horizon based on didactics

It is necessary to analyse the factors that bring mediaeval re-enactment close to didactics, but also those which separate it. Examining in depth the psychosocial aspects of the human being in past eras through the practices inherent to them may help us to understand how they lived. However, the past constitutes a time that will not return, owing to which it is impossible to reconstruct a moment that did not have the same physical, psychological, temporal, spatial or social conditioning factors as those with which, irremediably, we set out to approach it at the present time. We are totally limited by the paradigm with which we interpret the present,⁶² and this makes it impossible, obviously, to take up again moments that will never return. Therefore, as a tool to approach the past with the aim of studying it, we must consider its good points but also its limitations.

This approach may change when we use historical re-enactment as a method to disseminate research results. In fact, any re-enactment is based, in itself, on prior research, whether or not this was carried out by the re-enactor himself. Therefore, re-enactment is a good method of dissemination of the past, with the

62. These reflections on re-enactment as a tool to research history are expressed with mastery by A. Cook, who discloses the fever experienced in recent years by English-speaking channels to offer historical documentaries for the general public which, on occasions, lack the scientific rigor they deserve, when they are not wrapped with an air of modern reality. Cook, Alexander. "The use and abuse of historical reenactment: thoughts on recent trends in public history". *Criticism*, 46/3 (2004): 487-496.

conditioning factors to which we have referred. It is appropriate not to leave to one side the didactical conception of any current construct of a period of history. Because the communication of scientific knowledge is no guarantee, in itself, that learning exists. In order for mediaeval re-enactment to include didactics, it must be adapted according to the methodologies inherent to this discipline, even in informal teaching-learning environments. Any public practice of mediaeval re-enactment becomes de facto a museographical resource, insofar as it sets out to show aspects of the past by means of the practices experienced. Owing to all of this, from a fully didactic dimension, this teaching-learning process is being experienced by both the re-enactor himself and by the public.⁶³ But to make mediaeval re-enactment an ample transmitter of knowledge we must not reduce it to its practice alone, since very few people will have time for this. It is necessary to involve cultural consumers to enable them to touch, see and feel directly an approach to the past that is as rigorous as possible. This should not prevent us from thinking that the practice in itself of mediaeval re-enactment may be a tool of great value for the learning of history in formal educational contexts,⁶⁴ especially considering that it allows us to work on the most important aspect to be considered in the teaching of history, which is none other than empathy.

In any case, is the re-enactment of mediaeval scenes useful to educate on this historic period? Not alone. In order for there to be a context of teaching-learning in informal settings strategies must be in place based on principles inherent to didactics, that take into account the previous knowledge of the audience, otherwise it would be impossible to approach significant learning. We can recreate a bureaucratic office of the late Middle Ages and teach the units of measurements that were used in an Aragonese corn exchange of the 15th century, but, if our audience does not know what a corn exchange was and what its functions were, it will be difficult for us to communicate how grain was calculated, stored and administered in that era. Therefore, it is necessary to know our audience in order to prepare a museographical script according to their knowledge, and for our discourse on what is re-enacted to be based on this.⁶⁵

It is also necessary to reconstruct with a view to appealing to emotions, since without feeling there is no learning. If we reconstruct aspects related to Albigenian heresy but we do not prepare an oral and visual discourse that appeals to the empathy and emotions of the audience, it will be difficult to communicate why it was persecuted. It is also appropriate to establish different levels of communication to enable us to address different audiences, or, ultimately, to prepare scenes of re-enactment that allow us to move from the simple to the complex, and in this way introduce concepts of greater complexity to those who are not familiar with the

63. Jiménez Torregrosa, Lorena; Rojo Ariza, María Carmen. "Recreación histórica y didáctica". *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 78 (2014): 36.

64. Martín Piñol, Carolina. "La Edad Media: entre la empatía...": 53.

65. Many of these principles bear a close relationship with those of didactic museography. See: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía...: 89-96.*; and Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...: 14-15.*



historical period we are trying to show. We should not present only concepts in the teaching of time, but also procedures.⁶⁶ It will serve us no purpose to say that something was so, if we do not explain how we have arrived at that knowledge. Explaining and even showing the techniques used by the historian to know about the past introduces the audience to the same historical knowledge. If we know how to implement this in the very processes of historical re-enactment, we will be providing our proposal with rigor and professionalism. What is clear is that codifying a scene by merely behaving stringently as in a certain era, converts the re-enactment event into something unintelligible and hermetic, difficult for the audience to understand, however rigorously it is done. If we want to educate, it is necessary to step out of history as well as to be able to explain it from inside.

To achieve complex levels of professionalism in the design of any didactic discourse in a historical re-enactment it is convenient to know which habits bring us closer to a full educational process, and which, although they enrich our practice, take us further away. This is the case of this debate on historic rigor. The assumption of an obsessive and maximum rigor may distance us from our objective of disseminating knowledge with quality. In fact, paradoxically, the most prestigious groups in Spanish mediaeval re-enactment have achieved their reputation through adherence to this rigor, but not for their work of dissemination, which is practically unknown. A cultural audience is more satisfied when a re-enactment is able to reconstruct and explain paradigmatic constructs of the past time, and not so much that it centres *ad infinitum* on details of a high level of rigor, such as the size of the backstitches in a bliaut, the number of seams in a coif or the composition of the fabric of an alms purse. Historical rigor is necessary and unavoidable but, by glossing over details that nobody is going to value, more effort can be dedicated to designing procedures that allow the knowledge to reach as many people as possible, and in the most didactic manner possible. Purism, understood as something natural and indissoluble in historical re-enactment, should be a quality at the same level as the capacity of communication, didactical vocation or staging, not something that is superior to them. Until this conception is overcome and the re-enactor understands that just as important as rigor is the adoption of strategies that allow it to be communicated with quality, the re-enactment phenomenon will not cross the boundaries of the private sphere to become a practice understood by all and for all.

And, lastly, it is no less important to point out, as we indicated at the beginning of the article, that mediaeval re-enactment should be capable of overcoming the reductionism of the partial dissemination of the past. This practice should overcome the aseptic practice of replicating objects and artefacts of the mediaeval past. It is necessary to construct historical re-enactments endowed with discursive resources that inspire the dissemination of more elaborate aspects of the historic time, such as procedures, skills or customs (whether fencing, ancient languages, calligraphy, mediaeval Latin, equestrianism, metalwork or fabric dying). And, at

66. Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía...*: 92.

the same time, these discourses should be capable of showing complex processes of history, such as causes and consequences, political circumstances or legal structures. With professional strategies, quality in the discourse and a predisposal to adopt the principles of didactics, this tool may serve to educate and democratise complex concepts that, normally, only concern scholars of the subject.



ORIGINALS OF
THE TEXTS NOT
SUBMITTED IN ENGLISH



EL FINIS TERRAE Y LA ÚLTIMA FRONTERA. A PROPÓSITO DE LA EDAD MEDIA DE CHILE

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RESUMEN

Este ensayo se propone, primero, una revisión del concepto de frontera en cuanto *limen*, “umbral”, que supera el concepto de *limes* o frontera lineal. Se propone que ese umbral se extiende cronológicamente más allá del s. XV, sobrepasando los contornos de Europa en su proyección americana, desde México hasta Chile. En segundo lugar, la publicación del libro *La Edad Media de Chile*, de G. Guarda nos brinda la oportunidad de reflexionar en torno a esa última frontera y sus características. Finalmente, este ensayo propone una vía que Guarda no explora, la tradición del Canto a lo Humano en de Chile, con “ecos medievales” que se constituyen en parte de la identidad de las comunidades campesinas de la región del Valle Central.¹

1. *Limes* y *Limen*. La Edad Media como espacio liminar

Una frontera puede ser un *limes* que bordea un espacio y lo delimita geográficamente (y a veces también culturalmente), esto es, una línea demarcatoria que separa “la zona de identidad relativa”, lugares identificatorios y relacionales que de un modo u otro concebimos como “nuestra casa” y la quietud cómoda del hogar, de aquel otro “mundo exterior de extranjería absoluta”, según dice Marc Augé². O bien puede tratarse de una zona amplia de intercambios de diversa índole, lugar de transición entre dos espacios³, una región de ambigüedad en que más allá incluso de las percepciones, se puede comenzar a transitar desde un ser a otro, abandonando parcialmente una identidad para paulatinamente alcanzar otra, y ocasionalmente de modo imperceptible en un tiempo corto, porque son transiciones que operan en el espacio, pero también en el tiempo.

Estamos así frente a un espacio de transfiguración en el cual se van adquiriendo gradualmente las características de la nueva fase, sin dejar la anterior completamente atrás, y por lo mismo es también un lugar tanto de enajenación como de iniciación, como se desprende de los trabajos de

1. Una versión preliminar de este trabajo fue presentado en el Seminario Internacional “Las Fronteras en la Edad Media Hispánica (siglos XIII-XVI)”, organizado por la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la Universidad de Sevilla, España, el 26 de Octubre de 2017.

2. Augé, Marc. *Los “No Lugares”. Espacios del anonimato. Una antropología de la sobremodernidad*. Barcelona: Gedisa editorial, 2000: 49 y siguientes.

3. Urbina, Ximena. *La frontera de arriba en Chile Colonial*. Valparaíso: Editorial Universitaria, 2009: 27 y siguientes. Véase también: Herzog, Tamar. *Frontiers of Possession. Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2016, y la bibliografía allí citada. Agradezco a la Dra. Urbina el haberme facilitado varios textos que se citan en este trabajo.



Arnold Van Gennep⁴ y Victor Turner,⁵ cuyos estudios influyeron decisivamente en la conceptualización de *frontera* en el seno de la historiografía del siglo XX, en la perspectiva de los estudios culturales⁶, influencia de la que no ha estado ajeno el medievalismo.

En efecto, una frontera es una zona, más que una línea, y más que un fenómeno geográfico, es un fenómeno social —como explica O. Lattimore—,⁷ y dependiendo de la cercanía, puede separar o no a poblaciones muy parecidas o muy disímiles según el caso, y llegar a constituirse en dicha zona “comunidades de frontera”. Estas son ambiguas y abiertas en ocasiones, y reconocibles muchas veces socialmente pero no institucionalmente; sus lealtades ambivalentes —a veces— pueden llevar, incluso, a la clausura de la frontera y a la desarticulación de esa sociedad fronteriza, que puede diluirse ante un frente militarizado aislante.⁸ Precisamente, las fronteras europeas de ultramar, ya sea primero en el Mediterráneo y el Próximo Oriente en época de las Cruzadas, o más tarde como fruto de la expansión atlántica, forjaron zonas fronterizas de amplia circulación cultural, con espacios de interacción de distinta intensidad.⁹ En la lengua inglesa es fácil diferenciar una cosa de la otra, cuando hablamos de *frontier* (“frontera”), donde la sociedad civilizada confronta la barbarie, concepto cuyo paradigma se construye, según explica —entre otros— Linda Darling, a partir de los postulados de F. J. Turner,¹⁰ y de *borderland* (“zona fronteriza”) cuando se trata de un espacio más amplio donde las sociedades se superponen y se mezclan, cuyo paradigma derivaría, según la misma autora, de las propuestas de Oscar J. Martínez y su estudio del contexto de la política fronteriza estadounidense respecto de México. Características de las zonas fronterizas (*borderland*), normalmente atravesadas por una frontera (*frontier*), son las tensiones producto de las partes interesadas por homogenizar culturalmente la zona, al mismo tiempo que la multiculturalidad propia de ese espacio.¹¹ Es esta dimensión de la frontera, cultural y no solo política, y tan amplia como el Mediterráneo con sus proyecciones levantinas y atlánticas, la que ahora nos interesa.

4. Van Gennep, Arnold. *Los ritos de paso*. Madrid: Alianzas, 2008: 31 y siguientes.

5. Turner, Victor. *El proceso ritual*. Madrid: Taurus, 1988: 101 y siguientes.

6. Habría que mencionar, ciertamente, el tan citado y también criticado trabajo de Turner, Frederick J. *The Frontier in American History*. Nueva York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921. Véase Chapter 1: “The significance of the frontier in American History”, que reproduce el texto de 1893, leído en Chicago ante la American Historical Association. Hay una versión en español publicada por el CSIC en Turner, Frederick J. “El significado de la frontera en la historia americana”, *Estudios (nuevos y viejos) sobre la frontera*. Francisco de Solano, Salvador Bernabeu, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991: 9-44. Turner llamó en su momento la atención sobre el rol formativo del espacio fronterizo en la sociedad norteamericana; dicho sea de paso, es un estudio muy citado, pero no siempre leído directamente, como que a veces no se repara en que América, allí, significa Estados Unidos, y nada más, y no necesariamente sus planteamientos son transferibles a otras situaciones históricas. Notable es la severa crítica de Burns, Robert. “The significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages”. *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Robert Bartlett, Angus MacKay, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011: 307 y siguientes. Véanse también los comentarios de Owen Lattimore, sobre el estudio de Turner, en Lattimore, Owen. “The Frontier in History”, *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928-1958*. Londres: Oxford U. Press, 1962: 489 y siguientes.

7. Lattimore, Owen. “The Frontier in History”...: 469 y siguientes.

8. No puedo dejar de evocar, al escribir estas líneas la poderosa imagen de frontera y vida fronteriza que presenta la novela *Esperando a los Bárbaros* (1980), de J. M. Coetzee, y también *El Desierto de los Tártaros* (1940) de Dino Buzzatti, y las poderosas imágenes de la película homónima de 1976 y dirigida por Valerio Zurlini.

9. Véase Darling, Linda. “The Mediterranean as a Borderland”. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46/1 (2012): 54 y siguientes.

10. Véase nota 6.

11. Darling, Linda. “The Mediterranean...”: 54-60, quien cita y comenta la obra de Martínez, Oscar. *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S. – Mexico Borderlands*. Tucson: University of Arizona, 1994. Esta obra, si bien se aboca a un caso específico, contiene una interesante reflexión general sobre la frontera, en la primera parte, y en el estudio de caso propiamente, se expresa bien la complejidad de la vida de frontera; la caracterización de las tierras fronterizas como lugares de *liminalidad* nos parece muy apropiada y en línea con lo que más adelante comentaremos.

Así, las fronteras pueden ser lugares de desencuentro y separación, como también de síntesis, de creación y de encuentro; zonas de consonancia histórica, diría Héctor Herrera.¹² Cuando concebimos los contornos no como líneas que separan sino como verdaderas franjas o espacios fronterizos, ya no hablamos de *limes*, sino de *limen*,¹³ de “umbral”, y “pasar el umbral”, anota Van Gennep, “significa agregarse a un mundo nuevo”,¹⁴ constituyéndose entonces este *umbral* en una zona de *transgresiones* culturales. Esas *transgresiones* son a veces también *agresiones*, quizá porque se trata de zonas de *ingresos*, como asimismo de *egresos*, *progresos* y *regresos*, esto es, regiones de tránsitos y traspasos. Esos umbrales también pueden *congregar*, aunque en sus límites siempre móviles al comienzo hayan *disgregado*. Todas estas palabras derivan de *gradus*¹⁵ y en su raíz se reconoce la idea de *andar*, porque los umbrales se crean y se atraviesan andando, y al andar el espacio es apropiado *gradualmente* e integrado a una identidad; y cuanto más lejos se avanza, y más profundo se penetra hacia el otro lado del umbral, más perceptibles son los rasgos originales de los nuevos espacios integrados.

No de otro modo poseyó el poder Romúleo, como diría Isidoro de Sevilla,¹⁶ la provincia de Hispania, donde al decir de Estrabón¹⁷ acerca de la Bética, se dejó de hablar incluso la lengua nativa para dar paso al latín imperial, pero no se pudo evitar que a la larga sus particularismos la terminaran desgajando del tronco, creándose fronteras nuevas y umbrales prodigiosos. Acostumbrados como estamos a vivir en el Estado territorial moderno, se nos olvida a veces que las fronteras, en perspectiva histórica, han sido por mucho tiempo más móviles que fijas, y que este último estado es relativamente reciente.

De algún modo, toda la época medieval (más allá del cliché del tiempo que *media* entre dos eras) puede ser concebida como un umbral en sí misma,¹⁸ por cuanto se trata de una época de tránsito entre una civilización (la Antigua) y otra (la Moderna). A modo de ejemplo, pensemos que a comienzos de la Edad Media no reconocemos a Europa ni en el mapa político ni como conciencia de una identidad; sin embargo, ya en su etapa final podemos reconocer una Europa que no solo se ha configurado incorporando poblaciones nuevas, sino que ha forjado y consolidado una identidad.¹⁹ En el caso de la Edad Media hispánica, ese *umbral* se proyectó de modo transatlántico,

12. Herrera, Héctor. “Res Privata-Res Publica-Imperium”. *Semanas de Estudios Romanos*, 1 (1977): 128-136, reeditado en: Herrera, Héctor. *Ensayos sobre el Mundo Medieval*. Viña del Mar: Ediciones del Instituto de Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2018: 29-37.

13. Ernout, Alfred; Meillet, Alfred. *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des Mots*, París: Klincksieck, 2001: 359.

14. Van Gennep, Arnold. *Los ritos...*: 37.

15. Corominas, Joan. *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*, Madrid: Gredos, 1984: I, 76-77; III, 188-189; V, 712-713.

16. Isidoro de Sevilla. *Las historias de los godos, Vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla*, ed. C. Rodríguez Alonso. León: Centro de Estudios e Inv. San Isidoro, 1975: 168 y siguientes.

17. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, 8 vols., ed. H. L. Jones. Cambridge (Mass.)-Londres: Harvard University Press-William Heinemann LTD, 1919: II, 58-59; Estrabón, *Geografía. 2, Libros III-IV*, eds. María José Meana, Félix Piñero. Madrid: Gredos, 1992: 74.

18. Fritsch-Rössler, Waltraud. “Frontier, Transgression, Liminality”, *Handbook of Medieval Studies. Terms-Methods-Trends*, Albrecht Classen, ed. Berlín-Nueva York: De Gruyter, 2001: II, 1507.

19. Véase Lewis, Archibald. “The Closing of the Mediaeval Frontier 1250-1350”. *Speculum*, 33/4 (1958): 475: “This is a surprising fact, for few periods can be better understood in the light of a frontier concept than western Europe between 800 and 1500 A.D.”. Cf. Burns, Robert. “The significance...”: 313 y siguientes.



incorporando “naciones bárbaras de peregrinas lenguas” como dijera Antonio de Nebrija,²⁰ quien trazó en 1492 un *limes* lingüístico con su *Gramática*, al mismo tiempo que, paradójicamente, pretendía derribar toda frontera al concebir al castellano como una lengua imperial.²¹ Los conceptos de *Gran Frontera*, constituida por las tierras conquistadas desde el siglo XVI y que es esencialmente móvil, temporal y transitoria, así como el de *Metrópolis* para referirse a la comunidad europea en su conjunto, y que utiliza Walter Prescott Webb, son aplicables —*mutatis mutandi*— aquí, en el sentido de que en el Nuevo Mundo la frontera es transitoria y temporal.²² Ese *umbral* al que me refiero, que es en el plano temporal e histórico la Edad Media y que espacialmente es desde España la prolongación de la Civilización Occidental, se extiende cronológicamente más allá de los siglos XV y XVI, sobrepasando geográficamente los contornos de Europa en su proyección americana, desde la Nueva España, hasta el *finis terrae* de Chile. Parafraseando a Angus MacKay —y tal vez abusando de sus palabras—, la frontera devino en umbral cuando la España de la Reconquista se desbordó en la Península Ibérica y devino en el Imperio de los *conquistadores*.²³

2. La ‘Edad Media’ de Chile: una revisión

La publicación del libro *La Edad Media de Chile*,²⁴ de Gabriel Guarda O.S.B., nos brinda la oportunidad de reflexionar en torno a esa última frontera. Evidentemente, no se trata de la primera vez que se plantea el problema de la “medievalidad” de la Conquista, cuestión que ya Luis Weckmann abordara de modo completísimo para el caso de México;²⁵ no deja de ser sintomático que su primera aproximación al tema la publicara Weckmann, tres décadas antes, en 1951, en *Speculum*, una revista de medievalistas, y no de americanistas.²⁶ Más recientemente Flocel Sabaté,²⁷ volvió sobre el tema de la Nueva España, en una síntesis muy bien lograda, que nos permite ahora eximirnos de un estado de la cuestión y puesta al día. En Chile, y desde hace muchos años, Luis Rojas, tan medievalista como americanista, ha puesto de relieve también el tema de la conquista medieval de América, señalando continuidades culturales, religiosas, institucionales e ideológicas. “Estoy convencido —dice Rojas— de que el proceso que se inaugura a fines de 1492, no puede ser comprendido en todos sus múltiples aspectos, si no se tiene presente la historia del *orbis christianus* (...) en la realidad ibérica como permanente sociedad de frontera”; y más adelante, sostiene que “el magno hecho histórico del Descubrimiento de América constituye un acontecimiento medie-

20. Antonio de Nebrija. *Gramática Castellana*. Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1492: 7-8 [paginación de la Biblioteca Digital Hispánica].

21. Ver Alonso, Amado. *Castellano, Español, Idioma Nacional. Historia espiritual de tres nombres*. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1958: 20.

22. Prescott Webb, Walter. “The Frontier factor in Modern History”, *The Great Frontier*. Lincoln-Londres: University of Nebraska Press, 1986: 1-28.

23. Véase MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. Londres: MacMillan, 1977: 1 y siguientes; 212 y siguientes.

24. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile. Historia de la Iglesia. Desde la fundación de Santiago a la incorporación de Chiloé, 1541-1826*. Santiago: Ediciones UC, 2016. El año 2011 se publicó una primera edición del libro, en formato de lujo pero sin llegar a librerías.

25. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*. Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996.

26. Weckmann, Luis. “The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America”. *Speculum*, 26/1 (1951): 130-141.

27. Sabaté, Flocel. “Fin de Mundo y Nuevo Mundo. El encaje ideológico entre la Europa medieval y la América moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)”. *Divulgata*, 4 (2011): 5-78.

val. Es, por tanto, un tema correspondiente al Medieval, y como tal debe ser estudiado para ser comprendido”.²⁸

Los historiadores parecen moverse cada vez más cómodamente a través del *umbral* que conecta Europa y América, ya sea en una o en otra dirección. Así, los americanistas desde hace tiempo, sobre todo rastreando los orígenes del ordenamiento jurídico del Nuevo Mundo, han desandado el camino hacia la España Medieval descubriendo en el proceso conocido como la *Reconquista* la escuela de la *Conquista*. “La corona española se valió de sus instituciones fronterizas ya probadas durante ocho siglos en la Península Ibérica frente a los moros”, afirma Patricia Cerda-Hegerl, para agregar que “las fronteras hispanoamericanas coloniales fueron reflejo y consecuencia de la organización de toda la sociedad española de la época”.²⁹ Por otra parte, los medievalistas se animan cada vez más, en la medida que el siglo XVI desplaza al XV como barrera cronológica, a mirar más allá del horizonte europeo tradicional. Precisamente, al empujar la frontera cronológica hacia el siglo XVI, inevitablemente se amplía la frontera espacial y el Nuevo Mundo queda inevitablemente incorporado en ese proceso que tiene tanto de moderno como de medieval.³⁰ Es una época tensio-nada de modo bidireccional.

La novedad del libro de Gabriel Guarda (quien a diferencia de Weckmann, Sabaté o Rojas, es un americanista de oficio y no un medievalista) no está pues en reconocer ecos del medioevo en suelo americano, sino en el atrevimiento de hablar sin ambages de una *Edad Media* de Chile. Es una audacia al mismo tiempo que una provocación. En 1961 al publicar un artículo titulado “Formas de devoción en la Edad Media de Chile. La Virgen del Rosario de Valdivia”,³¹ Guarda —entonces de un poco más de treinta años de edad— recibió una severa crítica por abusar de la terminología historiográfica consagrada por el uso y que, convención y consenso mediante, debía respetarse para no causar confusiones en el público lector. En otros trabajos Guarda analizó las influencias medievales en Chile, como es el caso de su estudio sobre Tomás de Aquino y el urbanismo indiano,³² pero sin osar hablar de nuevo de “Edad Media de Chile”. Pasaron más de cincuenta años para que el autor —ya con una dilatada trayectoria y reconocido prestigio entre los historiadores de su país— volviera sobre el concepto, justificando su uso en el período que abarca el libro, porque “los siglos del período español, o coloniales, visualizados desde la historia de la Iglesia, tienen todas las características del régimen que en ese plano ha sido llamado ‘de cristiandad’”.³³ Guarda habla de una Edad Media trasplantada desde España, involucrando aspectos sociales, económicos, políticos, institucionales, etc., y que fueron adaptados a la nueva realidad indiana. Pero la clave de todo para Guarda es la mentalidad y el espíritu, esto es, la fe como componente esencial y que todo

28. Rojas, Luis. *España y Portugal ante los otros*. Talcahuano: Ediciones UBB, 2002: 22 y 471; véase también Rojas, Luis. *Para una meditación de la Edad Media*, Talcahuano: Ediciones UBB, 2009: 383 y siguientes.

29. Cerda-Hegerl, Patricia. *Fronteras del Sur*. Temuco: Ediciones de la Universidad de Temuco, 1997: 11-12.

30. “There was, in fact, a strong element of continuity between ‘medieval’ Spain and ‘early modern’ Spain and its Empire. The lust for gold was as strong as it had ever been and the *conquistadores* continued to invoke the help of Santiago in battle”. MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages...*: 212.

31. Guarda, Gabriel. “Formas de devoción de la Edad Media de Chile. La Virgen del Rosario de Valdivia”. *Historia*, 1 (1961): 152-202.

32. Véase Guarda, Gabriel. “Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano”. *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, 32/72 (1965): 5-50; Guarda, Gabriel. “Influencias medievales en la ciudad indiana”. *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, 48-49 (1987): 381.

33. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile...*: 18.



lo impregna. Ese “régimen de cristiandad” de Guarda, no sería otra cosa que la prolongación de la *Christianitas Occidentalis* en suelo americano.

Fundamental en su justificación del uso del término es la mentalidad de cruzada del conquistador español, reconocible desde México a Perú y, obviamente, en Chile, donde sus resabios encontraron lugar para expresarse, incluso en épocas tardías, en la Guerra de Arauco, afirma Guarda.³⁴ En su legendaria tesis doctoral de 1956 y publicada recién en 1997, Alphonse Dupront, en una obra que Guarda no cita, ya había llamado la atención sobre este desplazamiento hacia las Indias, conquista mediante, de los valores religiosos asociados a la guerra.³⁵ En efecto, para Dupront, el impulso de la Cruzada se prolongaría más allá de la Edad Media como una realidad inmanente de toda la historia moderna, como lo es —dice— todo gran acontecimiento del ser colectivo, incluyendo la proyección americana de Europa, ligada justamente a una noción de unidad: la cristianidad.³⁶ En las Indias la expresión que se impone es la de *conquista*, espiritual y temporal, que acoge y encierra el sentido misional de la guerra santa, siempre bajo el signo de la Cruz, aunque ajena al concepto de cruzada, que queda atado a la guerra contra el infiel en el marco del Mediterráneo. Ello no impide que en la mentalidad americana, la guerra conserve un vivo rescoldo del espíritu de cruzada.³⁷ Charles Gibson, por otro lado, ya en 1966 apuntaba que el esfuerzo evangelizador y civilizador realizado por los cristianos en tierras fronterizas nos recuerda aquella *Christianitas* que vivía aún en el corazón del imperialismo español, y tal como en aquel entonces, la frontera era lugar de encuentro como también de conflicto, creándose un espacio de paz y orden, el régimen de Cristiandad de Guarda, preservado por la fuerza.³⁸ Sergio Villalobos, por su parte, también ha recalcado el espíritu religioso que dotó a la guerra de un carácter de cruzada, presente en la mentalidad española de la reconquista, y que se prolonga en la empresa conquistadora.³⁹ En efecto, dice Guarda,⁴⁰ la idea de “guerra santa” se había prolongado en España, hasta el momento mismo del descubrimiento, y en el siglo XVI se justificará la guerra en razón de la evangelización y la lucha contra los infieles, y las victorias serán interpretadas providencialmente. Los ideales medievales del *miles Christi*, expresados en el ideal caballeresco o en el monástico, se asentaron en el solar del Nuevo Mundo, encontrando allí, mediante las nociones de conquista y evangelización, de ancestro incluso carolingio, un propicio caldo de cultivo. Mediadora entre el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo la corona española, donde todavía en el siglo XVI está vivo el espíritu de cruzada, había encontrado en el turco al enemigo por antonomasia.⁴¹

3. Ecos medievales en Chile. Una propuesta

Los conquistadores trajeron consigo no sólo una institucionalidad determinada que encuentra sus raíces en época medieval, sino también una cierta forma de ver el mundo, que se refleja en

34. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile...*: 62.

35. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe, de Croisade*. París: Gallimard, 1997: II, 793 y siguientes.

36. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe, de Croisade...*: 765.

37. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe, de Croisade...*: 794.

38. Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. Nueva York: Harpercollins College Div., 1966: 201.

39. Villalobos, Sergio. *Para una meditación de la conquista*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1977: 19 y siguientes.

40. Guarda, Gabriel. *La Edad Media de Chile...*: 70 y siguientes.

41. Dupront, Alphonse. *Le mythe de Croisade...*: 791 y siguientes.

sus costumbres⁴² y en su literatura, no sólo de carácter religioso (v.gr. autos de fe, hagiografías) sino también profana (como lo son la épica o el romancero). En este sentido, quiero proponer otra vía para abordar el problema, que dice relación con la literatura, la tradición oral y la identidad. Parafraseando a Paul Zumthor,⁴³ desde el siglo XVI no sólo se instala culturalmente una “letra” en América, sino también una “voz”; la primera se puede asociar —aunque no absolutamente— con grupos sociales de élite, mientras que la segunda, además, nos permite entrar en contacto con grupos sociales populares. Existen variados ejemplos de estas voces literarias, como es el caso de las “fiestas de moros y cristianos”, documentados en diversos lugares de América Latina. El caso del Perú, por ejemplo, documentado y estudiado por Milena Cáceres, puede ser ejemplar, pues demuestra que en ámbitos campesinos se han conservado a través de los siglos, tradiciones que se remontan al Siglo de Oro Español, con referencias incluso a la tradición de los Doce Pares de Francia, cuestión que, como veremos, resulta especialmente interesante para nuestra propuesta.⁴⁴

Precisamente, y también en ámbitos campesinos, como es el caso del Valle Central de Chile, se pueden percibir todavía, a pesar de los siglos transcurridos, las resonancias de aquella voz, y entrar en contacto con esos ecos medievales, presentes en la literatura tradicional campesina de Chile, es percibir la última ampliación de la frontera del *finis terrae*. Una cuestión interesante respecto del origen de esa voz, y que no es en todo caso materia de este ensayo, es determinar si efectivamente se remonta a la época de la conquista o si se remite a tradiciones más tardías; si se explica sólo a partir de la oralidad, o si interviene una tradición escrita que se entrecruza con aquella.

La presencia de temas medievales en literatura campesina chilena es un hecho comprobado, como se desprende, entre otros, del trabajo Humberto Olea,⁴⁵ a propósito del caso de la *Historia de Carlomagno y los Doce Pares de Francia*.⁴⁶ Efectivamente, ya en 1894 Rodolfo Lenz lo había identificado como el único tema épico medieval que se encuentra en el repertorio de los poetas populares chilenos.⁴⁷ El caso es sorprendente, sin duda, y se estima que el origen de esta tradición está en un libro impreso en Sevilla en 1521 con la traducción que hizo Nicolás de Pimentel o de Piamonte, y cuya popularidad llevará a la publicación de muchas ediciones, todas de bolsillo, adecuadas para la circulación en manos de viajeros, lo que facilitó su difusión y circulación por los territorios penin-

42. Notable es el caso de los “torneos caballerescos” según usanza descrita para el caso peruano en el siglo XVII por Villalobos, Sergio. *Para una meditación...*: 112 y siguientes.

43. Zumthor, Paul. *La letra y la voz de la literatura medieval*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1989.

44. Cáceres, Milena. *La fiesta de moros y cristianos en el Perú*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2005: 23; 132 y siguientes; Cáceres, Milena. “Teatro del Siglo de Oro en Los Andes del Perú: ‘El cerco de Roma por el rey Desiderio’ en Huamantanga”. *Hipogrifo. Revista de Literatura y Cultura del Siglo de Oro*, 6/1 (2018): 11-30. El fenómeno no es exclusivo del Perú: véase también: Ricard, Robert. “Contribution à l’étude des fêtes de ‘moros y cristianos’ au Mexique”. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 24/1 (1932): 51-84; Catalá-Pérez, Daniel. “La Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos: herencia cultural compartida entre España y América Latina”. *América Latina, globalidad e integración*, Antonio Colomer, ed. Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, 2012: I, 420 y siguientes.

45. Olea, Luis Humberto. “La Historia de Carlomagno en el desarrollo del Romancero a la décima espinela”. *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, 78 (2011). 6 de junio de 2012 <<https://revistaliteratura.uchile.cl/index.php/RCL/article/view/11021/11437>>.

46. No es menor recordar que, según Angus MacKay, “la poesía épica (tanto escrita como oral) y los romances solían florecer en estas sociedades fronterizas, tal vez por ser tan militarizadas” y que “en el caso de Rolando, la leyenda se difundía hacia las periferias...”. MacKay, Angus. “Sociedades fronterizas”, *Coloquio Almería entre Culturas*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1990: 3.

47. Lenz, Rodolfo. *Sobre la poesía popular impresa de Santiago de Chile, Memorias científicas y literarias, separata de los Anales de la Universidad de Chile*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1894: 590.



sulares y ultramarinos.⁴⁸ En España se cuentan numerosas ediciones, entre los siglos XVI y XVIII; por último, ediciones confeccionadas en Chile en el siglo XIX, en 1890 en Santiago y en 1892 en Valparaíso, habrían venido a fortalecer una tradición oral ya instalada, y que se remontaría a la época de la conquista española.⁴⁹ En 1912, Julio Vicuña se vuelve a ocupar del tema, y también transcribe textos recopilados en las zonas rurales del Valle Central de Chile, insistiendo en el valor de la transmisión oral.⁵⁰ Sintomático es el caso del cantor José Antilef Gatica, que reconoce haber leído el texto que canta, según entrevista registrada por Yolando Pino en su célebre trabajo de 1966.⁵¹ En efecto, los cantores actuales reconocen haber leído los textos. Antaño de la *letra* se pasó a la *voz*, y ya en el siglo XIX la tradición oral se vio reforzada con las variadas ediciones que se hicieron del texto de Pimentel, de modo que la *voz* ha persistido paradójicamente reforzada por el texto escrito, en un viaje de ida y vuelta y que, de algún modo, es reflejo también de la creciente alfabetización de la sociedad chilena.

En general, cuando se aborda el tema de la tradición de las hazañas de Carlomagno y los doce Pares, se vuelve sobre las conclusiones de Lenz, Vicuña y Pino, como se aprecia en el caso de Manuel Dannemann, quien sostiene que “las hazañas de Carlomagno y sus guerreros, en defensa de la cristiandad, recordadas y transmitidas a través de la tradición oral, se escuchan en Chile predominantemente en localidades rurales de la zona central, tanto en narraciones como en cantos versificados en décimas. Se propagaron desde los tiempos de la conquista hispánica, pero muy especialmente debido a libros divulgativos impresos en Santiago en la última década del siglo XIX”.⁵²

Así, los críticos literarios han hecho ya la labor de recopilación de los textos y han urdido una teoría acerca del origen de los cantos de tema épico medieval en el campo chileno. Se puede decir que el problema de la transmisión oral y escrita, desde una óptica literaria y otra relativa a los estudios folklóricos, está medianamente resuelto: existe una tradición oral que se pierde en el tiempo y que presumiblemente llega de la mano de los conquistadores del siglo XVI; y el origen de los temas de esa tradición estaría, como ya se ha dicho, en la traducción que publica Nicolás de Pimentel en 1525, y que gozó de gran popularidad.

Sin embargo, teniéndose claridad sobre los aspectos literarios y folklóricos de esta tradición, falta indagar en algunos elementos que no han sido considerados aún, y que dicen relación con el tema de la identidad cultural que representan los textos en cuestión. Es decir, hace falta hacerse cargo de los textos desde una perspectiva histórica. Es central preguntarse por su arraigo en relación con la identidad cultural campesina chilena (por ejemplo, los valores que se pueden identificar). Como apunta Olea, la fama de los temas están en relación directa con los cánones de la sociedad que los acoge, atesora, transmite y publica. ¿Cuál es el fondo común, el fundamento compartido,

48. Véase el prólogo de la edición de Humberto Olea (2013) de la *Historia del Emperador Carlomagno y los doce pares de Francia y de la cruda batalla que hubo Oliveros con Fierabrás, rey de Alejandría, hijo del gran almirante Balán*. <<https://www.olea.biz/files/CM/CarloMagno.pdf>>. Si bien el tema de Carlomagno y los Doce Pares se encuentra en la tradición de las fiestas de moros y cristianos, en esta última no hay referencias a la obra de Pimentel, por lo que corresponde a tradiciones distintas. Ciertamente, la tradición que ahora nos ocupa es de recitación, mientras que las fiestas de moros y cristianos incorpora danza y teatralidad. Sobre esta última, véase la bibliografía citada más arriba.

49. Olea, Luis Humberto. “La Historia de Carlomagno...”

50. Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares. Recogidos de la tradición oral chilena*. Santiago: Imprenta Barcelona, 1912: xxi; para el “Desafío de Oliveros y Fierabrás”, véase: Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares...*: 530 y siguientes.

51. Pino, Yolando. “La Historia de Carlomagno y de los Doce Pares de Francia en Chile”. *Folklore Americas*, 2 (1966): 1-29.

52. *Poesía Popular Andina*, Quito: Instituto Andino de Artes Populares, 1983: 329.



entre conquistadores peninsulares y campesinos chilenos, como para que los cantos en cuestión se transmitan de una sociedad a otra, se arraiguen en una como en la otra, y extiendan el umbral de la una sobre la otra, atravesando océanos, tierras y edades? El régimen de cristiandad de Gabriel Guarda, puede ser una respuesta; sin embargo, nos encontramos frente a tradiciones que no se agotaron en la conquista ni en la colonia, sino que se arraigaron, proyectándose en el siglo XIX en la naciente nación chilena, donde se arraiga para perpetuarse aún en el siglo XX, llegando a ser perceptible incluso en el siglo XXI. Deberíamos reconocer, pues, valores identitarios compartidos de larga data que permiten transitar a través de un amplio umbral cultural.

Por otra parte, es interesante también preguntarse por la tradición roldaniana presente, esto es, la tradición francesa de exaltación del héroe o la tradición española de Bernardo del Carpio, cuyas fabulosas hazañas también se cantan en Chile, como establece J. Vicuña.⁵³ En efecto, es singular que en Chile se cante positivamente sobre Roldán, lo que supone un giro cultural respecto de la tradición hispana medieval; por otra parte, el Roldán moderno (Ariosto, Boiardo) cabe más bien dentro de los parámetros de la literatura amorosa, que no es el caso de la tradición que se instala en Chile, más bien ligada a la hazaña. Puede tratarse, entonces, de una tradición que desde la *letra* (Nicolás de Piamonte) se traspasaría a la *voz* en forma tardía, agregándose a una tradición ya constituida, y vivificándola, pero se trata de una hipótesis a comprobar, mediante contrastación de textos.⁵⁴

En fin, interesante parece también en relacionar los temas presentes en el canto a lo humano en el campo chileno, con los temas de la literatura medieval en el ciclo de Roldán y los Doce Pares, y tratar de establecer las diferencias con la tradición europea, así como las permanencias que se puedan advertir y, por tanto, cómo se insertan los textos chilenos en la tradición legendaria de Carlomagno, que empieza a forjarse ya en el siglo IX.⁵⁵ Así, esta propuesta de trabajo no pretende constituirse en un nuevo estudio del folklore chileno, sino más bien en una indagación histórico-literaria del canto a lo humano en relación a la temática de las hazañas de Carlomagno y sus guerreros, y la presencia en el colectivo social campesino de uno de los tópicos literarios más importantes del occidente medieval.

El arraigo de dichos textos en la sociedad campesina chilena descansa, especialmente, en los valores que establecen una identidad con el occidente cristiano. Aún hoy se canta a Carlomagno y sus paladines, que fieramente luchan contra el Turco, permaneciendo la idea de la dicotomía cristiano-infiel, que respalda la construcción de una identidad cultural. Es interesante que esta identidad y arraigo no tiene que ver con una elaboración erudita, toda vez que los cantores —como se puede comprobar en terreno, tal como lo hiciera Yolando Pino—⁵⁶ no conocen ni la historia de Carlomagno ni la de Roldán y los Doce Pares de Francia, ni les importa que ni uno ni otro haya podido combatir al turco, simplemente porque no fueron contemporáneos y porque, finalmente, ni el Almirante Balán ni su hijo Fierabrás tienen existencia histórica. Pero sí hace sentido a los cantores y a sus auditores, que quienes combaten al cristianismo, deben ser castigados, y que quienes defienden la fe frente al agravio de los infieles, merecen respeto y admiración, erigiéndose en modelos de valores morales y comportamiento ético. Habría, pues, un lazo de identidad cultural inconsciente,

53. Vicuña, Julio. *Romances populares y vulgares...*: 9-14.

54. Para algunas de las nociones literarias contenidas aquí, soy deudor de mis conversaciones con el profesor de literatura medieval Rómulo Hidalgo Luna, a quien expreso mi gratitud.

55. Véase Morrissey, Robert. *L'empereur à la barbe fleurie. Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France*. París: Gallimard, 1997.

56. Pino, Yolando. "La Historia de Carlomagno...": 1-29.



si se puede decir así, entre la población del Valle Central de Chile y una Edad Media que, dados los valores presentes en los cantos a los que hemos aludido, es concebida de manera muy positiva, en contraste con la visión negativa del prejuicio acerca de lo medieval, tan arraigado en las sociedades occidentales. Es, en efecto, muy notable la positiva imagen de la Edad Media que se transmite oralmente en la tradición campesina, frente a la imagen negativa de la enseñanza formal.

La identidad cultural que se descubre en ese Chile profundo, conecta a esa sociedad campesina con la cultura cristiana medieval, transmitida en régimen de cristiandad, diría Gabriel Guarda, a través de toda la “Edad Media de Chile”. Estamos, finalmente, frente a la épica del cristianismo y su defensa, y es eso lo que establece un vínculo entre ese mundo y la Civilización Occidental. La identidad, la pertenencia y el arraigo se remiten en el continente americano a una doble raigambre, indígena y cristiano occidental, que se entrelazan —conversión y mestizaje mediante— en la forja de la nueva frontera.

Estamos frente a otra dimensión de aquello que el filólogo argentino Carlos Disandro llamó la “Magna Grecia Americana”, resaltando la proyección del legado clásico en el Nuevo Mundo.⁵⁷ La *Edad Media de Chile* supone, pues, que la última frontera está verdaderamente en el *finis terrae* de Occidente.

57. La tesis de Disandro es más que eso, en todo caso: “Dentro del gran imperio americano-románico, los indígenas han de ser aceptados como lo fueron en Roma los galos, los tracios y todos los demás pueblos que pasaron a formar parte de su antiguo imperio”. Disandro, Carlos. “El espacio espiritual de la Romania y América, un sueño americano”, *América Latina y lo clásico*, Giusseppina Grammatico, ed. Santiago: Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación, 2003: 132.



LOS CAUTIVOS EN LA CONQUISTA DE MALLORCA. SEPTIEMBRE DE 1229, JULIO DE 1232

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RESUMEN

Este artículo retoma las crónicas de la conquista de Mallorca (1229-1232) para profundizar el análisis del papel que tuvo la captura de la población de la isla en el desarrollo de los dos años largos que duró la guerra de conquista. La consideración de botín disponible de la población confinada y sin escapatoria en la isla fue el aliciente para el ejército que se mantuvo en la isla y para los caballeros que llegaron a ella después de la disolución de la hueste que tomó la *madīna*. Las fuentes desvelan que todas las operaciones bélicas giraron en torno a la gestión de la población cautiva. Cualquiera otra solución que no fuera su cautiverio, como el pacto con Xuaip, se consideró excepcional y, a la postre, fue incumplido. El resultado fue la extinción de la población indígena.¹

*...som los uns enemics dels altres, e garrejām e auciem los uns los altres, e som los uns catius dels altres; e per ayal guerra e mort e servitut és enpatxada la laor e la reverencia e la onor de que som tenguts a Deu tots los jorns de nostra vida.*²

1. Introducción

Desde la publicación de diferentes trabajos de Ricard Soto, sabemos que tras la conquista catalana de 1229 no sobrevivió en Mayūrqa (Mallorca), una población musulmana indígena viable.³ Por población viable debería entenderse un grupo social que a pesar de haber sido militarmente derrotado, sufrido graves pérdidas de personas y bienes, y desplazamientos de sus asentamientos

1. Grupo de investigación: Arqueología Agraria de la Edad Media (ARAEM). Este artículo forma parte del proyecto Órdenes agrarios y conquistas ibéricas (siglos XII-XVI). Estudios desde la arqueología histórica (HAR2017-82157-P). Agradezco los comentarios de Helena Kirchner, Félix Retamero, Antoni Virgili y de las personas que lo han evaluado. Mi reconocimiento a la precisa traducción de David J. Govantes-Edwards. Los desciertos que el texto pueda contener son mi responsabilidad. Abreviaturas utilizadas: ARM, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca.

2. "Somos unos enemigos de los otros, guerreamos y nos matamos los unos a los otros y somos unos cautivos de los otros; y por dicha guerra, muerte y esclavitud se obstaculiza la alabanza, la reverencia y el honor que debemos a Dios todos los días de nuestra vida". Llull, Ramon. *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. Anthony Bonner. Palma: Patronat Ramon Llull, 1993: 207.

3. Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230". *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 30 (1994): 167-206; Soto, Ricard. "¿Una oferta sin demanda? La esclavitud rural en Mallorca antes de la peste negra (ss. XIII-XIV)". *Historia Agraria*, 21 (2000): 11-31; Soto, Ricard. "Fronteres i colònies medievals: el regne de Mallorques". *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 43 (2001): 77-102. Jover, Gabriel; Mas, Antoni; Soto, Ricard. "Colonització feudal i esclavitud. Mallorca, 1230-1350". *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 52-53 (2006): 19-48. Soto, Ricard. "La conquesta de Mallorca y la creación de un mercado de esclavos", *Les esclavages en Méditerranée. Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, Fabienne P. Guillén; Salah Trabelsi, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012: 63-76.



originales durante la conquista, habría tenido la capacidad de rehacer los procesos de trabajo indispensables para su subsistencia y de restablecer los lazos sociales necesarios para su reproducción. La supervivencia de un grupo así no se produjo.⁴ Esta extinción completa de la población autóctona de Mayūrqa ya ha sido asumida por la historiografía, aunque en buena medida falte aún la transferencia de este conocimiento a las obras generales y a los libros de texto.⁵

Un artículo de Aurèlia Jené y diferentes aportaciones de Jaume Sastre Moll se unen al clásico estudio de Cosme Parpal sobre lo que representó para los indígenas de Manūrqa (Menorca) la conquista de su isla en 1287.⁶ Las conclusiones que se extraen de estos trabajos refuerzan las propuestas de Ricard Soto para Mallorca. Más recientemente se ha abordado la cuestión para las islas de Ibiza y Formentera con el mismo resultado de dar relieve perceptible al cautiverio⁷ y, finalmente, la extinción de la población indígena.⁸ Refiriéndose a Menorca, el cronista Ramon Muntaner lo describió perfectamente mucho tiempo antes: para él la conquista fue la *destruïció d'una nació de gent*.⁹

Sobre los restos materiales de los indígenas, y en buena medida gracias al trabajo en cautividad de una porción de estos, se creó con dificultad una sociedad diferente.¹⁰ Otra parte de los nativos fue llevada a mercados continentales. R. Soto aduce un contrato de compra de cautivos en Mallorca para su traslado a Ceuta donde, presumiblemente, habrían sido rescatados por dinero.¹¹ Esta

4. Soto, Ricard. "La conquista de Mallorca...": 66. Esta tesis se contrapone a lo defendido por buena parte de la historiografía hasta hace poco. Álvaro Santamaría fue el autor que más consistentemente defendió que la mayoría de la población andalusí de la isla fue hecha cautiva y después de un tiempo en tal estado, bautizada y enfranquecida, pasó después a formar parte de la población insular (Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca, 1230-1343*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma, 1990: 51-265). Para una revisión de estos planteamientos véase Soto, Ricard. "La situació dels andalusins...": 179-180, nota 50; y Soto, Ricard; Mas, Antoni. "Feudal colonisation and socio-ecological transition in Mayūrqa (Muslim Majorca) in the thirteenth century". *Continuity and Change*, 30/3 (2015): 341-366.

5. Antoni Furió ya reparó en este caso de reducción a cautividad de toda la población conquistada. (Furió, Antoni. "Esclaus i assalariats. La funció econòmica de l'esclavitud en la Península Ibèrica a la Baixa Edat Mitjana", *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol; Josepina Mutgé i Vives, eds. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2000: 19-38, especialmente 23). En una reciente historia de las islas Baleares, Pau Cateura afirma, refiriéndose a las últimas operaciones de la conquista contra los habitantes refugiados en las montañas, que: "era el fin de la presencia musulmana en Mallorca" (Cateura Bennàsser, Pau. "La época de Jaume I (1230-1276)", *Historia de las Islas Baleares*, Jaume Gil, ed. Palma: El Mundo El Día de Baleares, 2006: VI, 23). Mas Forners, Antoni. *Esclaus i catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV*. Palma: Leonard Muntaner Editor, 2005: 153; Macaire, Pierre. *L'esclavage à Majorque au XV^e siècle*. Nîmes: Le plein des sens, 2012: 5. Mas Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa", *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2013: II, 403-439, esp. 435.

6. Parpal Marquès, Cosme. "De la suerte de los moros de Menorca cuando la conquistó Alfonso III en 1286", *Escritos menorquines de Cosme Parpal y Marqués. Tomo Primero. Historia, Folclore y Arqueología*, Josep M. Vidal Hernández, ed. Mahón: Editorial Al Thor, 1984: 35-49. Jené, Aurèlia. "La conquesta de Manūrqa el febrer de 1287". *Estudi General*, 5-6 (1986): 389-401. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "Notas sobre la población musulmana de Menorca (1287)", *V Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Les Illes Orientals d'al-Andalus i les seves relacions amb Sharq al-Andalus, Magrib i Europa cristiana* (ss. VIII-XIII), Guillem Rosselló Bordoy, ed. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1987: 145-161. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "La salida de los musulmanes menorquines tras la conquista de la isla por Alfonso III (1287)". *Revista de Menorca: Ciències, Artes y Letras*, XXVI (1987): 475-505. Sastre Moll, Jaume. "Breves notas sobre el saqueo de Menorca tras la conquista de Alfonso III (1287)". *Meloussa*, 2 (1991): 49-58.

7. A lo largo del artículo usaré cautivo y esclavo, cautividad y esclavitud como sinónimos.

8. Ferrer Abàrzuza, Antoni. *Captius i senyors de captius a Eivissa. Una contribució al debat sobre l'esclavitud medieval (segles XIII-XVI)*. València: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2015.

9. "La destrucción de una nación de gente": Muntaner, Ramon. "Crònica", *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1971: 821.

10. Sobre el uso de los cautivos en la producción agrícola: Soto, Ricard. "La conquista de Mallorca...": 63-76.

11. Soto, Ricard. "La conquista de Mallorca...": 67.



exportación, difícil de demostrar, es imposible de cuantificar dadas las limitaciones de la documentación disponible.¹² Sin embargo, el posterior y bien documentado caso de Menorca permite especular, en sentido estricto, lo que debió de pasar en Mallorca e Ibiza a raíz de sus respectivas conquistas. En Menorca, el monarca dirigió el procedimiento de conversión en botín de todo lo tomado en la isla y sus instrucciones escritas han quedado plasmadas en los registros de cancillería del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.¹³ En este sentido, una inesperada prueba de la exportación de ciertos cautivos cualificados de Mallorca —alfareros— podría ser el hallazgo en Barcelona y Marsella de ciertos tipos cerámicos en contextos de primera mitad del siglo XIII que imitan formas andalusíes bien testimoniadas en Mallorca antes de la conquista. Justamente, su presencia se ha relacionado con la instalación de artesanos andalusíes, magrebíes u orientales en dichas ciudades.¹⁴

Álvaro Santamaría observó que el precio de los cautivos vendidos entre 1240 y 1258 tuvo “una clara tendencia al alza”.¹⁵ Por su parte, Ricard Soto asegura que entre 1242 y 1259 descendió el número de registros de exportación de cautivos desde Mallorca, a la vez que comenzaron las primeras importaciones. Este autor atribuye este cambio en el mercado de esclavos a las *difficultats de reproducció biològica* del contingente de cautivos autóctonos.¹⁶ Son estas observaciones dan de pleno en una cuestión poco estudiada para la esclavitud medieval: el tiempo de vida útil y la esperanza de vida de los cautivos. En las muy posteriores plantaciones dedicadas a producciones agrícolas especulativas

12. Verlinden, Charles. *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Péninsule Ibérique-France*. Bruges: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, De Tempel, 1955: 252 cita Brutails, Auguste. “Étude sur l'esclavage en Roussillon du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle”. *Nouvelle Revue historique de Droit français et étranger*, 10 (1886): 9-10 como prueba del traslado de cautivos de Mallorca a Rosellón, pero este último autor solo deduce que *ils durent abonder à la suite de la conquête de Majorque, en 1229* (“ellos debieron abandonar inmediatamente tras la conquista de Mallorca en 1229”) y únicamente aporta el testamento del obispo de Elna, Bernard de Berga, de 1259, demasiado tardío. La lezda de Marsella de 1228 gravaba cada sarraceno que entraba en la ciudad, pero no se refiere expresamente a cautivos (Bernardi, Philippe. “Esclaves et artisanat: une main d'oeuvre étrangère dans la Provence des XIIIe-XVe siècles”, *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 30e congrès, “L'étranger au Moyen Âge”*. Göttingen: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999: 89-90 <https://www.persee.fr/doc/shmes_1261-9078_2000_act_30_1_1761> (Consultado el 25 de noviembre de 2017). Méry, Louis; Guindon, F. *Histoire analytique et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du Corps et du Conseil de la Municipalité de Marseille depuis le Xme siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. Marsella: Typographie des hoirs Feissat Ainé et Demonchy, 1841: 366 <<https://archive.org/details/histoireanalyti01guingooq>> (Consultado el 25 de noviembre de 2017). Balard, Michel. *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe - début du XVe siècle)*. Roma: École française de Rome, 1978: II, 785; afirma, aunque sin referencias archivísticas concretas, que se produjo transporte de cautivos tomados en la conquista de Mallorca a Génova; remite a Balard, Michel. “Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle”. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 80/2 (1968): 627-680, donde los primeros datos son de 1239. Olivia Remie Constable asegura la existencia de una laguna en la documentación notarial genovesa entre 1200 y 1237 en Constable, Olivia Remie. “Muslim Spain and Mediterranean slavery; medieval slave trade as an aspect of Muslim-Christian relations”, *Christendom and its discontents. Exclusion, persecution, and rebellion, 1000-1500*, Scott L. Waugh, Peter D. Diehl, eds. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1996: 264-284, especialmente 274, nota 30. En relación a la progresiva conquista de Valencia, Josep Torró detecta una *incontestable activació del mercat d'esclaus andalusins* (“una incontestable activación del mercado de esclavos andalusíes”). Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 1999: 76.

13. Sastre Moll, Jaume. “Notas sobre la población...”; Sastre Moll, Jaume. “La salida de los musulmanes...”; Sastre Moll, Jaume. “Breves notas...”.

14. Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, Julia. “Pisa arcaica i vaixella verda al segle XIII. L'inici de la producció de pisa decorada en verd i manganès a la ciutat de Barcelona”. *Quarhis*, 3 (2007): 138-158, especialmente 155. Martí, Javier. “Una manufactura a la búsqueda de paternidad. Apuntes sobre el inicio de la producción de cerámica decorada bajomedieval en el área valenciana y dentro del contexto del Mediterráneo nordoccidental”, *Atti XXX Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*. Florencia, 1999: 195-206, especialmente 196. Agradezco a Mateu Riera esta referencia.

15. Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca...*: 145-146.

16. “dificultats de reproducció biològica”: Soto, Ricard. “La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...”: 189.



americanas la vida útil de los esclavos era de unos quince o veinte años todo lo más.¹⁷ La captura reiterada de nuevos individuos era el modo mediante el cual se mantenían o acrecían los contingentes esclavos.¹⁸ La reproducción biológica dentro del grupo cautivo, por embarazo de mujeres, no era su sistema principal de perpetuación.¹⁹ En esclavitud no se creaban cadenas genealógicas. Así pues, la muerte, la cautividad y el desplazamiento disgregaron la sociedad andalusí de Mayūrqa y de las otras islas. No en vano las conquistas de Mallorca, Ibiza y Menorca, los años 1229-1232, 1235 y 1287 respectivamente, representan la más nítida y decisiva solución de continuidad en la historia insular de cuantas hayan experimentado nunca los pobladores en este marco geográfico.

Este artículo propone que la antigua posibilidad de convertir personas en lucro²⁰ transformó la población de Mayūrqa en un objetivo en sí misma.²¹ El afán de ganancia impulsó un proceso de más de dos años a lo largo de los cuales la avaricia de botín, sobre todo humano, actuó como premio de inversiones y de esfuerzos. Por otro lado iban las razones del rey: la búsqueda de un objetivo común bajo su mando, el aumento del patrimonio real, la estratégica situación de las islas... El rey, para la consecución de sus planes y cubrir sus ambiciones personales, necesitaba objetivos a distintos niveles. Así, la población, susceptible de selección y captura, convertida en botín, se presenta como el aliciente principal de la hueste en diferentes narraciones. El valor de mercado que se dio a la población andalusí de Mayūrqa devino el motivo de su extinción completa. Esta extinción da a la conquista de las Islas su carácter específico.²² Los pactos a los que llegó el rey Jaume I con los andalusíes, si alguna vez hubo voluntad de cumplirlos, no fueron suficiente protección contra el ya incontenible afán que desataba el lucro a obtener gracias a la captura y venta de los musulmanes, estuvieran o no protegidos por pactos.²³

17. La esperanza de vida, al referirnos a un esclavo, se referiría a su tiempo de “vida útil” o “vida activa”, siempre, naturalmente, desde el punto de vista del esclavista. Véase Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage. Le ventre de fer et d'argent*. París: Quadrige-Presses Universitaires de France, 1986: 19, 87-90. Hay traducción al español: Meillassoux, Claude. *Antropología de la esclavitud. El vientre de hierro y dinero*. México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1988. Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *De l'esclavage au salariat. Économie historique du salariat bridé*. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998. Hay traducción española: Moulier-Boutang, Yann. *De la esclavitud al trabajo asalariado. Economía histórica del trabajo asalariado embridado*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2006: 321: “Los plantadores de las islas evaluaban el período de vida activa, y de vida sin más de los negros en una quincena de años de actividad en algunos escasos años de vida retirada”.

18. Bloch, Marc. “Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique (1)”. *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2/1 (1947): 30-44, especialmente 34; Bloch, Marc. “Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique (2)”. *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2/2 (1947): 161-170 <<https://www.persee.fr/collection/ahess>> (Consultado el 25 de noviembre de 2017) ; Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage...*

19. Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage...*: 285-301.

20. Torró, Josep. “‘De bona guerra’. El ambiguo estatuto del cautivo musulmán en los países de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XII-XIII)”, *El cuerpo derrotado: cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, María Isabel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 435-483.

21. Calderón Ortega, José Manuel; Díaz González, Francisco Javier. *Vae Victis: cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media hispánica*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012: 48.

22. “la conquista no generó pactos”. Soto, Ricard. “La conquista de Mallorca...”: 65; “la ‘solución mallorquina’ compor-
tó, pues, un cautiverio generalizado y masivo de los andalusíes”. Torró, Josep. “‘De bona guerra’...”: 447.

23. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*, Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 1999: 77.

2. El botín semoviente: la población cautiva

En noviembre de 1229 se había predicado la campaña de Mallorca en la Galia. Se dijo que esta tenía la finalidad de capturar a los enemigos o dispersarlos, reducir la tierra al culto divino y extender así la cristiandad.²⁴ No en vano, el destino de los habitantes de las Islas Orientales de Al-Andalus estaba previsto desde hacía mucho tiempo, como se hace explícito nada menos que en una de las versiones del discurso pronunciado por Urbano II en Clermont en 1095, en la cual se mencionan las Baleares.²⁵ Naturalmente podría no haber sido así, pero el obispo de Barcelona, a las pocas horas del desembarco de Jaume I y de la hueste en Mallorca, recogiendo estos mensajes antiguos se dirigió a los hombres asegurando que todos compartían el deseo de destruir a aquellos que renegaban de la fe y del nombre de Jesucristo.²⁶ Años más tarde, en 1235, en la preparación de la conquista de Ibiza y Formentera, Guillem de Montgrí, hermano de Bernat de Santa Eugènia; Pedro, Infante de Portugal, y Nuno Sanç, conde de Rosellón, declararon que la conquista debía significar arrebatar la tierra de las manos de los sarracenos, expulsar a los impíos e instalar en la isla a un pueblo que resultara aceptable a los ojos de Dios.

Antes, en las cortes de finales de 1228 donde según el *Llibre dels fets* y la crónica de Bernat Desclot, se trató y decidió la conquista de Mallorca, los nobles, eclesiásticos y representantes de las ciudades fueron tomando la palabra para fijar las condiciones de su participación en la expedición.²⁷ Solicitaron que su porción del botín tanto mueble como semoviente debía ser proporcional a su aportación de medios de guerra.²⁸ En 1235 los nobles conquistadores de Ibiza y Formentera, acordaron que dedicarían a la amortización de los gastos en hombres y pertrechos de guerra todos los bienes muebles y semovientes que allí encontraran y tomaran.²⁹ Los semovientes, sin duda, eran los indígenas, considerados bienes gracias a los cuales se podía amortizar la inversión hecha en hombres, barcos, caballos, armas, pertrechos y víveres. Esto implicaba su reducción a la condición de mercancía, su conversión en cautivos.

24. *ut captis hostibus vel dispersis, terra cultu divino reddatur ut funes tabernaculorum ecclesie dilatentur*. Villanueva, Jaime. *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1851: XXI, 252; *Arxiu Virtual Jaume I*. Universitat Jaume I, documento nº 001362, 12 de enero de 2018 <<http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/arxiu.php?noriginal=001362>>.

25. Los ataques cristianos a Mallorca no deben entenderse como “precedentes” de la conquista, véase: Barceló, Miquel. “Expediciones militares i projectes d’atac contra les Illes Orientals d’al-Andalus (*al jazā’ir al sharqiya li-l-Andalus*) abans de la conquesta catalana (1229)”. *Estudi General*, 1 (1981): 99-107; editado también en Barceló, Miquel. *Sobre Mayurqa*. Palma: Museu de Mallorca, 1984: 59-75. El texto atribuido a Urbano II: *Hanc igitur nostri mundi portuinculam Turci et Saraceni bello premunt; jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis, quod reliquum est spe devorant, homines inertissimi, et qui, cominus pugnandi, fiduciam non habentes, fugax bellum diligunt*. Malmesbiriensis, Willelmi Monachi. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy. Londres: Sumptibus Societatis, 1890: II, 529.

26. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets del Rei en Jaume*, 2 vols., ed. Jordi Bruguera. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1991: II, 74-75 (capítulo 62).

27. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*, 5 vols., ed. Miquel Coll i Alentorn. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1949 [reimpresa en 1987].

28. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*... II, 60-61 (capítulo 50).

29. *de omnibus bonis mobilibus et semoventibus ibidem inventis et acquisitis*. Marí Cardona, Joan. *La conquesta catalana de 1235*. Ibiza: Patronato Josep Maria Quadrado-Institut d’Estudis Eivissencs, 1976: 25-26. También la bula de Gregorio IX de 1235 abril 24, editada en Pérez, Lorenzo. “Documentos conservados en los registros vaticanos relativos al primer pontificado de Mallorca (1230-1266)”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 32 (1961-1967): 48-66 (doc. nº 9). En el obituario de la iglesia de Gerona se dice de Montgrí que limpió la “suciedad de los paganos” de las islas: *Deinde exercitu congregato castrum et insulas de Evija et de Formenteria devulsis paganorum spurciis Christi Dei adquisivit*. Sureda i Jubany, Marc. “La memòria escrita d’un clergue il·lustre. Documents de Guillem de Montgrí”, *Miscel·lània en honor de Josep M. Marquès*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 2010: 197-211. La alusión a la *spurciis* tiene su tradición: Barceló, Miquel. “La ‘spurciis paganorum’ que había en Coria antes de la conquista cristiana en junio de 1142 d. C.”. *Musulmanes y cristianos en los siglos XII y XIII*, Miquel Barceló; José Martínez Gázquez, eds. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2005: 63-70.



Dado que las cifras de la población de *madīnat Mayūrqa* que proporcionan las fuentes directas en el momento de su conquista son inverosímiles, se han propuesto algunas estimaciones totalmente conjeturales que oscilan entre los 14.000 y los 50.000 habitantes.³⁰ Existe cierta coincidencia en fijarla en torno a los 20.000,³¹ aunque Pau Cateura, yendo a la baja, le atribuye 15.000 habitantes a la *madīna* y entre 30.000 y 35.000 al total de la isla.³² Más recientemente, Antoni Mas modera más la cifra, concediendo a la *madīna* unos 14.000 habitantes, cifra que es fruto de multiplicar por cuatro el número conocido de casas.³³ Si se toma el espacio cultivado como base del cálculo, se puede especular con la población total atribuida a la isla de Ibiza a partir de sus conocidas 170 hectáreas de suelo irrigado: no más de tres mil personas.³⁴ Al alfoz de *madīnat Mayūrqa* se le atribuyen unas 350 hectáreas irrigables.³⁵ Considerándolas idealmente todas en cultivo, dicha especulación arroja una población urbana de unas 6.200 personas. Téngase en cuenta que la extensa huerta de Valencia superaba las 1.200 hectáreas,³⁶ la ciudad contaba con 44 Ha de extensión y se le atribuyen unos 20.000 habitantes en el momento de la conquista.³⁷ Este ejercicio ciertamente grosero de demografía histórica urbana adolece de poco desarrollo, como es evidente, por ello su intención no pretende más que indicar la necesidad de revisar a la baja las excesivas cifras de población que se ha tendido a atribuir a *madīnat Mayūrqa*.

Por su parte, la hueste que el rey pudo reunir para la conquista de Mallorca se conoce aproximadamente gracias a las fuentes, calculándose en unos setecientos caballeros y unos ocho mil peones.³⁸ Este ejército llegó a Mallorca a bordo de unas ciento cincuenta embarcaciones mayores

30. Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1971: 93-104. Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca...*: 56, nota 20. García-Delgado Segué, Carlos. *Las raíces de Palma. Los mil primeros años de la construcción de una ciudad*. Palma: José J. Olañeta Editor, 2000: 241, 249-252.

31. Alomar, Gabriel. *Urbanismo regional en la Edad Media, las 'Ordinacions' de Jaume II (1300) en el reino de Mallorca*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1976: 10-12; propone una población de 23.000 personas en la ciudad y 49.000 en toda la isla. Gais, Nadjem Eddine. "Aperçu sur la population musulmane de Majorque au XIV siècle". *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb*, 9 (1970): 19-30; afirma, sin citar bibliografía, que comúnmente se admite una población general de la isla entre 80.000 y 100.000 habitantes.

32. Cateura Bennassar, Pau. "La contribución confesional: musulmanes y judíos en el reino de Mallorca (siglos XIII-XIV)". *Acta Medievalia*, 20-21 (1999): 119-138.

33. Mas i Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...": 461, nota 74. Los inconvenientes del coeficiente fijo para hallar totales de población a partir de hogares han sido señalados hace tiempo: Bustelo García del Real, Francisco. "La transformación de vecinos en habitantes. El problema del coeficiente". *Estudios Geográficos*, 34 (1973): 154-164.

34. *quan tots els factors demogràfics constituents fossin favorables* ("Cuando todos los factores demográficos constituyentes fueran favorables"). Barceló, Miquel. "Pròleg negre i roig", *Els barrancs tancats. L'ordre pagès al sud de Menorca en època andalusina (segles X-XIII)*, Miquel Barceló, Fèlix Retamero, eds. Maó: Institut Menorquí d'Estudis-Consell Insular de Menorca, 2015: 36.

35. Soto Company, Ricard. *Còdex català del Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*. Palma: Govern Balear, 1994: 27, 35-36 (nota 21) y 103-104.

36. Esquilache Martí, Ferran. *Els espais agraris i l'estructura social d'una gran horta fluvial andalusina. La construcció i evolució de l'Horta de València entre els segles VIII i XIII*. Valencia: Universitat de València (Tesis Doctoral), 2015. La Horta actual se extiende 14.000 Ha.

37. Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Ciudades hispanomusulmanes...*: 97-106. Torró, Josep. "Del Šarq al-Andalus a la Valencia cristiana. Madīna Balansiya: la Valencia andalusí. Siglos VIII-XIII", *La ciudad de Valencia. Historia, geografía y arte de la ciudad de Valencia*, Jorge Hermosilla Pla, ed. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009: 159-169.

38. Mas Forners, Antoni. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...": 413-414, nota 57. Hernández, Francesc Xavier. *Història militar de Catalunya. Vol. II: Temps de conquesta*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau Editor, 2002: 90, 93; cuenta 800 caballeros y algunos peones.

—naves, taridas, galeras, galeotas y buces— y otras muchas menores, según el *Llibre dels fets*.³⁹ Si todos llegaron a la vez, habrían subido a bordo de cada embarcación mayor unos sesenta hombres, más la tripulación y los caballos, pertrechos, víveres, etc. lo que hace plausible el número de naves proporcionado por el *Llibre*.

Así, los varios miles de cautivos de *madīnat Mayūrqa* habrían sido manejados por una cantidad aproximadamente equivalente de peones y caballeros. El hecho explícitamente aludido por Jaume I de que en el instante del asalto final salió una parte de los sitiados por dos puertas de poniente, puede interpretarse como un hecho que no fue evitado expresamente por la hueste con vistas a disminuir a una magnitud más manejable la cantidad de gente en el interior de la ciudad una vez tomada.⁴⁰ En este mismo sentido, la matanza desencadenada nada más traspasar las murallas y derrotar la última resistencia militarmente organizada, debe ser entendida como un procedimiento de reducción, mediante selección, del grupo a cautivar. No creo que deba interpretarse, como se ha hecho, como la revancha o venganza por la caída de los dos Montcada en Portopí.⁴¹ De hecho, las masacres de poblaciones inermes después de asedios prolongados eran frecuentes.⁴²

Aquella expeditiva administración de muerte sembró el terror y la turbación entre los habitantes supervivientes. Ibn 'Amīra lo expresa diciendo “ebrios parecían sin estarlo”.⁴³ Esta acción de extrema violencia debió de permitir el manejo sin sobresaltos de la multitud derrotada.⁴⁴ Muchos años atrás, el poeta pisano que narró el ataque a Ibiza de sus compatriotas aliados a los catalanes, escribió, refiriéndose a los habitantes del arrabal de *madīnat Yābisa* que, cautivos, los condujeron como si fueran un rebaño de ovejas.⁴⁵ Las masacres han devenido un objeto de estudio, aunque quienes las han tratado suelen marginar la Edad Media y especialmente las guerras entre cristianos y musulmanes en el contexto peninsular, ocultas por la equívoca etiqueta de la “Reconquista”.⁴⁶

39. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 65-66 (capítulo 55). Solamente las galeras podían embarcar entre cien y ciento veinte personas de tripulación cada una. El *Llibre des fets* asegura que fueron doce de ellas las presentes en el *passatge a Mallorques*. Krueger, Hilmar C. “Navi e proprietà navale a Genova, Seconda metà del sec. XII”. *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 25-99/1 (1975): 163.

40. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 98-99 (capítulo 86).

41. Soto, Ricard. “La conquista de Mallorca...”: 65. Aunque, efectivamente, el rey en su discurso del capítulo 68 anima a vengar la muerte de los dos nobles.

42. Son conocidos los casos de Barbastro en 1063, Antioquía en 1097, la famosa de Jerusalén en 1099, la de Acre por parte de Ricardo Corazón de León en 1191 o la de Constantinopla en 1204. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004: 106, 112, 116, 126 y 195. Para Castilla véase García Fitz, Francisco. “¿De exterminandis sarracenis? El trato dado al enemigo musulmán en el reino de Castilla-León durante la Plena Edad Media”, *El cuerpo derrotado. Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, Maribel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Madrid, 2008: 113-166, especialmente 118-128.

43. Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa. Crónica árabe de la conquista de Mallorca*, ed. Muḥammad ben Ma'mar, trads. Nicolau Roser Nebot, Guillem Rosselló Bordoy. Palma: Presidència de les Illes Balears-Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2009: 115. Hay una edición catalana de 2008.

44. El rey era consciente del efecto que causaban los reveses crueles en los derrotados, así cuando intentó convencer a sus nobles de continuar la conquista después de tomada la *madīna* argumentó que *valria més que ara ab la paor que han los conquerissem* (“sería mejor que ahora, con el pavor que tienen, los conquistáramos”). Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

45. Veronés, Lorenzo. *De bello Maioricano. Libri octo. La guerra de Mallorca en ocho libros*, ed. Jaime Juan Castelló. Barcelona: Editorial Bosch, 1996: 156-157.

46. La obra coordinada por Souza, Philip de; France, John, eds. *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 deja de lado los enfrentamientos entre musulmanes y cristianos. El volumen dirigido por El Kenz, David, ed. *Le massacre, objet d'histoire*. Bourges: Éditions Gallimard, 2005 solo incluye un capítulo al tema durante la Edad Media, y lo mismo sucede en el compendio coordinado por Dwyer, Philip G.; Ryan, Lyndall. *Theatres of Violence. Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History*. Nueva York-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012.



Tanto la masacre perpetrada en *madīnat Mayūrqa* como el episodio del lanzamiento con trabuquetes de las cabezas cercenadas tienen sus precedentes en las narraciones de las cruzadas de Oriente.⁴⁷ Las similitudes pueden hacer pensar en que se trata de *topoi* literarios utilizados por el monarca en su crónica. Sin embargo, el hecho de que su relato coincida con el recogido en el *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa*, y también en la crónica de Bernat Desclot, permite aceptar su veracidad. La masacre, además, fue un procedimiento que encajaba perfectamente con la anunciada intención de la conquista: eliminar y destruir a los indígenas. De hecho, es una de las estaciones fijas en las prácticas de colonialismo de asentamiento o *Settler Colonialism* tal como se han descrito.⁴⁸

Tomada la *madīna*, Jaume I transmite bien en su descripción del saqueo la voracidad de los asaltantes ante la abundancia y la variedad del botín. Tan cuantioso era el despojo puesto a su merced que su acumulación no era objeto de disputas, asegura el monarca.⁴⁹ Después de meses de esfuerzos durante el sitio, los asaltantes se embriagaron con él a lo largo de ocho días, durante los cuales el rey asegura que sus hombres estuvieron ausentes de su lado, placenteramente entretenidos cada uno con su parte.⁵⁰ Bernat Desclot hace durar solo dos días el desenfreno de los asaltantes, mientras que Pere Marsili, en una interpolación propia a su traducción latina del *Llibre dels fets*, insinúa más claramente que el rey lo que placía tanto a sus hombres: *direptores discurrentes per domos inveniebant pulcherrimas donnas et domicellas gratissimas*.⁵¹ No es un caso aislado, Ambrosio criticó el comportamiento de los anglonormandos en su celebración, digamos orgiástica, de la toma de Acre, acaecida casi cuarenta años antes de la conquista de Mallorca.⁵²

En la obra de Ibn 'Amīra los acontecimientos se narran de forma coherente con un procedimiento de sometimiento, selección, captura, nueva selección y manejo de un contingente cautivo numeroso. La obra transmite igualmente la furiosa violencia desatada en el momento de la entrada en la ciudad, una vez que los asaltantes superaron las defensas. En aquel momento, la población —hombres, mujeres, ancianos, niños— quedó a su merced: “clavando la espada tanto en los combatientes como en los que no guerreaban. [...] Gente desarmada fue golpeada de forma inmisericorde por cualquiera que empuñase un venablo”.⁵³ Jaume I también alude a ello, aunque detalla menos, cuando describe que los caballos armados y los hombres de a pie se lanzaron contra la población, haciendo *que vint mília no n'hi morissen a l'entrar*.⁵⁴ Bernat Desclot lo describe como una acción de combate coordinada, al menos, por una parte de la hueste; esta, atravesadas las mu-

47. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*...: 93-127.

48. Wolfe, Patrick. “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native”. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8-4 (2006): 387-409.

49. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (capítulo 88).

50. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (capítulo 88).

51. “Los saqueadores escudriñando por las casas encontraban bellísimas mujeres y muy agradables doncellas”. Marsili, Pere. “Crónica de Fray Pedro Marsilio”, *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca: Crónicas inéditas de Marsilio y de Desclot, la primera vertida al castellano y la segunda en su texto lemosín y adicionadas con numerosas notas y documentos*, ed. Josep Maria Quadrado, Palma: Biblioteca Balear-Editorial Mallorquina de Francisco Pons, 1957: I, 201. Pere Marsili asegura que es una información que le proporcionó Arnau de Castellvell. Este personaje fue comendador de la Orden de San Jorge de Alfama en Mallorca entre 1244 y 1254 (Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, Regina. *La Orden de San Jorge de Alfama: aproximación a su historia*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 11). También llama la atención al respecto Mas Forners, Antoni. “Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa...”: 421.

52. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*...: 99. Ambroise. *L'Etoile de la Guerre sainte: histoire en vers de la troisième croisade (1190-1192)*, ed. Gaston Paris. París: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897: 151-152.

53. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa*...: 114.

54. “que veinte mil murieran en la entrada”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 98-99 (capítulo 86).

rallas, se reagrupó, derrotó la resistencia de los combatientes y comenzó la matanza de los civiles que encontraron a su paso.⁵⁵ Ibn 'Amīra se detiene en aquel terror y menciona que se dio muerte a lactantes, niños y mujeres embarazadas. También fueron abatidas damas de “clase pudiente”, cuyas frentes —dice— fueron arrastradas por el suelo, un probable eufemismo para aludir a violaciones, ya mencionadas, veladamente, por Pere Marsili.⁵⁶

El rey no detalla qué se hizo de los cautivos durante aquellos días de disfrute del botín. Ibn 'Amīra asegura que “se reunió a los prisioneros y cubrióse la tierra con todos ellos hasta el punto de que su aglomeración a la de un gran ejército semejaba”.⁵⁷ Como se ha dicho, la administración de muerte, solo aparentemente indiscriminada, habría sido una primera selección del botín humano. El aturdimiento de los habitantes permitió su captura y concentración en un solo lugar de la *madīna*. Es imposible no recordar el procedimiento seguido en Málaga en 1487.⁵⁸ En este punto, Ibn 'Amīra, alude a lo que fue una segunda selección ejecutada por el frío y la lluvia, elementos a los que estuvieron expuestos los cautivos. Entre ellos la mortandad —lamenta— superó a la ya padecida anteriormente.⁵⁹ Esta segunda selección pudo no ser deseada, como la primera, sino más bien causada por la incapacidad de gestionar un botín cautivo tan numeroso. En todo caso debieron de caer los más débiles. Ibn 'Amīra menciona el hambre y Jaume I también alude a ella cuando dice que los disconformes con el reparto del botín justificaron sus acciones diciendo: *morim de fam aquí*.⁶⁰ La enfermedad que se declaró fue el resultado de aquella situación y vino a agravarla.⁶¹

Después del extremo esfuerzo de la conquista, de la euforia de la victoria y del disfrute del despojo, buena parte de los componentes de la hueste tenía prisa por hacer el reparto del botín y dejar Mallorca. Tal cosa hizo, efectivamente, la mayoría, a despecho del rey.⁶² Este procedimiento —alcance de objetivos, reparto de botín y regreso a las bases— era el habitual en las cabalgadas, como puso claramente de manifiesto James F. Powers.⁶³ El rey, que concebía la campaña como una conquista y no como una acción de guerra de corso, intentó infructuosamente aplazar la adjudicación de las porciones del botín porque sabía que esto tendría la consecuencia muy difícilmente evitable de la disgregación del ejército con el que pensaba poder someter el resto de la isla. Esta debía de estar aún notablemente habitada, si creemos la cifra de un total de 30.000 habitantes antes mencionada y le restamos los varios miles de caídos y cautivos en la *madīna*. Habrá que volver a ellos más abajo.

55. Muntaner, Ramon. *Crònica...*: 439-440 (capítulo 47).

56. Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa...*: 114.

57. Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa...*: 114-115.

58. Lo narra Fernando del Pulgar. Los cautivos fueron concentrados en corrales: “é mandáron que todos los Moros é Moras de la cibdad saliesen de sus casas, y entrasen en dos grandes corrales que son en el alcazaba, baxo de ciertas torres, de las quales estaban apoderados los Cristianos”. Pulgar, Fernando del. *Crónica de los señores reyes católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780: 322.

59. Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa...*: 115.

60. “Morimos de hambre aquí”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 101 (capítulo 90).

61. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 103 (capítulo 92).

62. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 103-104 (capítulo 93).

63. Powers, James, F. *A Society Organized for War. The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-Londres: University of California Press, 1988: 162-187.



3. La subasta fraudulenta

El rey, en su *Llibre*, se detuvo en la problemática distribución del botín justo después de la descripción de la toma de la *madīna*.⁶⁴ El monarca consideró necesaria su narración pormenorizada sin duda porque al final se demuestra el error cometido por los ricos hombres al no acatar los deseos de su rey.⁶⁵ El *Llibre* cuenta que estos acudieron al monarca una vez tomada la ciudad pidiéndole que se procediera a la subasta de los cautivos y de los objetos: *dels moros e de la roba*.⁶⁶ Podemos suponer que proceder con el reparto era la voluntad del común de la hueste, no solo de los ricos hombres. Nótese como en este estadio no se hace mención de los bienes inmuebles, aunque la hueste ya se había instalado en la ciudad y tomado para sí, ocupándolas, las casas.⁶⁷ Bernat Desclot narra el modo como se consiguió limpiar de cadáveres la ciudad, prometiendo una indulgencia de mil días. Los cuerpos fueron arrastrados con caballos y mulas.⁶⁸ Es interesante que no se mencione que esta desagradable y pesada tarea la ejecutaran los cautivos. En 1099 fueron estos los que limpiaron de cadáveres el templo de Jerusalén, según Guillermo de Tiro.⁶⁹

El monarca intentó convencer a sus nobles de aplazar la división y adjudicación del botín para poder explotar el éxito militar conseguido en la *madīna* sometiendo a los resistentes en las montañas. Aludió en vano a la ventaja que les proporcionaba el pavor que sentía por entonces el enemigo.⁷⁰ Jaume I explica que la insistencia de los magnates —Nuno Sanç, Bernat de Santa Eugènia, el obispo y el sacristán de Barcelona— se debía a la velada intención que llevaban de engañar al resto del ejército. Los magnates preguntaron al rey cómo se haría la adjudicación del despojo mueble y él contestó que por *cadrelles* —*quadrelles*, normalizando la grafía; “cuadrillas”—. El sistema propuesto no agradó a los obispos y ricos hombres y, sin hacer caso de la voluntad del rey, mantuvieron que antes de marchar contra los sarracenos se repartieran con rapidez los cautivos y el mueble que formaba el botín. Aseguraron que podía hacerse en ocho días y que después avanzarían contra los sarracenos y los conquistarían: *despuís anem sobre els sarraïns de fora e conqueram-los*.⁷¹ Mientras tanto, detallaron, el botín de cada uno se pondría a buen recaudo a bordo de las galeras.⁷² Lejos de los plazos previstos, la subasta duró de Carnaval a Pascua, toda la Cuaresma. El rey asegura que él mismo les descubrió el engaño que pretendían, pero incapaz de vencer la firmeza de los ricos hombres, accedió a efectuar el reparto, aunque advirtiéndoles de que todos podían llegar a arrepentirse.⁷³ Esta amonestación es central en la narración de los hechos puesto que a la postre se

64. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-102 (capítulos 88, 89, 90 y 91).

65. Este tipo de interpretación del texto del *Llibre*, del que deben extraerse lecciones del buen juicio del rey, siempre providencialista, es el que defienden Agnès y Robert Vinas. Vinas, Agnès; Vinas, Robert. *La conquête de Majorque. Textes et documents*. Perpignan: Société Agricole-Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales, 2004; cito por la edición catalana: Vinas, Agnès; Vinas, Robert. *La conquesta de Mallorca. Textos i documents*. Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 2007: 131.

66. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

67. Así se explican las menciones a casas ocupadas y desocupadas en el *Llibre del repartiment*. Yo descarto que se tratara de habitantes nativos. Riera Frau, María Magdalena. *Evolució i topografia de madīna Mayīrqa*. Palma: Ajuntament de Palma, 1993: 105; plausiblemente, considera que las alusiones a casas habitadas y deshabitadas tiene relación con su estado de conservación.

68. Muntaner, Ramon. *Crònica*...: 439-440 (capítulo 47).

69. Bradbury, Jim. *The Medieval Siege*...: 116.

70. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

71. “Después iremos sobre los sarracenos de fuera y los conquistaremos”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (capítulo 89).

72. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

73. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).



demuestra que la razón asistía al rey y que, además, hubo de ser él quien sacara del atolladero a los nobles, poco menos que sitiados en la Almudaina por los descontentos del desigual y fraudulento reparto del botín.⁷⁴

Este método del reparto por *quadrelles* parece remitir a los “quadrilleros” que estudió James F. Powers.⁷⁵ Estos oficiales municipales eran los encargados de la división de los botines obtenidos en las cabalgadas de las milicias durante los siglos XII y XIII. Procedían mediante detallados registros escritos de los participantes en la acción y de su equipo bélico por un lado y, por otro, del botín obtenido.⁷⁶ El botín se repartía minuciosamente según el armamento de cada combatiente y dando preferencia a la compensación de las heridas y otros menoscabos según su gravedad. En Mallorca, después de la muerte de los Montcada, el rey había prometido compensar las pérdidas a los combatientes, de modo que caballos y otras cosas les serían enmendados: *E negun perd un cavall ni neguna altra cosa, nós la us esmenarem*.⁷⁷ Josep Torró explica el sistema de reparto del botín que defendió infructuosamente Jaume I ante sus nobles y cómo la subasta finalmente practicada les permitió introducir fraude a beneficio propio en las operaciones de inventario, evaluación y licitación.⁷⁸ Ramon Muntaner, cuando narra las correrías de la Compañía Catalana, más setenta años posteriores a la toma de *Mayūrqa*, describe parcialmente la subasta de un botín: *E l'endemà fém encant dels cavalls e dels presons e d'açò que haguem guanyat. E partim de guany per cavall armat divuit perpres d'aur, e per cavall alforrat catorze, e per peó set; e així hac cascun la sua part*.⁷⁹ Cada combatiente tenía asignada una soldada fija según su condición y equipo bélico. Se procedía a la subasta del botín y cada cautivo y cada objeto, todo cuidadosamente inventariado, era valorado en moneda. En la subasta, cautivos y caballos eran adquiridos por los licitantes que eran los mismos combatientes y mercaderes acudidos a propósito. El *Llibre dels fets* muestra que había mercaderes presentes en Mallorca, acompañando a la hueste y financiando al rey.⁸⁰ El temprano pacto con la república de Génova, cerrado en Mallorca a final de junio de 1230 en presencia del legado genovés Andree de Cafaro, lo demuestra igualmente.⁸¹

El botín debió de exponerse públicamente. La subasta de cautivos y de objetos pasaba por su previa valoración en moneda.⁸² Los participantes contaban para licitar, al menos, con su correspondiente asignación de paga según su condición y armamento, de un modo parecido a lo que

74. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (capítulo 91).

75. Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War*...: 162-187.

76. Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War*...: 103.

77. “Si alguno pierde un caballo u otra cosa, nos os la compensaremos”, Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 80-81 (capítulo 69).

78. Torró, Josep. “Viure del botí. La frontera medieval com a parany historiogràfic”. *Recerques*, 43 (2001): 5-32, especialmente p. 31.

79. “Al día siguiente hicimos la subasta de los caballos, de los prisioneros y de todo lo que ganamos. Dividimos el lucro a razón de cada caballo armado, dieciocho hiperperios de oro; por cada caballo forrado, catorce, y por cada peón, siete. De modo que cada cual tuvo su parte”. Soldevila, Ferran, ed. *Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 864-865 (capítulo 224). Ferran Soldevila (Soldevila, Ferran, ed. *Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 985, nota 2) recuerda oportunamente que Muntaner era maestre racional de la compañía y que por lo tanto conocía bien los procedimientos de reparto.

80. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 95 (capítulo 82).

81. Puncuh, Dino, ed. *I Libri Iurium della Republica di Genova. Vol I/2*. Roma: Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato-Ministerio per i beni culturali e ambientali Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1996: 79-89 (doc. n° 301 y 302).

82. Torró, Josep. “Viure del botí...”: 31. Barceló, Miquel. “‘Mantenimiento y oro’. Cómo hacer de los indios moneda”. *Gaceta numismática*, 141 (2001): 7-15. Barceló, Miquel. “La construcció d'equivalències entre coses en la documentació dels segles IX a l'XI”, *El feudalisme comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, Miquel Barceló, Gaspar Feliu, Antoni Furió, Marina Miquel, Jaume Sobrequés, eds. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2003: 35-43, especialmente 36.



expone el fragmento de la crónica de Ramon Muntaner. Debe tenerse en cuenta que el procedimiento de valoración en moneda, adjudicación en subasta al licitante y reparto del montante podía ser en buena parte solamente teórico. A pesar de la omnipresencia de las equivalencias en moneda, los discos de metal acuñado no se usaban tan abundante y frecuentemente como puede hacer pensar su uso contable. Justamente, el procedimiento de reparto hacía imprescindible esta contabilidad y por ello los de la hueste quedaron a merced de los ricos hombres *car ne sabien més que ls de la ost*, tal como previó el rey.⁸³ Decepcionados con el reparto, caballeros y peones (el *poble*)⁸⁴ unieron sus voces y acciones y saquearon la casa de uno de los ricos hombres. El rey los interpeló. Respondieron que merecían tener parte en la presa tanto como aquellos que la habían recibido.⁸⁵ Para apaciguar a los descontentos el monarca esgrimió duras amenazas y la promesa de hacer cuentas del botín para poder darles su parte: *els dixem que comptariem, e puis dariem llur part*.⁸⁶ Haciendo cuentas, pues, la crónica real zanja la cuestión, dando a entender que la autoridad y la habilidad del rey solucionan la disputa creada por la avaricia de los nobles.

4. El acicate de cautivar sarracenos

En dos ocasiones los avariciosos magnates desembarcados en Mallorca se refirieron al botín que se debía repartir nombrando a los cautivos en primer lugar: *els sarraïns e la roba*.⁸⁷ ¿Cómo podía esperar el rey que se mantuviera un contingente que se calcula en varios miles de personas cautivas mientras él completaba la sumisión de la isla y, en ella, tomaba más cautivos? La prisa de los magnates por repartir el despojo se originaba en la voluntad de regresar cuanto antes a casa con el lucro obtenido. La parte mueble del botín creaba problemas de seguro almacenamiento, como pone de manifiesto el propio rey cuando reconoce el traslado de su parte desde la Almudaina a la Bâb Gumara, adjudicada a la orden del Temple, o cuando los magnates pretendían guardar su parte del botín en las galeras.⁸⁸ El botín humano, los *moros* o *sarraïns*, ocasionaba gastos de manutención la cual, no siendo periódica y suficiente, hacía disminuir el valor del botín a medida que pasaban los días.⁸⁹ Este menoscabo se vio agravado por la enfermedad que se declaró en la ciudad.

Cuando Hugo de Forcalquier, maestre de la orden de San Juan del Hospital de Jerusalén, arribó a Mallorca con quince caballeros, no más tarde del primero de marzo de 1230, la ciudad ya había sido conquistada. Pese a ello, el maestre pidió al rey una porción de tierra para su orden. Los ricos hombres, reticentes, se negaron alegando que el reparto ya se había efectuado y que la mayoría de ellos había regresado a sus casas.⁹⁰ La presión del rey alojó esta vez las voluntades de los nobles y el hospitalario solicitó aún que se le diera parte del botín mueble y unas casas. Los nobles volvieron

83. "Puesto que sabían más que los de la hueste": Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

84. Para referirse a los peones, el *Llibre dels fets*, utiliza la expresión de *homes a peu* o los de *a peu*. El uso de *poble* en la crónica comienza en estos capítulos. Posteriormente se utiliza en el sentido de "gente". En este caso parece claro que, por la contraposición con los caballeros, se refiere a los peones.

85. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 101 (capítulo 90).

86. "Les dijimos que contaríamos y que después le daríamos a cada uno su parte". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (capítulo 91).

87. "Los sarracenos y la ropa (ajuar, objetos)". Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100-101 (capítulo 89).

88. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 102 (capítulo 91) y 100-101 (capítulo 89).

89. Soto, Ricard. "La conquista de Mallorca...": 68.

90. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 105-106 (capítulo 95, 96).

a negarse con el mismo argumento y asegurando que nadie devolvería lo que ya tenía por suyo.⁹¹ Así, a primero de marzo, si la datación es correcta, el botín ya estaba adjudicado, tanto el semoviente y mueble como el inmueble.⁹² No obstante, nuevamente gracias al monarca, el maestre obtuvo tierras, casas en la ciudad y, como botín mueble, dos galeras del rey de Mallorca que hibernaban en la atarazana. Lo que no obtuvo, de momento, fueron cautivos. Todo parece indicar que estos ya habían sido adjudicados o despachados por vía marítima. Esto, sin embargo no fue un inconveniente para el maestre porque se los procuró participando en la cabalgada contra los refugiados en las montañas de Artà. Allí fueron capturadas dos mil personas según el *Llibre dels fets*.⁹³

No contamos con ningún registro, ni siquiera alusiones, a los traslados de botín que debieron de comenzar poco después del desembarco de la hueste en la costa mallorquina. Las más de ciento cincuenta embarcaciones mayores y otras muchas menores que enumera Jaume I no pudieron estar quietas, fondeadas en bahías o puertos o puestas en seco en las playas. Jaume I asegura que durante las tres primeras semanas de sitio los peones y marineros volvían a pernoctar en las galeras, como si la flota hubiera estado inmóvil frente al real cristiano. El *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā*, en cambio, narra que las naves cortaron la comunicación de los resistentes en las montañas con *Manīrqā*.⁹⁴ Su actividad, de hecho, debió de ser incesante. Sin duda hicieron también expediciones a las otras islas y debieron de proveer a la hueste de las provisiones necesarias. En sus viajes al continente —conjeturo— transportarían botín, especialmente cautivos, difíciles de gestionar y costosos de alimentar durante el sitio. El testimonio escrito de estos viajes es muy limitado. Sabemos que después de la subasta, Nuno Sanç se hizo a la mar en corso rumbo a Berbería con dos galeras y una nave. Poco después volvía a estar en Mallorca con el rey y por aquellas fechas Pero Cornell dejó la isla para ir a Aragón y regresar con ciento cincuenta caballeros con los que continuar la conquista.⁹⁵ Como se ha dicho, el maestre del Hospital se embarcó hacia Mallorca con quince caballeros tras la toma de la ciudad.⁹⁶ Rodrigo de Lizana y Atón de Foces se embarcaron también poco después en una tarida de las que habían participado en la expedición de la conquista y en dos leños donde estibarón las provisiones.⁹⁷ Ya en 1233, se documenta una carga de harina enviada a Mallorca desde Marsella.⁹⁸ El movimiento de buques era pues, según estos indicios, muy frecuente. Unos años después, en 1237, el rey vio en Salou muchos barcos que llevaban provisiones a Mallorca.⁹⁹

91. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 107 (capítulo 97).

92. Pérez Pastor, Plàcid. "Mallorca, 1230-1232. Reflexions a partir de la relectura del còdex llatinoaràbic del repartiment". *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, 66 (2010): 9-34.

93. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111 (capítulo 103).

94. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 83 (capítulo 69) y 100 (capítulo 89). Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzūmī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā*...: 119-120.

95. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103 (capítulo 92).

96. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 105 (capítulo 95).

97. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111-112 (capítulo 104).

98. Blancard, Louis. *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au Moyen Âge*. Marsella: Barlatier-Feissat Père et Fils, 1884: I, 55-56 (doc. n° 41, 4 de septiembre de 1233).

99. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 187-188 (capítulo 216).



5. Conquistar y someter

De una isla no se puede huir o al menos es muy difícil hacerlo, como demuestran numerosos episodios históricos, el más reciente de los cuales se dio en 1936.¹⁰⁰ El propio Muntaner, cuando narra el naufragio de la nave genovesa a bordo de la cual era deportado a Berbería el almojarife de Menorca y los suyos, viene a confirmarlo. La disputa entre Jaume I y sus magnates a raíz de la división del botín muestra una diferencia de prioridades y, a la vez, la importancia que tenía este botín humano y mueble. Cautiva de una isla que difícilmente podía abandonar, los “ricos hombres” podían aplazar la derrota y captura de la población andalusí restante hasta después de dividido el botín tomado en la ciudad: “después iremos sobre los sarracenos”, dijeron, como con displicencia, a su impaciente rey.

Es sabido que los habitantes del campo mallorquín se habían movilizado en los primeros momentos del sitio. Se pusieron bajo el mando de un *qa'id* que al parecer es el llamado *Ifantilla* (Fatīh Allāh) en el *Llibre dels fets*.¹⁰¹ En el *Kitāb Tā'rīh Mayūrqa* el agrupamiento militar se describe como fruto de la iniciativa de los habitantes del campo. Una vez organizados habrían solicitado un comandante al emir y, cuando les fue designado, discutieron la elección, aunque infructuosamente. La capacidad de organización y de resistencia a las órdenes de la autoridad estatal de los habitantes queda bien reflejada en este pasaje, así como la factible comunicación con la ciudad, pese al asedio. Según Jaume I consiguieron agrupar cien jinetes y cinco mil hombres de a pie. Nuno Sanç y el conde de Empúries derrotaron aquella columna con más de trescientos caballeros. La cabeza de Fatīh Allāh fue lanzada al interior de la *madīna* con un almajaneque, como se ha mencionado antes. Bernat Desclot narra el episodio de modo diferente ya que el agrupamiento se habría hecho a instancias del emir, quien habría enviado mensajes a los refugiados en las montañas.¹⁰² Esto se habría producido después del episodio de Ibn 'Abbād que se comenta más abajo. Una vez derrotado aquel ejército, el sitio se recrudeció. Según Desclot, fue entonces cuando Fatīh Allāh (*Fatitlā*) salió de la ciudad para organizar la resistencia en las montañas y hostigar a la hueste, como efectivamente logró hacer. La crónica alude al acecho al que Fatīh Allāh sometía a la hueste, cayendo sobre los cristianos que se alejaban de ella.¹⁰³ Deseando eliminar esta amenaza, una mesnada fue a él y le derrotó causando la total masacre de su grupo. Habría sido en aquel episodio cuando el rey Jaume mandó decapitar a los muertos y lanzar sus testas, cuatrocientas doce, al interior de la ciudad.¹⁰⁴

Los relatos de Jaume I, Desclot e Ibn āAmāra muestran la capacidad de la hueste para desgajar unidades o mesnadas del cuerpo principal ocupado en el sitio para acometer acciones especiales. Estos cuerpos de ejército o grupos de combatientes saldrían también en busca de mantenimiento y de lucro durante el asedio de la ciudad. Es un tipo de acciones que entra de lleno en la lógica militar de la época.¹⁰⁵ En 1213, por ejemplo, las cabalgadas lanzadas durante el asedio de Baeza para conseguir sustento a la hueste no acopiaron lo suficiente para permitir prolongar el sitio y

100. Schalekamp, Jean A. *Mallorca any 1936. D'una illa hom no en pot fugir*. Palma: Prens Universitaria de Palma, 1971.

101. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 83 (capítulo 70). Ibn 'Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīh Mayūrqa*...: 118-119.

102. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 110-111 (capítulo 39).

103. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 117 (capítulo 40).

104. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 118 (capítulo 40).

105. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 79-80 (capítulo 67). Durante las primeras acciones después del desembarco, la crónica afirma que Pelegrí d'Atrocillo se destacó con cuatro caballeros y vieron al “viejo” (por šaij, el jeque, el rey), con veinte jinetes, en un lugar donde había agua. No se trata de una cabalgada pero sí un grupo que se separa del principal, sin duda, para ganar algo de botín, buscar agua y hostigar al enemigo. Bernat Desclot asegura que parte de los nobles quedaron contrariados por no haber participado en la primera batalla y se internaron en el bosque procurando encontrar

este hubo de ser levantado.¹⁰⁶ Así mismo, procurar comida para las caballerías era una tarea tan ardua como necesaria y ocupaba a no poca gente, sin duda a los sirvientes a los que alude Desclot. Así, aunque no estén expresamente documentadas en Mallorca excepto las lanzadas para derrotar columnas organizadas de los andalusíes, puede deducirse que se organizaron también expediciones de saqueo desde el comienzo del asedio de la *madīna*.¹⁰⁷

Estos saqueos, de hecho, habrían sido, pienso que más que ningún otro de los que se han supuesto hasta ahora, el motivo de que los habitantes de las “partidas” llevaran provisiones a la hueste durante el sitio.¹⁰⁸ Un personaje conocido como Ben Aabet o Benahabet (nombre que se ha interpretado como Ibn ‘Abbād),¹⁰⁹ es calificado por el a menudo providencialista Jaume I de ángel, sarraceno, pero ángel.¹¹⁰ Y todo porque ambos llegaron a un pacto para proveer al ejército cuando este sentía ya la falta de alimentos.¹¹¹ Este pacto ha dado ocasión a muchos autores para tachar a Ibn ‘Abbād de colaboracionista y traidor. De hecho, ya el *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqā* le califica de apóstata y tirano.¹¹² ¿Qué movió a Ibn ‘Abbād a actuar así? La mejora de su situación o evitarse mayores perjuicios traicionando a los sitiados parece el motivo más evidente. Se han ofrecido otros que también encuentran fundamento en las fuentes, como la hostilidad entre gobernantes almohades inmigrados y la población autóctona.¹¹³ Sin embargo, Bernat Desclot proporciona un detalle no menor que permite interpretar aquella actitud de modo muy diferente. El cronista asegura que Ibn ‘Abbād buscó pactar con el rey para obtener *pau i treves* e Ibn ‘Amīra también reconoce que su acción buscaba “conseguir la tranquilidad”.¹¹⁴ Así, según el *Llibre dels fets*, Ibn ‘Abbād acudió a la hueste para parlamentar en su nombre y en el de su partida o, según Bernat Desclot, en nombre de

musulmanes fugitivos; más tarde, tras la batalla en la que murieron los Montcada, se produjo la otra persecución por los bosques. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II, 99 (capítulo 35) y 106-107 (capítulo 37).

106. García Fitz, Francisco. “El cerco de Sevilla: reflexiones sobre la guerra de asedio en la Edad Media”, *Sevilla 1248. Congreso internacional conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la conquista de la Ciudad de Sevilla por Fernando III, Rey de Castilla y León* (Sevilla, Real Alcázar, 23-27 de noviembre de 1998), Manuel González Jiménez, ed. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla-Fundación Ramón Areces, 2000: 115-154, especialmente 130. Sobre el tratamiento de las batallas en la historiografía española: García Fitz, Francisco. “Battle in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula: 11th to 13th Century Castile-Leon. State of the Art”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 10 (2016): 25-33.

107. Cingolani, Stefano Maria. *Jaume I. Història i mite d’un rei*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2007: 195.

108. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets...*: 84 (capítol 71).

109. Ibn ‘Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqā...*: 97-98.

110. Sobre el providencialismo del rey: Cingolani, Stefano Maria. *La memòria dels reis. Les quatre grans cròniques, des del segle X fins al XIV*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2008: 53-54.

111. Este nombre se translitera Ibn ‘Abbād. Parece que corresponde al mismo personaje que figura en el capítulo 45 de Desclot invitando a Nuno Sanç a pasar la Navidad en su casa de Pollença. La actitud de este personaje se ha considerado “colaboracionista” en la historiografía mallorquina y española en general. También que se le ha supuesto pariente de Nuno Sanç y fundador de la estirpe Bennàssar de Mallorca, un extremo que Josep Maria Quadrado ya descartó hace tiempo por no estar documentado (Quadrado, Josep Maria, ed. *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca...*: I, 143, nota 1). No consiguió, sin embargo, hacer desaparecer de los libros de historia esta leyenda del traidor colaboracionista premiado con tierras por los los vencedores. Véase Montaner, Pedro de; Riera Frau, Maria Magdalena. “Los Bennàsser d’Alfàbia: del clan andalusí al ‘llinatge’ catalán”. *Homenatge a Antoni Mut Calafell*. Palma, 1993: 175-208, y Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. “Notes sobre la conquesta de Mallorca (1229-1232): el testimoni dels vençuts”. *Mayurqa. Annals de Ciències Històriques i Teoria de les Arts*, 22 (1989): 541-549.

112. Ibn ‘Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqā...*: 99.

113. Montaner, Pedro de; Riera Frau, Maria Magdalena. “Los Bennàsser d’Alfàbia...”. Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. “Notes sobre la conquesta de Mallorca...”.

114. “Paz y treguas”. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica...*: II, 110-111 (capítulo 39). Ibn ‘Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqā...*: 98.



ochocientas casas de las montañas.¹¹⁵ Sin duda era un šaij.¹¹⁶ Si seguimos lo que narra el *Kitāb*, Ibn ‘Abbād y los suyos no tenían paz ni tranquilidad o habían dejado de tenerlas antes de que el pacto alcanzado les retornara tal estado de quietud. Su ausencia había sido obra, evidentemente, de la parte interpelada por Ibn ‘Abbād: la hueste dirigida por Jaume I. Por supuesto, para el rey la paz y la tranquilidad que ansiaba recuperar Ibn ‘Abbād tenían un precio: proveer de alimentos a la hueste. Necesariamente habían sido los miembros de la hueste que merodeaban armados en busca de alimentos por los distritos de Mayūrqa los actores del desasosiego de las familias representadas por Ibn ‘Abbād. Ibn ‘Abbād decidió parlamentar. En la negociación Jaume I estuvo en una posición de supremacía: puso un precio a la tranquilidad y exigió una garantía de su cumplimiento: los rehenes dejados por Ibn ‘Abbād y que Desclot detalla que eran nada menos que parte de su descendencia y de los suyos (*bons hostatges de lurs fils e de lurs files*).¹¹⁷ La parte débil del desigual pacto fue la que entregó el precio y la garantía y quedó, así, del todo sujeta. Ibn ‘Abbād pidió, además, una enseña real con la esperanza de que enarbolándola dejarían de ser atacados por los hombres de la hueste. Más tarde aún solicitó que dos *batles cristians* o representantes reales se instalaran efectivamente en su territorio y lo tuvieran en nombre del rey. De estas peticiones se deduce que los saqueos no desaparecieron por el solo efecto del pacto y los perjudicados optaron por hacer más patente su sumisión al rey, aceptando gobernantes cristianos que residieran entre ellos. Es probable, de hecho, que los rehenes no estuvieran ociosos durante su estancia en la hueste. Bernat Desclot asegura que cuando el rey mandó cortar las cabezas a Fatih Allāh y los otros, quienes fueron enviados a tal faena fueron los *sarraġns paliers*.¹¹⁸ Aquel, tan degradante, debió de ser uno de los primeros trabajos de su cautividad. No creo, a la vista de todo esto, que haya que ver en dicho acuerdo entre el rey e Ibn ‘Abbād el fruto de las pugnas entre andalusíes, y mucho menos colaboracionismo, traición o apostasía, sino el resultado de la extorsión por parte de los combatientes cristianos. Jaume I consiguió avituallamiento para la hueste a punta de cuchillo; de hecho, se trató del mismo procedimiento que había motivado desde hacía tiempo el pago de parias y por el que se conseguirían todavía muchas más cosas, como la sumisión de Manūrqa, sin ir más lejos.¹¹⁹

115. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 84 (capítulo 71). Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 110-111 (capítulo 39).

116. Kirchner, Helena. “El paper polític i social dels vells a les Illes i Regne de València en la crònica de Jaume I”, V *Jornades d’Estudis Històrics Locals. Les Illes Orientals d’Al-Andalus*, Guillem Rosselló Bordoy, ed. Palma: Institut d’Estudis Balearics, 1987: 103-113.

117. “Buenos rehenes, tomados entre sus hijos y sus hijas”. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 111 (capítulo 39). La misma crónica ilustra bien el papel de los rehenes como garantía de un acuerdo desigual en su capítulo 118. Sobre esta función de los rehenes véase Davies, Robert Rees. *Domination et Conquest*...: 47-65.

118. Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica*...: II, 118 (capítulo 40). Los sarracenos *paliers* eran los acogidos bajo el manto real, metáfora de la protección del monarca. Torró, Josep. ““De bona guerra’...””: 462.

119. Sobre la extorsión “a punta de cuchillo” véase Barceló, Miquel. “Expedicions militars i projectes d’atac...”: 99-107; Barceló, Miquel. *Sobre Mayūrqa*...: 59-75. Sobre el procedimiento para alcanzar pactos de rendición o sumisión: Kirchner, Helena. “El paper polític i social dels vells...”: 104. Sobre las parias: Balaguer, Anna M. *Del mancús a la dobla. Or i paries d’Hispania*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d’Estudis Numismàtics, 1993: 93-105; Virgili, Antoni. “Conqueridors i colons a la frontera: Tortosa, 1148-1212”. *Recerques. Història, Economia, Cultura*, 43 (2001): 47-76, especialmente 55-56.

6. “E deuyts anem sobre ls sarraïns”¹²⁰

Cuando la ciudad fue tomada, hacía tiempo que la gente del campo de Mayūrqa había sido expulsada de los lugares accesibles a las cabalgadas y se había refugiado en las montañas. Inmediatamente, se organizaron desde la ciudad nuevas expediciones a las que alude el propio *Llibre dels fets*.¹²¹ La que fue, al parecer, la primera cabalgada del rey, tuvo que desistir de dirigirse a la Serra de Tramuntana por el peligro que entrañaba para la hueste la gran cantidad de gente que había acampada allí. Como sucederá después en las acciones que condujeron a la conquista de Valencia, el rey evitaba volver de una cabalgada sin un botín de cautivos proporcionado a la fuerza movilizada.¹²²

Descartada la Serra de Tramuntana, el monarca preguntó entonces a los adalides que le habían advertido del peligro por otro objetivo que permitiera a la hueste evitar la vergüenza de volver de vacío. En ausencia del rey o en operaciones paralelas a la de la hueste, grupos de combatientes debían de competir por los lugares donde se presumía la presencia de gente a la que capturar. En este contexto, la información de los ojeadores era preciosa. La reserva de los adalides a manifestar al rey lo que sabían demuestra este extremo. Finalmente, el rey, tomándolos a parte, hubo de forzarlos a hablar aludiendo al imperativo del vínculo feudal: *manam-vos per la naturalea que havets ab nós que digats veritat*.¹²³ Con un objetivo factible, la hueste se encaminó hacia a unas cuevas situadas en las montañas de Artà. De camino, Pero Maça y los suyos se desgajaron de la cabalgada principal y tomaron quinientos sarrazenos en otro lugar. La hueste del rey pudo hacer mil quinientos cautivos en las cuevas de Artà. En esta ocasión, las estimaciones de magnitudes del rey en su crónica se hacen más verosímiles en lo tocante a las personas, aunque las diez mil vacas y treinta mil ovejas que asegura formaron parte del botín parece claramente una exageración.¹²⁴ En todo caso fueron cautivos y ganado suficiente para una columna de treinta y cinco caballeros y unos cientos de peones. Era final de marzo de 1230 y el episodio narrado en el *Llibre dels fets* tiene en la excavación de la cueva o abrigo rocoso del Puig d'en Xoroi su precioso y dramático refrendo arqueológico.¹²⁵

Aquel fue el tiempo de hacer cautivos para los que no habían estado presentes en la toma de *madīnat Mayūrqa*.¹²⁶ De hecho, todo indica que los cautivos se habían convertido en un aliciente importante en aquel momento, cuando grueso del ejército había vuelto a Cataluña y Aragón.¹²⁷ El rey había hecho acudir caballeros para reforzar la hueste que se mantenía en Mallorca. Pero Cornell fue en busca de ciento cincuenta de ellos a Aragón, se presentaron también los quince caballeros hospitalarios con su maestre y, además, el rey llamó a Atón de Foces y Rodrigo de Lizana.¹²⁸ Si por un lado existía la obligación del vínculo de vasallaje, por otro les movía el deseo de obtener botín. El acicate de la probabilidad de obtener cautivos es bien visible en el caso del maestre del Hospital, ya descrito. Fue él quien insistió al rey para que no accediera a ningún pacto que no contemplara

120. “Después ya iremos sobre los sarrazenos”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 100 (capítulo 89).

121. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103-104 (capítulo 93) y 108 (capítulo 99).

122. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 170 (capítulo 188) y 175 (capítulo 196).

123. “Os mandamos por la naturaleza que tenéis con nos, que digáis la verdad”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 108 (capítulo 99).

124. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 111 (capítulo 103).

125. Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Riera, Mateu. “Primavera de 1230: andalusins refugiats a la serra de Llevant (Mallorca)”, *V Jornades d'Arqueologia de les Illes Balears (Palma, 28-30 setembre de 2012)*, Mateu Riera Rullan, ed. Palma: Consell de Mallorca-Edicions Documenta Balear, 2013: 229-239.

126. Aunque Pero Maça parece que sí participó (*Les quatre grans cròniques*...: 54, 224 y nota 1 del capítulo 103).

127. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103-104 (capítulo 93) y 106-107 (capítulo 97).

128. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 103-104 (capítulo 93) y 105 (capítulo 95).



la caída en cautividad de los refugiados en las cuevas. Y, en efecto, cautividad o muerte fueron los términos ofrecidos.¹²⁹

El episodio de las cuevas del *Llibre dels fets* demuestra la dificultad de rendir a los musulmanes reducidos a habitar los lugares más agrestes de la isla. Por otro lado, la situación tenía la ventaja de haber originado lo que he denominado una reserva de futuros cautivos. Hostigados, los andalusíes se mantenían por sus medios e iban así agotando sus reservas de alimentos. La excavación del mencionado abrigo rocoso del Puig d'en Xoroi muestra en la estratigrafía de un pequeño estercolero indicios claros de la degradación de las condiciones de subsistencia de las personas allí refugiadas.¹³⁰ Esta reserva de cautivos era numerosa. Ascendía, según el *Llibre dels fets*, a veinte mil personas, instaladas en las montañas y en los castillos.¹³¹ Pongamos que fueran, pues, varios miles.¹³² A pesar de ello, Jaume I juzgó que no representaban amenaza y abandonó la isla el 28 de octubre rumbo a Tarragona dejando a Bernat de Santa Eugènia de lugarteniente junto con Pero Maça.¹³³ El rey se despidió con la enigmática reflexión de que su marcha era buena tanto para los que se quedaban y como para él mismo.¹³⁴ Él debía ocuparse del resto de su reino, lo que explica las ventajas que le reportaba abandonar Mallorca, no obstante, para los que permanecían en la isla, ¿qué beneficio obtenían? ¿Se refería al botín que podrían ir ganando, a repartir sin tener que contar con la intervención real?

7. “Tan gran guerra”¹³⁵

Existe una discrepancia en los acontecimientos mismos y en su secuencia temporal entre las narraciones del *Llibre dels fets* y del *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā*. Según este último, a raíz de la muerte de Abū Ḥafṣ ibn Ṣayrī en 15 de febrero de 1231, la defensa de los musulmanes de las montañas perdió cohesión, se debilitó y los cristianos pudieron “exterminarlos, aprisionarlos, maniatarlos” y venderlos cautivos “por un precio irrisorio”.¹³⁶ La narración continúa, y así acaba el libro, con la explicación de lo que aconteció a los musulmanes que resistieron en los castillos.¹³⁷ Estos se mantuvieron en armas hasta que pidieron parlamentar con el rey Jaume para entregarse bajo ciertas condiciones. Según el *Kitāb*, se les aceptó que conservaran un tercio de su dinero y de sus bienes muebles, y recibieron autorización para trasladarse a otras tierras. Sin embargo, dicha fuente denuncia que el acuerdo escondía un engaño. Este consistió en no incluir el pago del flete de los barcos que

129. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 110-111 (capítulo 102).

130. Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Riera, Mateu. “Primavera de 1230...”: 229-239.

131. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (capítulo 113).

132. El *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā* asegura los desplazados fueron empadronados y que con ellos se formó un ejército de dieciséis mil peones.

133. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 112-113 (capítulo 105) y 120 (capítulo 114). Bernat de Santa Eugènia se rodeó de un consejo de asesores, véase Pastor, Plàcid. “Mallorca, 1230-1232...”: 18. El rey, efectivamente, estaba el día 30 de octubre en Tarragona: Miret i Sans, Joaquim. *Itinerari de Jaume I ‘el Conqueridor’. Edició facsímil*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007: 569. En este punto es necesario seguir la reconstrucción de los hechos que hizo en su día Ferran Soldevila (Soldevila, Ferran. “La segona i la tercera estades de Jaume I a Mallorca”. *Recerques i comentaris. Història de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1929: I, 169-191).

134. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 113 (capítulo 106).

135. “Tan gran guerra”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (capítulo 113).

136. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā*...: 121.

137. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqā*...: 122.

debían llevarlos a esas otras tierras. Así, los que tenían algo hubieron de pagar por los que nada tenían y todos quedaron despojados. El *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa* no relata el destino de aquellas naves.

Según el orden que le propuso Ferran Soldevila a la secuencia de los acontecimientos narrados en el *Llibre dels fets*, el rey, estando en Barcelona en marzo o abril de 1231, recibió la visita de Bernat de Santa Eugènia y de Pero Maça. Le llevaban la nueva de que los sarracenos de las montañas, después de haber estado todo el invierno hostigándolos, deseaban entregarse al rey en persona.¹³⁸ Ya hemos visto que el *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa* sostiene que Ibn Šayrī murió en combate a mediados de febrero de 1231.¹³⁹ El *Llibre dels fets* menciona a Xuaip como *cap e sènher* de los musulmanes, organizador de la defensa en las montañas.¹⁴⁰ Este nombre, Xuaip, sería, pues, una versión de Šayrī.¹⁴¹ Ante estas noticias, el monarca embarcó en Salou a mediados de abril y, ya en Mallorca, aceptó la rendición de Xuaip.¹⁴² El abandono momentáneo de la isla por parte de Santa Eugènia y Maça con el solo propósito de llevar la noticia al rey es difícil de explicar. Probablemente ambos querían evitar que el mérito de la rendición recayera, a ojos de Jaume I, exclusivamente en uno de ellos. Los dos caballeros aseguraron a Jaume I que podía ir a Mallorca solo, sin hueste, puesto que en la isla ya había suficientes hombres.¹⁴³ Claramente, no querían más caballeros con los que tener que repartir el botín que previsiblemente generaría el pacto de la rendición de Xuaip. El propio rey facilita la prueba de que la hueste era reducida cuando explica la estratagema las hogueras encendidas en Capdepera para dar la impresión de que allí acampaba un gran ejército.¹⁴⁴ Bajo esta amenaza, los gobernantes de Manūrqa accedieron a pagar tributo. De hecho, esta interpretación refuerza la concatenación de los acontecimientos propuesta por Ferran Soldevila. En el tercer viaje del rey, ante la amenaza tunecina, entonces sí, el monarca convocó a la hueste.

El *Llibre dels fets* afirma que los musulmanes sujetos al pacto de rendición podían ser en torno a 3.000 combatientes y 15.000 más entre otros hombres, tal vez ancianos, mujeres y niños.¹⁴⁵ A cambio o como premio, Xuaip y cuatro de su linaje recibirían tierras, armas y montura para poder vivir honradamente. El resto de los musulmanes que acataran el pacto “poblarían la tierra” y los que no lo acataran quedarían a la libre voluntad del rey. El monarca justifica la aceptación de una rendición con condiciones porque la “gran guerra” que se tenía en Mallorca, es decir, la resistencia a la conquista, había imposibilitado hasta entonces la colonización.¹⁴⁶ La mención a que el pacto (*pleit*) se puso por escrito (*en cartes*)— indicaría, si creemos a la crónica, que el rey renunció a la cautividad de aquella multitud de musulmanes, dieciocho mil. Dos mil musulmanes no quisieron entregarse a la merced del rey y permanecieron en las montañas. La voluntad del rey, cuando más

138. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 120-121 (capítulo 114, 115).

139. Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzumī. *Kitāb Tā'riḥ Mayūrqa*...: 120.

140. “Líder y señor”. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 107-108 (capítulo 98) y 119 (capítulo 113).

141. Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. “De Mayūrqa a Mallorca. El Repartiment”, *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2013: II, 441-456, especialmente 442.

142. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (capítulo 113).

143. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 120-121 (capítulo 115).

144. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 123-124 (capítulo 120).

145. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (capítulo 113).

146. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 119 (capítulo 113).



tarde fueron reducidos, fue hacerlos cautivos gracias a la hueste trasladada a Mallorca a raíz de la amenaza de Túnez.¹⁴⁷

Conocidas las dificultades de expugnar todos los reductos, el pacto debió de resultar para el rey la solución más fácil ante la necesidad imperiosa de consolidar la conquista mediante el poblamiento de la isla. Una vez que los musulmanes habían salido de sus refugios, las condiciones del pacto pudieron ser soslayadas tranquilamente por parte de los cristianos. El rey pudo ser consciente o ajeno a ello, en realidad tanto da. El incumplimiento de los pactos será una constante durante la conquista del territorio de Valencia.¹⁴⁸

El pacto con Xuaip está, de hecho, en la base de las suposiciones de la permanencia de un grupo importante de musulmanes libres después de la conquista que defendió Elena Lourie. Se trata de una opción interpretativa seguida más recientemente por David Abulafia.¹⁴⁹ No se puede negar que el pacto existió, pero es revelador que no se conserven las “cartas” que lo expresaron por escrito. Ricard Soto había puesto en duda la eficacia del pacto y esta hipótesis ha encontrado su refrendo en lo que descubre el *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqa* a sus lectores, cuando afirma que fue “un arreglo en el que había engaño”.¹⁵⁰ En todo caso, existe y es bien conocida otra prueba muy clara del modo cómo el rey puso en práctica el pacto y lo que entendía él por “poblar la tierra”. El día 8 de julio de 1231 Jaime I asignó a Ramon Serra, comendador de la orden del Temple, una heredad que había sido de Abceya Aonzi situada en la alquería de Inca. En el mismo documento le hizo donación de treinta *casatos sarracenorum* para que la orden los tuviera francamente como propios y bajo la protección y guía del rey. En el documento, el monarca advertía que nadie debía atreverse a atentar contra los dichos sarracenos o contra sus bienes.¹⁵¹ Elena Lourie propone que eran sarracenos provenientes de las posesiones peninsulares de los templarios.¹⁵² Yo creo, dejando poco lugar a la duda, que claramente son algunos de los musulmanes acogidos al pacto entre el rey y Xuaip, como indica la cronología de la donación.

Como se ha dicho, el monarca regresó a Barcelona la última semana de julio de 1231. El 29 de septiembre permutó al Infante de Portugal el señorío de Mallorca por el condado de Urgell. La toma de posesión se alargó unos meses. En abril de 1232, el rey recibió nuevas de que el rey de Túnez (Abū Zaqariyā Yahyā, 1228-1249) pretendía desembarcar en Mallorca. Después de titubear y recabar más noticias convocó a hueste a aquellos de sus vasallos que habían participado en la con-

147. Jaime I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 126 (capítulo 124). ¿Existió tal amenaza o fueron solo rumores o bien una excusa del rey para finalizar la conquista y reorganizar el reparto de Mallorca? La reorganización de las donaciones de 1230 en Pastor, Plàcid. “Mallorca, 1230-1232...”: 18. Existe una probable evidencia de la veracidad de tal amenaza en un documento de ARM, ECR 342, f. 42v, de 2 de octubre de 1241. En él, Legetus de Seva dio poderes a Bernat Aimeric y Simon *Milgraverutinus* para recuperar todo lo que el rey de Túnez le había quitado (*abstulit*) en el tiempo que otros cristianos fueron igualmente despojados por este.

148. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia*...: 54.

149. Lourie, Elena. “Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian Rule in the Thirteenth Century”. *Speculum*, 45-4 (1970): 624-649. Abulafia, David. *A Mediterranean Emporium. The Catalan kingdom of Majorca*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994; cito por la traducción al español: Abulafia, David. *Un emporio mediterráneo. El reino catalán de Mallorca*. Barcelona: Editorial Omega, 1996: 68-86. Véase también: Santamaría, Álvaro. *Ejecutoria del reino de Mallorca*... Sobre los diferentes posicionamientos respecto a la continuidad o no y en qué condiciones de población indígena, véase Soto, Ricard. “La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...”: 174-179.

150. Soto, Ricard. “La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca...”: 177-179; Soto, Ricard. “La conquesta de Mallorca...”: 67; Ibn ‘Amīra al-Mahzumī. *Kitāb Tā’rīḥ Mayūrqa*...: 122.

151. Miret i Sans, Joaquim. *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya. Aplechs de noves y documents històrics*. Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910: 252-253. Lourie, Elena. “Free Moslems...”: 625.

152. Lourie, Elena. “Free Moslems...”: 626.



quista y recibido posesiones en la isla. Se trasladó a Tarragona, donde hizo testamento fechado en 15 de mayo.¹⁵³ Contrató barcos suficientes para trescientos caballeros, de los cuales se presentaron doscientos cincuenta que se sumarían a los cincuenta que ya estaban en Mallorca. Con el monarca se embarcó Pedro de Portugal. El 7 de julio había arribado a la isla, donde proveyó los preparativos que consideró necesarios para repeler el desembarco tunecino. Pasados quince días sin noticias de la armada de Túnez, el grado de alerta se relajó, el rey aprovechó la hueste para reducir a los musulmanes que quedaban en las montañas y el 15 de julio pasó por Menorca de regreso a Catalunya.¹⁵⁴ Puede pertenecer a este tercer viaje la construcción de la Bastida del Teix, *quam dominus rex ibi fecit*, según el primer documento que la menciona, de octubre de 1233.¹⁵⁵

El documento de donación de los treinta *casati* al Temple demuestra el modo restrictivo en que el monarca entendió el pacto con Xuaip. Más tarde, en el verano de 1232, con una hueste numerosa en la isla, es difícil creer que las capitulaciones se mantuvieran. Los musulmanes no estaban seguros en la isla a pesar de cualquier pacto. Lo demuestra el episodio de Ibn ‘Abbād y así mismo las advertencias que el rey hizo constar en el documento de donación de los dichos *casati*, en el sentido de que nadie les cogiera cosas suyas, agravara, capturara, detuviera, invadiera, impidiera marchar o tomara en prenda algo... La consecuencia de la depredación de los últimos musulmanes mallorquines queda patente en las bajas cifras de musulmanes libres que documenta Ricard Soto las décadas 1240-1260.¹⁵⁶ Es cierto que en 1240 el Infante de Portugal, entonces señor de Mallorca, recibió del papa Gregorio IX una bula conminándolo a cesar en la población de la isla con sarracenos, los cuales, si acaso, solo podían permanecer *sub iugo servitutis positos*.¹⁵⁷ Aquellos musulmanes ya eran el botín de otras expediciones, las marítimas organizadas desde Mallorca y que documentalmente toman la forma de sociedades marítimas *ad lucrandum contra sarracenos*.¹⁵⁸

8. Conclusiones

El largo y problemático reparto del abundante botín procedente del saqueo de *madīnat Mayūrqa* desarticuló la hueste conquistadora que había tomado la ciudad el último día de 1229. El grueso de los participantes regresó a su lugar de origen con sus lotes de botín, cosas trocadas o su valor en moneda. Los cautivos ocupan un lugar preferente en las alusiones a dicho botín en las dos crónicas principales y en la de Bernat Desclot. En la narración de la toma de la *madīna* se disciernen procesos de selección del botín humano mediante la eliminación de los individuos no deseados (niños, ancianos, débiles). La primera selección fue por las armas y la segunda, concentrado el grupo cautivo, por la intemperie —era enero—, el hambre y finalmente la enfermedad. Por aquel entonces la isla estaba a medio conquistar y quedaron relativamente pocos combatientes cristianos en ella. En estas condiciones, la demanda de cautivos debía de ser forzosamente limitada en Mallorca y esto

153. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 114-115 (capítulo 108).

154. Soldevila, Ferran. “La segona i la tercera estades de Jaume I a Mallorca”...: 188-190.

155. “(La Bastida) que el señor rey hizo allí”. Pérez Pastor, Plàcid; Reynés Trias, Antoni. “Es Teix: formació i explotació d’una possessió de muntanya a la serra de Tramuntana de Mallorca (s. XIII-XX)”. *VIII Jornades d’Estudis Locals de Sóller i Fornalutx (Sóller, 8 y 9 de novembre de 2013)*. Muro: Institut d’Estudis Baleàrics, 2014: 319-346.

156. Soto, Ricard. “La conquesta de Mallorca...”: 74.

157. Auvray, Lucien. *Registres de Grégoire IX. Recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d’après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican*. París: Albert Fontemoing Éditeur-Librairie des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1907: II, 184-185 (reg. 5065).

158. Soto, Ricard. “La conquesta de Mallorca...”: 68-68. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia*...: 74.



hacía imposible convertir en lucro —moneda o bienes— a los cautivos adjudicados en la subasta. Así, la mayor parte del botín humano hecho en *madīnat Mayūrqa* debió de ser embarcado hacia diferentes puertos. Tanto la hueste como sus cautivos dejaron la isla.

No conocemos el detalle de aquella dispersión pero sabemos de la presencia en Mallorca de mercaderes genoveses. Ellos participaron, sin duda, en la conversión en mercancía del botín humano y en su transporte. Un vacío en la documentación notarial genovesa de esa época no permite, sin embargo, contar con evidencias documentales. Los archivos de Marsella muestran un tráfico mercantil entre el norte y el sur del occidente Mediterráneo relativamente intenso. Por otro lado, es sabido que en Sicilia, por los mismos años que en Mallorca, se trasladó por vía marítima a una población musulmana completa, estimada en unas decenas de miles de personas, rumbo a la población peninsular de Lucera.¹⁵⁹ También contamos con el conocimiento bastante exacto de lo que pasó en Menorca en 1287. El desplazamiento a bordo de buques de los cautivos tomados en *madīnat Mayūrqa* —¿unos cinco o seis mil?— fue, pues, factible con los medios movilizados para la conquista de Mallorca.

A pesar de los numerosos cautivos tomados en *madīnat Mayūrqa*, los cuales podrían haber arrasado a la baja su precio —como de hecho insinúa el *Kitāb Tā'rīḥ Mayūrqa*—, el lucro que proporcionaban las presas humanas no decayó. Lo demuestra el hecho de que en el *Llibre dels fets* la narración del botín obtenido en la cabalgada contra las cuevas de Artà insista en poner a los cautivos en primer lugar. Posteriormente, las personas seguirán ocupando este puesto preferente en las menciones a la substancia del botín. En el segundo viaje del rey, este solamente accedió a la rendición con condiciones de Xuaip para lograr poner fin a la guerra. La redacción del pasaje toma claramente la forma de una justificación que permita entender al lector el motivo de la aceptación de un pacto en un momento en el que la situación militar era del todo ventajosa para Jaume I. Lo normal hubiera sido hacerlos cautivos, sin aceptar concederles otra salida. Había pasado antes con los refugiados en las cuevas, a los que únicamente se dejó elegir entre cautividad o muerte. La renuncia a este desenlace necesitó, a ojos del rey, de una explicación en su crónica.

En el tercer viaje del rey, la reducción a cautividad de los últimos resistentes y su reparto aparentemente discrecional entre el ejército ocupa un lugar preferente. Esta vez era una hueste numerosa, embarcada con motivo de la alarma por el rumor —o con la excusa— del ataque de la escuadra de Túnez. El rey premió con cautivos sus servicios. A la vez, la precisión del *Llibre dels fets* al decir que los cautivos se adjudicaron a sus nuevos dueños para “poblar la tierra” indica la voluntad del monarca de acelerar la colonización.

El negocio de la puesta en venta de personas no cesaba. Una vez que los habitantes de Menorca quedaron protegidos por el pacto de 1231, dos de los más importantes ricos hombres del reino, Nuno Sanç y Pedro de Portugal, solicitaron al rey autorización para conquistar Ibiza y Formentera. El plazo de la primera concesión finalizó en 1233 sin ejecutarse la conquista. Poco más tarde, ellos mismos y Guillem de Montgrí, hermano de Bernat de Santa Eugènia, se unieron para emprenderla juntos.¹⁶⁰ El 4 de junio de 1235 tenían plantado el sitio de *madīnat Yābisa*, que cayó el 8 de agosto.¹⁶¹ Esta acción reportó más cautivos. Mientras tanto, la conquista de Balansiya se había iniciado con

159. Taylor, Julie Anne. *Muslims in Medieval Italy. The Colony at Lucera*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005.

160. Jaume I. *Llibre dels fets*...: 126-127 (capítulo 125).

161. Marí Cardona, Joan. *La conquesta catalana de 1235*: 33-34; Torres Peters, Francesc Xavier. “Aportació al coneixement de Guillem de Montgrí i de la conquesta de les Pitiüses de l’any 1235”. *Eivissa*, 49 (2011): 2-9. Ferrer Abárzuza, Antoni. *L'Eivissa de Jaume I*. Eivissa: Govern de les Illes Balears, Consell d'Eivissa, 2009: 17-39.

determinación y los cautivos vuelven a ser mencionados en primer lugar en las descripciones de las cabalgadas del *Llibre dels fets*.

Despojar a los indígenas de su tierra podía hacerse de diferentes modos. Convertirlos a ellos mismos en parte del botín se mostró muy efectivo, tanto que en Mallorca y después en las otras islas, desaparecieron por completo. La conquista pretendía ampliar jurisdicciones, obtener señoríos, ganar posiciones estratégicas para el comercio y la guerra, pero lo que compensaba el riesgo de los hombres al embarcarse y luchar era la perspectiva del botín inmediato: los bienes semovientes y muebles. Durante el saqueo de la isla de Mallorca, tomada la ciudad, la información sobre la situación de los reductos de resistentes era preciosa, de nada o de poco valían que los pactos hubieran convertido en *sarraïns paliers*, protegidos, a los indígenas. El lucro que se podía obtener vendiéndolos era más atractivo que cualquier amenaza por violar la protección real.

Este mismo patrón continuará en el tiempo prácticamente sin variaciones. Más arriba se ha recordado la similitud en el procedimiento de concentración y reparto de los cautivos de Mallorca y Málaga. Más de doscientos cincuenta años separan los saqueos de ambas ciudades. La consideración de las personas como botín, su valoración en moneda, el uso de su capacidad de trabajo, como Charles Verlinden logró demostrar, pasará al Nuevo Mundo donde tomará proporciones continentales, monstruosas. En Mallorca, en los otros territorios conquistados a Al-Andalus y en el Caribe, se cumplió lo que dijera Friedrich Engels en una frase que, refiriéndose a la Cuba colonial, Jordi Maluquer de Motes retocó ligeramente: *és segur que l'esclavitud no és una forma exclusivament antiga; sorgeix en tots o quasi tots els llocs on els conqueridors no han trobat habitants nadius —o els han exterminats— i no han aconseguit de promoure la colonització per homes lliures*.¹⁶²

162. "Es seguro que la esclavitud no es una forma exclusivamente antigua; surge en todos o casi todos los lugares donde los conquistadores no han encontrado habitantes nativos —o los han exterminado— y no han conseguido promover la colonización por hombres libres". Maluquer de Motes, Jordi. "La burguesia catalana i l'esclavitud colonial: modes de producció i pràctica política". *Recerques. Història, economia, cultura*, 3 (1974): 83-136, especialmente 87. La cita de Friedrich Engels es un fragmento de una carta a Karl Marx del 22 de diciembre de 1882: *It is certain that serfdom and bondage are not a peculiarly medieval-feudal form, we find them everywhere or nearly everywhere where conquerors have the land cultivated for them by the old inhabitants*. Está tomada del prólogo de Eric J. Hobsbawm a Marx, Karl. *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*. Londres: Lawrence & Wishart, 1964: 59. Jordi Maluquer de Motes siguió la traducción española: Marx, Karl. *Formaciones económicas precapitalistas*, trad. Gregorio Ortiz. Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1967: 94-95, tradujo *serfdom and bondage* como esclavitud.



SEÑORÍO, FRONTERA Y EXPANSIÓN AGRÍCOLA EN EL SUR DEL REINO DE VALENCIA. EL LINAJE VILANOVA EN LA PRIMERA MITAD DEL SIGLO XIV

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RESUMEN

En este artículo vamos a analizar la presencia del linaje Vilanova en el reino de Valencia desde su instalación en el mismo a finales del siglo XIII hasta mediada la centuria siguiente, focalizando en la manera en que los primeros señores proceden a la construcción de un pequeño señorío de frontera, en el que, justo antes del inicio de los episodios críticos del mediados del siglo XIV, activan políticas repobladoras con elementos musulmanes.¹

La conquista del reino de Valencia en el período final de la expansión feudal europea, dentro de lo que Robert Barlett identifica como “los siglos centrales de la Edad Media”,² trajo consigo, en paralelo a la consiguiente incorporación a la Cristiandad de un territorio arrebatado al Islam, la apertura de un espacio a colonizar que, más allá de las formas feudales de colonización, necesitaba de contingente humano que contrarrestase la aplastante mayoría de población islámica que permaneció en el país. Desde muy pronto quedó patente que la llegada de los nuevos pobladores no se produciría en forma de aluvión, sino todo lo contrario, sobre todo por debajo de la línea del río Júcar, espacio que se dibujaba como la auténtica frontera en un sentido doble; exterior, con un reino de Murcia castellano que acaba de sufrir idéntico fenómeno conquistador, e interior, con una población islámica mayoritaria todavía muy contestataria al nuevo poder.³ Será fundamentalmente tras la revuelta mudéjar de 1276 y su sometimiento cuando el poder real procede a practicar sobre estas tierras meridionales una suerte de traslado de esas “formas feudales” por vía tanto de pobladores del común como de pequeños señores, que bien a través de la munificencia regia o por

1. Este trabajo fue iniciado en el marco del Proyecto de Investigación “Redes sociales y proyección económica en una sociedad de frontera: el sur del reino de Valencia entre los siglos XIII-XV” (HAR 2010-2090), financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación y dirigido desde la Universidad de Alicante por el autor del estudio; y el PrometeoII/2014/018. Fue, asimismo, de forma embrionaria debatido en el seminario titulado *Proyección económica en los espacios de frontera e intercambios mercantiles en las fronteras medievales mediterráneas (siglos XIII-XVI)*, celebrado en Alicante los días 21 y 22 de noviembre de 2013.

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2. Barlett, Robert. *La formación de Europa. Conquista, civilización y cambio cultural, 950-1350*. Valencia: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada: 2003: 17.

3. Cabezero, José V. “The seigneurialisation of the southern frontier of Valencia, 1270-1330”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 193-213.



medio de adquisiciones se hacen con pequeñas propiedades en ese ámbito, desplazando en algunos casos a la población autóctona.⁴ Uno de ellos será el linaje Vilanova.

Hasta ese instante las referencias documentales acerca del espacio en el que centraré mi indagación, el valle de Pop, son básicamente de carácter militar, relacionadas con distintos momentos de los reinados de Jaime I y de sus hijos Pedro y Alfonso y con la presencia de diversos alcaides a quienes se vincula retención para su mantenimiento y el de la fortaleza, de la que además existen noticias relativas a obras de mejora.⁵ Sanchis Sivera en su *Nomenclator* aludía a que a principios del siglo pasado todavía se observaban los restos de esa fortificación.⁶ Robert Ignatius Burns escribió incluso que *compreñia un doble castell en dos pics de la serra que domina la Vall de Pop* y que en 1285 Pedro el Grande lo mandó destruir.⁷ Sin embargo, tales referencias disuena respecto de la realidad material, la arquitectónica, pudiéndose hablar de un “castillo fantasma” por su inexistencia. “Pop n’est rien d’autre que la mise à profit d’un relief difficilement accessible pour y établir un refuge temporaire, sans construction” escribe André Bazzana.⁸ Este mismo autor, junto a Patrice Cressier y Pierre Guichard, define asimismo la plaza como “un site non construit”, refutando la propuesta de su existencia como entidad arquitectónica.⁹ No obstante su inmaterialidad o virtualidad física, su realidad jurídica es inequívoca, pues más allá de las referencias citadas, todas ellas de la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, he localizado una fechada un siglo después que no deja lugar a dudas. El 8 de febrero de 1375, y en proceso de posesión de ese valle por parte de Pere de Vilanova por donación de su padre, Vidal —el Vidaló al que posteriormente me voy a referir—, el notario Gabriel Sala, acompañado de Pere Gascó, sayón, acude *personaliter apud castrum de Pop, et ascendendo versus castrum predictum fuit inventus Anthonius Pasquasii, vicinus ville Gandie, et fuit interrogatus per dictum Petrum Gasconi pro quo domino tenebat castrum de Pop, qui dictus Pasquasius, presentibus testibus infrascriptis, respondit quod ipse erat alcaydus dicti castri de Pop et tenebat ipsum pro venerabili Petro de Vilanova, domino vallis et castri predicti de Pop*.¹⁰ Más allá de la virtualidad arquitectónica y la realidad jurídica lo que

4. Ver Torró, Josep. “El problema del hábitat fortificado en el sur del reino de Valencia después de la segunda revuelta mudéjar (1276-1304). *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 7 (1988-89): 53-81. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal del territori i trasbalsaments del poblament mudèjat. La Montanea Valencie (1286-1291). *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 7 (1988-89): 95-124. Torró, Josep. “L’assalt a la terra. Qüestions sobre l’abast de la colonització feudal al regne de València (1233-1304)”, *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995: 324-325. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*. Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2001: 613-645 (capítulo 19). Guinot, Enric. “L’escenari de les senyories medievals a la comarca de la Marina Alta”, *II Jornades d’Estudis “Carmel Giner Bolufer” de Pego y les Valls*. Pego: Ajuntament de Pego, 2007: 83-110. Cabezuolo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...: 195-196.

5. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo y valle de Pop durante la Edad Media: contribución al estudio de los señoríos valencianos”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 26. Soldevila, Ferran. *Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1995: II, 65 (doc. nº 12). Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1999: 63 y 65.

6. Sanchis, José. *Nomenclator geográfico-eclesiástico de los pueblos de la diócesis de Valencia con los nombres antiguos y modernos de los que existen o han existido, notas históricas y estadísticas, relación de castillos, pobladores, objetos de arte notables, restos arqueológicos, festividades, cofradías, etc., etc.* Valencia: Tipografía Moderna a cargo de Miguel Gimeno, 1922: 347.

7. “Compreñia un doble castillo en dos picos de la sierra que domina el Valle de Pop”. Burns, Robert. I. *Moros, cristians i jueus en el regne de València. Societats en simbiosi*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 360.

8. Bazzana, André. *Maisons d’Al Andalus. Habitat médiéval et structures du peuplement dans l’Espagne orientale*. Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992: 303-304. Véase asimismo Guichard, Pierre. *Nuestra Historia*. Valencia: Mas-Ivars Editores, 1980: III, 32.

9. Bazzana, André; Cressier, Patrice; Guichard, Pierre. *Les châteaux ruraux d’Al Andalus. Histoire et archéologie médiévales des husun du Sud-Est de l’Espagne*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988: 85-88.

10. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15.



podemos sostener es, como efectivamente sugiriese P. Guichard,¹¹ que bajo la fórmula *castrum et villam de Pop* que aparece en algunos documentos del siglo XIII, sustituida a partir del siglo XIV por *castrum et vallis* las más de las veces, aunque también se muestran referencias a ámbitos de población como *universitates seu aliame sarracenorum vallis de Pop et loci de Murla*, se hace alusión a un marco geográfico comarcal nada confuso identificado por el topónimo. La acepción *vall de Pop* se mantendrá durante toda la Edad Media y principio de los tiempos modernos, perdiéndose conforme *la vall* se escinda en pequeños señoríos.¹²

1. El linaje Vilanova, el rey y el infante Pedro

A finales de septiembre de 1296, y en atención a los servicios prestados a la Corona, Jaime II concede a Ramon de Vilanova, caballero, en dos documentos distintos la alquería de Sagra, en tierras de La Marina Alta, con habitantes, términos y derechos a perpetuidad,¹³ y muy próxima a ella y en franco alodio el castillo y villa de Pop con sus términos, habitantes y derechos, pudiendo usar únicamente de la jurisdicción civil.¹⁴ Unos días después, comunica a los pobladores musulmanes del lugar tal concesión y les conmina a responder ante el nuevo señor de los derechos relacionados con ese castillo y término.¹⁵ El valle de Pop alude, como refería anteriormente, a una pequeña unidad geográfica sobre la que se ordenan unas cuantas alquerías referenciadas por un *hisp* rural,¹⁶ con una proyección en renta también limitada —como veremos—, con lo que la donación a que hago mención se inserta en los parámetros establecidos por la monarquía de activar la repoblación de las zonas de frontera con personajes de perfil sociomilitar, aunque sobre propiedades diminutas.¹⁷ En el documento de concesión aparecen los límites imprecisos de ese valle, referidos a Laguar, Tàrbena, Xaló y Castell de Castells.¹⁸ Pero lo cierto es que el beneficiario no es un personaje anónimo. Descendiente de un linaje de allende los Pirineos, Ramon de Vilanova es un fiel servidor de la monarquía desde tiempos de Alfonso III, alcanzando nombramiento de camarero y consejero ya con Jaime II.¹⁹ Precisamente en ese tiempo en que recibe tales propiedades en el reino de Valencia, Ramon venía de acompañar al rey en su exitosa campaña sobre el reino de Murcia, siendo

11. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-24.

12. A mediados del siglo XVI, en el acto de toma de posesión del lugar de Benigembla por Pedro de Pere Andreu, se apunta a dicho lugar dentro de la Baronía de Parcent. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.44, D.3 (8 de febrero de 1563). Ver Costa, José. *El Marquesat de Dènia. Estudio geográfico*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1977: 4-5.

13. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 264v-265r (26 de septiembre de 1296).

14. Apéndice documental, doc. núm. 1. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26 de septiembre de 1296). Entre tales servicios se cuenta la alcaidía del castillo de Morella con motivo de las vistas de Logroño, en 1293, entre Jaime II y Sancho de Castilla. En 1302 el rey le reclamará esa plaza. ACA. C. reg. 199, f. 123v (9 de octubre de 1302).

15. ACA. C. reg. 194, f. 218v (9 de octubre de 1296).

16. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-26. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus...*: 254-255, 258, 266-267.

17. Furió, Antoni. “Senyors i senyories al País Valencià al final de l’edat Mitjana”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 111. Cabezuolo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: 201. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña. Creación y destrucción del señorío de Bernat de Sarrià*, en prensa.

18. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26 de septiembre de 1296). Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 24-25.

19. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (1327-1357). La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova*. Zaragoza: Institucion Fernando el Católico, 1988: 41. La figura del consejero como imagen del buen gobierno en Cortijo, Adelaida. *La literatura especular de la Edad Media: una imagen de gobierno*. Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista, 2012: 177-178.

uno de los altos personajes que participa como testigo en los acuerdos entre el rey y el joven magnate castellano Juan Manuel firmados en el sitio de Elche a finales de julio de 1296.²⁰

Por alguna razón en mayo de 1297, es decir, no habiendo transcurrido un año de la donación, Ramon recibe licencia regia para vender u obligar durante los siguientes tres años esa posesión con sus rentas y derechos, manteniendo lo estipulado en el privilegio de concesión relativo a la duración.²¹ Sin duda, tal autorización se hubo de producir a instancia de parte, pudiendo estar relacionada con el deseo de obtener por tal vía un incremento económico que, quizá, sirviese para compensar algún tipo de deuda de la corona con ese linaje.²² Transcurrido un tiempo, ya a la vuelta del nuevo siglo, surgen novedades al respecto de la donación de Pop a Ramon de Vilanova. A finales de 1305 Jaime II decide ampliar el espectro de esa gracia a su fiel consejero, al que ahora, en atención igualmente a los servicios prestados por él y por su hijo Vidal —cuya relación era calificada por el rey de *familiarem*—, le amplía el tiempo en la siguiente dirección. Pese a haberla concedido de por vida, el rey la otorga por un tiempo de veinte años a partir de ese mismo instante, en el bien entendido de que si el beneficiario siguiese con vida alcanzado ese momento la seguiría disfrutando hasta su muerte. En caso de que falleciese antes, sería su hijo quien heredaría tales derechos, aunque sólo por el lapso temporal que quedase hasta la finalización de esas dos décadas. Tras la aplicación de cualquiera de los dos supuestos, la propiedad regresaría al real patrimonio.²³

La vinculación casi total —salvo algún derecho— de este espacio con el señorío hace que los datos existentes sobre él en la Cancillería sean muy escasos. Es por tal que no haya encontrado más información relacionada con el devenir de la propiedad en la relación con su beneficiario. En un momento impreciso, pero no muy lejano en el tiempo a 1305, muere Ramon de Vilanova. Inmediatamente se activó lo estipulado en el privilegio de ese año y su hijo Vidal pasa a heredar el valle en las condiciones establecidas. Lo cierto es que en 1313 el rey se dirigía a Vidal de Vilanova para conferirle tal propiedad de por vida, ya no sólo durante el tiempo que restaba de los veinte años referidos en el documento de 1305. Vidal, no obstante, quedaba sometido curiosamente a la misma salvedad que su padre, es decir que aunque recibiera el señorío de por vida en caso de fallecer dentro del lapso de los veinte años concedidos a Ramon, un heredero suyo podría completar ese tiempo, transcurrido el cual retornaría a la Corona. Esto ocurría en junio de 1313.²⁴ Vidal de Vilanova era desde finales de la centuria anterior un hombre muy vinculado a los círculos de la monarquía aragonesa, hasta el punto de convertirse en uno de los personajes más influyentes de

20. ACA. C. reg. 292, ff. 1r-4r (27 de julio de 1296). Ver Cabezuelo, José V. “Que me podiesse lamar e sea daqui adelant príncipe de Villena e de la otra terra que jo he en el vuestro senyorio. Don Juan Manuel y la Corona de Aragón”. *Mirabilia. News Approches in the Research of the Crown of Aragon*, 5 (2017): 116-150.

21. ACA. C. reg. 195, f. 11v (22 de mayo de 1297).

22. Guinot, Enric. “La creació de les senyories en una societat feudal de frontera: el regne de València (segles XIII-XIV)”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 88-89. Este autor entiende como excepcional la concesión de señorías por tiempo concreto, relacionando acertadamente el hecho con vínculos específicos entre el rey y la familia beneficiaria. Lo cierto es que son bastantes los casos en los que se atisba tal especificidad, con lo que habría que entender que dicha fórmula, más allá de que más tarde se modificase como se apunta en el caso referido y en otros, sería una de las vías empleadas por la monarquía para la construcción del espacio señorial. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

23. ACA. C. reg. 203, ff. 92v-93v (17 de noviembre de 1305).

24. ACA. C. reg. 210, ff. 59r-59v (27 de junio de 1313).



la corte, actuando como consejero del rey y de sus distintas esposas y participando activa y decisivamente en asuntos diplomáticos de altísimo nivel para la Corona de Aragón.²⁵

Vidal de Vilanova, al igual que su progenitor, explota las rentas y derechos de ese valle, con excepción del mero imperio, que pertenece al rey, aunque en algún caso perciba dinero procedente de esa jurisdicción, si bien para aplicación en ámbitos públicos; derechos por los que confrontará con otros señores, como los Mercer²⁶ y el todopoderoso Bernat de Sarrià a través de su esposa la noble Isabel de Cabrera.²⁷ Así, por ejemplo, en 1319, y tras conocerse el asesinato de un moro de Murla, de nombre Azmet, hijo de Abdula, por parte de Ali, hijo de Abolaix Abollaquim, alamín de la alquería de Benivaquar —sin duda debe tratarse de Benalbacar—, término del valle de Pop, el rey mandó a Ferrer Descortell, baile general del reino de Valencia, que en caso de que se hiciese composición pecuniaria para redimir el delito se impusiese una cantidad asumible por el delincuente y el producto de tal justicia lo entregase a Vidal de Vilanova para su aplicación en las reparaciones del castillo de Xàtiva.²⁸ Plaza de la que fue alcaide por nombramiento de Jaime II, destacando su preocupación por la restauración de las defensas,²⁹ y de la que también lo sería su hijo Pere.³⁰

El dominio de los Vilanova sobre Pop sufre una alteración a principios de la tercera década del siglo XIV cuando el rey Jaime concede a su hijo Pedro, entre otras posesiones, el castillo de Pop en feudo honrado, sin prestación de servicio y a Costumbre de Cataluña.³¹ Ello dentro de una maniobra orquestada y dirigida por y desde la corona para vincular al patrimonio del joven infante la práctica totalidad del señorío de Bernat de Sarrià, quien de manera voluntaria, aunque pactada,

25. Martínez, Jesús E. *Jaume II o el seny català*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1956: 174-175, 197-199. Martínez, Jesús E. *Els descendents de Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1980: 113-114. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 41-43. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*. Madrid: Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, 2009: 215-126, 629.

26. Vinculados a esas tierras desde los primeros tiempos de la conquista cristiana. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 199.

27. También confrontaron los Mercer con Bernat de Sarrià por Murla, pretendiendo el noble recibir homenaje por ese castillo, quien en otro momento llegó a invadir el lugar con tropas desde sus posesiones contiguas de Laguar y Xaló causando graves daños. ACA. C. reg. 170, ff. 75r-75v (28 de julio de 1320) y reg. 176, f. 190v (24 de septiembre de 1322). Y con el flamante conde de Ribagorza, heredero del señorío Sarrià. ACA. C. reg. 177, f. 96r (30 de noviembre de 1322). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

28. ACA. C. reg. 216, ff. 128v-129r (17 de abril de 1319). ACA. RP. MR. 774b, f. 3v (sin fecha).

29. ACA. C. reg. 173, ff. 228v-229r (30 de julio de 1321).

30. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r. Ver Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 42. Vidal fue desplazado de esa alcaidía en 1329 tras la concesión de villa y castillo a la reina Leonor por parte de Alfonso IV, pese a que su nombramiento fuese de por vida y a su muerte a la vida de su hijo Pere; la alcaidía setabense entonces recayó en Bernat de Sarrià. En compensación de tal pérdida Alfonso IV concedió igualmente a padre e hijo, de por vida, en orden sucesorio 4.000 sueldos anuales, pensión que ratificaría Pedro IV en atención a los servicios prestados por Vidal tanto a su padre como a su abuelo. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r; reg. 860, ff. 141v-143v (18 de noviembre de 1336). Cabezuelo, José V. "Formas feudales en el traspaso de la posesión de fortalezas ad Consuetudinem Yspanie", *Alcaidías y fortalezas en la España medieval*, José V. Cabezuelo, ed. Alcoi: Marfil, 2006: 169.

Pere recibió la alcaidía setabense en mayo de 1338, con una retenencia de 7.500 sueldos y la explotación de una viña aneja a la fortaleza, como lo venían haciendo sus predecesores. Y aunque con algún momento de intermitencia, bien por nombramiento de otro alcaide —caso de Gilabert de Centelles— o por ausencias propias, al dimitir en 1350 para poder hacer el jubileo en Roma *eundi ac visitandi basilicas beatorum Petri et Pauli*, ocupando su lugar un familiar —Vidaló de Vilanova—, o cuando al año siguiente hubo de viajar a Castilla para resolver asuntos personales, se mantuvo hasta principios de ese década como alcaide setabense. Alcaidía de no poca importancia, pues además de resultar estratégica en el concierto defensivo del reino de Valencia en ese tiempo guardaba como prisionero a Jaime de Mallorca, sobrino de Pedro IV. ACA. C. reg. 1464, f. 22v (23 de septiembre de 1350); f. 25r (18 de agosto de 1351).

31. ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 14r-15v. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.33, D.50 (22 de mayo de 1322).

cede sus dominios de la frontera valenciana al infante para huir de la ruina económica en la que se había instalado, aunque la razón aducida fuese la falta de descendencia.³² El rey viste la operación de grandiosidad, pues al tiempo que concede a su hijo un vasto señorío, que supera ampliamente el localizado en tierras valencianas, le vincula los títulos condales de Ribagorza y Ampurias.³³ Si bien, la resultante práctica de tales donaciones al infante es casi nula en lo que refiere a las posesiones valencianas. Respecto del valle de Pop, concedido primero a Ramon de Vilanova y luego a su hijo Vidal de por vida, la situación queda exactamente como antes. El 28 de junio de 1322 el propio rey de Aragón se lo comunica a Vidal de Vilanova. Le refiere la donación de ese valle a su hijo Pedro, pero le reconoce que las rentas y derechos de él derivados los seguiría recibiendo él, tal y como lo venía haciendo hasta la fecha, en la consideración de que esas tierras las disfrutaba en violario regio.³⁴ En esa misma situación quedan los valles contiguos de Laguar y Xaló, en poder de Bernat de Sarrià en violario y que debía seguir disfrutando hasta su muerte y cuatro años después de ella. Ese mismo día el rey ordena a Bernat Çanou, baile general valenciano, dar posesión al infante Pedro de esos tres valles, comunicando a sus pobladores musulmanes la titularidad de la nueva señoría, aunque en el bien entendido que de la citada posesión no se debía desprender ningún perjuicio en cuanto a la percepción de sus rentas, pudiendo disfrutarlas los beneficiarios —Vilanova y Sarrià— tal y como se estableció en sus respectivas donaciones. Para el caso de Pop, quizá la única novedad es que toda la jurisdicción del valle quedó para el nuevo señor, tanto la criminal como la civil, a quien Çanou había de dar posesión de tales derechos.³⁵ Es por ello que desde muy pronto se percibió que la concesión de esas tierras valencianas al infante planteaba un impedimento real de propiedad, cual era la no percepción de sus rentas. Para poner solución al problema, sin duda económico, a fines de ese verano el rey manda que se haga una estimación total de la cuantía que su hijo Pedro dejaba de percibir para que se le reintegrara a través de las rentas de la villa de Elche. El monto global ascendía hasta los 36.300 sueldos, de los cuales 26.000 referían a la estimación anual generada por los valles de Laguar y Xaló y que quedaban en poder del almirante Sarrià y 9.000 sobre el valle de Pop que pasaban a Vidal de Vilanova.³⁶

2. Hacia la construcción del señorío. La compra/venta del valle de Pop

Desde el verano de 1322 los derechos sobre la propiedad del valle de Pop pertenecían al infante Pedro, conde de Ribagorza, si bien la percepción de sus rentas recaía de forma mayoritaria en Vidal

32. Ver Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canella, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1978: III, 148-149 (libro VI, capítulo XL). Guinot, Enric. "Reflexions al voltant del senyoriu i el reialenc: Pego, segles XIII i XIV", *Primer Congrés d'Estudis de La Marina Alta*. Alacant: Institut d'Estudis Juan Gil-Abert, 1986: 191-195. Guinot, Enric. "Donamus et concedimus vobis". Monarquía i senyorialització del patrimoni reial al País Valencià en temps de Jaume II", *XV Congrés de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1996: I, 2, 226-227. Pastor, José L. *Gandia en la baixa Edat Mitjana: la Vila i el Senyoriu dels Borja*. Gandia: Centre d'Estudis i Investigacions Comarcals Alfons el Vell, 1992: 53-54, 130-132. Cabezero, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 206-210. Cabezero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

33. Cabezero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

34. ACA. C. reg. 222, f. 17r (28 de junio de 1322).

35. *iura nostra que in predicto castro de Pop ac habitantibus in terminis eiusdem habemus et habere debebamus, tam in mero et mixto imperio et alia iurisdiccione, quam aliis quibuscumque prefatus Vitalis de Villanova concessione habet a nobis et de quibus officiales nostri utabatur et uti debebant in castro ipso et suis terminis*. ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 16v-17r.

36. Los 1300 restantes se obtendrían de Estopanyà. ACA. C. reg. 280, ff. 61r-63r (30 de agosto de 1322); reg. 222, ff. 19r-20v (30 de agosto de 1322) y ff. 21r-22r (6 de septiembre de 1322). Cabezero Pliego, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



de Vilanova. La situación, aunque fuese finalista, dado que Vilanova había recibido ese valle *ad vitam* en forma de violario, debía resultar incómoda al infante, pues a pesar de que el cómputo de renta anual generado por el valle, si atendemos a la estimación realizada, no era importante, sí lo era si la contabilidad se hacía en lapsos temporales más largos. Por esa razón o por otra más simple, como es la necesidad de numerario por parte del propietario, transcurridos media docena de años desde su obtención el conde de Ribagorza decidió vender esa pertenencia al linaje Vilanova, que sin duda habría dado muestras de querer comprar. Un año antes de tal acuerdo Vidal tomó los hábitos de la milicia de Santiago y con el apoyo del infante Alfonso, ya casi rey, recibió la Encomienda de Montalbán por nombramiento papal,³⁷ con lo que una familia de abolengo pasaba a asentarse con garantías de continuidad en la frontera sur valenciana, asunto del máximo interés de la monarquía, que venía procurando situar en esas tierras elementos de cierto prestigio —Llúria, Sarrià, Vilaragut, Cruilles entre otros— con éxito relativo.³⁸ El 8 de enero de 1328 el infante recibía el plácat de su hermano el rey para proceder a tal venta, por tratarse de derechos regios, si bien el conde de Ribagorza pretendía hacerlo con carta de gracia para poder recuperarlos cuando pudiese.³⁹ El 28 de mayo Alfonso IV permitía a su hermano realizar esa entrega por el precio que quisiera, como ya había dispuesto en enero.⁴⁰ Si bien un mes antes de que se cerrase el negocio el rey anticipó el asunto a Bernat de Sarrià, por entonces procurador del reino de Valencia, anunciándole que su hermano Pedro iba a vender —*vendiderit et tradiderit*— tal dominio a Maria Lladró,⁴¹ viuda de Ramon de Vilanova,⁴² a Vidaló, hijo de ambos, así como a Vidal de Vilanova en tanto que tutor y curador testamentario del joven Vidaló, su nieto, junto con el mero y mixto imperio, el tercio diezmo y el monedaje del lugar de Murla, y ordenándole no entrometerse en esa operación.⁴³ Las razones, entiendo, de avanzar tal información al procurador valenciano iban más allá de su cometido competencial y se vinculaban a su condición de vecino en heredades y, precisamente por ello, a la demostrada experiencia de malos usos por su parte sobre dominios y propietarios vecinales.⁴⁴ El permiso regio al infante para proceder a tal venta se produjo cuatro días después. Con fecha de 28 de abril Alfonso IV concedía gracia al de Ribagorza para vender el tercio diezmo del lugar de Murla junto con el valle de Pop por el precio que estipulase con el comprador.⁴⁵ A mediados de mayo, el rey mandaba a Enric de Quintavall y a Ramon Costa, caballeros, que ante las disputas existentes respecto de los términos del valle de Pop entre el conde de Ribagorza, señor del dominio, junto con Vidal de Vilanova, que lo tenía en violario, de un lado, y algunos convecinos de ese castillo y

37. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 43.

38. Fullana, Luís. “La casa de Lauria en el reino de Valencia”, *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta del hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1923: 1 (reeditado Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2004: 65-164). Cabezuelo, José V. *Poder público y administración territorial en el reino de Valencia, 1239-1348. El oficio de la Procuración*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998: 152-153. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: 206-211.

39. ACA. C. reg. 473, ff. 61r-61v (9 de enero de 1328).

40. ACA. C. reg. 473, f. 61r (8 de enero de 1328); 475, ff. 96v-97v (28 de mayo de 1328).

41. Maria era hija única del matrimonio compuesto por Pere Lladró, hijo a su vez de Pere Lladró, y de Elfa Sanç. ACA. C. reg. 175, ff. 88v-89r (21 de mayo de 1322).

42. Uno de los hijos de Vidal de Vilanova, muerto en la campaña de Cerdeña en 1323. “Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós”, *Les Quatre Grands Cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: 1016. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 43. Otra de sus hijas, de nombre Agnès, casó con Bernat de Vilaragut, hijo de Berenguer de Vilaragut, señor de Albaida, y de Gerdal. ACA. C. reg. 181, ff. 115v-116r (26 de enero de 1324).

43. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 97r (24 de abril de 1328).

44. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

45. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97r-97v.

término, de otro, hiciesen acto de presencia en aquellas tierras y llamando a quienes considerasen oportuno para mejor conocimiento de la situación procediesen a una delimitación de términos con alzamiento de mojones para su reconocimiento.⁴⁶ A finales de mes el rey concedía a su hermano poder incluir en el lote de venta a los Vilanova determinados derechos regios de ese valle, como es el caso del monedaje⁴⁷ y de los derechos jurisdiccionales —mero y mixto imperio— de Murla.⁴⁸ La venta quedó certificada el 29 de mayo y correspondía al dominio de Pop con sus términos, jurisdicción, pertenencias y pobladores, que pasaba a poder de Maria Lladró y su hijo Vidaló con la condición de que lo tuvieran en feudo honrado, sin servicio alguno, según los Usos de Barcelona y Costumbres de Cataluña, que es como lo recibió el infante Pedro de su padre, asumiendo que a partir de ese instante los Vilanova lo poseerían por justo título de compra y ya no en violario. De nuevo aquí se anuncian los términos de ese valle de manera gruesa: Laguar, Xaló, Castell de Castells y Tàrbena. Ello, con el añadido en franco alodio del mero y mixto imperio, del tercio diezmo y del monedaje de Murla, sobre cuya cuantía —la del monedaje— el rey Alfonso solicitó al maestre racional conocer su importe. El monto final de la operación ascendió a 140.000 sueldos valencianos, que fue avalada por el rey, aunque incorporando una cláusula que garantizaba el retorno de esas tierras al real patrimonio si la familia quedase sin descendencia legítima.⁴⁹ Si bien, el precio se cerró como estimativo. Dos días después compradores y vendedor acordaron nombrar a dos delegados, uno de cada lado, con la misión de tasar correctamente los bienes objeto de la transacción y decidir si la cantidad acordada era, o no, la correcta, comprometiéndose las partes a aceptar y satisfacer la variación del justiprecio.⁵⁰

Lo convenido entonces sacó a relucir compromisos anteriores que vinculaban las rentas de ese valle con terceros y que se habían que abordar a fin de que los compradores adquirieran la propiedad libre de carga. Es así que desde noviembre de 1325, en los acuerdos de ese mismo año entre el conde de Ribagorza y Huc de Cardona para que el primero se vinculase el título y patrimonio condal de Ampurias a cambio de la villa de Pego y los valles de Laguar y Xaló,⁵¹ el infante Pedro asumió todos los gastos del litigio que se esperaba contra el joven Huc por razón de la herencia de Malgaolino, el último conde de ese título, poniendo como avalistas de tales gastos, entre otros, *aliamam et quasdam singulares personas castri et vallis de Pop*, que se obligaron a ello en la fecha mencionada. El 11 de junio de 1328 Huc de Cardona exoneró al infante de tal compromiso y a los habitantes del pequeño valle de su condición de garantes del pago.⁵²

El 13 de junio Alfonso IV puso a los Vilanova, junto con el castillo y valle de Pop con habitantes y bienes, bajo su especial guaje y protección para que no se les pudiese perjudicar.⁵³ Al día siguiente ordenó al lugarteniente del procurador valenciano de más allá del Júcar y al lugarteniente del baile de Xàtiva que les protegiese en sus recién adquiridos derechos sobre Murla.⁵⁴ El

46. ACA. C. reg. 431, ff. 41r-41v. y reg. 475, ff. 98r-98v (17 de mayo de 1328). Ver también Apéndice documental, doc. nº 4.

47. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96r-96v (28 de mayo de 1328).

48. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96v-97r (28 de mayo de 1328).

49. Apéndice documental, doc. nº 2. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 101v (16 de junio de 1328). Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 27.

50. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 1.

51. Sobrequés, Santiago. *Els Barons de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1989: 3, 83-85.

52. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.46, D.15.

53. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97v.-98r.

54. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 98r.



15 de junio el vendedor designó como procuradores suyos a Ramon Castellà, Macià Desplugues y Guillem Tejeda para que diesen posesión a los compradores de los bienes y derechos adquiridos y trasladasen a los habitantes de ese valle la obligación de prestar juramento de fidelidad y homenaje a la nueva señoría. Ellos quedaron obligados a delimitar el término. Del mismo modo que se aseguró a Vidal de Vilanova que el precio del violario que venía recibiendo del valle de Pop a partir de entonces se le garantizaría por parte de los hombres de Gandía, Denia y Xàbia.⁵⁵

La solicitud de defensa a sus oficiales por parte del rey para con el linaje Vilanova tenía mucho sentido. Y es que, en unos casos la belicosidad señorial por cuestiones de términos y de influencia sobre el territorio movía violencias notables, como había quedado atestiguado en aquellas tierras con el vecino Sarrià, que aunque a esas alturas ya viejo, no había perdido un hálito de fiera vecinal.⁵⁶ Pese a la buena relación del almirante con el nuevo rey y su hijo Pedro, los cambios en la señoría del valle de Pop con la llegada de los Vilanova generaron mucha tensión entre ambos nobles, Vidal y Bernat, que tenían como razón de ser el gran conflicto por la posesión de Villajoyosa, Orcheta y Torres entre los santiaguistas de Montalbán y el almirante, litigio que venía de años atrás y al que, aún estando en su recta final, le quedaban retazos de debate jurídico y de violencia militar.⁵⁷ En ese panorama de profunda enemistad no dudó Sarrià en proceder de modo agresivo contra un moro de ese valle que acudió a Tàrbena y a otras posesiones del noble para comprar cierta cantidad de cereal —40 cahíces de trigo y 60 de cebada—, que por supuesto le fue arrebatada.⁵⁸ Y es que para el viejo almirante esa venta supuso un fuerte contratiempo, que por supuesto denunció a través de procurador. A mediados del mes de julio manifestó por escrito su desacuerdo con ese acuerdo, que calificaba de fraude, sobre una base, a su juicio, jurídica apoyada en el grave perjuicio que le ocasionaba, en atención a que Vilanova tenía en violario el domino de Pop y a su muerte debía pasar a sus manos de por vida y aún cuatro años después de su fallecimiento, tal y como fue convenido con el infante Pedro, en compensación por los 16.203 sueldos 3 dineros que el conde de Ribagorza le adeudaba sobre las rentas de Elche y por el cambio de los valles de Laguar y Xaló con Gandía, Xàbia, Denia y los valles de Ebo y Gallinera, ratificado por Jaime II. El 21 de agosto Vidal de Vilanova respondió, también a través de procurador, rechazando las acusaciones y calificando la protesta como injuriosa, al acreditar como legal tanto la compraventa como la posesión de la plaza. Sarrià replicó ya entrado agosto insistiendo en sus argumentos sobre el criterio de que Pop no podía ser alienado o vendido sin su consentimiento, en atención a lo anteriormente expuesto; siendo contestado en septiembre por Vilanova con el mismo argumento ya aducido por el que rechazaba las imputaciones de falta de legalidad de la operación. Todo ello lo conocemos a través de un traslado fechado en diciembre de 1332.⁵⁹ La resultante de ese debate fue nula, siendo la compraventa efectiva.

En el verano de 1329 el comendador de Montalbán y consejero regio Vidal de Vilanova acudió al Real de la ciudad de Valencia. Lo hacía en calidad de procurador de su nuera Maria Lladró y de

55. Apéndice documental, doc. nº 3.

56. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*, Curiosamente en ese tiempo Bernat de Sarrià era el procurador del reino de Valencia. Cabezuelo, José V. *Poder público...*: 189-190.

57. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán (1210-1327)*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: 163-168. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova...*: 119-121. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

58. ACA. C. reg. 434, f. 198v (5 de junio de 1329).

59. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.9 (11 de diciembre de 1332).



su nieto Vidaló, portando instrumento de procuración redactado por Joan Roser, notario, y firmado en Xàtiva el 24 de junio, así como también en calidad de tutor testamentario de Vidaló, según rezaba el testamento de su hijo Ramon de 5 de octubre de 1323 confeccionado por Bonavent de Benviure, con el fin de hacer homenaje de boca y manos al rey, atendiendo lo estipulado en los Usos de Barcelona y Costumbres de Cataluña, *pro castro de Pop*, que sus representados habían de tener el feudo regio tras adquisición al conde de Ribagorza y Ampurias. Alfonso IV recibió ese homenaje e invistió a Maria Lladró y a su hijo, *in absentia*, sobre dicha posesión el 25 de agosto de 1329.⁶⁰

Murla fue, asimismo, objeto específico de conflicto. Tras la venta del valle, Jaume Escrivà en calidad de tutor de los hijos de Berenguer Mercer, difunto por ese tiempo, manifestó el derecho de sus tutorizados respecto del lugar, recordando que tiempo atrás Pere Mercer, hermano del fallecido Berenguer, había recibido por concesión regia el mero imperio de Murla. Alfonso IV emplazó al tutor de los Mercer a comparecer ante él, personalmente o por vía de procurador, en seis días para exponer esos derechos, dejando el caso a la experiencia jurídica de Guillem de Jàffer, *legum professor*.⁶¹ Pese a que los vínculos del linaje valenciano Mercer con el *locum seu alcharia* remontasen a varias décadas atrás, la cuestión sobre Murla no se resolvió hasta transcurrido un tiempo,⁶² abriéndose un frente judicial donde asomaban los Vilanova, la viuda de Alfonso IV, los Cabrera en cuanto herederos de la esposa de Bernat de Sarrià,⁶³ los Cardona y la propia corona. Es así que en abril de 1330 Alfonso IV se dirija al procurador del reino de Valencia y al justicia civil de la capital del reino a fin de que se hiciesen cargo de las cuestiones tocantes a la familia Vilanova, dentro de sus respectivas jurisdicciones, ayudándose de asesores en derecho.⁶⁴ Resulta muy llamativo, e incluso incomprensible, de no tratarse de un equívoco subsanado más tarde, que no habiendo transcurrido siquiera tres años de la venta del valle de Pop junto con los derechos de Murla a Maria Lladró y a su hijo Vidaló, Alfonso IV concediese a Isabel de Cabrera, esposa del almirante Sarrià, el ejercicio *pro nobis, quamdiu nobis placuerit, merum imperium et aliam jurisdictionem criminalem et civilem in castro vocato de Murla, situado in regno Valencie, et terminis suis, prout nos ipsam inibi habere consuevimus sive etiam exercere*.⁶⁵ Ese derecho fue cedido por el rey a su hermano el conde de Ribagorza y tras la venta lo único que quedó en poder del infante es aquello que resultase de la aplicación de tal jurisdicción con anterioridad al hecho mercantil de finales de mayo del año de la venta.⁶⁶ P. Guichard también cayó en la cuenta de que esta cesión jurisdiccional chocaba frontalmente con la venta de esos derechos a los Vilanova.⁶⁷ Si bien, como antes escribía, todo fue un equívoco, y en mayo de 1331 Alfonso enmendaba su error al reconocer que tal derecho lo había concedido anteriormente a su hermano Pedro, quien lo había vendido con autorización regia a los Vilanova, ordenando se defendiese a los compradores en tal pertenencia y no se permitiese que la noble Cabrera, sin duda

60. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.10.

61. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 98v-99r (15 de junio de 1328).

62. ACA. C. reg. 184, f. 55r (11 de septiembre de 1324). Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 25. Cabezuolo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 199 y 203 and Documentary Appendix, doc. nº 1.

63. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

64. ACA. C. reg. 438, ff. 57v-58r (27 de abril de 1330).

65. ACA. C. reg. 483, f. 143v (6 de abril de 1331).

66. ACA. C. reg. 477, ff. 110v-111r (23 de agosto de 1328).

67. Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 30.



a través de su esposo el almirante, les agraviase.⁶⁸ Noble catalana que haciendo caso omiso, no es solo que molestase desde su propiedad —*medietas dicte alcharee de Murla*—, sino que también se apropiaba de los derechos que sobre la alquería el infante Pedro vendió a Maria Lladró, ante lo que el rey hubo de ordenar al procurador valenciano defender los derechos de la compradora así como obligar a Isabel de Cabrera a devolver lo tomado indebidamente.⁶⁹ Desde ese instante quedó judicializada la relación entre ambas señoras por el territorio; cuestión que el rey entregó primero a Pere Desplagues y más tarde a Bernat Gomir y a Domingo Aymeric por imposibilidad del primero, ocupado en otros asuntos,⁷⁰ incorporándose luego Francesc de Vall-llòbrega y posteriormente Jaume d'Arters.⁷¹ El conflicto, sin duda ninguna, tenía que ver con cuestiones de términos,⁷² si bien vinculado a ello también a la percepción de rentas en unas muy damnificadas economías señoriales, como le sucediese en ese mismo tiempo a Maria Lladró con los ataques de Huc de Cardona sobre la alquería de Tormos, realizando daños en edificaciones y violentando a los oficiales de la noble.⁷³ De idénticos deterioros se lamentaba Artal de Cabrera, heredero de la entonces ya difunta Isabel, en su mitad de la alquería de Murla, cuando en octubre de 1335 se quejaba al rey de cómo al no residir en el reino de Valencia sus vasallos musulmanes de la mentada alquería eran vilipendiados y perjudicados por las señorías convecinas, solicitando protección para ellos y sus intereses en esas tierras.⁷⁴ Es curioso cómo esas señorías son al tiempo actores y receptores de averías. El noble Artal se lamentaba de las acciones realizadas contra sus dominios por Maria Lladró, que venía de tiempo atrás quejándose de idéntico proceder, al no permitirle reconstruir la torre del castillo de Murla tras impedirle el acceso a la cal que se producía en el horno del territorio, cuando entendía que la décima parte de esa producción le correspondía, y capturando al alcaide nombrado por Artal.⁷⁵

Y es que la cuestión de Murla fue durante ese tiempo un quebradero de cabeza para todos aquellos que tenían, ya no derechos, sino antes bien intereses en el territorio. En ese tiempo se distinguía entre lugar y castillo de esa denominación. Tal es así que en octubre de 1328 Alfonso IV ordenase a Enric de Quintavall, caballero que venía de tiempo atrás prestado servicios a la Corona y que tenía amplia experiencia en el delicado asunto que se le encargaba, proceder a la división de términos entre el castillo de Pop y el lugar de Murla, de un lado, y el castillo de idéntico nombre,

68. ACA. C. reg. 445, ff. 170r-170v (28 de mayo de 1331).

69. ACA. C. reg. 446, ff. 74r-74v (17 de julio de 1331).

70. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 240v-241r y f. 268v (7 de diciembre de 1331).

71. ACA. C. reg. 465, ff. 157r-157v (30 de abril de 1334).

72. Tras la orden de amojonamiento de 1328 se generaron recursos por las partes que se consideraban agraviadas. En 1331 Pere Desplagues, archidiácono de Alzira, junto con Domingo Aymeric quedaron encargados de resolver brevemente tales disputas por razón de términos entre Murla, Pop y otros lugares. ACA. C. reg. 447, ff. 269r-269v (22 septiembre 1331). Fue dictada sentencia sobre la partición de los términos de esos valles que Isabel de Cabrera declaró desconocer y que denunció tenía en su poder Huc de Cardona. Alegando la propiedad sobre la mitad de Murla, exigió conocer el contenido de la misma, con lo que Alfonso IV ordenó a Esteve Suau, procurador de Cardona, que facilitase a la noble *transumptum iamdicte setencie*. ACA. C. reg. 452, f. 84v (11 de septiembre de 1331). Pese a ello, el conflicto continuó. En el verano de 1332 el rey ordenó a Aymeric y Vall-llòbrega que procediesen a sentenciar amojonando los términos —los castillos de Pop, de Murla, la alquería de Murla y otras más—, aunque a los pocos días les mandó que cesasen en esa actividad. ACA. C. reg. 455, f. 187r (5 de julio de 1332) y f. 230r (21 de julio de 1332).

73. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 279v-280r (8 de enero de 1332).

74. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 190r (3 de octubre de 1335).

75. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 203r (3 de octubre de 1335).



situado en el *Puig d'Orba*, que era tenido en feudo regio por Pericó Mercer, de otro.⁷⁶ El nuevo dibujo señorial del valle, donde interactuaban los Vilanova, Bernat de Sarrià a través de los derechos de su esposa Isabel de Cabrera, los Cardona, los Mercer y la propia corona por cuenta del conde de Ribagorza, y donde la cuestión de los términos era la punta de lanza del conflicto multis señorial, hizo que la parte más débil de ese conjunto, la familia Mercer, decidiese vender sus derechos. Y esto activó el interés del resto de actores por hacerse con ellos. Es así que en octubre de 1327 Jaime II concediera licencia a Pere Mercer, hijo y heredero de Berenguer Mercer así como heredero de Ramon Mercer, su hermano, también difunto, para que pudiese vender el *Puig d'Orba* a la noble Isabel de Cabrera, pese a la cláusula que impedía realizar tal venta a caballeros y clérigos.⁷⁷ Lo cierto es que cuando se iba a ejecutar la operación la propiedad ya había sido vendida por el justicia civil de Valencia, a instancias de su cuñada la viuda de Ramon Mercer, hermano difunto de Pere, y de diversos acreedores, siendo adquirida por Pere Ribalta, vecino de Valencia. Un recién coronado Alfonso IV entiende que con ello se incumplían los deseos de su padre de que tal plaza fuese a poder de Isabel de Cabrera, y faculta a Ribalta a vender dicha propiedad a la esposa de Bernat de Sarrià.⁷⁸ Poco tiempo después concedía a esa noble el mero imperio sobre la plaza.⁷⁹ No obstante, sobre ese derecho se originó un problema de orden jurídico. El 6 de abril de 1331 Alfonso IV concede a Isabel de Cabrera el mero imperio y toda la jurisdicción sobre el castillo de Murla y su término. Pero como lo había otorgado antes a su hermano el conde de Ribagorza éste lo vendió a Maria Lladró, viuda de Ramon de Vilanova, por cierta cantidad de dinero. Se entiende entonces que el derecho concedido a la esposa de Bernat de Sarrià apunta al *Puig de Orba*, que era tenido en feudo por el rey, y no sobre Murla, al tratarse de una propiedad en alodio y, por tanto, sus propietarios —Maria Lladró y su hijo—, mantendrían el mero y mixto imperio y toda la jurisdicción sobre ese término. En la misiva al procurador del reino de Valencia el rey abundaba en la defensa de los derechos mencionados de los Vilanova sobre Murla, protegiéndoles de cualquier agresión de la esposa de Bernat de Sarrià y cuidando que la noble Isabel no edificase ninguna construcción de tipo militar, excepción hecha del *Puig d'Orba*, así como que si la hubiere fuese derruida.⁸⁰ Lo cierto fue que Maria Lladró e Isabel de Cabrera colisionaron sobre los derechos de Murla, habiendo de intervenir el rey para subsanar la cuestión. Maria expuso a Alfonso IV que por la compra que hizo a su hermano Pedro ella debía percibir el monedaje y el tercio diezmo de Murla. Si bien, como Isabel de Cabrera decía poseer la mitad de la alquería tomaba parte de esos derechos. El rey sentenció que antes de que esa mitad llegase a manos de la esposa del almirante catalán él había concedido al infante Pedro los derechos en disputa y éste los vendió *pro franco alodio* a la citada Maria Lladró, por tanto Isabel de Cabrera debía abstenerse de perjudicar a la viuda de Ramon de Vilanova en esas posesiones.⁸¹

Los Mercer quisieron vender también su parte *in alcharia seu loco de Murla*. El compromiso de venta se realizó con la reina Leonor por 52.000 sueldos pagadores en dos años, con la condición de que si tal cantidad no se satisfacía en ese tiempo el vendedor podría revender la heredad, incorporando eso sí, los intereses por ese tiempo, que ascendían a 2.500 sueldos anuales. La reina hizo

76. ACA. C. reg. 430, f. 73r (30 de octubre de 1328).

77. ACA. C. reg. 230, ff. 130r-130v (20 de octubre de 1327).

78. ACA. C. reg. 473, ff. 132v-133v (27 de enero de 1328).

79. ACA. C. reg. 484, ff. 98r-98v (25 de enero de 1332).

80. ACA. C. reg. 446, ff. 66r-66v (13 de julio de 1331).

81. ACA. C. reg. 447, f. 195v (17 de julio de 1331).



donación de tal adquisición a Isabel de Cabrera siempre y cuando ella satisficiera a los vendedores el precio de la compra, que acordó con 50.000 sueldos pagaderos de su dote sobre las rentas del castillo de Tàrbena. Esta operación no se llegó a cerrar, sin duda porque fue denunciada por Maria Lladró al entender realizada contra fueros, por haberse efectuado sobre personas eclesiásticas o de condición nobiliaria solicitando la intervención del rey, quien de inmediato pidió, hablamos de mayo de 1331, al procurador del reino de Valencia que en caso de ser cierta la denuncia anulase la venta por ilegal.⁸² Al final los Vinalova se salieron con la suya y adquirieron a los Mercer su parte sobre la alquería de Murla, que era la mitad, por 32.000 sueldos pagaderos en tres años. La otra mitad era de los Cabrera, cuyo cabeza, Artal, se quejaba al rey de tal venta cuando ni tan siquiera fue llamado a la misma, contando como contaba con el 50% de la propiedad.⁸³ Desde esa fecha y hasta al menos principios de la siguiente década se apunta a la existencia de un conflicto, judicializado, entre Artal en cuanto heredero de Isabel de Cabrera, de un lado, y los albaceas del por entonces difunto Bernat de Sarrià relativo al castillo de Murla.⁸⁴

El asunto de Murla vuelve a enmarañarse a finales de la tercera década del siglo XIV con la aparición de un nuevo actor, cuando en abril de 1338 Pedro IV concede a Jaume Pertusa, canónico de la catedral de Valencia, el derecho de fadiga sobre la venta de ese castillo, que el mentado clérigo poseía en feudo. Por su condición de clérigo esa plaza no podía quedar en su poder, si de un laico, pero el rey le apuntaba que una tercera parte del derecho de tanteo quedaría para él, el resto para la Corona.⁸⁵ Lo cierto es que la propiedad terminará quedando dentro del señorío Vilanova.⁸⁶

3. Amojonamiento y puesta en producción. La fundación de una alquería

No es mucho lo que sabemos respecto de la actividad desarrollada por los Vilanova sobre Pop tras su adquisición en 1328. Una cosa sí, y es la exigencia por parte de Vidal de que los procuradores encargados por el rey de proceder al establecimiento de los términos de ese valle hiciesen su trabajo. Transcurrieron casi dos meses desde que Alfonso IV encomendara a Enric de Quintavall y Ramon Costa tal cometido, cuando Vidal de Vilanova acudió a Gandía, donde estaba Quintavall, para conminarle a realizar ese encargo. Enric de Quintavall era un caballero valenciano de la confianza de la Corona. Un hombre de experiencia en la prestación de servicios de naturaleza diplomática a la monarquía desde tiempo atrás que en el ámbito doméstico se había especializado en cuestiones tocantes a la división de términos,⁸⁷ y que no hacía mucho había intervenido, por encargo de Jaime II y junto con el baile general Bernat Çanou y el notario valenciano Domingo Claramunt, en la valoración del señorío que Bernat de Sarrià cedió al infante Pedro, conde de Ribagorza, en esas mismas tierras.⁸⁸ Quintavall asumió de inmediato su quehacer y ese mismo día

82. ACA. C. reg. 445, f. 170r (29 de mayo de 1331).

83. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 203r (3 de octubre de 1335).

84. ACA. C. reg. 595, f. 217r ([11 de agosto] de 1338). ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, n° 990 (28 de enero de 1341). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

85. ACA. C. cc. rr. Pedro IV, n° 569 (7 de abril de 1338).

86. ACA. C. cc. rr. Pedro IV, n° 1945 (1 de agosto de 1382).

87. Picatoste, Pedro C. "Intereses transalpinos de Jaime II en la época de la conquista del reino de Murcia. La donación de los calatravos al infante Juan en 1304". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 11 (1996-1997): 457-464. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi...*: 239.

88. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



procedió a convocar por carta a Bernat de Sarrià para que transcurridos seis días de la recepción de la misiva se personase, físicamente o bien a través de procurador, ante él en el valle que había de delimitar para aportar la información referente a su vecindad o a cualquier otra cuestión que entendiese procedente.

El día en que Sarrià fue convocado acudieron Guillem Tejeda, procurador del infante Pedro, y Pelegrí Romeu en representación del viejo almirante, junto con algunos moros de Tàrbena y de Castell de Castells. Quintavall, acompañado por pobladores musulmanes de Pop y junto a los citados, inició camino por el territorio a delimitar, siendo los musulmanes de la comitiva quienes establecían el punto concreto donde colocar el mojón divisor. Finalizado el recorrido por el término, Enric de Quintavall puso los acuerdos en papel quedando perfilados los límites del valle de Pop. El documento destilado de la visita representa la silueta orográfica de ese valle interior. Sobre referencias visuales precisas —cimas, lomas, valles, rieras, barrancos, túmulos pétreos—, accidentes geográficos, algunos de los cuales con topónimo —*Alcubla, toçal de Bercha Cilim, Coyl de Rates, barranch de Huedardach, riu Huadalmeyça, vayl d'Almedech, estret d'Alcarayta*⁸⁹ y otros— se dibujan los límites por tramos. El texto presentado por Quintavall, datado en la alquería de Benigembla el 16 de agosto, fue aprobado por los procuradores del conde de Ribagorza y de Bernat de Sarrià, quedando como testigos un conjunto de personas, cristianas y musulmanas, de esas tierras y de espacios limítrofes.⁹⁰

La falta de documentación impide la posibilidad de un seguimiento, más que somero a la relación de los Vilanova con las tierras del valle de Pop en esos años. Lo que parece es que la señoría, una vez amojonado el valle, planteó un proyecto de aprovechamiento agrícola de parte de ese término. En esta dirección surge el establecimiento en 1341 de una población en el valle de Almadig para su explotación. Pese a no contar con excesivos datos de carácter demográfico, está más que acreditado que la comarca conocida como *Montanea Valencie* desde finales del siglo XIII se convierte en un área densamente poblada de la mano de la propia población,⁹¹ aderezada con contingentes desplazados por la colonización cristiana de áreas próximas.⁹² A esa situación se añade la presencia de pequeñas señorías ávidas de renta que de inmediato pasan a poner en producción la mayor cantidad de superficie posible.⁹³ Lo cierto es que pese a que a esas alturas el ciclo desarrrollista extendido desde hacía dos siglos en la Europa feudal había tocado a su fin, apareciendo por doquier señales inequívocas, cuando no claras manifestaciones, de tiempos críticos que huelga mencionar,⁹⁴ el todavía joven reino de Valencia se abría a las oportunidades de la colonización de un país de musulmanes, sobre todo en las tierras del sur del Júcar. Si a fines del reinado de Jai-

89. Acerca del topónimo Caraita, ver Herrero, Abelardo. "Toponimia premusulmana de Alicante a través de la documentación medieval (II)". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 4-5 (1986): 18-19.

90. Apéndice documental, doc. n.º 4.

91. A finales de 1279 Pedro III confirmaba a los pobladores musulmanes de los valles situados al interior de Denia, entre los que se cuenta Pop, su permanencia en esas tierras, así como el mantenimiento de sus costumbres y la prohibición a pobladores de cristianos de vivir junto a ellos. Burns Robert I. Moros, *cristians i jueus...*: 415-415, doc. n.º 5.

92. Ver Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal..."; Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 88-99.

93. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation..."; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

94. Ver Fourquin, Guy. *Histoire économique de l'Occident médiéval*. París: A. Colin, 1979: 245-258. Duby, Georges. *Economía rural y vida campesina en el Occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Península, 1973: 379 y siguientes. Bois, Guy. *La gran depresión medieval: siglos XIV-XV. El precedente de una crisis sistémica*. Madrid-Valencia: Biblioteca Nueva-Universidad de Valencia, 2001: 63-74.



me I se activa un proyecto político de fundación de pueblas, escasamente exitoso,⁹⁵ al culminar la centuria esa empresa sigue viva, visible en Ifach —1298— Villajoyosa —1300— o Benidorm —1325—, por clara iniciativa señorial,⁹⁶ a la que se unen paralelos de población islámica dentro de una dinámica de “expansión interna”,⁹⁷ como escribe Josep Torró, vertebradora del territorio y de un modelo social y económico.⁹⁸ Dentro de ese proceso expansivo que tocaba a su fin hallamos uno de esos proyectos.

En 1341, y en el deseo de *populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare* una extensión de tierra hasta ese instante *heremam et incultam* situada en el valle de Almadig, al Este del territorio de Pop, lindando con los términos de Tàrbena, Castell de Castells y con el camino público que comunica con la alquería de Ayalt, término de Castell de Castells, con Guadalest, Maria Lladró, señora del dominio, ofrece a un grupo de musulmanes, vecinos de Murla, compuesto por diecisiete cabezas de familia, la construcción de una puebla nueva desde la que proceder a la explotación de ese valle *cum aquis, cequiis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint*. Las condiciones expresadas por la señoría para el aprovechamiento de esas tierras arrancarían de modo inmediato, justo al inicio de 1342, año en el cual se había de comenzar la construcción de las viviendas en las que debían hacer residencia personal los nuevos pobladores. Como ayuda para la construcción de las casas cada familia recibiría veinte sueldos que no habría de devolver. A cambio de su instalación y explotación de las tierras, los colonos habrían de entregar en concepto de censo la quinta parte de la producción agraria, así como un par de gallinas por unidad doméstica a satisfacer anualmente en la festividad de la natividad del Señor. Pagarían también anualmente un dinero por cada cabeza de ganado que tuvieren, así como igual cantidad por cada colmena. Quedaban obligados esos pobladores a sembrar en los cuatro primeros años viñas, higueras *et alias plantas*. Se les concedía como gracia que pudiesen elegir a dos miembros de la nueva comunidad para que junto con un oficial de la señoría procediesen a la estimación de la cosecha. Tenían la posibilidad de explotar directamente esas posesiones o venderlas, alienarlas, permutarlas, etc., siempre que no fuera a caballeros o clérigos, con los correspondientes derechos sobre ellas que se reservaba la señoría establecidos en los fueros del reino, aunque renunciaba a las dos cargas de leña a que tenía derecho *pro intrata huius stabilimentum*. Los nuevos pobladores se comprometían a respetar y no ir contra lo ofrecido por Maria Lladró. El acuerdo fue sancionado por el notario Mateu Boix en Murla el 8 de diciembre de 1341.⁹⁹

La denominación *vall d'Almadig* responde en la actualidad al *barranc d'Almadig*, espacio marcado por un curso seco de suelos fundamentalmente cretácicos de litología margocaliza que desde el Sureste del actual término de Benigembla aboca, aguas abajo de esta población, en el curso medio del río Gorgos, que a su vez cruza de Este a Oeste el valle de Pop camino del Mediterráneo.¹⁰⁰ La

95. Torró, Josep. “L’assalt a la terra...”: 234-235. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia...*: 119-124.

96. ACA. C. reg. 265, f.89r. Vegeu Orts, Pere M. *La carta de poblament de Benidorm i l’almirall Bernat de Sarrià*. Valencia: Premes de Setmana Gràf., 1976. Hinojosa, José; Alemany, Rafael; Couto, Antonio; Cabanes, María L. *Carta de poblament de Benidorm*. Alcoi: Universitat d’Alacant, 1988. Cabezero, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”; Cabezero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

97. Barlett, Robert. *La formación de Europa...*: 17.

98. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal...”: 120-121.

99. Apéndice documental, doc. nº 5.

100. Ver Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 17-18 y 63-64. Bru, María A.; Costa, José; Gisbert, Josep A., eds. *Atlas de la Marina Alta*. Alicante: Caja de Ahorros del Mediterráneo, Fundación Cultural, 1993: 15-27 y 51-52. Ver *Cartografía militar de España*, Mapa General, Serie L, 30-32 (822).



carta de población es realmente parca en cuanto a requerimientos por parte de la señoría a los futuros pobladores de ese pequeño valle, frente a lo expresado en otros documentos de idéntica naturaleza. Tras la obligación de hacer residencia personal en el ámbito a explotar, la renta por la explotación del valle de *Almadig* refiere en exclusiva a la partición de frutos, sin referencia a prestación de tipo personal ni monopolios dominicales.¹⁰¹ Tal censo, sustentado jurídicamente en los *furs* ya de tiempos de Jaime I,¹⁰² alude a la quinta parte de la producción total, sin especificar sobre el secano o el regadío —*omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit*—. La magnitud de ese porcentaje venía representando la media en este tipo de documentos sobre ámbitos de regadío, mientras que el vinculado al secano era mucho menor —entre la octava y la décima parte de media, según Enric Guinot—. ¹⁰³ Es claro que en este caso la renta exigida apunta a toda la producción, con lo que bien se puede entender que una parte, quizá importante, de las futuras cosechas de una superficie cultivable tan limitada se vinculase a la acción del irregular curso del barranco, así como a las fuentes existentes en ese área a través de una red de acequias mencionadas en la escritura;¹⁰⁴ tanto como a producciones arborícolas y cerealícolas vinculadas también a un secano mejorado.¹⁰⁵ Del mismo modo que una parte más o menos importante de la producción señalase a higos y uva pasa —productos a los que de manera explícita se alude en el *stabilimentum*—, de altísima rentabilidad por su fácil y rápida inserción en los circuitos de comercio internacional desde el cercano embarcadero de Dènia,¹⁰⁶ siendo desde muy pronto viñas e higueras los “cultivos estrella” de una producción agrícola mudéjar alentada por la voracidad del rentista cristiano,¹⁰⁷ que

101. Para el caso valenciano ver Epalza, Mikel; Rubiera, María J. “La sofra (sujra) en el Sharq Al-Andalus antes de la conquista catalano-aragonesa”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 33-37. Guichard, Pierre. “El problema de la sofra en el reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII”, *Estudios sobre historia medieval*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1987: 205-219. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval. Explotació potscroada de la València islàmica*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 214-234. López, Pedro. “Carácter plurifuncional de la sofra”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (1987): 193-206. Guinot, Enric. “Sofras” y prestaciones personales en los mudéjares valencianos”, *VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*. Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares-Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1995: 329-356.

102. *Furs de València*, eds. Germà Colon, Arcadi García. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1983: IV, 219-289 (libro IV, rúbrica XXIII).

103. Guinot, Enric. *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991: 38.

104. Costa, José. *El Marquesat*....: 64.

105. Torró, José. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos. Las cargas agrarias en las aljamas musulmanas del reino de Valencia”, *Los tributos de la tierra. Fiscalidad y agricultura en España (siglos XII-XX)*, Rafael Posada, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 202.

106. Que desde prácticamente el final de la conquista cristiana se constituye como salida de tales producciones. Ver Torró, José. *El naixement d'una colònia*....: 228-229. Cabezuolo Pliego, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”: en prensa.

107. Ver Gamal Abd-Karim. “La España musulmana en la obra de Yaquut (S. XII-XIII). Repertorio enciclopédico de ciudades, castillos y lugares de Al-Andalus, extraído del Muyam al-buldan (Diccionario de los países)”. *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 6 (1975): 88. Epalza, Mikel. “Estudio del texto de Al-Idrisi sobre Alicante”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 2 (1985): 215-232. Epalza, Mikel. “Costas alicantinas y costas magrebíes: el espacio marítimo musulmán según los textos árabes”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 30. Constable, Olivia R. *Comercio y comerciantes en la España musulmana. La reordenación comercial de la Península ibérica del 900 al 1500*. Barcelona: Ediciones Omega, 1997: 247-281 (en concreto el capítulo octavo). Ferrer, Maria T. “Figues, panses, frita seca y torrons”, *La Mediterrània, àrea de convergència de sistemes alimentaris (segles V-XVIII)*, XIV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Balearics, 1996: 191-208. Ferrer, Maria T. “Fruita seca, fruita assecada, una especialitat de l'àrea econòmica catalana-valenciana-balear”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/2 (2002): 883-943. Igual, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental*. Castellón: Comité Económico y Social de la Comunidad Valenciana y Bancaixa – Fundació Caixa Castelló, 1998: 316. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia*....: 228-230. Barrio, Juan A.; Cabezuolo, José V. “Rentas y derechos señoriales de las morerías del valle de Elda a fines del siglo XV”, *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*. Teruel-Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares-Instituto de



en el caso de la *vall de Pop* convirtió a su pasa en la más famosa de la Marina Alta por su excelente calidad desde ese tiempo hasta nuestros días. “Todavía en el siglo XIX los embarques de pasa a Inglaterra llevaban el rótulo de *Pasa de Pop*”, escribe José Costa.¹⁰⁸ El desarrollo y cuidado de estas producciones en las tierras de Pop es ya un hecho en el siglo XIV, siendo, por ejemplo, el único cultivo mencionado en la toma de posesión de Pere de Vilanova en 1375 —*que tots los moros de la dita vall que tinguen figuerals haien aquells lavrats o cavats per tot lo present mes de febrer*—.¹⁰⁹ Pues es bien cierto que este tipo de comunidades que se localizan en áreas montañosas presentan lo que Josep Torró define, textualmente, como una baja potencialidad productiva para una agricultura de tipo feudal, no resultando atractivas para el colono cristiano,¹¹⁰ ya que la orografía no permitía la posibilidad de amplios espacios donde producir cereal para cubrir las necesidades frumentarias de reino y corona —incluso de otros territorios europeos—, atendiendo a ciertas crisis de abastecimiento de cereal, no necesariamente debidas a malas cosechas, que se venían produciendo desde principios de siglo.¹¹¹ Subrayo, quizá, cierta especialización en los cultivos aunque sin olvidar el resto de producciones que venían siendo parte de la tradición cosechera islámica, caso por ejemplo de la algarroba, como atestiguan algunos documentos de ese periodo,¹¹² con lo que hablaríamos de un policultivo ordenado sobre el biparámetro autoconsumo y mercado. Lo cierto es que tal porcentaje sobre el total de la producción de la mentada alquería se manifiesta como la evolución de la presión de los rentistas sobre las comunidades musulmanes valencianas a lo largo del tiempo.¹¹³ Renta que, como hemos visto, se alcanzaba a calcular tras acuerdo entre los delegados del rentista y los campesinos sobre la estimación de la cosecha; técnica muy utilizada en el reino de Valencia denominada *alfarrassament*.¹¹⁴ A ese censo en especie se adicionaban ciertas imposiciones relacionadas con la fiscalidad sobre animales propias de la tributación mudéjar: gallinas, *bestiar menut* y abejas. En el mudejarismo valenciano la primera de las imposiciones tuvo una doble vía de satisfacción, en especie o en dinero, así como, en opinión de Robert Ignatius Burns, pudo quedar vinculada a exacciones de tipo personal.¹¹⁵ El número de aves por unidad de hábitat no fue uniforme, como tampoco lo fue su precio cuando el impuesto se satisfizo como renta monetaria. En las

Estudios Turolenses, 1999: 43-53. García, Juan V. *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002: 25, nota 13. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales y redes mercantiles marítimas en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*, Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (Diploma de Estudios Avanzados), 2006. Soler, Juan L. “Comercio musulmán versus comercio cristiano: la actividad de los mercaderes mudéjares y la producción de las aljamas sarraïnes. Valencia, primera mitad del siglo XIV”, *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 14 (2003-2006): 229-247. Cabezero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*. Cabezero, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”. trabajo inédito. Como ejemplo del caso castellano ver Oliva, Hipólito R. “El mundo rural en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media: dinámicas socio-económicas y nuevas perspectivas de análisis”, *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 299.

108. Costa, José, *El Marquesat...*: 189. En lo relativo a esta producción, 182-262.

109. “Que todos los moros de ese valle que tengan higueras las tengan bien labradas y cavadas a lo largo del mes de febrero”. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15. (1375).

110. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 202-203.

111. Riera, Antoni. “Crisis frumentarias y políticas municipales de abastecimiento en las ciudades catalanas durante la baja Edad Media”, *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007: 147-151.

112. ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, nº 2887 (6 de septiembre de 1344). Ver Cabezero, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

113. Torró, Josep. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos...”.

114. Ver Febrer, Manuel V. *Domínio y explotación territorial en la Valencia foral*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2000: 138-139. Torró, Josep. “La dinámica...”: 17-18.

115. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Ferrer, Maria T. *Les aljames sarraïnes de la Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988: 143-144.

tierras de la Gobernación de Orihuela las comunidades musulmanas saldaban una gallina por casa y su equivalencia en numerario, según aljama, oscilaba entre los seis y los diez dineros por ave.¹¹⁶ Mientras que en el valle de Ayora, tierra y comunidad más pobre que las del mediodía valenciano, cada familia satisfacía dos gallinas y su precio por unidad era de ocho dineros;¹¹⁷ mismo número de animales, aunque a precio inferior —seis dineros—, se pagaba en los vecinos valles de Gallinera, Ebo, Confrides, Guadalest, mientras que en Perputxent el precio era de cinco dineros.¹¹⁸ La cuantía referida a cabezas de ganado, el *bestiar menut* —fundamentalmente cabaña ovina y caprina—, era similar a la satisfecha por los mudéjares del valle de Ayora y la mitad que la de las comunidades islámicas de la *Governació d'Oriola*.¹¹⁹ Finalmente, se hace asimismo referencia a la explotación de colmenas, que satisfacían un dinero por unidad. De cierta importancia en esta zona, al decir de José Hinojosa, la apicultura mudéjar valenciana también conoció de una tasa fiscal variada, que oscilaba entre uno y dos dineros por colmena.¹²⁰ Pero más allá del carácter mixto del canon y de su cuantía, importa referir la monetarización existente en pequeñas economías rurales, que obliga a esos campesinos a conseguir líquido para, cuanto menos, satisfacer renta.¹²¹ Parece más que evidente que la moneda se ha convertido a esas alturas, en opinión de Hipólito R. Oliva para el caso castellano, “en patrón de referencia” para las economías campesinas.¹²²

La relación de elementos que comportaban la renta señorial es la referida; si bien implícitamente habían otros. De un lado, los campesinos se ocupaban de recolectar toda la cosecha, la que quedaba para ellos y la que vinculaban vía beneficio al señor. De otro, es más que seguro que tendrían que acarrear el quinto señorial hasta el almacén o lugar establecido por éste para su depósito. Más allá de que de determinadas producciones su trabajo excediera de la recolección y transporte y apuntara a entregarlo en forma en cierta medida elaborada o preparada.¹²³

Dato interesante, a mi juicio, es el tipo de vínculo que contraen con la tierra las diecisiete familias de mudéjares murleros que han de ocupar y poner en producción una superficie hasta ese mismo instante despoblada y yerma. Frente a lo observado en otros acuerdos de similar entidad, donde la referencia a la propiedad privada vinculada a cada casa se muestra de forma concreta,¹²⁴

116. Ferrer, María T. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 141-142.

117. Ferrer, María T. “La carta de població dels sarraïns de la Vall d'Aiora (1328)”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 85.

118. Hinojosa, José. “Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar en el reino de Valencia”, *V Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1991: 119.

119. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 210-212. Ferrer, María T. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 118-120 y 142. Hinojosa, José. “Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...”: 118.

120. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Hinojosa, José. “Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...”: 118.

121. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-230.

122. Oliva, Hipólito R. “El mundo rural...”: 323.

123. Torró, Josep. “La dinámica...”: 20.

124. Para el caso de Ayora, cuyos pobladores pactan de nuevo las condiciones de asentamiento con Bernat de Sarrià en 1328, fecha ciertamente próxima a la que aquí referimos, se presenta un distingio entre moros propietarios y *sarraïns habitants e habitants en la dita vall, los quals no hauran heretat* (“musulmanes habitantes en el dicho valle, que no tendrán heredad”). Ferrer, María Teresa. “La carta de població...”: 91. Ya entrados en la centuria siguiente, para el caso de la alquería de Fondos (1489). Guinot, Enric. *Cartes de poblament...*: 685-689 (doc n° 314). Ello frente a otras situaciones, como Catamarruc (1490), donde no se observa ningún derecho por parte de los campesinos musulmanes sobre la propiedad que trabajan. Pla, Primitivo J. “Acerca de los contratos agrarios de los mudéjares valencianos; los ‘Capítols’ de Catamarruc”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 119-138.



y en algún caso de manera muy específica —“tal casa y tal parcela”—,¹²⁵ el documento de 1341 destila que el colectivo musulmán referido procedería a la explotación de ese valle a perpetuidad y a partes iguales —*vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus*—. El hecho de que la señoría permita que de manera individual los campesinos pudiesen desprenderse de las heredades —*possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum, obligandum, excommutandum et ad omnes vestras et vestrarum voluntates perpetuo faciendas*—, con la excepción de que fuesen a parar a manos de privilegiados, nos apunta a un control familiar de las unidades de explotación conjugado con una organización colectiva de la utilización del agua y del pago de los impuestos a la señoría.¹²⁶ Sin duda, esta situación tan precisa que vincula casi en exclusiva hábitat/heredad/estimación de la cosecha/censo en el porcentaje establecido, refiere a comunidades de nueva creación donde el interés de la señoría radica en la obtención única y exclusivamente de una renta.¹²⁷ Del mismo modo que todo ello nos apunta con claridad a dos cuestiones. Una es que el colectivo mudéjar relacionado con la fundación de la nueva puebla y explotación de sus tierras, más allá de moverse dentro del ámbito señorial en un radio muy pequeño, referiría a un campesinado desposeído de tierras y arrojado por ello a la explotación de áreas marginales, quizá heredero de aquél que precisamente llegó hasta ese ámbito geográficamente enriscado con motivo de los desplazamientos de población islámica producidos tras el fracaso de la revuelta anticristiana de 1276-1277,¹²⁸ aunque no desplazado por otra razón que la del mutuo interés de señoría y campesinos. Y dos, que el espacio cultivable de ese yermo que era el valle de *Almadig* debía, en teoría, permitir el mantenimiento del conjunto familiar que allí se ubicaba.¹²⁹

Respecto de los gentilicios, llama la atención el hecho de que uno de ellos añade al nombre árabe otro cristiano, con su apellido: Çaat Pero Dies. Los demás son gentilicios claramente árabes, algunos de la misma familia: tres Abenaçim, tres también Atzintar e idéntico número Caydo, dos Abolaix y un solo Atnayar, Abdurrafe y Alcayla. Aparece un Ayeix y otro Hiayeix que no soy capaz de identificar como de la misma familia.

4. Algunas conclusiones

El documento no refiere el nombre que se había de dar a la alquería¹³⁰ de la *vall d'Almadig*, salvo que fuese el propio topónimo, cuyo significado —*al-madiq*: paso, desfiladero, estrecho— aludiría a un paraje dibujado por un angosto valle a través del que discurre un camino de montaña.¹³¹ Conocemos que el término *castrí et vallis de Pop* contenía varias pequeñas aldeas pobladas por musul-

125. Hinojosa, José. “Ares y Benilloba (Alicante). Dos comunidades mudéjares valencianas a fines de la Edad Media”. *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 16-17 (1999-2002): 47-48.

126. Guichard, Pierrer. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana...*: 308-317.

127. Ver Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 213-214.

128. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal del territori...”: 109-114.

129. Glassow, Michael A. “The concept of carrying capacity in the study of culture process”. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 1 (1978): 3148. Recogido en Eiroa, Jorge A. “Pasado y presente de la arqueología de las alquerías”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 398-399.

130. Pese a que en el documento no se menciona en ningún caso el término alquería, sino “puebla nueva”, no me cabe ninguna duda que la nueva población tenía el sentido de alquería por su relación entre hábitat y tierras de cultivo. Ver Lagardère, Vincent. *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus (VIIIe-XVe s.)*. París: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1993: 176-177.

131. Groom, Nigel. *A Dictionary of Arabic Topography and Placenames*. Beirut: Longman & Librairie Du Liban, 1983: 159. Agradezco al profesor Francisco Franco, magnífico arabista y mejor amigo, la aclaración de este topónimo.

manes. Teniendo como centro Murla, con categoría de *locus* y sin duda de *caput territorii* en cuanto centro aglutinador de la población cristiana de ese valle,¹³² aparecen un conjunto de alquerías de las que de algunas conocemos nombre. En la escritura de posesión de Pere de Vilanova de febrero de 1375 se referencian como tales Parcent, *Benituerdi*, Alcanicia, Benalbacar, Benigembla y Verniça.¹³³ Sin duda no son las únicas; en primer lugar porque el citado documento cuando las apunta —aunque lo hace en un primer bloque refiriendo las primeras, y más tarde las dos últimas—, alude a sus pobladores y a los de *aliis alquereis dicte vallis*, y en segundo lugar porque el *Repartiment*, tal y como recoge Pierre Guichard, menciona Parcent, Ceylent, Rahalabelbahar y Benilacruci junto con algunas de las indicadas —Alcanicia, Benigembla, Benalbacar, Verniça—. ¹³⁴ Salvo *Benituerdi* el resto de las que hubiesen sido *qaryas* islámicas existían ya antes de 1341. Pero lo cierto es que no se conocen restos arqueológicos en la zona del *barranc d'Almadig*, Entonces, ¿existió realmente esta alquería, luego despoblado, o fue sólo un proyecto de población?

La falta de huella arqueológica —de momento— lo inclina a la segunda opción. Lo cierto es que pese a esa ausencia de elemento empírico, queda manifestado que en un tiempo próximo al epicentro crítico del siglo XIV, cuando se observan señales por doquier en toda Europa, incluida la península ibérica —aunque con cierta disimetría— ya no de desaceleración sino de caída en el empuje económico que la Europa feudal venía conociendo desde dos siglos atrás, el reino de Valencia y más concretamente su frontera sur¹³⁵ conoce de un impulso demográfico y productivo ciertamente notable.¹³⁶ El hecho de haber ingresado a la cristiandad occidental “en los umbrales de la crisis”¹³⁷ y de constituirse a esas alturas todavía *en construcció*¹³⁸ no le hicieron asumir las debilidades estructurales del sistema feudal. El hecho de contar con una ciertamente lenta incorporación de elementos cristianos —cuestión que no provocó vacíos demográficos en los territorios colonizadores— vino a equilibrarse con una pérdida, continuada aunque no traumática por radical, de población islámica, como sí sucediese en Murcia y Andalucía, que permitió mantener niveles de producción, que se readaptaron de inmediato al nuevo rumbo de la economía feudal. Además, la vinculación del reino de Valencia al mar, por vía de su capital, hizo que algunas de esas producciones necesariamente no cristianas cupiesen en las grandes líneas del comercio mediterráneo, del que en ese tiempo el reino de Valencia todavía era subsidiario de los proyectos mercantiles catalán y mallorquín, a través de la penetración del mercado en las economías rurales.¹³⁹ En esta dirección, estructura y coyuntura

132. Burns, Robert I. *El reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII (iglesia y sociedad)*. Valencia: Del Cenia al Segura, 1982: I, 197. Burns, Robert I. *El regne croat de València. Un país de frontera al segle XIII*. Valencia. Tres i Quatre, 1993: 199.

133. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.13.

134. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...: 24-25.

135. Barrio, Juan A. “Un repartimiento inédito. El repartimiento de Orihuela de 1330”, *VI Congreso de Estudios de Frontera, Población y poblamiento*. Alcalá la Real-Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 2006: 79-92.

136. Furió, Antoni. “Disettes et famines en temps de croissance. Une révision de la crise de 1300: le royaume de Valence dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle”, *Les disettes dans la conjoncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale*, Monique Bourin, John Drendel, François Menant, eds. Roma: École Française de Rome, 2011: 343-416, en concreto 354-360 y 384.

137. Borrero, Mercedes. “El mundo rural y la crisis del siglo XIV. Un tema historiográfico en proceso de revisión”. *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 49.

138. “en construcció”. Furió, Antoni. *València, un mercat medieval*. Valencia: Diputació Provincial de València, 1985: 17.

139. Ver Cabezuelo, José V. “Segregación social y complementariedad económica de los mudéjares en la sociedad valenciana bajomedieval”, *Islam i Cristiandat. Civilitzacions al mon medieval / Islam y Cristiandad. Civilizaciones en el mundo medieval*, Elisa Varela, Gerardo Boto, eds. Girona: Documenta Universitaria, 2014: 251-255. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales.... Soler, Juan L. El comercio en el reino de Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV: instituciones, rutas y grupos mercantiles*, 2 vols. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (Tesis Doctoral), 2015. Gentileza del autor. Soler, Juan L. “Comercio musulmán...”:



hacen que prácticamente todo el reino, pero específicamente las tierras de la frontera valenciana, queden ajenas a las convulsiones espasmódicas del sistema feudal en el corazón de Europa, salvo por cuestiones de orden muy puntual,¹⁴⁰ y que lejos de mostrar agotamiento presenten la vitalidad propia de una sociedad nueva. Los sucesos pestíferos del final de esa década, cuya incidencia —si la hubo— queda por evaluar, y fundamentalmente las consecuencias de la guerra de los dos Pedros en estas comarcas, ocasionando muertes y abandonos de lugares de población islámica, serán la punta del iceberg crítico. Para el caso que nos ocupa, la todavía ciertamente débil demografía en ese ámbito,¹⁴¹ hace que la estructura dominante, regia y señorial, active mecanismos de atracción de elementos humanos a esas áreas no exclusivamente cristianos,¹⁴² que como hemos visto cuenta con una población indígena cuantitativamente importante en ese tiempo y espacio que mantiene y adapta —o ve condicionada— su economía, en este caso la producción agrícola, a las exigencias de un nuevo orden que en cierto modo a esas alturas ya condiciona el mercado. En buena medida el estímulo de la demanda externa hace que en este caso producciones originariamente islámicas conozcan de un desarrollo mayor del que tuvieron en su tiempo y sirvan para la colonización de espacios yermos. Hablamos de un proyecto de base económica que beneficia fundamentalmente al propietario de la tierra, al señor, ampliando su nivel de renta en orden cuantitativo, ciertamente estable —salvando las coyunturales malas cosechas— al impedir una actualización del canon al alza, y tangencialmente, aunque no sea desdeñable su influencia, a la propia monarquía aragonesa en su proceso por colonizar una tierra de frontera e introducir en ella las formas de ordenación de la sociedad feudal. Tal desarrollo agrícola, si bien es cierto que muy puntual, lo observamos en esas mismas fechas en el cercano valle de Guadalest, que después de más de tres décadas de dominio señorial regresaba al realengo, a través de la puesta en producción de tierras yermas.¹⁴³ En último lugar en la gradación de ese beneficio quedará la familia campesina, pues aunque consiga un lote de tierra en propiedad, hecho que conlleva el factor estabilidad, lo hará en atención a que el rendimiento de su trabajo es el que sostiene las estructuras de poder superior.

A mediados de marzo de 1344 Maria Lladró, propietaria *pro indiviso* del valle de Pop junto a su hijo Vidaló, renunció a su parte como usufructuaria del señorío en favor de éste, por entonces ya casado con Alcamdona, para que a partir de entonces fuese su único señor. La viuda de Ramon de Vilanova argumentaba cansancio y aspiraba a tener una vida tranquila abandonando a su hijo y nuera, con quienes hasta entonces había permanecido, para *in pacis tranquillitate cum propria familia*

229-247. Soler, Juan L. "Relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y el Norte de África en la primera mitad del siglo XIV". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 37-38 (2003-2004): 125-157.

140. Rubio, Agustín. "A propósito del 'mal primer any': dificultades cerealistas en la Corona de Aragón en los años treinta del siglo XIV", *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1982: III, 476-480. Rubio, Agustín. "Crisis agrarias y carestías en las primeras décadas del siglo XIV: el caso de Valencia". *Saitabi*, 37 (1987): 131-147. Estal, Juan M. del, "Extrema escasez de pan en Alicante: el año 1333". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 49-63. Riera, Antoni. "Els pròdroms de les crisis alimentàries de la baixa edat mitjana a la Corona d'Aragó: 1250-1300", *Homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent*. Tarragona: Publicacions de la Diputació de Tarragona, 1991: 35-72. Benito, Pere. "Fams i caresties a la Mediterrània occidental durant la baixa edat mitjana. El debat sobre 'les crisis de la crisi'". *Recerques*, 49 (2004): 179-194.

141. Torró, Josep. "La población de la conquista. Inmigración colonial, ocupación del espacio y reparto de la población en el reino de Valencia", *La población valenciana. Pasado, presente y futuro*. Alicante: Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1998: I, 321-343.

142. Cabezuelo, José V. "Las comunidades judías del Mediodía valenciano en el siglo XIV. De la vitalidad a la supervivencia". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 29-30 (2005-2006): 75-104. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation....". Cabezuelo, José V. "Segregación social...".

143. ACA. C. reg. 860, f. 47v (segunda foliación) (17 de octubre de 1336) y reg. 872, ff. 74v-75r (26 de octubre de 1341).

vivere.¹⁴⁴ A partir de ese instante distintos descendiente del linaje Vilanova señorearán ese valle, que sufrió importantes daños durante la guerra de los dos Pedros,¹⁴⁵ alcanzando a hacerse con otros lugares de esa frontera sur, como Montixelvo, Terrateig o Castalla.¹⁴⁶

Apéndice

Documento número 1

26 de septiembre de 1296, Valencia.

Jaime II concede a Ramon de Vilanova el castillo y la villa de Pop de por vida, en atención a los servicios prestados.

ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v.

*Eiusdem*¹⁴⁷

Cum deceat regalem clemenciam bene merentes milites suos ac sibi legaliter servientes graciis suis ac beneficiis decorare, idcirco nos, Jacobus, Dei gracia, et cetera, attendentes grata et continua servicia que vos, dilectus miles noster Raimundus de Villanova, nobis semper fecistis et cotidie facere non cessatis, idcirco per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de Villanova, ad vitam vestram tantum castrum nostrum et villam de Pop cum terminis et pertinenciis suis et cum hominibus et feminis cuicumque legis seu condicionis existant et cum domibus, campis, vineis et terris, cultis et incultis, et cum // arboribus, fructiferis et infructiferis, et cum montibus et planis, silvis atque garricis et cum aquis et aqueductibus et cum furnis et molendinis et balneis et cum censibus, almagranis ac çofris, alfardis et cum cenis et monetaticis et cum iurisdiccione et iusticiis civilibus et cum omnibus suis terminis ac pertinenciis et iuribus universis. Predictum vero castrum et villam de Pop dividi terminos cum termino de Alaguar et ex alia parte cum termino de Castel et cum termino castri de Exaloc et ex alia parte cum termino castri de Tarbena. Iamdictum itaque castrum et villa de Pop cum omnibus supradictis et singulis damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de Villanova, ad vitam vestram pro franco et libero alodio, prout melius dici potest et intelligi ad comodum et salvamentum vestri et vestrorum et ad dandum, vendendum, obligandum et alienandum in vita vestra tantum. Constituentes nos predictum castrum et villam cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis suis pro vobis et vestro nomine possidere et quasi possidere donec de predictis plenam apprehenderitis potestatem quam liceat vobis apprehendere licenciam nostri minime expectato. Mandantes procuratoribus, baiulis, iusticiis, iuratis et universis aliis officialibus nostris, presentibus et futuris, quod predictam donacionem et concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent et faciant inviolabiliter observari ut superius continetur et non contraveniant nec aliquem contravenire permitant aliqua racione.

Data Valencia, ut supra.

144. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.13.

145. ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, nº 1945 (1 de agosto de 1382).

146. ACA. C. reg. 900, f. 23v (25 de febrero de 1358). Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista...*: 627. Cabezuero, José V. "El castillo de Castalla en el sistema de fortalezas fronterizas del reino de Valencia (Ss. XIII-XIV)". Trabajo inédito.

147. Letra no contemporánea.



Signum (blanco) Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Aragonum, et cetera.

Testes sunt: venerabilis episcopus valentinus; Berengarius de Vilaracuto; Berengarius Guillermus de Entença; venerabilis episcopus dertusensis; et Guillermus Durfortis.

Documento número 2

29 de mayo de 1328.

El infante Pedro, conde de Ribagorza, vende a Maria Lladró, viuda de Ramon de Vilanova, y a Vidaló, hijo de ambos, el castillo y valle de Pop junto con el mero y mixto imperio, el tercio diezmo y el monedaje de la alquería de Murla por 140.000 sueldos valencianos.

ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 90r-93r.

*Marie Latronis, uxoris Raymundi de Villanova*¹⁴⁸

In Dei nomine, pateat universis quod nos, inffans Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi, bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum comes, etc. Bono animo et spontanea voluntate et ex certa sciencia per nos et omnes successores nostros, cum presenti publico instrumento perpetuo valituro vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus atque concedimus vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raymundi de Villanova, quondam, ac etiam Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro et dicto Raimundo de Villanova comuni, et vestris ac quibus velitis imperpetuum, nec non vobis, Vitali de Villanova, consiliario domini regis, tanquam tutori et curatori testamentario dicti Vitaloni et eius nomine, ementi et recipienti castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinenciis ipsius castri. Quod siquidem castrum dictus dominus rex quondam nobis dedit atque concessit pro hereditate titulo pure, perfecte et irrevocabilis donacionis inter vivos in feudum honoratum sine aliquo servicio inde sibi vel suis successoribus faciendo predictum. Itaque castrum de Pop, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinenciis ad ipsum castrum spectantibus vendimus et ex causa vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, dictoque Vitalono, filio vestro, ac vectris perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori ac curatori predicto nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, pro feudo honorato iuxta Consuetudines Catha-//lonie, cum militibus et domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis, tam christianis quam sarracenis, in predicto castro et valle habitantibus et habitaturis, et cum terris cultis et incultis, alchareis, aquis, furnis, molendinis, redditibus et exitibus, proventibus et iuribus universis, et cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis eorundem et singulorum, et cum iusticiis accum mero et mixto imperio et omni iurisdiccione, et cum hoste, exercitum et cavalcata et redempcionibus eorundem, et cum tercia decima/ et cum monetatico ac cum pace, guerra et adempriviis, talliis, collectis, subsidiis, questis, caloniis, districtibus, placitis et firmamentis, bannis, faticis, dominiis, carnalagiis, herbaticis, mensuraticis, pensis, obvencionibus, invencionibus sive trobis, et cum omnibus et singulis que nos ibi habemus et habere debemus aut possemus et prout melius et plenius hec et singula ad nos spectant et spectare debent ex dicta donacione regia nobis facta vel aliis quibuscumque causis, iuribus sive modis. Predictam itaque vendicionem de dicto castro cum valle eiusdem facimus vobis, dicte Marie atque Vitalono et vestris acquibus velitis perpetuo, et vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori predicto, nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, sub hoc modo et condicionem, quod dictum castrum de Pop, cum valle eiusdem et terminis et pertinenciis suis vos et vestris teneatis in feudum honoratum absque aliquo servicio secundum Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathalonie pro domino rege et herede suo

148. Letra no contemporánea.

universali qui rex fuerit Aragonum et Valencie et successoribus eius regibus Aragonum et Valencie et non pro quocumque alio et teneamini vos et vestri pro predictis prestare et facere homagium dicto domino regi et eius successoribus antedictis et etiam teneamini vos et vestri, irati et paccati, dicto domino regi et predictos successoribus eius dare potestatem vel postestates de dicto castro et fortalicio suo et terminis eius secundum predictos Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathalonie quamdocumque et quocienscumque inde fueritis requisiti et alia facere que alii tenentes pro ipso domino rege in Cathalonie feuda honorata facere tenentur et debent. Et est sciendum quod dictum castrum de Pop afrontatur et terminatur ex una parte cum valle de Alaguar et ex alia cum valle de Exalo et ex altera cum castro seu loco de Tarbena et ex altera cum valle de Castell. Item gratiis et certa sciencia vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, nato vestro, et quibus velitis perpetuo vobisque, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, ementi et recipienti, per franchum et liberum alodium, merum imperium atque mixtum \et terciam partem decime/ et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loci de Murla, prout melius nobis competunt et ad nos spectant ex concessione seu concessionibus inde nobis factis per // illustrissimum dominum Alffonsum, regem Aragonum, karissimum fratrem nostrum, et alias quacumque ratione vel causa. Hanc autem vendicionem et ex causa vendicionis, tradicionem et concessionem de castro predicto de Pop et valle eiusdem ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio et \tercia parte decime/ et monetatico loci de Murla per franchum et quitium alodium et de aliis supradictis facimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali de Villanova, nomine tutoris supradicto, sicut superius continetur, prout melius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum vestrorumque commodum et salvamentum et bonum etiam intellectum. Extrahentes predicta omnia et singula que vobis vendimus de iure, dominio et posse nostri et successorum nostrorum eademque in vestrum vestrorumque ius, dominium et posse mitimus et transferimus irrevocabiliter ad habendum et perpetuo pacifice possidendum et quasi. Et de presenti inducimus vos in corporalem possessionem omnium predictorum que vobis vendimus, volentes et permitentes quod dictum castrum et vallem de Pop, quod et quam vos, dictus Vitalis, tenetis et possidetis ratione vestri violarii, vos decetero nomine predicto teneatis et possideatis et tenere ac possidere possitis ex causa et titulo vendicionis presentis sic quod aliam tradicionem nos vobis facere non oporteat ex quo iam penes vos existit ratione vestri violarii supradicti. Preterea ex causa huius vendicionis et tradicionis cedimus vobis, dicte Marie dictoque Vitalono et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo et vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, omnes acciones et voces ac omnia iura que nobis ratione dictarum donacionum et alias competant et competere possunt ac debent aliquo modo in predictis que supra vobis vendimus et contra quascumque personas et res ratione eorum quibus accionibus et iuribus supradictis possitis vos et vestri et quos volueritis perpetuo ute et experiri agendo, respondendo, deffendendo, excipiendo et replicando (sic) et omnia alia faciendo in iudicio et extra iudicium quecumque nos possemus ratione dicte donacionis regie nobis facte ante presentem vendicionem et iurium cessionem vel etiam postea quandocumque. Nos enim facimus et constituimus vos in hiis dominos et procuratores ut in rem vestram propriam ad faciendum inde vestras proprias voluntates sine contradiccione, impedimento et retencione quacumque nostri et successorum nostrorum et aliarum quarumlibet personarum. Mandantes cum testimonio huius publici instrumenti quod in hac parte volumus vicem epistole obtinere militibus, domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis predicti castri cuiuscumque generis, gradus aut condicionis existant et sub fide qua nobis ratione dicte donacionis astricti sunt et tenentur quod vobis et vestris vel cui volueritis respondant et satisfaciant plenarie, integre et complete de omnibus singulis supradictis vobisque pareant, obendant et attendant atque homagium, iuramentum et fidelitatem prestant tanquam dominis eorundem. Nos enim ex nunc ut ex tunc et ex tunc ut ex nunc in posse notarii infrascripti paset paciscentis // pro personis quarum intersit absolvimus vos et eorum quemlibet ab omni fide, homagio, fidelitate et iuramento ac aliis omnibus quibus nobis ratione dicte donacionis ascripti sunt seu etiam obligati pro precio autem huius vendicionis confitemur nos habuisse et



recepisse a vobis centum quadraginta mille solidorum regaliū Valencie super quibus renunciamus et certa sciencia exceptioni non numerate pecunie et non recepte et doli, mali et in factum accioni. Renunciamus etiam quantum ad hec ex certa sciencia et consulte legi vel foro que subvenit deceptis ultra dimidia iustiprecii et omni alii iuri foro, racioni, statuto et consuetudini contra hec repugnantibus, dantes et remittentes vobis et vestris graciis et ex certa sciencia siquid hec vendicio plus valet vel potest valere precio supradicto. Insuper per nos et omnes successores nostros promittimus vobis, dicte Marie, et Vitalono, eius filio vestro vobisque, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori eisdem et eius nomine paciscenti et recipienti, quod predictis omnia et singula que vobis vendimus faciemus vos et vestros et quos volueritis habere, tenere et possidere et quasi in pace perpetua contra omnes personas et quod tenebimur vobis et vestris de firma et legali eviccionem eorum. Et si forsitan aliqua vel alique persone facerent vel moverent vobis vel vestris aliquo tempore aliquam questionem, petitionem sive demandam in predictis que vobis vendimus vobis racione eorum, promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod nos incontinenti cum a vobis vel vestris inde fuerimus requisiti opponemus nos deffensionem vestri et vestrorum et respondebimus et satisfacimus pro vobis et vestris cuilibet querelanti seu querelantibus et quod in principio litoris seu littium suscipimus in nos anus litigii et agemus et ducemus causam seu causas propriis sumptibus a principio usque ad finem et quod vos et vestros servabimus super hoc prosus indempnes vel vos aut vestri possitis ipsam causam vel causas agere et ducere si malueritis per vos ipsos et hoc sit in eleccione vestri et vestrorum. Nos enim per nos et omnes successores nostros remittimus vobis et vestris ex pacto necessitatem denunciacionis. Et si vos aut vestri eligeritis tractare et ducere causam seu causas in propria persona promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod restituemus et solvemus vobis et vestris ad vestram voluntatem omnes expensas circa litem vel lites factas et quicquid ac quantum a vobis et vestris evictum fuerit cum omni damno et interesse que inde vos et vestri facietis et sustinebitis aliquo modo sive obtinantis in causam seu causas sive etiam succumbatis. Et credatur vobis et vestris super predictis omnibus et singulis plano et simplici verbo nullo alio probacionum genere requisito pro predictis autem omnibus et singulis complendis et attendendis obligamus vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra tam [habita] quam habenda. Et ad maiorem // vestri et vestrorum cautelam rogamus humiliter prefatum illustrissimum dominum Alfonsum, regem Aragonum, fratrem nostrum karissimum, ut premissa concedat, laudet, approbet, ratificet et confirmet et se vobis etiam fideiussorem constituat pro premissis.

Ad hec nos, Alfonsus, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, considerantes predictam vendicionem de expresso assensu, licencia et voluntate nostra fore factam certificati ad plenum de substitutionibus, condicionibus et retencionibus appositis et adiectis in donacione dicto domini regis, patris nostri, vobis, dicto infanti Petro, fratri nostro karissimo, de dicto castro de Pop, ut premittitur facta ex si vos videlicet vel succesores vestri quicumque sine masculini aut feminini sexus decederitis sive decederent quod absit quandocumque absque prole legitima quod inter cetera vobis tunc data atque concessa predictum castrum de Pop, cum valle ipsius, ad dictum dominum regem seu eius heredem universalem qui esset pro tempore rex Aragonum atque Valencie libere et absque contradiccione, onere et impedimento quolibet integraliter devolveretur ac etiam reverteretur dictusque dominus rex et sui in eo casu predictum castrum de Pop et eius vallem recuperet et recuperare posset propria auctoritate absque aliquo impedimento, contradiccione, onere et obligacione vestri, dicti infantis Petri, atque vestrorum, prout in dicto instrumento vidimus contineri. Idcirco per nos et omnes successores nostros gratis et expontea voluntate predicta substitutione, condicione et retencione omnino sublati ex pacto vendicionem predictam per dictum infantem Petrum, ut premittitur factam vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, et Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro, vobisque dicto Vitali, nomine tutorio et curatorio dicti pupilli, de dicto castro de Pop et valle eiusdicto, cum videlicet iusticiis, mero et mixti imperio et omni iurediccione et aliis superius in spe et genere expressatis ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti

imperio \et tertia parte decime/ et monetatico pro alodio francho et quitio predictae alcaree de Murla laudamus, probamus, ratificamus et ex certa sciencia confirmamus atque de novo concedimus et donamus prout melius et largius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum commodum et vestrorum. Promittentes vobis quod ratione dictarum substitutionum, condicionum vel retentionum nunquam contraveniemus vel aliquem contravenire faciemus aut etiam promitemus predictae venditioni vel aliquibus supra contentis predictis rationibus vel quacumque alia ratione vel causa. Et ad uberiores securitates vestri et vestrorum inducti precibus domini inffantis Petri constituimus nos vobis pro eo fideiussores pro premissis omnibus attendendis et firmiter ad implendis et pro firma et legali eviccionem omnium premissorum que vobis promittimus facere, tenere, habere et possidere vel quasi et inde vobis de eviccionem teneri cum dicto inffante et sine eo contra omnes personas obligantes pro inde vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra // et renunciantes novo iuri dicendi quod prius conveniatur principal quam fideiussor et omni alii iuri, foro, rationi, statuto et consuetudine contra hec repugnacionibus quoquo modo. Et quia in carta dicte donacionis prefati domini genitoris nostri facta dicto inffanti Petro specialiter continetur quod dictum castrum de Pop et cetera castra inibi expressata cum suis terminis et pertinenciis universis teneret dictus inffans et sui in feudum honoratum pro dicto domino rege et herede suo universali qui esset rex Aragonum et Valencie eique tenerentur tradere potestatem cum inde existentem requisiti. Ideo volentes mentem et verba dicte donacionis et convenit rationi observare per nos et omnes heredes et successores nostros per solemnem stipulacionem concedimus et promittimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, vobisque dicto Vitali, tutorio et curatorio nomine dicti pupilli, paciscenti nec non statuimus atque decernimus imperpetuum sub virtute iuramenti a nobis inferius prestiti quos directum et alodiarium dominium dicti castri de Pop et vallis ac terminorum eiusdem aut potestatem ipsius castri seu ius petendi ac recipiendi eandem. Nunquam dabimus, concedimus, vendimus, infeudabimus, impignerabimus, permutabimus, legabimus aut quocumque iure modo vel titulo alienabimus nec in alium sive fratrem aut filium nostrum preterquam in regem Aragonum et Valencie quomodolibet transferemus aut dividimus, aloditabimus, segregabimus vel quomodolibet separabimus a Corona regnorum Aragonum et Valencie, mediante vel immediate, imperpetuum ad violarium vel ad tempus immo ea omnia tenebimus nostre Corone regie perpetuo continue ac immediate incorporata, coniuncta, applicata, cognexa, pariter et unica, ita videlicet quod nos solum et successores nostri illi dumtaxat qui erunt pro tempore reges Aragonum et Valencie et non alii quicumque habeant directum pro alodiarium dominium ac potestatem in castro et valle predictis et terminis eorundem nec vos aut vestri alicui teneamini tradere potestatem nec de ipso feudo aliquatenus respondere vel alium dominum proclamare vel ei ratione dicti feudi perere. Immo si per nos aut successores nostros hiis existeret contrafactum predictum feudum reverteretur in alodium ipso facto vosque et vestri haberetis et teneretis dictum castrum pro franco alodio, quitio et immuni, nisi infra x dies post hostensionem huius publici instrumenti vel transumpti autentici eiusdem revocaretur alienacio supradicta et quicquid contra premissa existeret contra factum. Et ut premissa omnia maiori gaudeant firmitate iuramus per Deum // et eius sancta quatuor Evangelia manibus corporaliter tacta predicta omnia firmiter attendere et complere et in nullo contravenire aliquo iure causa vel aliqua ratione predicta. Itaque omnia et singula firmamus, pascimus et promittimus nos, rex, et inffans predictis, in presencia manu et posse notarii infrascripti, recipientis, pasciscentis et legitime stipulantis pro vobis, dictis Marie, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, et pro vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, et pro omnibus aliis quorum interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum.

In quorum omnium testimonium et cautelam presens publicum instrumentum nos, rex predictus, plumbee bulle nostre et nos, inffans predictus, sigilli nostri appencione iussimus comuniri. Quod est actum in castro regio civitatis Ilerde, IIII^o kalendis iunii, anno Domini M^o CCC^o XX octavo.



Signum (blanco) inffantis Petri predicti, qui hec laudamus, concedimus et firmamus.

Signum (blanco) Alfonsi, Dei gracia \regis/ Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comitis Barchinone, qui predictis assenssum nostrum prestamus eaque laudamus, concedimus, firmamus atque iuramus.

Testes sunt qui presentes fuerunt: venerabilis et religiosus frater Petrus de Tous, magister domus ordinis milicie de Muntesia; Gondiçalbus Garsie, consiliarius; Petrus de Castlarino; Petrus Despens; Jacobus de Arteriis, iudices Curie dicti domini regis; et Bernardus Pallaris, notarius dicti domini inffantis.

S (Signo) num Dominici de Biscarra, scriptoris dicti domini regis ac regia auctoritate notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis, cum litteris in raso positis in V^a linea ubi dicitur et de redempcionibus eorumdem et cum tertia parte decime et cum monetatico, et in XI^a linea ubi legitur et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum, et in XII^a linea, ubi continetur tertia parte et monetatico loci de Murla et in XXX^a prima ubi dicitur honoratum et de mero et mixto imperio et tertia parte decime et in XXX VII^a ubi legitur in feudalibus impignoracionibus permitabimus.

Documento número 3

15 de junio de 1328, Lleida.

El infante Pedro, conde de Ribagorza, procede al nombramiento de procuradores para que diesen posesión a los Vilanova del valle de Pop.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 2.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D. 8.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum quartodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

Noverint universi quod nos, inffans Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie / et Impuriarum comes, attendentes nos vendidisse dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raimundi de Villanova, quondam, ac Vitalono, ipsorum coniugum filio, necnon venerabili Vitali de Villanova, tutori et curatori testamentario Vitaloni predicti, castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota / valle eiusdem et cuius mero et mixto imperio ac cum eius terminis, pertinenciis et iuribus universis ad feudum videlicet honoratum sine aliquo servicio. Vendidisse eis etiam per franchum et liberum alodium merum et mixtum imperium et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loco de Murla, prout in instrumento dicte / vendicionis plenius continetur. Idcirco, volens emptores predictos inducere in plenam et corporalem seu quasi possessionem omnium premissorum, cum presenti publico instrumento facimus, constituimus ac etiam ordinamus certos et speciales procuratores nostros vobis, Raimundi Castellani et Macianum Despelunt-/ cis, consiliarios nostros, et Guillerumum Texeda, de domo nostra, licet absentes tanquam presentes, quemlibet vestrum in solidum. Ita quod occupantis condicio potior non existat ad tradendum pro nobis et nomine nostro dicte Marie Latronis ac dicto Vitalono necnon Vitali de Villanova nomine tutoris ipsius / vel cui voluerit loco sui plenam et corporalem possessionem vel quasi castri predicti de Pop et eius vallis, meri et mixti imperii ac omnium iurium ipsius castri et vallis pro feudo, videlicet honorato, necnon ad recipiendum a domino rege vel a deputatis per ipsum ad hec ad tradendum predictis emptoribus / possessionem meri et mixti imperii, tercie partis

decime et monetatici dicti loci seu alcharee de Murla pro francho, quitio et libero alodio. Et ad faciendum eis fieri per habitatores castri predicti homagium, iuramentum fidelitatem et omniam aliam que eorum dominis facere teneantur ad que nos / teneamur ex dicta vendicione per nos eis facta vel alia quacumque ratione vel causa. Et ad faciendum fieri predicto Vitali de Villanova nomine proprio qui nunc precibus nostris cesit violario quod ex concesione regia percipiebat in dicto castro de Pop pro securitate ipsius violarii, quod / sibi super aliis locis duximus assignandum et eorum que sibi debebuntur occasione ipsius violarii sacramentum et homagium per homines de Gandia, de Denia et de Exabea, prout in instrumento inde per nos facto dicto Vitali plenius continetur. Et ad faciendum apocha vel apochas de soluto / et alias cautelas et absoluciones quascumque super precio antedicto. Necnon ad faciendum dividi et limitari terminos dicti castri et vallis de Pop cum terminis convicinis et eius contiguiis. Et ad faciendum poni in ipsis divisis terminis mollones vel fitas et ad laudandum, fir-/ mandum, approbandum ac ratificandum nomine et pro parte nostra omnes et singulas sentencias, divisiones, limitaciones mollonorum, fixuras que late et facte fuerunt in premissis. Et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendum, explicandum et expediendum, firmandum et obligandum super /premissis et singulis et super intendentibus et emergentibus ac dependentibus ex premissis que eis necessaria et vobis expediencia videbuntur etiam si mandatum exigant speciale queque nos possemus personaliter constitui. Nam vobis et cuilibet vestrum in solidum tradimus, concedimus atque committimus / super omnibus supradictis et singulis plenarie vices nostras et plenam, liberam et generalem amministrationem cum omni plenissima facultate. Promittentes vobis, dictis procuratoribus et cuilibet vestrum in solidum ac notario infrascripto stipulanti, paciscenti et recipienti nomine vestro / et dictorum emptorum et omnium aliorum quorum interest intererit ac interesse poterit in futurum nos gratum et ratum ac firmum habere perpetuo quicquid per vos et quemlibet vestrum in solidum super predictis et quolibet predictorum actum, gestum fuerit ac etiam procuratum et nullo tempore revocare / sub bonorum nostrorum omnium ypotheca.

Quod est actum Ilerde, septimo decimo kalendis iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.

S [cruz] num inffantis Petri predicti, qui hec concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes sunt: Gaucerandus de Vilarig, miles; Petrus d'Espens, consiliarii, et Jacobus Fivellarii, scriptor potioris dicti domini infantis. /

Sig [signo] num Dominici de Biscarra, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis. /

S [cruz] num Jacobi Crespi, iusticie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit et decretum. /

Sig [signo] num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobo Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati iusticie eius vissu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit. /

Sig [signo] num Gerald de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatare ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit loco, die et anno in prima linea expressatis. /



Documento número 4

16 de julio de 1328.

Amojonamiento y deslindes del valle de Pop.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 137, D. 14.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum sextodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

In Christi nomine. Sapien tuit que disapte, *septimo idus iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo*, / el loch de Gandia lo senyor En Vidal de Vilanova, per provisió del sant pare apostoli comanador maior de Muntalbà, presentà a l'honrat n'Orrigo de Quintavall una letra en paper del senyor rey, oberta e segellada ab son segell, de la qual és aytal.

Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, Valencie, / Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, dilectis nostris Enrico de Quintavalle et Raymundo Costa, militibus, salutem et dileccionem. Cum racione terminorum castri de Pop, siti in regno Valencie, et quorundam aliorum castrorum seu locorum convicinarum dicto castro inter inclitum inffantem Petrum, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum co-/ mitem, karissimum fratrem nostrum, ad quem velut ad proprietarium dicti castri, idem castrum finito violario infrascripto debet devolvi, seu venerabilem et dilectum consiliarium nostrum Vitalem de Villanova, comendatorem Montisalbani, dictum castrum ad violarium detinentem, ex parte unam, et quasdam alias personas in ipsius castri / convicino populatis, ex parte altera, controversia seu questio at exorta seu oriri speretur. Nosque ipsam questionem [roto] vel alterum vestrum velimus decidi. Ideo, vobis et utrique vestrum expresse dicimus, comitimus et mandamus quatenus vocatis evocandis ad dicta castra seu loca vos vel alter vestrum personaliter acce-/ dendo visisque ad oculum terminis supradictis certificetis vos de ipsis, tam per testes antiquos locorum circumvicinarum etiam per instrumenta publica, quam alia legitima documenta, et ipsa certificationem habita seu recepta terminos ipsos dividatis, prout de foro et racione inveneritis faciendum, ponendo inibi mollones seu fitas / ad eternam rei memoriam et re deinceps insurgat questione super ipsis. Nos enim in predictis et circa predicta vobis et utrique vestrum in solidum plenarie comittimus vices nostras.

Data Cesarauguste, septimo decimo kalendis iunii, anno Domini millesimo CCCº vicesimo octavo.

La qual letra presentada, lo dit honrat en Vidal de Vilanova requerí / lo damunt dit n'Orrigo de Quintaval que, enantás a partició o divisió dels dits térmens, segons lo manament a ell feyt. Et lo dit honrat n'Orrigo dix que era aparellat d'obeyr lo manament del senyor rey en totes coses. Et, a instància del dit senyor En Vidal, cità lo noble en Bernat de Sarrià per / letra sua, segons que-s segueix.

Al molt noble e molt honrat senyor en Bernat de Sarrià, de mi, n'Orrigo de Quintaval, jutge per lo senyor rey assignat a les coses deius scrites, salut ab bona honor. Sapiats, senyor, que yo he rebuda una carta del senyor rey, la tenor de la qual és aytal. / *Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, et cetera*, segons que damunt és contengut pus longament, hi fo tota encorporada et après de la data fo hi ajustat, ço que-s segueix, per que de part del senyor rey vos dich e us man e de la mia vos prech que, dins VI dies comptadors de la recepció de les presents, / comparegats per vós o per

vostre procurador ledesmament stablit denant mi en la vall de Pop, aparellat de mostrar del dret que havets en los térmens dels castells e lochs vostres, veýns e contigües dels térmens del castell e vall de Pop e en altra manera enantat en les coses damunt dites, segons que de fur / e de rahó serà faedor. En altra manera passat lo dit terme, lo qual premtori vos assigne, yo enantaria en lo dit feyt segons que serà faedor de fur e de rahó, no contrastant vostra absència e requerent vostra contumàcia. *Data in loco Gandie, septimo idus iulii, anno infrascripto.*

En après / el dit dia al dit noble assignat, comparech en la vall de Pop en Guillem Texeda, procurador del molt alt senyor infant en Pere, havent plen poder a les coses deius scrites, segons que a mi, notari, fo cert per carta pública per en Domingo de Biscarra, per auctoritat del senyor rey notari per tota la / sua senyoria, feyta *septimodecimo kalendis iulii, anno predicto*, d'una part. Encara comparech per nom del dit noble en Pelegrí Romeu ab alguns moros veyls de Tàrbena e de Castell, de l'altra. Et lo dit jutge, ensemps ab los damunts dits Guillem Texeda e En Pelegrí Romeu, per nom / que dit és, e ab los dits moros de Tàrbena e de Castell e ab d'altres moros de la vayl de Pop anà als dits térmens a departir. Et com fo el dit loch, certificàs ab los pus antinchs moros de cascuna de les parts axí com mils poch ne pus plenerament dels dits térmens on se devien partir e en / qual loch se devien mollar. Et haüda certificació, departí per sa sentència los dits térmens en aquesta manera.

Con yo, n'Orrigo de Quintavall damunt dit, vista la comissió e manament del dit senyor rey a mi fet e altres coses que a determenar los dits térmens veure pogui se en a manera / de jutge e haven Deus solament denant mos huylls dich e pronunciü, per ma sentència, que los térmens de la vall de Pop e de Tàrbena e de Castell affroten a la part d'Almorog, ço és a la Carayra a un estret a avall l'Almorotg on fa punta lo cingle de la rocha tallada, axí que lo dit cingle de les / roques tallades a avall roman terme de Pop, e, de les cingles a amunt, roman per terme de Tàrbena, és axí emperó que de la dita Carayra hon fa punta lo dit cingle del hom comptar IIII barranchs que venen ferir en lo dit cingle e del qual barranch, ço és del cap del cingle hon lo dit barranch/ a punta deu ferir a fita cuberta sus el cap de la rocha tallada, la qual és appellada Alcubla. Et del cap de la dita rocha appellada Alcubla va ferir a la punta pus alta de sobre cap dalmuntanyer, axí que de la dita punta pus alta roman ves terme de Pop a avayl per terme de Pop e de la / dita punta a enlà de terme de Tàrbena, la qual damunt dita punta dalmuntanyer pus alta can ve que hom és en lo toçal de Bercha Cilim e guarda hom devés l'Alcubla veu hom la dita punta pus alta, axí que nenguna altra no-m par pus alta roman de vers lo terme de / Tàrbena Matil Albicim et Matil Tutilla. Et del dit cap dalmuntanyer, ço és de la dita punta pus alta, va dret ferir a la rocha de Penalba e per lo cap de la serra va ferir vers Coyl de Rates e les vertens de les dites montanyes devés Pop e devés Parçen, axí com hom les pot / veure lo mirar de Parçen, romanen per terme de Pop, aygües vertens del cap de les dites montanyes a avant ves Tàrbena roman per terme de Tàrbena. Emperó és axí que les guareytes que són o la terra que-s pot laurar en lo Coyl de Rates prop la rocha del castell, la hon passa lo / camí, roman a Tàrbena tro al molló que pertex terme entre Pop e Exaló. Item, dich e pronuncian lo terme de Castell ab lo terme de Pop que pertex terme de la part dayant ab lo barranch de Huedardach que va ferir al riu de Huadalmeyça, lo qual barranch és miger axí com talla a avant / tro sus a les roques on comença lo pla de la montanya hon s'és fet un claper de pedres en la dita roqua. Les quals roques són sobre-l dit barranch a la part devés la part de la vayl d'Almedech, terme de Pop, axí que devés les roquetes e claper devés lo barranch roman per terme d'Ayant terme / de Castell. Et de les dites roquetes e claper devés la dita vayll d'Almedech roman



per terme de Pop aygües vertens e de les dites roquetes e claper vassen hom dreta linya per lo cerito a un puyet que hi pot haver un cir de pedra de ma dom e aqui en lo dit puyet ha un claper de pedres / et del dit claper de pedres per lo cerrito a avant devés les terres panificades de Tàrbena e d'Ayant vassen dret per lo cerito ha un toçalet ha un altre claper de pedres e les vertens devés la vayl d'Almadech romanen per terme de Pop e dels dits ceritos e clapers devés / Ayant roman per terme de Castell e del dit toçalet hon és lo dit claper de pedres pren hom per lo socosta un poch de la vayl d'Almedech e traversa hom la carrera hon apunta un barranch e puxa de la vayl d'Almadech e, sus en la punta del barranch alt en la loma, / pren a hom per la loma a avall, axí que-l dit barranch roman per terme de Pop e per la loma avall ha un claper de pedres e del dit claper de pedres va hom a fita cuberta al estret d'Alcarayta, que és en lo cap de la vayl d'Almedech, alí on s'afronten los termens de Pop e / de Tàrbena e de Castell. Et de la dita loma prop la punta del dit barranch e camí devés les laurades d'Ayant e devés Almorog tro en lo cap del dit estret appellat Alcarayta alt sobre-ls cingles de les roques roman ab l'Almorog per terme de Castell. Com del/ dit estret e cingles de roques segons que va ferir al dit molló de la dita loma segons que damunt dit és a avall ves les vertens roman per terme de Pop. Et tots los sobre dits clapers de pedres hi foren posats en presència de les parts.

Quod est actum apud alcharea / de Benigemble, septimodecimo kalendis augusti, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.

Presents lo dit en Guillem Texeda, procurador del dit senyor inffant en Pere, e en Pelegrí Romeu per nom del dit noble en Bernat de Sarrià, qui spressament la / present sentència loaren e aprovaren.

Encontinent foren-hi encara presens Domingo Roig, justícia de Tàrbena, Johan Darocha et Garcia Sánchez, jurats del dit loch de Tàrbena, et Johan Roys et Romeu Çavila, vehins del dit loch, Çayt Abenapdoramen, Mahomat Aberrafe, Azmet Quibir / et Hacen Abnapdalla et Çaat Ammane e Mahomet Abnaxup, sarrahins veyls de loch de Tàrbena, et Barcha Amparell et Alii Amparell et Cilim Abolaquen et Mahomat Abraquich et Jucef Algalinayri, moros de la dita vayl de Pop.

Foren-hi encara presens per testimonis en Pere / Fuster, tenent loch de batle en Xàtiva, Steve Suau, Pascal Descallar, Domingo d'en Ana, Martin Perez de Vera, Garcia Martí, Arnau Cau, Çayt Abuxaxell, alcadi de la vayl de Exaló, et Ramon Solzina. /

Sig (signo) num Galcerandi de Lobera, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem domini regis, qui premissis interfuit et hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis. /

S (cruz) num Jacobi Crespi, justicie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit ac decretum. /

Sig (signo) num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobi Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati justicie eius iussu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit. /

Sig (signo) num Geraldí de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatare ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit.

Documento número 5

8 de diciembre de 1341, Murla.

Establecimiento de población en el valle de Almadig, término del castillo de Pop, realizado por Maria Lladró a ciertos musulmanes vecinos de Murla.

AHN, Nobleza, Parcent, C. 47, D. 12.

ABC

ABC.

ABC

Noverint universi quod nos, dompna Maria Latronis de Vidaure, uxor quondam venerabilis Raymundi de Villanova, militis, defuncti, ac domina loci de Murla et vallis de Pop, attendentes nos habere quandam vallem vocatam de Almedich, sitam in territorio et limi-/ tacionibus ac termino vallis predicte nostre de Pop, heremam et incultam, et velimus ac cupiamus ipsam populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare. Ideo, in Dei nomine et eius divina gracia per nos et omnes nostros, presentes pariterque futuros, populamus sive ad populam / novam sub formis retencionibus et condicionibus infrascriptis donamus, tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus vobis Somade Abenacim, Mahometo Atzintar, Abraham Abolaix, Azmeto, filio de Çayt Abençaydo, Azmeto Alvalençi, Atnayar Azmeto, Açim Abenaçim, Hilell / Abolaix, Çaat Podies, Solomen, filio de Taher Atzintar, Azmeto, filio Mahometi Ayeix, Ayeix Caydo, Jahiel, filio de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayeix, Ali, filio Azmeti Caydo, Caat Aldurrafe, Azmeto Alcayla et Faraig Abenaçim, sarracenis et habitatori- / bus in dicto loco de Murla, equis partibus inter vos, presentibus et recipientibus et utrique vestrum et vestris ad imperpetuum vallem predictam nostram de Almedich, prout confrontatur cum terris nostris et nobis restantibus vallis de Pop et cum termino Tarbene et cum termino vallis de / Castell et cum camino publico per quod homo tenditur apud Ayalt et Godalest. Iamdictam itaque vallem, ut superius confrontatur et terminatur, videlicet domus seu hospicia que ibi feceritis cum solis rectis perietibus suprapositis et fundamentis, a çelo in abissum, et terras seu po-/ ssessiones que ibi sunt cum aquis, cequiis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint, introytibus, exitibus, affrontacionibus ac pertinenciis suis universis et singulis per omnia loca. Sic vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus donamus, / tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus in hunc modum, videlicet quospiam vallem laboretis seu agricultetis et melioretis et in alioquo non deterioretis ad usum et consuetudinem bonorum laboratorum et adquisitionum. Et quod faciatis seu edificetis ibi quisque vestrum do-/ mos vestras seu hospicia que incipietis facere seu prepari in hoc anno primo venturo et completo et ibi manere teneamini et semper facere residenciam personalem. In adiutorio cuiusquidem operis dictorum domorum nos damus cuicumque vestrum viginti solidos et de gracia spe-/ ciali quos nunquam nobis nec nostris dare, solvere ac tradere teneamini. Immo sint vestri et vestrorum perpetuo et in aiutorio dicti operis ut dictum est. Et quod vos et vestri detis ac dare teneamini nobis et nostris perpetuo et quolibet anno pro çensu et iure nostro quisque vestrum / quinta parte omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit. Detis inquam nobis et nostris pro çensu dictarum domorum seu hospiciorum vestrorum perpetuo et / quolibet anno in festi natalis Domini unum par gallinarum. Detis etiam perpetuo et annuatim pro quilibet capite animalium seu vultuum vestrorum propriorum que ibi habueritis et tenueritis unum denarium. Et pro qualibet colmena apum seu abellarum / similiter alium denarium. Et quod teneamini ibi facere plantare quilibet vestrum vineas et figuerallos et alias plantas, quas vineas, figuerallos ac plantas faciatis et facere teneamini hinc ad quatuor annos primos, venturos et completos. Et nos de gracia speciali con-/ cedimus vobis quos vos eligatis per nos in et quilibet anno duos vestros qui cum officiale nostro estiment seu acarraçent expleta que in dicta valle



fuerint. Et quod non eligatis seu proclametis alium dominum seu patronum, nisi tantum nos et successores / nostros. Et sic vos et quilibet vestrum et vestri succesoros amodo habeatis predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo teneatis, possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum, obligan-/ dum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestras et vestrarum voluntates perpetuo faciendas, exceptis militibus atque sanctis, clericis ac personis religiosis. Salvo tamen semper nobis et nostris censu et parte et aliis iuribus predictis dominio, laudimiis et faticis et alio ple-/ no iure emphiteutico in omnibus ad forum Valencie. Promittentes in fide bona convenientes predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo vobis et vestris perpetuo deffendere et salvare et facere, habere, tenere, possidere et expletare / quiete, potenter et in sana pace contra omnes personas conquerentes vel aliquid perturbantes ad forum Valencie. Et tenemur inde vobis et vestris perpetuo de firma et legali eviccione et ab omni dampno ac etiam interesse. Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris nos et / omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Preterea confitemur et in veritate recognoscimus nos a vobis habuisse et recipisse pro intrata huius stabilimenti duas carricas lignorum seu lenye quare renunciamus scienter / omni excepcioni intrate predictae a vobis non habite et recepte, ut predictur et doli. Ad hec autem vos, dicti Somade Abenaçim, Mahometus Atzintar, Abrafim Abolaix, Azmetus, filius de Cayd Abencaydo, Azmetus Alvalenci, Atnayar Azmetus, Acim Abenacim, Hilell Abolaix, Çaat [roto] filius de Taher Atzintar, Azmetus, filius Mahometi Ayeix, Abeyx Caydo, Jahiel, filius de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayei [roto] Caydo, Çaat Abdurrafe, Azmetus / Alcayla et Faraig Abenaçim, sarraceni sepredicti [roto] a vobis, domina supradicta, stabilimentum predictum ad dictum censum, partem et tributum et ad dictam intratam, et sub formis retencionibus et comisionibus antedictis. Promittentes et fide bona convenientes-/ tes predictam vallem et partem ipsius cuilibet vestrum con[roto] exermare, agricultare, plantare et meliorare et dictas domos seu hospicia nostra ibi facere et edificare et hoc adversum convenientem bonorum populorum, agricultorum et adquisitorum / et dictam partem censum, tributum et omnia alia iura nostra per vos superius penes vos retenta vobis et vestris solvere et deliberare perpetuo et quolibet anno, et omnia alia supradicta per vos et quamlibet vestrum attendenda et complenda vobis et vestris attendere / et complere ut superius dicta scripta ac narrata [roto] Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris, videlicet quilibet vestrum pro parte sua vallis predictae omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Renunciantes super hiis çune et / xare sarracenorum et omni alii iuri contra hec veniendi.

Quod est actum Murle, sexto idus decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragésimo primo.

S (cruz) num nostri, dompne Marie Latronis de Vidaure.

S (cruz) num So-/ made Abenacim.

S (cruz) num Mahometi Atzintar.

S (cruz) num Abrafim Abolaix.

S (cruz) num Azmeti, filii de Çayt Abençaydo.

S (cruz) num Azmeti Alvalençi Atnayar.

S (cruz) num Azmeti Açim Abenaçim.

S (cruz) num Hilell Abolaix.

S (cruz) num / Çaat Pero Dies.

S (cruz) num Solomen, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cruz) num Azmeti, filii Mahometi Ayeix.

S (cruz) num Ayeix Çaydo.

S (cruz) num Jahiel, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cruz) num Çaat Hiayeix.

S (cruz) num Ali, filii Azmeti /Çaydo.

S (cruz) num Çaat Abdurrafe.

S (cruz) num Azmeti Alcayla.

S (cruz) num Faraig Abenaçim,

sarracenorum populatorum et adquisitorum predictorum, qui hec laudamus, approbamus et omnibus concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes huius rei sunt: Michael Peris, alcaydus de Beniomar, termino Denie; Jacobus de Calidis, vicinus Gandie, et Eximinus Martini, vicinus Murle, et Ayeix Abenayeix, sarracenus, habitator in Parçen, termino vallis de Pop, et / Mahometus Abenhadir, sarracenus Murle.

Sig (signo) num Mathei Boix, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totum regnum Valencie, qui hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis.



AGRESIONES, MUERTES, INJURIAS Y BLASFEMIAS. VIOLENCIA RURAL EN LA CAMPIÑA DE CÓRDOBA A FINES DE LA EDAD MEDIA

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Resumen

Este trabajo estudia los actos violentos y la criminalidad detectados en el ámbito rural de la Campiña cordobesa a fines de la Edad Media. Se tratan en primer lugar las fuentes archivísticas empleadas, destacando el Archivo Municipal de la ciudad y los pleitos de Chancillería de Granada, que apenas habían sido utilizados hasta el momento para el reino de Córdoba. Posteriormente, se exponen ejemplos de amenazas y enfrentamientos interpersonales cuyo resultado final eran lesiones físicas y homicidios. A continuación se dedican algunas líneas a los agravios verbales documentados, donde injurias y blasfemias incitan a situaciones de tensión que llevan a discusiones y conflictos directos. De este modo, se realiza una contribución al estudio de la violencia rural en la zona meridional de la Corona de Castilla.¹

1. Introducción

El interés por el estudio de la violencia en la época bajomedieval ha sido un tema de particular relieve en las investigaciones realizadas en diferentes países de Europa, destacando especialmente Inglaterra y Francia a partir de los años setenta del siglo XX.² Más tardía fue su penetración en España, pero desde los años noventa hasta la actualidad se manifiesta un incremento de trabajos de un tema tan llamativo como este, ya sea a través de la celebración de diversas reuniones cien-

1. Abreviaturas utilizadas: AchGr, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada; AGS, Archivo General de Simancas; AHPCO, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba; AMCO, Archivo Municipal de Córdoba; LAC, Libro de Acta Capitular; PNCO, Sección de Protocolos Notariales de Córdoba; RGS, Registro General del Sello.

2. Sin ánimo de ser exhaustivo son destacables: Bellamy, John G. *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages*. Londres-Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973; Given, Buchanan James. *Society and Homicide in Thirteenth-century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977; Carter Marshall, John. *Rape in Medieval England. An Historical and Sociological Study*. Nueva York: University Press of America, 1985; Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997; Hanawalt, Bárbara. *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1979; Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violent death in Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Century England". *Journal of Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18 (1976): 297-320; Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violence in the Domestic Milieu of Late Medieval England", *Violence in Medieval Society*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000: 197-214; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape. Délinquance et criminalité dans la région d'Avignon au XIVe siècle*. París: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1984; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial. Crime, état et société en France à la fin du moyen Age*. 2 vols. París: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1992; Gauvard, Claude. "Conclusion", *Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Age. Actes du XXXII^e Congrès de la SHMESP (Angers, 2000)*. París: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001: 369-391 o Gauvard, Claude. "La violence commanditée. La criminalisation des 'tueurs à gages' aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge". *Annales Histoire. Sciences Sociales*, 5 (2007): 1005-1029; Bourin, Monique; Chevalier, Bernard. "Le comportement criminel dans les pays de la Loire Moyenne, d'après de lettres de rémission (vers 1380-vers 1450)". *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 88 (1981): 245-263 y Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village. Sociabilité et comportements populaires en Artois du XVe au XIIe siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989.



tíficas centradas en dicha materia³ o con las numerosas publicaciones que se vienen aconteciendo desde años atrás y que han sido recogidas por algunos autores en sus revisiones historiográficas.⁴ La mayoría de las contribuciones de esta amplia bibliografía han permitido reflexionar sobre el propio concepto de violencia y profundizar en los diversos aspectos de la misma. Entre estos, se han analizado las clases de delitos acaecidos durante la Baja Edad Media y las circunstancias en que se desarrollan las tensiones y enfrentamientos a lo largo del extenso territorio de la Corona de Castilla. Sin olvidar las causas que motivan el crimen, el funcionamiento de los procesos judiciales, los perdones reales, las penas que se imponían o la instauración de las Hermandades para afrontar y controlar la delincuencia rural detectada.

Sobre Andalucía, y más concretamente para el reino de Córdoba, los estudios dedicados a esta temática son escasos, pues los únicos trabajos que proporcionan datos sobre este sector geográfico son los elaborados por Emilio Cabrera y Ricardo Córdoba.⁵ No obstante, hay otras publicaciones que van aportando nueva información sobre la conflictividad detectada en el alfoz de esta ciudad desde diferentes visiones.⁶ Pero la mayor parte de ellos, suelen ceñirse a una panorámica general

3. Entre las más recientes: Munita Loinaz, José Antonio, ed. *Conflicto, violencia y criminalidad en Europa y América. IV Jornadas de Estudios Históricos del Departamento de Historia Medieval, Moderna y de América* (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 11-13 de noviembre de 2002). Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2004; Iglesia Duarte, José Ignacio de la, ed. *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Nájera, 4-8 de agosto de 2003). Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004; Sabaté i Curull, Flocel, ed. *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004). Lleida: Pagès editors, 2005 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo, ed. *Mujer, marginación y violencia entre la Edad Media y los tiempos modernos*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2006.

4. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. "La delincuencia a fines de la Edad Media. Un balance historiográfico". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 20 (1993): 335-350; Segura Urra, Félix. "La historia de la delincuencia en la España Medieval (1998-2008)". *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 273-340 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Conflictividad social en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media: aproximación historiográfica". *Vínculos de Historia*, 3 (2014): 34-53.

5. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Usurpación de tierras y abusos señoriales en la Sierra cordobesa durante los siglos XIV y XV", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval II*. Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978: 33-80; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia en Andalucía durante el siglo XV", *La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*. Actas de las III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval, Antonio María Claret García Martínez, Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero Camacho, eds. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1997: II, 1063-1079; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crimen y castigo en Andalucía durante el siglo XV". *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval*, 1 (1994): 9-38; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Violencia urbana y crisis política en Andalucía durante el siglo XV". *Violencia y conflictividad en la sociedad de la España bajomedieval. IV Seminario de Historia Medieval*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1995: 5-25; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Conflictos en el mundo rural. Señores y vasallos", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, ed. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia y adulterio en la Andalucía bajomedieval", *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: La sociedad medieval andaluza. Grupos no privilegiados*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984: 263-273; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia sexual en la Andalucía del siglo XV", *Las mujeres en Andalucía. Actas del II Encuentro Interdisciplinar de Estudios de la Mujer en Andalucía*. Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1993: II, 105-126; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El instinto diabólico. Agresiones sexuales en la Castilla medieval*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1994; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Adulterio, sexo y violencia en la Castilla medieval". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Historia Moderna*, 7 (1994): 153-184; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia cotidiana en Castilla a fines de la Edad Media", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. XIV. Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 393-444; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Marginación social y criminalización de las conductas en la sociedad hispana bajomedieval". *Medievalismo*, 13-14 (2004): 193-322 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media*. Granada-Córdoba: Universidad de Granada-Universidad de Córdoba-Ayuntamiento de Durango, 2007 [Publicado inicialmente en *Clío e Crimen*, 2 (2005): 277-504].

6. Carpio Dueñas, Juan Bautista. "Escándalos, alborotos, bandos y parcialidades. Los conflictos políticos de la segunda mitad del siglo XV y su incidencia en el mundo rural", *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Emilio Cabrera*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2015: 79-92; Pino García, José Luis del. "Usurpaciones de bienes realengos en Córdoba durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV", *Estudios en homenaje al profesor Emilio Cabrera*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2015: 431-466 y López Rider, Javier. "Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla. Conflictividad rural en el sur de la Córdoba bajomedieval". *Ámbitos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 40 (2018): 11-25.



de la criminalidad y los casos violentos detectados en la Andalucía bajomedieval, con alusiones a la región de Córdoba. Por ello, el propósito de este artículo es conocer la importancia y la frecuencia con que sucedían los delitos en la vida cotidiana de los vecinos del ámbito rural cordobés, sobre todo en su parte meridional. Pero no solamente se hará hincapié en los denominados delitos de sangre, donde el maltrato físico entre personas está bien reflejado en la documentación de la época, sino que también, es vital abordar las agresiones verbales, donde las injurias y blasfemias eran tan comunes. Con todo, se podrá apreciar la conducta criminal o delictiva que se presenta en esta zona con litigios de diferente tipología, desembocando en disputas con delitos que pueden llegar a ser tan graves como el homicidio. Así es posible valorar la conflictividad que existía, que sin duda, es un síntoma de la convivencia de la sociedad cordobesa del siglo XV cuya violencia se agudiza en el medio rural. De este modo, se puede contribuir a la investigación de la violencia en el sur de la Corona castellana de fines de la Edad Media a través de la ejemplificación del caso cordobés.

2. Las fuentes empleadas

Hace unos años ya se subrayó que investigar sobre la violencia en el sur de España para los siglos bajomedievales, tiene unas limitaciones muy evidentes. Sobre todo adolece de un doble problema para la Corona castellana, la escasez de fuentes escritas disponibles con anterioridad al siglo XV y el carácter indirecto de las conservadas.⁷ Apenas es posible extraer datos procedentes de los tribunales y procesos judiciales de la época que informen acerca de los delitos, los culpables, las circunstancias del crimen, las sentencias aplicadas por los jueces, o más importante aún, los interrogatorios y las testificaciones.⁸ Todo lo contrario a lo ocurrido en otras regiones como Valencia, donde las fuentes documentales son más generosas y han permitido obtener unos resultados de investigación más detallados.⁹ Como señaló Ricardo Córdoba, para la Corona de Castilla son susceptibles de utilizarse el Registro General del Sello del Archivo General de Simancas, donde aparece una información muy pobre, y los Protocolos Notariales de las ciudades castellanas, andaluzas o extremeñas, con el condicionante de que apenas se conservan ejemplares datados de antes de 1460.¹⁰ En la mayoría de las ocasiones, la información extraída data de mediados de dicha centuria o del reinado de los Reyes Católicos. Se localizan las cartas de perdón y órdenes emitidas por los monarcas para investigar crímenes o arrestar a delincuentes y acciones similares. Respecto a los libros notariales, esporádicamente pueden aparecer referencias a momentos violentos que

7. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad en la Castilla bajomedieval: los límites de la documentación", *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004), Flocel Sabaté i Currul, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2005: 319-338.

8. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia...": 1066.

9. Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia ciudadana en la Valencia bajomedieval (1369-1399)*. Valencia: Premio Senyera, 1990; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "Las fuentes valencianas para la historia de la criminalidad", *L'espai del mal: reunió científica: IX curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell* (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004), Flocel Sabaté i Currul, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2005: 349-375. No obstante, para el ámbito castellano, hay trabajos de gran calidad como Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad en el País Vasco en la transición de la Edad Media a Moderna*. Vitoria: Departamento de Interior, 1995; Bazán, Iñaki. "La criminalización de la vida cotidiana. Articulación del orden público del control social de las conductas", *La vida cotidiana en Vitoria en la edad moderna y contemporánea*. San Sebastián: Txertoa Argitaletaria, 1995: 141-154; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión en la Castilla bajomedieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999; Lojo Piñeiro, Fernando. *A violencia na Galicia do século XV*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1991.

10. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El instinto diabólico...*: 11-12 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...": 220-221.

son descritos por los escribanos. En cualquier caso, la información que proporcionan es realmente breve, pobre y no permite profundizar sobre los delitos plasmados.¹¹ No obstante, para el reino de Córdoba y demás ciudades de Castilla, también cuentan con datos de sus archivos municipales, por ejemplo la recogida de las quejas que los vecinos le hacían llegar a los jurados o a través de las Actas Capitulares. A veces, se manifiestan acontecimientos violentos como el sucedido a fines del siglo XIV en Córdoba. Según parece se formó un motín en la collación de Santiago de la ciudad, donde los vecinos se negaron a pagar unos impuestos y terminaron apedreando, acuchillando y abandonando en la vía pública al recaudador Mateo Sánchez.¹² Pero, por norma general, la documentación concejil también es escasa, sin apenas detallar información del crimen.

En cuanto al análisis de la violencia en el medio rural, que es el objetivo del presente trabajo, es posible realizarlo a través de los conflictos surgidos entre núcleos de población o entre reinos por las delimitaciones jurisdiccionales y el enfrentamiento de personas por el aprovechamiento de ciertos recursos que ofrece el territorio de la zona en cuestión.¹³ Para el sur del reino de Córdoba se va a utilizar una documentación judicial inédita y que no ha sido empleada hasta el momento. Por un lado, la procedente del Archivo Histórico Municipal de la propia ciudad, que dispone de varias secciones como las denominadas *Policía urbana y rural*, *Terrenos realengos*, *Términos jurisdiccionales*, *Predios rústicos* y *Sentencias de términos*.¹⁴ En ellas se aprecian diversos ejemplos de delitos de sangre, predominando las lesiones y maltrato físico de unas personas a otras por motivos de diferente naturaleza. Sin embargo, mucho más ricos son los pleitos albergados en el Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, que plasman tanto las agresiones físicas como las verbales. Los interrogatorios muestran cómo los propios vecinos de los centros poblacionales del ámbito de estudio, testimonian con detalle los comportamientos de los culpables y cómo se perpetró el crimen. En ocasiones los delinquentes y las víctimas son los declarantes aportando una información de primera mano y directa. Aunque hay que ser cautos pues, como advirtió Ricardo Córdoba, los testigos presentados son regidos por las partes enfrentadas y muchas veces son sobornados para deponer una determinada información, desvirtuar la verdad o acentuar la gravedad buscando una pena mayor para el acusado.¹⁵ Esto explica que en la mayoría de los pleitos consultados, los testigos a la hora de responder a las preguntas generales del juez, después de concretar su edad, agreguen “que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes en ningún grado e que venza el pleito el que tuviese justicia” o que “no ha sido sobornado ni dadivado ni atemorizado por ninguno dellos para que diga e disponga esta cabsa el contrario de la verdad”.

A pesar de ello, gracias a los datos de estas fuentes se puede complementar y suplir las carencias del contenido procedente de los Protocolos Notariales o del Registro General del Sello, que también serán usados en este estudio. Pero inevitablemente, la información obtenida tanto del Archivo Municipal de Córdoba como de la Chancillería de Granada, tampoco superan el umbral cronológico de mediados del XV. Solo es posible retrotraerse años atrás por medio de las testificaciones de aque-

11. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia cotidiana...”: 393-398.

12. Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. “Luchas nobiliarias y movimientos populares en Córdoba a fines del siglo XIV”, *Tres estudios de historia medieval*. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1977: 13-65, 43-47.

13. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Crimen y castigo...”: 11-13.

14. Algunos de estas secciones han sido utilizadas por otros investigadores, como los ya citados para Córdoba. Pero actualmente no se han ceñido a un estudio centrado en la violencia, y mucho menos sobre la Campiña de esta ciudad, desprovista de trabajos dedicados a dicha temática sobre la época bajomedieval.

15. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...”: 327.



llas personas de mayor edad que narran anecdóticamente lo sucedido cuando eran “muchachos”, “mozos” o “mancebos”.

3. Amenazas y cartas de seguro

En la sociedad bajomedieval era muy común que numerosas personas emprendieran amenazas hacia otras con la finalidad de provocar recelo y miedo. Sin duda alguna, esto era fruto de las rivalidades y enfrentamientos que se producían en diferentes ámbitos cotidianos. De los numerosos ejemplos detectados, se manifiesta un temor tan intenso, que se solicitaban continuamente las denominadas cartas de seguro, utilizadas como protección y salvaguarda ante la posibilidad de sufrir violencia física o incluso asesinato. Las intimidaciones documentadas solían ser muy directas, teniendo en ocasiones el acompañamiento de algún gesto o una acción que atemorizaba a la víctima. En el ámbito rural, solían espantar el ganado, hacer alguna prenda, o en casos algo más extremos, agredir con palos o piedras. Por ejemplo, un vecino de la villa de Santaella llamado Antón Ruiz de Aguilar, detalla que sobre el año de 1481 Alfon Ruiz de las Infantas y sus familiares defendían un heredamiento que tenían, donde posteriormente, se creó el cortijo de Barrionuevo. Dice que “por fuerza lo defendían (...) que los corryan y amenazavan y que algunos apaleaban y de tal manera lo fasian que nadie no osava yr por allá ni entrar dentro con sus ganados ni a faser leña (...)”.¹⁶ Años después, una descendiente de esta familia, concretamente Aldonza de las Infantas, será la que cometa estos agravios de modo más intenso. Junto a su marido, Luis Ponce de León, no permitían que los vecinos de la villa de Santaella transitaran un camino realengo que usaban para abastecerse de leña. Así Antón García cuenta que:

Por mandado de la dicha doña Aldonça o de su marido, que an defendido e defienden el dicho camino, e que este testigo vido que porque pasó un mocho de Pedro Ruiz Almogávar por el dicho camino con leña que traía de lo realengo, le prendaron e quitaron por prenda unas sogas e un capote e que fasta oy nunca se lo an vuelto (...) e asy mesmo vido este testigo que porque atravesó un Juan Chicón, vecino desta dicha villa, con leña viniendo de lo realengo por tierra de la dicha doña Aldonça, le tomaron un capote por prenda e que nunca se lo an dado e que esto pueden aver un año e que asy mesmo a oýdo dezir que a todos los que pasan por el dicho camyno con bestias los prendan e penan.¹⁷

Por su parte, Alonso García de la Fuente narra que “envió un moço por leña a los montes realengos e que viniendo cargado con su leña por Barrio Nuevo, salió el mayordomo Aranda a él e que acuchilló las sogas e le derribó las cargas en el suelo e que le tomó un hocino e un capote e una halda e ge las llevó (...)”.¹⁸ Y Antón Ruiz de Juan Esteban asegura que “Luys prendó a este testigo una ves, porque yva por agua a la fuente en un asno y le levó un par de pollos por pena, que una vez por otra, el asno con los cántaros le levó y los cántaros quebró”.¹⁹ El hijo de este matrimonio continuó con esta “tradición familiar” de incordiar a los vecinos de la zona. Para esta ocasión, las amenazas fueron muy claras, pues según narra Antón Ruiz de Gálvez, alcalde ordinario y vecino de Santaella, aquel en 1511 no dejó aprovecharse del agua de la fuente a Pedro García de Valde-

16. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 109v (30 de octubre 1513).

17. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 109v (30 de octubre 1513).

18. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 31v (30 de octubre 1513).

19. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 70v (19 de octubre 1513).



rrama, “llevándole de pena 4 reales porque entró a beber la dicha agua con los dichos puercos, e que el dicho don Martín en persona, le dijo al dicho porquero que no volviese más ally sino que le mandaría dar de palos (...)”.²⁰ A Bartolomé Sánchez Ballester, vecino de La Rambla, lo amenazaron diciéndoles que si entran en término de Montemayor, que era señorío, “veréis si os valdría la corona”.²¹ Alonso Rodríguez de Estúñiga, se enfrentó a un guarda de Pedro Jurado, que mientras se iba le decía “que iba a Montemayor a llamar a Pedro jurado e que juraba por Dios que le avían de llevar a Montemayor maniatado (...) que le avían de alancear”.²² Un pastor y rabadán de Juan de Góngora, caballero veinticuatro de Córdoba, llamado Bartolomé Sánchez, denuncia a un criado del jurado Bañuelo porque le “corrieron a este testigo una manada de ovejas paciando las hierbas en el término realengo y concejil (...) y se lo echaron fuera de allí”.²³ A la vez que le decían “quel dicho jurado mandaba faser asý e que amenazaron a este testigo diziéndole que sy volvía más allí con las dichas ovejas, le prendarían e aun le descalabrarían (...)”.²⁴ En otra querrela Andrés Fernández Pastor, cuenta para 1510 y de nuevo contra el jurado Bañuelo, lo siguiente:

Que estando este testigo e otro pastor guardando vna manada de ovejas en los baldíos de la faça las Marranas e de los Pinedas, las quales dichas tierras no están labradas, vido este testigo cómo vino el dicho jurado Luys de Bañuelo, cuyas son las dichas tierras, con ciertos criados suyos e esclavos, a las dichas tierras e echó a este testigo e al otro pastor e al ganado fuera de las dichas tierras, amenazándolos que los avía de prender sy durmyan allí de noche con el ganado, e que asy mesmo el dicho jurado Bañuelo, no contento con lo suso dicho, vio este testigo como dijo a sus mozos “quemaldes todos su fato e las redes” e que el dicho jurado o sus criados, le tomaron a este testigo e a su compañero, tres pellejos de ovejas mayores e dos pellejos de corderos e la red donde tenía este testigo las dichas ovejas, vido este testigo como en presencia del dicho jurado le pusieron fuego e la quemaron e que los pellejos o los quemaron o se los llevaron e que sy no fuera porque dijo vn fijo del dicho jurado que no les quemase todo el hato, se lo quemaran todo e les quebraron los cántaros (...) e que después que se avía ydo de allí el dicho jurado, dijeron los dichos sus moços a altas bozes ‘biba el jurado que otra fiso e saliose por ella e también se saldrá agora con esta’.²⁵

Otro caso significativo y muy interesante es el experimentado por un pastor llamado Juan Martín, vecino de Villalpando. Desde esta localidad se dirigió hacia el sur hasta llegar al cortijo de Fuencubierta, en la Campiña de Córdoba, donde soportó la defensa que hizo un labrador de Pedro de Hoces. Según atestigua el propio declarante:

Lo tomó uno de los dichos arrendadores que se llama Luys Pérez y que iba a caballo con una lanza y le dijo a este testigo que le diese una prenda y el testigo dijo que lo que le plasía, y se le llevó una burra, y dijo que como no estaba contento con aquella prenda sino que se avía de debcalçar los çapatos este testigo, y que este testigo que se los descalçó, e los puso en el suelo e que con el fierro de la lança los alcançó del suelo e se los llevó e dejó descalço a este testigo, e que le dijo el dicho arrendador a este testigo que sy supiera que este testigo syn mandargelo su amo oviera entrado en el dicho cortijo con el dicho ganado, que a este testigo alañçería allí, e que sy allí tuviera al dicho jurado Uzeda, su amo, que también lo alañçería (...).²⁶

20. AMCO. C-277. doc. 4, ff. 16v-17r (18 de octubre 1516).

21. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

22. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

23. AMCO. C-1027. doc. 31-1, sin folio (7 de febrero 1518).

24. AMCO. C-1027. doc. 31-1, sin folio (7 de febrero 1518).

25. AMCO. C-1027. doc. 31-2, sin folio (10 de marzo 1515).

26. AMCO. C-171. doc. 15, sin folio (8 de setiembre 1513).



Juan López Crespo, es un labrador que expone otro ejemplo de estas situaciones que se acontecen en el campo. Afirma que:

Una vez vio que unos pastores de Lorenzo de las Infantas, pasó con su ganado por la cuesta de Abencáez e lo quisieron prender los guardas de Fernán Núñez, y que los pastores de Lorenzo se defendieron y no los prendaron. Después estos guardas fueron a Fernán Núñez e se lo dijeron lo ocurrido a Alonso de los Ríos, señor que era en ese momento de Fernán Núñez. Este envió a dos caballeros suyos para que los aguardasen e los prendasen en la sierra de la cuesta de Abencáez, e los desnudaron hasta dejarlos en camisones e les llevaron las prendas a Fernán Núñez (...).²⁷

Como consecuencia de estas amenazas, prendas y tretas atemorizadoras aparecen numerosas peticiones por parte de las víctimas de obtener cartas de seguro emitidas por la monarquía. En el norte de Córdoba se proporcionaron estos documentos a 30 vecinos de Gahete y a su procurador, que recelaban de Vasco Alfonso de Sosa,²⁸ o en la villa de Las Posadas, donde un vecino llamado Diego Díaz de Valenzuela, solicitó carta de seguro real porque recelaba de dos jurados antiguos y de los parientes del regidor Antonio de Benavides.²⁹ De igual forma en la zona sur, Andrés de Morales tuvo que ser expulsado de la villa rambleña por amenazas a los posibles testigos que iban a testificar en su contra.³⁰ Por eso, Juan Sánchez de Écija y Martín Sánchez Zahonero, solicitan carta de seguro.³¹ Días más tarde harán lo propio Gonzalo López Melero, Blas López, Miguel López, Bartolomé Sánchez y Antón Martínez, todos vecinos de La Rambla.³² La mayoría alegan las amenazas recibidas con la frase de que “le tienen odio y enemistad y malisçia en su persona, y que si los denunciaba lo mataría, heriría, lisiaría, prendería o tomaría u ocuparía sus bienes”.³³ En otro caso, Pedro de Aguilar desde 1518 se encontraba en continuo enfrentamiento con Alonso Pérez, hasta que una noche de 1524, éste último le hirió con una lanza.³⁴

Está claro que son muestras de las relaciones sociales de aquellos años. De hecho, el origen de muchas de esas refriegas o pugnas, eran motivadas por el intercambio de ciertas palabras a través de la cuáles se amenazaban o insultaban. Unas amenazas que a veces quedaban solo en una agresión verbal, pero en otras ocasiones, eran el paso previo a la violencia física o incluso la muerte.

4. Delitos de sangre: agresiones y homicidios

La presencia de los enfrentamientos directos interpersonales es muy común en la documentación bajomedieval de toda la geografía peninsular. Si se centra el estudio exclusivamente al marco andaluz, en los años noventa Emilio Cabrera ya detectó que en la Corona de Castilla, Andalucía se encontraba liderando el índice de delitos de sangre entre 1475 y 1485. A merced de los datos aproximativos que expuso, en la región citada se producía un crimen por cada 4716 habitantes, seguida

27. AchGr. leg. 1211, núm. 1, sin folio (Siglo XVI).

28. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Usurpación de tierras y abusos...”: 52.

29. AGS. RGS, f. 295r (7 de marzo 1494).

30. AGS. RGS, f. 104r (18 de agosto 1490).

31. AGS. RGS, f. 157r (2 de julio 1490).

32. López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 18.

33. López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 18.

34. AHPCO. PNCO. 14146P, 5, f. 2r (5 de abril 1522).



por el País Vasco donde se cometía uno por cada 3086 vecinos.³⁵ Del mismo modo, las cuentas de la Hermandad demostraron que una gran partida de gastos se destinó a la búsqueda y captura de delincuentes por toda la Península Ibérica. La que lidera el ranking de gastos para persecuciones de criminales fue de nuevo Andalucía, donde las ciudades de Jaén, Sevilla y Córdoba ostentaron unas cifras altas de delincuencia.³⁶ Además, según los casos obtenidos del Registro General del Sello, Ricardo Córdoba ofrece para el periodo de 1476-1496 un total de 570 delitos de sangre, de los cuales 283 acontecieron en el reino de Sevilla (49,6%), 158 en el de Córdoba (27,8%) y 129 en el reino jiennense (22,6%).³⁷ Estos porcentajes coinciden con lo estipulado por Emilio Cabrera que señalaba que las ciudades más conflictivas para el siglo XV eran notablemente Sevilla y Córdoba, seguidas por Jerez, Écija, Úbeda, Baeza y Carmona.³⁸ Una hipótesis que se cumple de nuevo a través de las estadísticas que el profesor Ricardo Córdoba proporciona para el periodo cronológico ya indicado. Como se puede apreciar en el gráfico 1 de la versión inglesa de este mismo texto, los reinos de Sevilla y Córdoba poseen mayores casos de homicidio con un 33% del total de los 349 detectados. Quizás una posible explicación, que parece obvia, es admitir que las ciudades de mayores dimensiones y con una demografía más alta, conlleva a que los delitos se multipliquen, al menos así lo han manifestado diversos investigadores.³⁹ No obstante, hay que tener presente que estas cifras son referidas a los casos que fueron registrados en los tribunales y han llegado hasta nosotros, por tanto no se trata de todos los delitos de sangre que pudieron ocurrir.

De cualquier modo, está claro que la ciudad de Córdoba poseía un índice de criminalidad elevado en función de los habitantes que tenía en aquellos momentos. No es extraño porque ya en etapas anteriores sucedían estos delitos de sangre. Por ejemplo en los siglos X-XI, durante el periodo de Al-Andalus, María Arcas muestra hasta 20 casos de crímenes cometidos principalmente en Córdoba, entre los que prevalecen los homicidios.⁴⁰ Entre los delitos identificados durante el dominio musulmán, concretamente el número 5, corresponde a un hombre llamado Ibn Barīha o Burayha que fue acusado de propinar heridas a varias personas, ser corrupto y realizar daños materiales en la Campiña de Córdoba. Solo Muhammad b. Kulayb o Kalīb presentó pruebas contra él. Posteriormente, el culpable tuvo una conducta responsable y de arrepentimiento cumpliendo el ayuno del ramadán, rezar el Corán, entre otras actividades, influyendo favorablemente a su libertad.⁴¹

4.1 Tipos de agresiones y homicidios

Durante todo el siglo XV son abundantes las menciones a lesiones y homicidios en la Campiña de Córdoba que han permitido conocer sus tipologías. Respecto a las agresiones físicas y como han plasmado diversos investigadores, la mayor parte de los casos identificados son heridas en el cuerpo

35. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crímen y castigo...": 14.

36. Sánchez Benito, José Manuel. "Criminalidad en la época de los Reyes Católicos. Delincuentes perseguidos por la Hermandad". *Estudios de Historia Medieval en homenaje a Luis Suárez Fernández*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991: 411-424, 413-415.

37. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: p. 32.

38. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crímen y castigo...": 16.

39. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 46-47; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Sobre la violencia...": 1073; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Crímen y castigo...": 16 y Hanawalt, Bárbara. "Violent death ...": 301.

40. Arcas Campoy, María. "Fuentes sobre los delitos de sangre en al-Andalus: dos ejemplos referidos a Córdoba (siglos X-XI) y la frontera oriental Nazarí (siglo XV)". *Clío e Crímen*, 10 (2013): 95-109.

41. Arcas Campoy, María. "Fuentes sobre los delitos...": 99.



de la víctima, donde las efectuadas sobre el rostro y la cabeza eran las más abundantes.⁴² Aunque esto no descarta ni mucho menos las amputaciones de miembros a través de lanzadas, puñaladas, estocadas, cuchilladas, pedradas o saetadas.⁴³ Para la zona objeto de estudio hay diversas muestras de ello. Juan Gómez el rogado, vecino de la villa de La Rambla, cuenta que hace dos meses dentro de este centro urbano, “hubo ciertas palabras criminosas entre él y Juan de Lucena, vecino de la dicha villa y llegado a efecto Juan de Lucena le hubo herido en la cabeza”. Sin embargo, otorgó su perdón al culpable porque le ayudó a su cura pagándole 166 reales.⁴⁴ En las ocasiones que se alude a heridas en la cabeza suelen indicar que se “escalabraron” o “descalabraron”. Por ejemplo en 1492, Juan de Montilla, vecino de la villa de Fernán Núñez, declara que entrando por unas tierras “que algunas veces quisieron ascalabrar a este dicho testigo porque pasavan los bueyes por su tierra, por cabo el camyno de la Ranbla”.⁴⁵ Martín Ruiz Escribano testimonia que “unos criados deste testigo, porque entraron a dar agua en la dicha fuente a unas ovejas suyas, los descalabraron por ello y que así se pusieron a defender que no entrasen los dichos ganados a dar agua en la dicha fuente (...)”.⁴⁶ Similar es la declaración de Antón López de Almogávar, que especifica “que una vez por estar el dicho Juan López borracho, en tiempo de agosto, se descalabraron en la segada con unos de Espejo, puede haber nueve años”.⁴⁷ Con motivo del aprovechamiento de una fuente de agua denominada Alcoba, ubicada en las tierras del cortijo de Barrionuevo, diversos labradores del mismo, siguiendo el mandato de su propietaria, Aldonza de las Infantas, protagonizaron una violencia desmedida. De hecho, Hernando de Palma, vecino de la villa de La Rambla, apunta la utilización del fuego para destruir el asiento de los pastores que descansaban allí o, más grave aún, el asestar puñaladas. Así lo explica para 1506:

Ha visto estar acuchillados a los pastores de Martin Escrivano, vecino de la Rambla, e porque entraban a beber las aguas de Barrio nuevo el alto e del cortijo bajo, que sabe que un Juan de Madrid, vecino de Santaella, teniendo su ganado en el baldío de dicho cortijo el bajo, fueran contra él e sus pastores quatro ombres por mandado de la dicha doña Aldonza, e que ellos asy lo decían que venýan en su nombre, e le quemaron el sombrero e le tomaron una hazada por prenda (...).⁴⁸

Pero más explícito fue Juan Conde, alcalde de la Hermandad y vecino de la villa de Santaella, que atestigua y sintetiza “que oído diz que unos pastores del dicho contador del Marqués de Priego, avían acuchillado a otro pastor de un vecino de la Ranbla, e que le dieron tales cuchilladas que les parescen la asadura, porque avía estado con sus ganados en la fuente (...)”.⁴⁹ Pero no fueron los únicos ni mucho menos, desde 1492 se documentan más agresiones que produjeron lesiones de cierta magnitud. Juan de la Puente denunció a Francisco, criado de Gonzalo Contador, porque en el mes de San Miguel fue con su ganado ovejuno a beber el agua de Barrionuevo, y los labradores

42. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Crimen y castigo...”: 22; Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 37 y Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 234.

43. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia cotidiana...”: 411 y Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “Sobre la violencia...”: 1074-1076.

44. AHPCO. PNCO. 14131P, 3, f. 37v (13 de diciembre 1493).

45. AMCO. C-258. doc. 3, sin folio (7 de diciembre 1492).

46. AchGr. leg. 2468, núm. 8, sin folio (1519).

47. AchGr. leg. 2468, núm. 8, ff. 109v, 114r-v, 116r y 119v (1519).

48. AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, sin folio (20 de setiembre 1516).

49. AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, sin folio (20 de setiembre 1516).

que allí estaban defendieron aquello para que no entrase. El testigo dice expresamente “e le echó y defendió que no bebiese de la dicha agua y no contento con lo susodicho le acuchillaron e le dyeron muchas heridas de que llegó a punto de morir”.⁵⁰ Y más adelante Martín Ruiz explica que dos pastores suyos intentaron beber de aquella agua del cortijo y “les dieron de cuchilladas a los dichos Juan de la Puente y Pedro de Castilla”.⁵¹ Curiosamente un tiempo después los culpables se disculparon, según señala este último declarante “enviaron a rogar a este testigo que fiziese a los heridos que los perdonase e aquellos querían pagar la cura (...)”.⁵²

De igual forma, con motivo del enfrentamiento entre los vecinos de la villa de Montalbán y los de Aguilar por el aprovechamiento de una dehesa para sus ganados, hubo una confrontación que produjo situaciones tensas. Una de las ocasiones, Marcos Alonso Doblas el viejo, vecino de La Rambla, señala que sobre el año de 1502 “vn pastor con ganados ovejunos del contador de don Alonso, que entra en la dicha dehesa con las dichas ovejas, y que los dichos labradores y renteros lo fueron a prender, y que entonces y porque no les quiso dar la prenda, que lo acuchillaron”.⁵³ Para fines del siglo XV, las disputas entre los vecinos de la villa señorial de Montemayor y la reatenga de La Rambla estaban a la orden del día. Por ejemplo, Alonso Cofrade, vecino de La Rambla, sufrió una agresión que le produjo una herida, al comentar que “huyendo dellos, lo persiguieron con ballestas armadas y por defenderse le dieron una cuchillada en el oreja izquierda, y mostróla, y que le llevaron todas las cosas susodichas”.⁵⁴

Por otra parte, los homicidios también se manifiestan en la Campiña cordobesa, llegando a convertirse algunos de los asesinos en auténticos forajidos. Una realidad que en el propio fuero otorgado por Fernando III a la ciudad lo contemplaba al mencionarse el homicidio con doble tipología: el culposo y el doloso. Para el primero se indica:

Si algún hombre incurriere en homicidio u otro crimen, sin su voluntad, y lo probare con testigos verídicos, si presentare fiador, no sea recluso en la cárcel; pero si no tuviere fiador, no sea conducido fuera de Córdoba, sino que sea custodiado en la cárcel de la ciudad y pague la quinta parte de la multa nada más. Si se le acusase de muerte sospechosa de cristiano, de moro o judío, y no hubiere testigos verídicos y fieles, júzguenle conforme al Libro de los jueces.⁵⁵

En relación al homicidio doloso “quien matare a hombre no apercebido para tal daño, con el mal no hubieren mediado antes palabras injuriosas ni disputa ni contienda, ni en el momento de la muerte ni antes, muera por ello y pierda todos sus bienes y tómelos el Rey”.⁵⁶ Esta clasificación del homicidio se mantuvo durante el reinado de Alfonso X y lo dejó plasmado en *Las Partidas* y en el *Fuero Real* donde se distingue el homicidio denominado “por ocasión”, que es accidental y fortuito, y el llamado “culposo” que es realizado a sabiendas de la pena.⁵⁷ Desde el siglo XIII hasta

50. AMCO. C-1031. doc. 5, sin folio (30 de octubre 1513).

51. AMCO. C-1031. docs. 5 y 6, sin folio (30 de octubre 1513).

52. AMCO. C-1031. doc. 6, sin folio (30 de octubre 1513).

53. AchGr. leg. 951, núm. 3, sin folio (11 de marzo 1503).

54. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

55. Hurtado de Molina Delgado, Julián. *Delitos y penas en los fueros de Córdoba y Molina*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2003: 214.

56. Hurtado de Molina Delgado, Julián. *Delitos y penas...*: 214-215.

57. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Violencia, delincuencia e inestabilidad...”: 231-232 (*Partida* VII, título VIII, leyes 2 y 3 y *Fuero Real*, libro IV, título VII, ley 6).



principios del XVI, obviamente se han producido violentas riñas donde la muerte fue el resultado final. En 1484 Juan de Lucena se fue a servir a Teba y Ardales para obtener el perdón real por el asesinato que cometió contra Antón de Dios en la villa de La Rambla.⁵⁸ Para 1487 Martín de Palma, vecino de Santaella, recibe el privilegio de Antequera para obtener el perdón real por haber matado a otro hombre de ese municipio diez años antes.⁵⁹ Hay multitud de ejemplos de homicidas que tuvieron el denominado privilegio de homiciano, donde esas personas debían estar un tiempo en villas fronterizas para obtener una carta de acreditación del alcaide del castillo u oficiales del concejo correspondiente, que tenía que presentar ante el Consejo Real para demostrar que han estado sirviendo y obtener el perdón. Los destinos de los casos expuestos no son los únicos, también Santa Fe, que era uno de los más recurrentes, Salobreña, Jimena, Íllora, Alhama, Xiquena, entre otros.⁶⁰ También en 1493 aparece un ejemplo de perdón de Viernes Santo, que precisamente se otorgaba en esa misma festividad y conoció un uso muy generalizado en el reino de Castilla.⁶¹ En ese año se le da indulto a Pedro de Santaella, ya que fue culpado de la muerte “de vna mujer del partido que se llamaba la Cardeñosa” en 1491.⁶² Hay algún que otro duelo, un hecho que permitía a dos personas ajustar sus cuentas particulares. Así lo expresa Juan Ruiz de Gálvez indicando que:

Puede haber veynte años que vio este testigo en el anoria que está a los olivares de la Ranbla, que el dicho Martín Gómez, tinajero, e Juan de Salamanca Capano, vesynos de la Ranbla, se desafiaron e se salieron a acuchillarse a la dicha anoria e allí vio que el dicho Martín Gómez dio una cuchillada al dicho Juan Salamanca en la garganta que sobre esta herida que murió en la dicha villa, e que oyó decir, que el dicho Martín Gómez mató otro hombre en Lucena.⁶³

Y varios vecinos de la villa de La Rambla confirman este asesinato. Por ejemplo Pedro Jiménez de Laguna, asegura:

Que hace 20 años o más, que vio enterrar a un vecino de la Rambla que no se acuerda de su nombre, que falleció de ciertas heridas que oyó decir en la dicha villa, que le había herido el dicho Martín Gómez Tinajero, y le vio este testigo andar ausentado de la dicha villa y que oyó decir este testigo que mató a otro hombre en Lucena.⁶⁴

Por su parte, Alonso Gómez del Horno confirma que Martín Gómez, tinajero, mató a un hombre en esta villa y por eso se fue. Incluso Gonzalo Sánchez Granado cuenta que:

El dicho Martin Gómez Tinajero hirió a uno que se dice Juan Salamanca, vecino de La Rambla de una herida en el pescuezo de que murió porque este testigo lo vio herido y lo vio que murió de la

58. AGS. RGS, f. 114r (21 de julio 1484).

59. AGS. RGS, f. 249r (15 de octubre 1487).

60. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. “Fortalezas fronterizas con privilegio de homiciano en época de los Reyes Católicos”. *IV Estudios de Frontera. Población y poblamiento. Homenaje al profesor Manuel González Jiménez*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2006: 193-208.

61. González Zalacáin, Roberto José. “El perdón real en Castilla: una fuente privilegiada para el estudio de la criminalidad y la conflictividad social a fines de la Edad Media. Primera parte. Estudio”. *Clío & Crimen*, 8 (2011): 290-352 y la segunda parte dedicada a la documentación: 354-454.

62. AGS. RGS, f. 12r (13 de abril 1493).

63. AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, sin folio (17 de enero 1519).

64. AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, sin folio (17 de enero 1519).

dicha herida y le ayudó a enterrar y le vio al dicho Martín Gómez andar ausente sobre la muerte de la dicha villa y se fue a vivir a Lucena adonde oyó decir que había matado a otro hombre.⁶⁵

Ni mucho menos era el único testimonio. En 1495 en una serie de pesquisas sobre varios vecinos de la villa de La Rambla, se acusa a un tal Antón Ruiz de la Rambla de haber matado un hombre en 1492.⁶⁶ Sobre la misma década se produjo un homicidio en la misma puerta de la Iglesia de la villa de Fernán Núñez, siendo acusados Pedro Fernández Ballesteros, más conocido como “Pedro Zamarrón”, y Diego Posero, ambos vecinos de la cercana villa de La Rambla. Alfon Gómez de Juan Montilla expone que ha oído en Fernán Núñez que “Pedro Fernández Ballesteros, que también dicen Pedro Zamarrón, él e Diego Posero, sacaron de la iglesia desta villa a vn hombre que se desçia Esteban Sánchez e que sacado, el dicho Diego Posero lo mató”.⁶⁷ Destaca que todo lo que ha testificado se lo ha dicho Miguel de Aguilar, el cual “vio todo aquello siendo mozo porque estaba en esos años sirviendo en la citada iglesia”.⁶⁸ Sin embargo, será Antón Gómez el que proporcione la información más minuciosa respecto al suceso ocurrido. Este testigo explica que:

Sacaron de la yglesia desta villa, con palabras, a un ombre que se llamaba Esteban Sánchez de Cabra, que estaba retraído en la dicha yglesia, disiendo que lo querían llevar a Montemayor, y él salió con ellos pensando que desçia verdad e que salido de la yglesia conoció que era engaño que le hacían e que se volvía corriendo a la dicha yglesia, e commo se volvía para tornar a la dicha yglesia, que el dicho Pedro Zamarrón abrazó al dicho Esteban Sánchez e lo tuvo mientras el dicho Diego Posero le dio de puñaladas e lo mató, e esto que lo sabe porque luego a la hora, este testigo e otros muchos desta villa fueron a la dicha yglesia della e hallaron al dicho Esteban Sánchez muerto e algunas personas que vieron lo susodicho lo dijeron (...).⁶⁹

Aún para principios del siglo XVI hay constancia de asesinatos, así en 1514 Juan Ruiz testifica que conoce a Juan Ruiz Pacheco, “que es homeçida que mató vn hombre”.⁷⁰

4.2 Modelos de armas

Los ejemplos expuestos hasta el momento, muestran la utilización de cuchillos o puñales en relación a las agresiones y homicidios documentados. Sin embargo, no solo empleaban estas armas sino que también recurrían a guinchones, lanzas, ballestas o simplemente piedras para lidiar al rival.⁷¹ Así Juan Alonso de Dueñas, vecino de la villa de Santaella, explica que cuando era muchacho vio que “el padre deste testigo dijo vna vez al dicho Alfon Ruiz de las Ynfantas, que por qué defendía los montes del Rey, que le dio vn contomazo con vna lança e le fyso callar que no ose desir más nada”.⁷² Otro ejemplo del empleo de lanzas como arma para lesionar a otra persona aparece en 1492 en las cercanías del cortijo del Tocino. Según se detalla en la demanda, Juan de Écija

65. AMCO. C-257. doc. 1, sin folio (17 de enero 1519).

66. AchGr. leg. 1615, núm. 8, sin folio (27 de febrero 1495).

67. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 145r (25 de febrero 1492).

68. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 145r (25 de febrero 1492).

69. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 147r (25 de febrero 1492).

70. AMCO. C-256, doc. 4, sin folio (23 de octubre 1513).

71. Se ha documentado muy bien el tipo de armas empleadas. Ver Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 188; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 186-189; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia...*: 74 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 56-68.

72. AMCO. C-256. doc. 2, f. 101r (30 de octubre 1513).



tenía como pastor a Antón de Ávila y acudió al dicho cortijo con su ganado, pero tres labradores llamados Antón, hijo del Carcelero, un criado de éste y Juan Castellano, mozo de Chacón, con sus lanzas y puñales hirieron a su pastor y le arrearon el ganado muy lejos de la zona del cortijo. De todas las testificaciones recogidas, la más explícita corresponde precisamente a la víctima y que narra todo lo sucedido:

Que él yendo cuyo domingo a la hora del mediodía, poco más o menos, con su ganado, que guardaba del dicho Juan de Écija y cercándolo por el cortijo que dicen del Tocino, que vinieron a él tres hombres, los dos con dos lanzas y el otro con el puñal y que llevaba piedras en las manos dándose fama el uno al otro y que lo cual otro a otro y a otro, llegaron a este dicho testigo, y el primero que llegó que se llamaba Antón, fijo del Carcelero de la Rambla, y le echó un bote y entrole por el brazo en la mano que no llegó a la carne salvo entre la camisa y la carne y diola un palo con la dicha lanza, y el otro su criado le dio de palos hasta que quebró la lanza en la mano y que este dicho testigo les decía que lo dejaran y tomaran la prenda queregonado estaba (...) y que no la quisieron sino que lo había dejar tendido allí, y que después dijeron ellos a este que degollase él una oveja allí, y que él quiso, diciendo que antes no quería, que la degollasen ellos si querían, a fin que anduvieron de tomar un cencerro y se lo quitaron y que echaron al ganado a menudo de su tierra y que porque unos con del dicho Juan de Écija, su amo, había dicho que por qué corrían el ganado, le dieron de palos hasta que dieron con él en suelo.⁷³

Otros vecinos de la villa de La Rambla, explican las agresiones que soportaron de mano de algunos vecinos de Montemayor. Por ejemplo, Lázaro Calderón afirma que “hace poco tiempo el concejo de Montemayor a puesto guardas que defienden los dichos caminos e entradas en las dichas heredades”,⁷⁴ añadiendo posteriormente que:

Un guarda que se dice Pedro Jurado, anda a caballo con una lanza y unas corazas vestidas y corre a los vecinos desta villa que tienen las dichas heredades. Y haçe 5 días, este testigo fue a su viña con sus tres fijos a hacer gavillas y que se venía por el camino real a esta villa y vino el dicho Pedro Jurado, guarda a caballo y armado con una lanza, y corrió tras ellos echándoles botes.⁷⁵

Por su parte el ya citado Alonso Rodríguez de Estúñiga, asegura que tuvo una disputa con otro guarda de Montemayor, que iba a prenderlo por orden de Pedro Jurado. Según explica le pidió que le entregara una azada y se negó, entonces “la dicha guarda terçió su lanza para le dar un bote de lanza y la dicha guarda viendo que este testigo se ponía en gelaquitar ge la dejó (...)”.⁷⁶ Para esta ocasión no fue herido al salir victorioso del enfrentamiento pero menos suerte tuvo Antón Ruiz Escobar. Declara que hace un año aproximadamente o más tiempo, se desplazó a una viña con su ballesta por si tenía oportunidad de cazar algún animal pero de repente apareció Pedro Jurado. Y sucede lo siguiente:

Pedro Jurado, vecino de Montemayor, cabalgando en una yegua de silla y hablóle a este testigo, y este testigo a él y desque emparejó con este testigo púsole la mano a la llave de la ballesta y soltóla el dicho Pedro Jurado, y dijole a este testigo así se caza la tierra y tomóle la ballesta, e demandó la gafa, e este testigo no se la quería dar, y en esto vio este testigo otro hombre que venía con el dicho

73. AMCO. C-257. doc. 7, sin folio (29 de octubre 1492).

74. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

75. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

76. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

Pedro Jurado y llegó a ellos con una ballesta armada y el dicho Pedro Jurado le acometió con una lanza y este testigo les dio la gafa y llevósle la dicha ballesta y gafa (...).⁷⁷

También Pedro de Aguilar sufrió una herida de lanza causada por Alonso Pérez. Desde 1518 estaban enfrentados a través de insultos y amenazas, hasta que un día del mes de junio de 1524, por la noche:

Estando el dicho Pedro del Águila en la dicha villa de la Ranbla, en la calle que dicen la plaçuela de Polvadera, el dicho Alonso Pérez salió y vino contra el dicho Pedro del Águila con vna lança en las manos en cuerpo y vna espada y vn broquel y vn guante y vn caxquete con ánimo e yntinçión de matar al dicho Pedro del Águila, y le tiró con la dicha lança muchos botes de los quales le dió vna lançada en el muslo derecho que le cortó el cuero y carne y le salió mucha sangre.⁷⁸

En 1486 Cristóbal Cubero fue agredido en el cortijo de La Culebrilla, cercano a la villa de Santaella, por un grupo de labradores que estaban armados con lanzas. En la querella de la víctima se estipula:

Que el martes pasado en la noche, primer día de agosto, pasando por el cortijo de la Culebrilla en término de Córdoba, Cristóbal Cubero y Cristóbal de Esmero, ambos de la dicha capitania y otros dos hombres de la capitania de don Francisco, dijeron a los que estaban en el dicho cortijo que les acogiesen allí por sus dineros dos o tres horas para que durmiesen allí. Y que luego más de 25 o 30 hombres labradores que estaban en el dicho cortijo salieron al dicho Cristóbal y a sus compañeros con lanzas, diciendo "a los putos ladrones" muchas veces, y que a la hora le dieron al dicho Cristóbal dos lanzadas en la espalda y otras dos lanzadas a un caballo rucio arrodado que traía, el cual caballo está a punto de muerte o cree que es muerto, por cuanto lo dejó en Écija, y pidió al dicho alcalde que le haga cumplimiento de justicia contra los sobredichos.⁷⁹

Lugares como Fuencubierta de Guadalmazán fueron defendidos violentamente por Pedro de Hoces y sus hombres, teniendo como víctima a Benito Ruiz, vecino de Córdoba, pastor; que narra que los citados siempre estaban corriendo y atemorizando a ganaderos y ganados que querían pastar las hierbas o beber agua del cortijo y que:

A este testigo lo han defendido muchas veces y le han corrido los ganados y le han atemorizado para que no entrasen a beber las aguas o pastar las hierbas (...) y vio un criado del dicho Pedro de Hoces, el nombre del cual no se acuerda, defendió tres días el cortijo encima de un caballo con una lanza, un ballesta y un puñal, y que oyó decir que el dicho criado avía prendado y penado en el dicho cortijo a un pastor del jurado Uzeda.⁸⁰

En otras ocasiones, aquellas personas que por diversas circunstancias o razones no tenían en el momento de la disputa ningún arma, solían recurrir a piedras para defenderse o atacar al contrincante. Dos ejemplos muy claros son de finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI. En 1498 Diego de Jerez, narra que hace un mes en la mata de San Nicolás, cerca del camino de la villa de La Rambla y de la venta de Castañeda, "él y otros tres que con él iban, hubieron cierta cuestión y ruido con Pedro de Mora, pastor, y con otros gañanes, en el cual dicho cuestión dio a Pedro de Mora una

77. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, sin folio (28 de enero 1525).

78. AHPCO. PNCO. 14146P, 5, f. 2r (5 de abril 1522).

79. AHPCO. PNCO. 13666P, f. 506r (7 de agosto 1486).

80. AMCO. C-171, doc. 15, sin folio (8 de setiembre 1513).



pedrada en la cabeza, que ha estado mal hasta hoy en el hospital de la Santa Caridad de Jesucristo desta ciudad".⁸¹ Pero también fue perdonado como casos anteriores. Respecto al segundo ejemplo, Miguel Fernández, vecino de la villa de La Rambla narra que:

Vio guardando su ganado en el dicho cortijo e a la redonda deste e apacentándolo, que un boyero que guardaba los bueyes de los labradores de la dicha doña Aldonza, que solían en el dicho cortijo de Barrio nuevo, que no sabe cómo se llamaba, defendió a un cabrero que se dize Andrés de la Rambla, guardando un rebaño de cabras suyas e trayéndolo para beber a la dicha fuente, la defendió que no entrase a beber con las dichas cabras que an traído a la dicha fuente, e que por ello, los vio andar a pedradas deziendo el uno que avia de entrar a beber e el otro que no lo avia de entrar, e hasta que se dieron cada dos o tres pedradas en las costillas, pero que en fin no bebió el agua con los dichos ganados (...).⁸²

Los datos anteriores demuestran que un gran porcentaje de los delitos de sangre perpetrados en la Campiña de Córdoba, están vinculados al empleo de armas blancas. Una realidad que también se ha plasmado a través de 40 actas notariales analizadas por Ricardo Córdoba, donde abundan espadas, puñales, cuchillos, lanzas o azagayas, y quedando en un segundo plano, piedras y diversos útiles como herramientas de trabajo.⁸³

4.3 Lugares y momentos del crimen

Estos delitos no necesariamente debieron de cometerse solo en el entramado urbano, en el ámbito rural, es decir, en caminos, términos municipales, campos de labor o dehesas, también sucedieron actos violentos. Por ejemplo, Muchembled para el Artois especifica que un 17% de los delitos ocurrieron en calles y caminos.⁸⁴ El propio Ricardo Córdoba señaló que uno de cada cuatro casos detectados en Córdoba se produjo en el ámbito rural y algo similar sucede en Ronda.⁸⁵ También Juan Miguel Mendoza hace alusión a los espacios menos frecuentados y alejados de los centros de población, donde la víctima no tiene ocasión de pedir socorro y terminaría perdiendo la vida. Así cita los delitos sucedidos en el campo, monte, caminos o colmenares.⁸⁶ De igual forma ocurre en muchos otros sitios donde la población campesina se reunía para el desempeño de sus labores cotidianas y de las faenas agrícolas. Es muy común encontrarse grupos de personas en cortijos, ventas de hospedaje, fuentes de agua, molinos harineros y un sinnúmero de lugares. En todos ellos existe una marcada conflictividad debido al frecuente tránsito de personas cuya convivencia desembocaba en disputas cuya máxima expresión era el asesinato. Un contexto que puede ser denominado como "sociabilidad de la violencia", que recalco hace unos años Iñaki Bazán.⁸⁷

81. AHPCO. PNCO. 14137P, 3, f. 14v (5 de enero 1498).

82. AMCO. C-242. doc. 57, sin folio (20 de setiembre 1516).

83. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 61-69. Proporciona un 62% de uso de armas blancas, arrojadas un 31% y de tiro un 7%.

84. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Violencia cotidiana...": 402 y Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 145.

85. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 35-36 y Espejo, Juan Luis. "Sobre conflictividad social urbana. Violencia y agresión en Ronda a fines de la Edad Media", *Las ciudades andaluzas (siglos XIII-XVI). Actas del VI Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991: 585-589, 588.

86. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 156-157.

87. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 205.



En este sentido, a veces se entremezclan las agresiones tanto en el campo como en las villas rurales del alfoz de Córdoba. Por ejemplo, los estragos que Andrés de Morales, veinticuatro del concejo de la ciudad, realizó desde 1478 sobre el área circundante de la villa de La Rambla fueron muy notables. Así Juan de la Cruz, vecino de Córdoba, explica que tiene miedo de Andrés de Morales pidiendo una carta de seguro porque “se teme y se reuela de Andrés de Morales, vecino desta dicha çibdad, de ciertas feridas que ciertos hombres suyos, por su mandado, le avian dado (...)”.⁸⁸ En 1490 diversos vecinos de la villa rambleña hacen una queja generalizada ante los desmanes que Andrés de Morales y sus hombres les realizaban. Entre varios delitos, describen que:

Defiende las tierras y montes que son comunes y realengos, como si fueran dehesas, prendándolos por entrar en ellas, y no queriendo devolver las prendas que así les hace, y además, no contento con esto, dis que va a la dicha villa e los desonrra pública mente. E asy mismo fassen ayuntamiento a alcaldes (...) e los corre e ençierra en sus casas.⁸⁹

Las demandas impuestas por los vecinos seguían creciendo durante la década de los noventa del siglo XV, llegando algunos a expresar que incluso “les entran en las casas a la medianoche”.⁹⁰ Pero este caballero veinticuatro siempre se encontraba entre pleitos y rodeado de una violencia desmedida todavía en 1504. En este caso, el propio Andrés de Morales denuncia a Juan de Mesa, alguacil menor, porque “vna noche deste mes, le dio a un hijo del dicho Andrés de Morales una cuchillada en el brazo de que lo mancó”.⁹¹ Algo parecido ocurrió en 1489 cuando Vasco González, vecino de Castro del Río, declara tener un pleito pendiente con Juan Zapatero sobre “ciertas heridas que hubo dado a su hijo y por las que quedó manco”.⁹²

En la villa de Santaella Martín Tamayo y su mujer sufrieron un intento de asesinato exponiendo que hace 4 meses fueron a su casa “vna noche, dos oras de la noche”,⁹³ el comendador Noguera, Martín de Noguera, hermanos de su mujer, Juan de Alarconcillo, su primo, Alfon de Sosa, su suegro y otros que trajo consigo como Domingo López de Castillo, vecino de la villa de Palma. Le pidieron que saliese a hablar y lo hizo, explicando que “él salió salvo e seguro que se abrazó con todos ellos e dis que el comendador descabalgó de un caballo en que venya a que commo se abrazó con él le tovo abrazado y en ese momento intentó clavarle un puñal que llevaba pero se escapó”.⁹⁴ Después asegura que le quitaron su casa y a su mujer se la llevaron a la ciudad de Córdoba. Incluso Domingo López de Castillo y Pablo de Ortega, que iban con el comendador, al realizar el rapto huyeron y abandonaron a éste, diciendo que “fera trayción lo que fasya”.⁹⁵ Como consecuencia el propio Martín Tamayo explica que “de las feridas estovo dos meses e más tiempo en cama e que como él se levantó se fue a la cibdad”,⁹⁶ para reclamar el rescate de su esposa. Pero cuando va a la casa de uno de los culpables, que era jurado, le dicen que no tenían a su mujer y se enfrentó a uno de los hijos del jurado:

88. AGS. RGS, f. 78r (8 de diciembre 1478) y López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 16.

89. AGS. RGS, f. 233r (14 de agosto 1490).

90. López Rider, Javier. “Andrés de Morales y la villa de La Rambla...”: 16.

91. AMCO. LAC, sin folio (11 de setiembre 1504).

92. AGS. RGS, f. 364 (26 de agosto 1489) y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 189.

93. AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16 de febrero 1485).

94. AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16 de febrero 1485).

95. AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16 de febrero 1485).

96. AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16 de febrero 1485).



Salió con una espada sacada e vna adaraga tyrándole cuchilladas fasta que le ovo de encerrar en la iglesia de San Myguel e que des que vido quedándole seguro por su defender aviendole muchas veces requerido que le dejase, puso mano que vna espada que traya e defendiéndose de los dichos golpes que le tyrava retamatando ferió de vna muy pequeña feryda en la cabeça de la qual dis que fue sano, estando diez días por lo cual dis que le covyno encerrado en la dicha iglesia el dicho jurado (...).⁹⁷

Como se puede apreciar en varias de las últimas referencias sobre violencia recogidas, una gran parte se hicieron durante la noche. Es lógico que durante ese momento del día se produzcan estas acciones tremendamente delictivas, pues es más difícil reconocer a los malhechores, podían huir con mayor facilidad sin ser perseguidos, es complicado obtener testigos que respalden lo sucedido durante la noche, y sobre todo, la víctima no podía ser socorrida. Unas circunstancias que para el ámbito rural se agudizan en gran medida. Este vínculo entre la trasgresión y la nocturnidad ha sido puesto de manifiesto por diferentes investigadores como Rafael Narbona, Juan Miguel Mendoza, Iñaki Bazán, Fernando Lojo o Ricardo Córdoba.⁹⁸ Similar sucedía en el resto de Europa, según han escrito diversos autores. Robert Muchembled para Artois especifica que tres cuartos de los asesinatos se producen en el atardecer, Claude Gauvard asciende al 80% de los ocurridos en Francia para ese momento del día, Bárbara Hanawalt asegura que entre la tarde-noche era el momento donde se producían el 86% y 90% de los delitos en el siglo XIV para Inglaterra, o Jacques Chiffolleau que explica que la mayoría de las agresiones de producía una vez que el sol se pone.⁹⁹ Incluso en la misma ciudad de Córdoba se prohibía el uso de armas en diferentes situaciones, incluyendo durante la noche. Así en las ordenanzas se estipula que si algunas personas “sacare armas e las toviere desnudas e queriendo con ellas ferir o matar, e alguacil llegare a los prender, aya las tales armas”.¹⁰⁰ De igual manera, cuando el alguacil realiza su respectiva ronda de vigilancia “sy fallare armas algunos de noche, que ge las tome e aya para sy” o también “que ningunos non traygan espadas ni cuchillos ni otras armas vedadas en esta cibdad porque los ruýdos e muertes se escusen (...)”.¹⁰¹ La protección y la seguridad era tal, que durante la procesión del Corpus Christi se estableció “que ninguno non sea osado de traer armas por las calles donde aduviere la dicha processyón, estarán veynte días en la cárcel pública desta cibdad”.¹⁰²

97. AGS. RGS, f. 150r (16 de febrero 1485).

98. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 131-148; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 166-168; Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. *Malhechores, violencia y justicia...*: 75-76; Lojo Piñeiro, Fernando. *A violencia...*: 79 y Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 44-48.

99. Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 118; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 293; Hanawalt, Bárbara. “Violent death...”: 304 y Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 140.

100. González Jiménez, Manuel; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo; López Rider, Javier; Criado Vega, Teresa; García Martínez, Antonio M^a Claret. *El libro primero de Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba. Edición y estudio crítico*. Madrid, Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2016: 134.

101. González Jiménez, Manuel; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo; López Rider, Javier; Criado Vega, Teresa; García Martínez, Antonio M^a Claret. *El libro primero de Ordenanzas...*: 134.

102. López Rider, Javier. “Las ordenanzas de carácter institucional y urbanístico”, *El libro primero de Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba. Edición y estudio crítico*, Manuel González Jiménez, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, Javier López Rider, Teresa Criado Vega, Antonio M^a Claret García Martínez eds. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2016: 29-48, 47.

4.4 Causas e implicados en el crimen

Como se puede apreciar en las referencias plasmadas hasta este instante, el ámbito rural de la zona meridional del reino de Córdoba tuvo numerosos delitos de sangre. Al igual que el resto de la Corona castellana, se han identificado diferentes casos de agresiones físicas, amputación de miembros corporales y el extremo más grave, los homicidios. Unos crímenes que no solamente denotan la conflictividad de aquellos momentos, sino también los entresijos de la sociedad donde se refleja uno de los aspectos cotidianos más evidentes como es la delincuencia y acciones violentas que incitan a preguntarse si era algo asiduo o no. Lógicamente, a través de los datos expuestos podría confirmarse rotundamente que el hombre medieval siempre estaba en continuas disputas. Sin embargo, eso no significa que cada día se cometieran tantos crímenes de sangre ni agravios interpersonales. Más bien como señalara Ricardo Córdoba se trata de la situación y el lugar donde vivían. Si se encuentra en un contexto convulso, donde la tensión era más palpable, posiblemente de un simple enfrentamiento desembocase a un maltrato físico o incluso un asesinato.

Los principales motivos que implican el cometer estos delitos están muy vinculados a los conflictos entre las jurisdicciones realengas y señoriales de la región estudiada. El determinar hasta donde llegan los límites de cada una de ellas, origina auténticas reyertas y enfrentamientos que acaban en tragedias, más aún cuando se pretende acaparar el disfrute de los recursos naturales de la zona. Así se puede ver la violencia detectada entre las villas de la Rambla, Santaella o la propia ciudad de Córdoba y las señoriales de Montemayor, Fernán Núñez o Montalbán. Las referencias anteriores muestran las continuas acciones delictivas realizadas por guardas, criados o mayordomos que vigilan el campo por orden de sus amos, que por regla general, son miembros de oligarquías destacadas. La prohibición de usar el agua de una determinada fuente, el utilizar un camino, el pastar una dehesa o simplemente cruzar con ganado por un territorio, desencadenaba severos enfrentamientos. En este sentido, el ejemplo de la familia de las Infantas, las tretas de Andrés de Morales o lo sucedido por los señores de Aguilar con Montalbán, denotan hasta dónde eran capaces de llegar para satisfacer sus intereses personales. Y entre otros muchos factores, las rivalidades familiares, las venganzas, enemistades, odios y duelos, han originado numerosos agravios físicos, o en el peor de los casos, asesinatos. Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, se explica que los implicados sean los vecinos de toda la comarca rural que intentaban ejercer sus quehaceres cotidianos (pastores, leñadores, labradores, etc...) y necesitaban de esos recursos naturales y las vías de comunicación para el desplazamiento. Por otro lado, se encuentran aquellas personas que se limitaban a guardar, proteger y defender las tierras de sus amos, sin ninguna restricción en sus actos violentos. Pero no siempre se llegaban a las manos o se producían asesinatos, sino que en muchas otras ocasiones, la trifulca no va más allá de cometer un delito verbal, donde las injurias y blasfemias tenían un especial protagonismo.

5. Agresiones verbales: injurias y blasfemias

La utilización del lenguaje como instrumento violento ha sido ampliamente documentada durante los siglos bajomedievales.¹⁰³ Las agresiones verbales eran a la par muy frecuentes en la so-

103. Segura Urrea, Félix. "La historia de la delincuencia...": 302-304; Gautier-Dalché, Jean. "Remarques sur l'insulte verbal dans quelques textes juridiques leono-castillans". *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 39 (1983):



ciudad de aquellos momentos, donde siempre se intentaba desprestigiar públicamente al contrincante. Se buscaba por todos los medios dañar a través de injurias y blasfemias de diversa tipología a una determinada persona perjudicando su dignidad y honestidad. Ya escribió Juan Miguel Mendoza que la agresión verbal era “un arma de gran efectividad cuyo uso, en manos de quien sepa manejarla, puede causar más daño a las personas que un golpe o una pedrada, porque los golpes se curan con el tiempo, pero la honra atacada no hace sino deteriorarse aún más”.¹⁰⁴ Quienes hacían esos insultos mostraban una gran inteligencia e ingenio, pues palabras vacías de significado o sin sentido, no provocarían el efecto deseado a la víctima.

5.1 Injurias y calumnias

Normalmente se efectuaban en lugares públicos (plazas, iglesias, mercados, fiestas...) donde se conglomeraran grupos de personas que pudiesen oírlos. Para el País Vasco Iñaki Bazán indica que uno de los motivos principales de las peleas en el ámbito cotidiano se producía por las injurias, siendo en muchas ocasiones respondidas con agresiones físicas o asesinatos por parte de los ofendidos.¹⁰⁵ De hecho, los delitos “de palabras” estaban muy presentes en la Chancillería, ocupando entre 1495 y 1510 el tercer puesto de las infracciones en el cómputo global de los 422 que han sido examinados por varios investigadores.¹⁰⁶ Se situaban tan solo por detrás de los robos y las agresiones físicas. Para el caso manchego entre 1495 y 1507 alcanzaron un 14% del total de aquellos delitos reflejados en el tribunal de justicia.¹⁰⁷ También a nivel europeo se plasman multitud de calumnias y difamaciones que originaron auténticas reyertas.¹⁰⁸ En Francia, por ejemplo, Claude Gauvard determina que las injurias fueron las causantes de un 86% de los casos de homicidios y Muchembled para Artois lo documenta en un 50%.¹⁰⁹ Los casos de insultos y ofensas se pueden apreciar hasta un 5,3% en Todi para la segunda mitad del XIII, un 6,7% durante el siglo XIV en Avignon o un 8% en Estocolmo y Arboga para los siglos XV y XVI.¹¹⁰

Si se centra el estudio en el sur de Castilla, también se muestra la existencia de esos escarnios como desencadenante de riñas y discusiones. Por ejemplo en las localidades andaluzas de Ronda

117-126 y Madero, Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas. La injuria en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV)*. Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1992.

104. Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel. “Sobre la delincuencia femenina en Castilla a fines de la Edad Media”, *Mujer, marginación y violencia entre la Edad Media y los tiempos modernos*, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, ed. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2006: 75-126, 101-105.

105. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 211-214.

106. Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel; Almagro Vidal, Clara; Martín Romera, M^a de los Ángeles; Villegas Díaz, Luís Rafael. “Delincuencia y justicia en la Chancillería de Ciudad Real y Granada (1405-1510). Primera parte. Estudio”. *Clío & Crimen*, 4 (2007): 290-352, 211-214 y la segunda parte dedicada a la documentación: 489-585.

107. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 258.

108. Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 716-726; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 149-150; Ruggiero, Guido. *Patrizi e malfattori. La violenza a Venezia nel primo Rinascimento*. Bolonia: Il Mulino, 1982: 273-274 y Kotkas, Toomas. *Royal Police Ordinances in Early Modern Sweden: the emergence of Voluntaristic Understanding of Law*. Leiden: Brill, 2014: 51, 78, 77 y 117.

109. Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El homicidio en Andalucía...*: 51-52; Gauvard, Claude. *De Grace spécial...*: 716 y siguientes y Muchembled, Robert. *La violence au village...*: 43.

110. Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 258; Lesnik Daniel R. “Insults and Threats in Medieval Todi”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991): 71-89; Chiffolleau, Jacques. *Les justices du Pape...*: 108 y Österberg, Eva; Lindström, Dag. *Crime and Social Control in Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Towns*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, 1988: 44 y 88.

(Málaga) y Pilas (Sevilla) se han plasmado casos de “palabras feas e injuriosas” que tiene como objetivo la deshonra pública.¹¹¹ En Pilas, Mercedes Borrero encuentra insultos entre hombres como “puto” o “cabrón”, y entre las mujeres existen varios, como por ejemplo que “se estaban llamando la una a la otra y la otra a la una de putas muchas veces, bellaca, ruzia, puta después de casada (...)”.¹¹² Y a veces son de una intensidad mayor como lo que dijo una tal Catalina a otra mujer llamada Antonia al relatar “que solía andar escogiendo los mangos gordos entre los delgados e que ahora se hacía la buena, e otras cosas muy feas que no son de decir para mujeres”.¹¹³

En cuanto al reino cordobés, se han podido detectar diversos tipos de agresiones verbales que hay que tener en consideración. Para este sector geográfico las injurias solían ser la tipología más frecuente donde el repertorio sobre palabras ofensivas y que provocan unas afrentas hacia los individuos a los que se dirigen, era amplio. Quizás al centrar el estudio hacia el medio rural, con villas de menores dimensiones que la propia ciudad y al tratarse de ámbitos de la sociedad menos pudientes, los insultos se vinculan más con la conducta de las personas, sobre su carácter o personalidad. Iñaki Bazán y Juan Miguel Mendoza han detectado una gran diversidad como traidor, falso, mentiroso, ladrón, pobre, borracho o beodo, perro, ruin, cobarde, vil, sucio, sapo o logrero.¹¹⁴ Según Marta Madero, solían también aparecer ataques contra la sexualidad masculina insinuando la impotencia y la homosexualidad, denominándose como “fodido” o “fududunculo”.¹¹⁵ Sin embargo, para el sur cordobés no se ha detectado este último insulto contra los hombres, salvo dos excepcionales casos de un eclesiástico y una infidelidad, por lo que predominan los anteriores. Pero también hubo aquellos insultos que aluden a la moral sexual (“puta”, “puto”, “cornudo” o “alcahueta”), contra la familia (“hijo de”..., “judío”, “moro”), afrentas con la religión (“hereje”, “hechicera”), la situación económica (“pobre”, “harapiento”) o sobre una enfermedad o malformaciones físicas o psíquicas (“loco”, “sarnoso”, “jorobado”, “orejotas”, etc...).¹¹⁶ Así por ejemplo tildan a Ferrán Sánchez Robles, “que es cornudo e lo a seydo e lo consintió e vendió los cuernos e adulterio que su mujer le fizo por dineros como hombre sin vergüenza (...) que vendió por dineros su honra e cuernos e los perdona como sabidor inábil e infame”.¹¹⁷ En 1493 hay diversos vecinos de la villa de La Rambla que señalan a Andrés García Bermejo como una persona “pobre, raes, de liviana opinión y borracho que se hace con vino y nunca dice ni trata verdad”.¹¹⁸ Algunos lo acusan de tramposo porque lo han visto “andar en tranpas y mentiras con ellos”.¹¹⁹ Para otros casos denigran a la persona por su enajenación mental como a Pedro Gil de Ávila, vecino de Santaella, que lo tildan de “persona muy pobre, miserable y raes y borracho que se hace con vino y hombre de poco tiento que no sabe lo que dice y se hizo juez en esta causa y fue amojonar la dicha tierra

111. Espejo, Juan Luis. “Sobre conflictividad social urbana...”: 585-589.

112. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. “Violencia entre vecinos. Las tensiones cotidianas en el ámbito rural medieval”, *Homenaje al profesor Eloy Benito Ruano*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2010: 1, 145-158.

113. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. “Violencia entre vecinos...”, 145-158.

114. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 262-263 y Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 267.

115. Madero, Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 65-70.

116. Bazán, Iñaki. *Delincuencia y criminalidad...*: 253-274; Mendoza Garrido, José Miguel. *Delincuencia y represión...*: 255-272 y Madero Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 72 y siguientes.

117. AMCO. C-1018. doc. 44.1, sin folio (28 de diciembre 1519).

118. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

119. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).



sin mandamiento de juez y estuvo preso por ello”.¹²⁰ Sobre Antón Martín de Ávila, indican que es “onbre que no tiene juicio en la dicha villa (...) por su mala memoria y mengua de juicio” y a Juan Alfon, el Rico, lo tacha un vecino como “onbre muy viejo y que le ha visto decir palabras desaten-tadas con la mucha edad que tiene así en la plaza como en la iglesia de la villa de la Ranbla, tales que muchas veces se reñan de él”.¹²¹ A Pedro Alfon Arroyo lo acusan de ser “pobre, vil y raes, muy grande borracho y perjuro (...) lo ha visto jurar en falso en un dicho que le fue tomado”. Un tal Juan Francisco, es considerado “tranposo y onbre de mala verdad” y lo saben porque vieron “tras él a algunas personas para lo que les debía”.¹²² Asimismo hay alusiones a los “puteros” como Juan Ruiz Prieto, que era vecino de la villa de La Rambla y se fue a vivir a la de Estepa. Varios vecinos de su primer destino, cuentan que “entraba en el mesón donde estaban las mujeres del partido y las besaba y abrazaba”. Más explícitos son otros, asegurando que “va a las mujeres del partido en la villa de Estepa, donde vive, y les echa mano de la barba y burla con ellas (...) que es de edad de 80 años y más tiempo”.¹²³ En este sentido, a Pedro de Jaén le acusan de “rufián, adúltero y difamador de mujeres casadas”. Incluso él mismo reconocía no llevar una vida como la mayoría de las perso-nas de la sociedad. En primera instancia, el protagonista dice que ha estado 13 años “andando por el mundo tratando mujeres del partido”.¹²⁴ De este modo, Martín Morales lo conoce porque “sien-pre lo vio vivir entre putas y rufianes”¹²⁵ y otros vecinos son mucho más rotundos. Por ejemplo, Juan López de Benito García, asegura que “era rufián e traía mujer al partido, lo sabe porque lo a visto traer a esta villa de Montemayor, e que ahora, ha oído deçir que es padre de las mujeres del partido de la villa de la Ranbla”.¹²⁶ Juan Sánchez Ballesterero afirma que:

Ahora que tiene una casa suya en que están las dichas mujeres del partido en la Ranbla. Lo sabe porque lo ha visto en esta villa e en la villa de la Ranbla tener mujeres del partido que le ganaban dineros públicamente, e que siempre lo vio usar de bellaquería siendo hijo de un hombre honrado e bueno e tío deste testigo (...).¹²⁷

Juan Sánchez, barbero, añade los siguientes datos a su declaración:

Fue rufián y deformador de mujeres casadas (...) porque en el dicho tiempo, ahora puede haber veynte e çinco años e antes e después, fue rufián e le vio en esta villa de Fernán Núñez tener mujer en la mancebía a ganar dineros en la mancebía públicamente e porque llevó en el dicho tiempo vna mujer casada desta villa e aún era la mujer que llevó, mujer de Bartolomé Zamorano, vesyno desta villa.¹²⁸

En otro extenso pleito sobre la usurpación de unas tierras realengas, varias personas manifies-tan que Pedro Alonso del Arroyo “habla de oídas y creencias y lo hace de mal tiempo y que se hace

120. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

121. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

122. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (25 febrero 1492/14 de junio 1495).

123. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, ff. 143r-151r (25 febrero 1492/14 de junio 1495).

124. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, sin folio (10 de octubre 1496).

125. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, f. 78r (10 de octubre 1496).

126. AMCO. C-1017, doc. 30-1, f. 98r (10 de octubre 1496).

127. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 142v (25 de febrero 1492).

128. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 122r (25 de febrero 1492).

con vino y fue frecuentador de tabernas”.¹²⁹ Antón Ruiz de la Rambla es calificado de “palabrero y mentiroso que no dice verdad”.¹³⁰ A principios del siglo XVI se dice que Hernán Ruiz, el sujeto, vecino de la villa de La Rambla, “es onbre bien borracho y que se beoda muchas veces y juegan los muchachos con el infame, que muestra sus vergüenzas en la plaza públicamente, y alocado a las vergüenzas públicamente en la iglesia con una sog a la garganta por su mala lengua”.¹³¹ Otra muestra de ese comportamiento de alterar el orden público la refleja Pedro Moyano al revelar que después de jugar a los naipes, donde bebieron y jugaron un buen rato, un tal Bartolomé Ruiz Prieto “salió de allí borracho y salió a la plaza y como hombre fuera de tiento, mostró sus vergüenzas en la plaza a muchas personas que reían y burlaban con él y esto vio este testigo y otras muchas personas”.¹³² Más adelante atribuyen a Gonzalo Gómez Cabello y Alonso Sánchez de Fernán Núñez unos insultos similares, pues cada uno particularmente es considerado como “onbre revoltoso y levantador de pueblos”.¹³³ En una documentación mezclada entre dos litigios para la zona norte y sur del reino de Córdoba se hacen también alusiones a esas conductas indignas y mal vistas incluso hoy día. A Diego Hernández, señalan que era de una avanzada edad y “onbre syn tiento e desvariado e desvergonzado e como tal fonbre e persona que seyendo más mozo que avía de tener más tiento, se meó en vn cuerpo públicamente e andaua mostrando su natura a las mujeres e diciendo no haceys vosotras lambien (...)”.¹³⁴ Con motivo de un dictamen desfavorable, los vecinos de la villa de Montemayor no dudaron en insultar al juez de términos y amenazarlo. Pedro Jiménez Escribano oyó hablar a Juan Albertos, Diego de Baena y Alonso de Lorca, cirujano, mientras iban por el camino hacia Montemayor; el primero mencionó: “en chancillería había hecho burla desde supieron que el juez de términos había entrado en la fortaleza de Montemayor y no le habían trabucado con un cabestro de las almenas abajo”.¹³⁵ Juan Albertos respondió: “juro a Dios que si ese hi de puta judío dese juesejo o esa basura, no estoviera asy, que no se obiera revuelto nada de lo que asy se a revuelto, que ello a revuelto todo”.¹³⁶ Y Pedro Jiménez dijo: “juro a Dios que lo abéis de hallar juez e bien grande e por tal lo envían”.¹³⁷ Por su parte Diego de Baena contestó “sino oviese bellacos en medio no se harían estas cosas, que andan destos términos para contra el juez”.¹³⁸ También Juan Gil oyó decir que don Martín “había 15 días que estaba en la corte y que si estuviera en Montemayor, no se hubiera hecho lo que el juez ha hecho, que de los adarves abajo lo avían de echar”.¹³⁹ Por otra parte, el conocido don Alfonso de Aguilar también aparece insultando a sus propios labradores por perjudicar el aprovechamiento de una dehesa a los vecinos del cercano castillo de Montalbán. Así el protagonista preguntó a labradores y renteros de Montalbán qué queja tenían, respondieron “que muy grande que les comían su dehesa y les vebían las

129. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, f. 122r (25 de febrero 1492).

130. AchGr. leg. 1615, núm. 8, sin folio (13 de abril 1496).

131. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, ff. 78r-79v (1575).

132. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, f. 91r-v (1575).

133. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, f. 91r-v (1575).

134. AMCO. C-1018, doc. 44-1, sin folio (28 de diciembre 1519).

135. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28 de enero 1525).

136. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28 de enero 1525).

137. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28 de enero 1525).

138. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28 de enero 1525).

139. AchGr. leg. 952, núm. 1, ff. 29v-58r (28 de enero 1525).



aguas" y don Alonso les dijo a sus pastores: "fides putas villanos non guardarles su dehesa y non les bebáis las aguas".¹⁴⁰

A veces se les inculca hasta un apodo por taras físicas y psíquicas o por las acciones que llevaban a cabo frecuentemente.¹⁴¹ Por ejemplo, a una persona le decían "Juan Myntrón" porque era "muy mohatro e virtuoso hablador e sinvergüenza e persona a quien no le dan fe ni crédito como onbre valdío e de liviana opinión e por tal que le llamaban".¹⁴² En la villa de La Rambla a Juan Sánchez le decían el "Patinotes" por tener los pies de grandes dimensiones y a Antón Martín de Ávila, vecino del mismo lugar, se burlaban de él porque "es enfermo de perlesía y tiene la lengua turbada (...) que habla que a duras penas ge le entiende, hombre con la mala lengua que tiene".¹⁴³ Otros dicen de él "que es loco y sordo y borracho y menguado de juicio" o también "de mal juicio y de poco tiento" añadiendo que "razón que le dicen responde otra y no tiene memoria ni razón de hombre cuerdo".¹⁴⁴ Un último ejemplo era Juan Alfon, que le llamaban "Maxmordón" porque es "onbre que no tiene mucho tiento".¹⁴⁵ Sin duda es llamativo el uso de vocablos muy pocos conocidos en la actualidad, como "mohatro", para sugerir el fraude, "perlesía", que explica la dificultad de movimiento del cuerpo y debilidad muscular debido a una edad avanzada, o "maxmordón", refiriéndose a una persona con poco juicio o estima.

5.2 Blasfemias

De igual forma hay casos que muestran su desacuerdo con la Iglesia y por eso tachan a la persona de ser infame y enemiga de la fe católica, acusándola de blasfemia. El ejemplo más claro es Juan Muñoz de Coria, vecino de la villa de La Rambla, que fue sentenciado por la ciudad de Córdoba por blasfemias, especialmente cuando iba junto a la virgen de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación. En ese instante, lo llamó Diego Jiménez, hermano de Alonso de Antequera, que se encontraban "alzando el sacramento de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación". Aquel le dijo "vamos a ver a Dios" y la respuesta de Juan Muñoz fue "ir vos que yo no quiero ver al diablo".¹⁴⁶ Asimismo, en otra ocasión Miguel del Río estando en la plaza de la villa le dijo "buena entra esta luna" y el culpable le contestó "cágomes en la luna y en lo demás que está en el cielo".¹⁴⁷ De igual forma Juan Muñiz lo acusa de hacer "muchos remilgos e blasfemias"¹⁴⁸ porque estando en una dehesa con su ganado y sin venir a colación, Juan Muñoz comenzó a decir a voces "descreo de Dios, dime vos, ¿no me prometistes a mí de hacer buen tiempo, cómo no cumplido la palabra?".¹⁴⁹ Otro caso parecido es el de Hernando de Baena, donde un sacristán de la villa de Montemayor especifica lo siguiente:

140. AchGr. leg. 951 núm. 3, sin folio (11 de marzo 1503).

141. Madero Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas...*: 72.

142. AMCO. C-1018, doc. 44-1, sin folio (28 de diciembre 1519).

143. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

144. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

145. AchGr. leg. 535, núm. 3, sin folio (14 de junio 1495).

146. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, f. 78r-v (1575).

147. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, f. 78r-v (1575).

148. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, f. 78r (1575).

149. AchGr. leg. 875, núm. 1, ff. 78r-79v (1575).

Sabe que es pobre y entra en las tabernas muchas veces a beber y que síguete tomar vino, porque estando este testigo un domingo en la iglesia de la dicha villa diciendo la misa mayor, estaba en ella el dicho Hernando de Baena, junto al claro de la dicha iglesia donde estaba este testigo y otros clérigos, y vomitó y echó por la boca mucha cantidad de comida y bebida que olía de vino, de tal manera que quedó amortecido, de tal manera que la gente allí estaba tomaron en brazo y lo sacaron fuera de la dicha iglesia, y después de sacado volvió a vomitar (...).¹⁵⁰

Muy llamativo es el caso de pederastia y homosexualidad por parte de un eclesiástico en la villa de Fernán Núñez que se remonta al siglo XV. Los vecinos de este lugar, aseguran que su señor, Fernando de los Ríos, solía ejecutar penas judiciales por su propia autoridad. Entre sus sentencias se incluye una que era “pública boz y fama” en el núcleo poblacional porque el dicho señor “ahorcó y quemó a un santero de la ermita de San Sebastián, situada en el camino desta villa hacia Córdoba”.¹⁵¹ El motivo es muy claro por todos los habitantes, por “puto”. De hecho, Alonso López Cañadilla explica que “vio quemar a un santero de la ermita de San Sebastián, que está en el ejido y término de esta villa (...) que lo quemaron porque se decía que con un muchacho que tenía en la dicha ermita, que había dormido o dormía con él”.¹⁵² En último lugar, apenas se han hallado referencias muy escuetas sobre difamaciones y blasfemias mostradas por escrito. El caso más paradigmático es el de una vecina de Córdoba acusada por haber escrito una carta infamatoria y clavarla en la puerta de una familia. Fue condenada a 100 azotes, pago de las costas y destierro. Cuando se realiza una segunda revisión del proceso, aumenta la cuantía a pagar pero se suprime el destierro.¹⁵³

A través de estas referencias documentales, se puede obtener una idea muy clara de que las agresiones verbales son tan dañinas como las físicas. De hecho, el origen de muchas lesiones interpersonales u homicidios, proceden de las injurias que se han dedicado unas personas a otras. Cuanto más directa sea la deshonra, desprestigio y humillación, la tensión será mayor hasta que se desencadena la respuesta de una de las dos partes enfrentadas, con la violencia directa sobre la integridad física. Esto también conlleva a reflexionar sobre los valores morales que tenían en la sociedad de aquel momento, ya que dependiendo del insulto el resultado es muy diferente, más aún cuando la persona era acusada de blasfemar contra una institución tan importante como la Iglesia.

6. Conclusiones

Según la información extraída de las fuentes documentales de la época, da la impresión de que la sociedad rural cordobesa fue partícipe de la violencia cotidiana que existía en la Corona de Castilla. La tipología de los delitos detectados para la Campiña del reino cordobés no es diferente a la documentada en el resto de las regiones de aquel momento. Al menos para el siglo XV, están estrechamente vinculados con las agresiones físicas y homicidios perpetrados generalmente con armas blancas y durante la noche. En segundo lugar, están los agravios verbales, donde las injurias y blasfemias eran muy frecuentes en el día a día. La mayoría aludían a una reprochable conducta y formas de vida de ciertos vecinos, a defectos físicos, y en menor medida, contra la sexualidad y la religión. Pero llama poderosamente la atención, y que quizás sea por las limitaciones de los propios

150. AchGr. leg. 324, núm. 2, f. 54r-v (1557).

151. AchGr. leg. 1211, núm. 1, sin folio (Siglo XVI).

152. AchGr. leg. 1211, núm. 1, sin folio (Siglo XVI).

153. Mendoza Garrido, Juan Miguel. “Sobre la delincuencia femenina...”: 104-105.



documentos bajomedievales, la inexistencia de denuncias sobre infracciones de robos y hurtos. Algo extraño teniendo en cuenta que se está profundizando en el medio rural, donde era más fácil sustraer cualquier animal, cosecha, aperos agrícolas incluso mercancías. Lo único más parecido son las prendas ejecutadas a diferentes personas, pero que no se podría llegar a considerar un robo propiamente dicho. Más bien sería una especie de fianza o de castigo por una acción determinada, y que en muchas ocasiones, se devolvía a la víctima. Sin embargo, lo que sí queda de manifiesto es que la violencia del sur cordobés poseía un marcado carácter cotidiano, donde la mayoría de los casos muestran problemas relacionados con la utilización y disfrute de un camino, una fuente de agua o el pastar unas hierbas. Otros ejemplos, denotan intereses económicos y particulares como demuestran los miembros de algunos linajes nobiliarios. Incluso existen conflictos familiares por matrimonios no aceptados, como el caso de Martín Tamayo.

En definitiva, existía una violencia rural con un nivel de intensidad similar tanto en lo físico como en lo verbal. Entre los motivos que la causaron, predomina fundamentalmente la convivencia vecinal y rural hacia el aprovechamiento de los recursos naturales del marco geográfico analizado, donde la ley marca el disfrute de ellos por toda la comunidad (villas, aldeas, cortijos, etc...). Sin embargo, en la práctica las disputas entre el marco señorial y realengo eran muy evidentes. Existía un enfrentamiento directo por el beneficio y disfrute de esos elementos económicos siendo muy significativo cómo infringían la ley haciendo daño a cualquier persona, sobre todo aquellos miembros de estamentos nobiliarios y oligarquías. Sin duda, se trata de una conflictividad social que permite conocer mejor la Andalucía del siglo XV, donde los intereses particulares eran tan importantes que llegaban a cometer diferentes delitos sin temor a sufrir la acción de la justicia.

NUEVAS PERSPECTIVAS PARA LA DIFUSIÓN DE LA HISTORIA MEDIEVAL: EL REENACTMENT EN EL SUR DE EUROPA, UNA VISIÓN DESDE LA DIDÁCTICA

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RESUMEN

La recreación histórica se ha erigido en los últimos años como una importante herramienta para la difusión del Medioevo. No obstante, en España se debate entre una práctica filantrópica y una disciplina asistida por el método histórico que puede servir para investigar el pasado o para difundirlo. ¿Constituye ésta una herramienta valiosa para la difusión de la historia medieval? Este artículo analiza las virtudes y las carencias de un modelo que tiene sus raíces en el mundo anglosajón, y que en España ha sido eclipsado por otros arquetipos enraizados en el folclore y los festejos populares. Reflexionaremos sobre qué papel puede jugar la didáctica para transformar este recurso, en cierto modo, infravalorado.

1. Introducción

“Enseñar no tiene otro sentido que mostrar cómo difieren las cosas en sus diferentes propósitos, formas y orígenes. Por lo tanto, quien diferencia bien, enseña bien”.¹ Con esta cita de su *Didáctica Magna*, para nada pronunciada al azar, Jan Amos Komenský sienta las bases epistemológicas para la difusión del conocimiento científico. En lo sucesivo, no se tratará ya únicamente de lo que enseñamos, sino de cómo lo enseñamos, otorgando a los aspectos metodológicos la base fundamental de cualquier proceder educativo.

Con este artículo pretendo abordar de qué modo se está difundiendo la Edad Media en el sur de Europa desde la práctica de la recreación histórica. El análisis no se centrará solo en los esfuerzos habidos en las últimas décadas en este sentido, sino que incidirá en los nuevos caminos que esta forma de difundir la Edad Media está tomando, con tendencias que vienen a competir y superar las iniciativas tradicionales de divulgación. Del mismo modo trataremos de ofrecer un análisis desde la perspectiva de la didáctica, o lo que es lo mismo: de los procesos metodológicos que dan lugar a situaciones de enseñanza-aprendizaje, desarrollados en contextos no formales y que, a pesar de germinar a partir de un interés por la simple difusión de la historia, plantean espacios de conocimiento que permiten descodificar nuestro pasado medieval y que bien podrían situarse entre los recursos propios de esta disciplina científico-pedagógica. Analizaremos los presupuestos metodológicos con que se aborda la recreación medieval por parte de los diferentes colectivos que lo practican, y si, realmente, nos encontramos ante un fenómeno formalmente constituido por y para

1. Comenius, Jan Amos. *Didáctica magna*, trad. Saturnino López Peces. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1986: 133 (Capítulo 16: Requisitos generales para aprender y enseñar. Esto es: De qué modo debemos enseñar y aprender con tal seguridad y necesariamente hayan de experimentarse los efectos).



difundir el pasado, o, más bien, ante un hobby que, tangencialmente, ejerce difusión de manera complementaria. La clave, en este sentido, será desentrañar qué hay de didáctico en el desarrollo de esta práctica y qué debería de haber en el caso de que esta fuera única y exclusivamente una herramienta para educar sobre el pasado.

En la actualidad la concepción que se tiene de la recreación se relaciona con segmentos de actividad diversos. Los mismos practicantes definen lo que hacen y para qué lo hacen de formas dispares, lo que establece, en cierta medida, la manera en que recrean. En efecto, la asunción de esta disciplina oscila entre varias áreas relacionales que vienen impuestas por la naturaleza, la formación y las aspiraciones de quien recrea. Entre estas áreas se encuentran, por ejemplo, las artes escénicas, las prácticas narrativas (tipo juegos de rol), la educación, la divulgación,² la investigación científica (y sus ligazones con la arqueología experimental), la museología y museografía, o el ánimo filantrópico.³ Algunos, cuando recrean, asumen que son actores e interpretan personajes. Otros, en cambio, lo hacen solo para divulgar el pasado, por eso se ciñen a aspectos de la vida cotidiana o modelos con personajes sin identidad, despojándose de alusiones relacionadas con la interpretación a asunción de papeles: reconstruir cómo se elaboraban tintes para teñir la ropa en el siglo XII, segar un campo de trigo de la misma forma que se hacía en Catalunya en el XV, o iluminar y escribir un códice vacío con gótica librería para el coro de una abadía vistiendo el hábito benedictino, serían algunos ejemplos. Y los hay, también, quienes recrean única y exclusivamente para investigar sobre el pasado para luego publicar o someter a debate lo que se ha experimentado. En cualquier caso, se asume que la práctica de la recreación histórica implica unos condicionantes ineludibles que la alejan de una obra de teatro al uso o de una performance. El fin último no es entretener, va más allá. De hecho, quien recrea coincide en que la recreación histórica es, única y exclusivamente, la práctica de reconstruir usos, costumbres, cultura material y aspectos del pasado a partir de pautas taxativamente científicas, para lograr objetivos relacionados con la divulgación cultural y la educación. La recreación histórica se diferencia, por consiguiente, de otras manifestaciones relacionadas con la historia que carecen de este soporte científico y del factor indisoluble de la divulgación.

En este proceso entran en juego varios factores, si atendemos a la definición proporcionada. De ellos descuellan tres, principalmente: 1) investigación, 2) divulgación y 3) educación. En lo que respecta a la recreación de la Edad Media, no solo en países del sur de Europa como España, Portugal o Italia, sino también en el resto del continente, veremos que estos tres factores estructuran el armazón de manera muy distinta, e incluso en base a la inexistencia de alguno de ellos.

En consecuencia, uno de los principales objetivos de este trabajo será profundizar en qué procedimientos heurísticos se adoptan previamente para practicar la recreación histórica medieval;

2. A este respecto, casi en exclusividad, alude el trabajo de Cózar, en: Cózar Llistó, Guillermo. "La Recreación Histórica en España. Definición, caracterización y perspectivas de aplicación". *Glyphos: Revista de Arqueología*, 2 (2013): 9-11, en el que establece una metodología para la sistematización de la práctica que va de la investigación a la recreación, con el fin de preservar la historia. Interesante también, de este tenor, es: Agnew, Vanessa. "Introduction: what is reenactment?". *Criticism*, 46/3 (2004): 327-339. Y a un nivel menos especializado: Cabrera Asensio, Jonathan. "Las recreaciones históricas y sus fundamentos: (qué es, quiénes somos, cómo crearlas)". *ASRI: Arte y sociedad. Revista de investigación* 3/7 (2013).

3. Las inclinaciones, usos y distintos desarrollos de la recreación histórica son abordados con pulsión en la obra de Jay Anderson, probablemente uno de los autores que más ha profundizado en este tema a nivel global: Anderson, Jay. *A Living History Reader*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1991: 3-12 (Capítulo 1: "Living history"); Anderson, Jay. *Time machines: The world of living history*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1984; Anderson, Jay. "Living history: Simulating everyday life in living museums". *American Quarterly*, 34/3 (1982): 290-306; Anderson, Jay. *The living history sourcebook*. Nashville: American Association for State & Local History, 1985.

qué recursos, habilidades y acciones se llevan a cabo para lograr la divulgación del pasado supuestamente recreado; y qué metodologías didácticas se implementan, si es que se acompañan en el desarrollo de la práctica.

2. Sobre conceptos

En cualquiera de los escenarios con los que cerrábamos el capítulo anterior, el concepto de recreación histórica va unido al de *historia viviente*,⁴ que no es más que el resultado de reconstruir, ambientar y devolver a la vida escenas históricas. Así, este concepto suele adaptarse a espacios de patrimonio, museos o contextos educativos, y no es extraño su uso (sobre todo en el centro y el norte de Europa) en castillos, ruinas arqueológicas, arquitectura religiosa, palacios y otros bienes de patrimonio como reclamo principal en la oferta cultural de los mismos.

Conviene situar, aunque someramente, el origen de las recreaciones medievales en las sociedades mediterráneas. Recrear la historia no es una práctica reciente. Huelga recordar la costumbre en la Antigua Roma de representar escenas del pasado para engrandecer la gloria de la civilización; estos grandes acontecimientos incluían la representación de hechos de armas como naumaquias, batallas y otras grandes empresas.⁵ Aunque es menos conocido, al igual que Roma reconstruía sus glorias, las sociedades europeas del Medioevo hicieron lo mismo con las suyas, y las ibéricas, en concreto, con relativa frecuencia.

El componente ideológico ha sido el factor principal que ha estado detrás de las prácticas de conmemorar el pasado recreándolo. Desde el siglo XV, de manera oficial e institucionalizada, la Europa mediterránea ha practicado la representación de su pasado inmediato para afianzar su propia naturaleza cultural, política y religiosa. Así, España, Italia y Portugal plagaron sus acontecimientos festivos y públicos de representaciones de las victorias frente a los moros. Estas recreaciones adoptaban carices dispares, como batallas, desfiles, juegos, torneos o dances. Ya a partir del siglo XVI, los Austrias normalizarán estas prácticas en España con despliegues y boatos que respondían a un motivo totalmente ideológico: justificar y ensalzar su imperio cristiano frente al pasado musulmán, vencido tiempo atrás, para gloria de la civilización que los príncipes cristianos lideraban. Las actuales fiestas de moros y cristianos hunden sus raíces en esta tradición mediterránea, a pesar de que el origen de las celebraciones actuales en España se remonta al siglo XIX. En cualquier caso, este modelo medieval y renacentista fue sustituyendo el factor ideológico que las propiciaba hasta caer en un letargo a partir del siglo XVIII, que reducirá sus prácticas a entornos rurales, para resurgir posteriormente en base a un modelo festivo como el que todavía prevalece.⁶ En cualquier caso, el fenómeno de las fiestas de moros y cristianos es la prueba irrefutable de la coexistencia de una

4. "Living history", conforme a su denominación original inglesa.

5. Para ahondar en la proyección de este tipo de acontecimientos en la Antigua Roma, así como sus condicionantes ideológicos, ver: Auguet, Roland. *Crueldad y civilización: los juegos romanos*. Barcelona: Aymá, 1972: p. 57. Blázquez, José María. "Circo y fieras en la Roma antigua. Pantomimas y naumaquias". *Jano*, 119 (1974): 91-97.

6. Entender el fenómeno sociológico que suponen las fiestas de moros y cristianos en la actualidad va ligado al concepto dualista que les da sentido. Con todo, es reseñable en esta tradición el uso de este dualismo como germen festivo ya en las prácticas arcaicas medievales y renacentistas, que ambientaban alrededor de esta dicotomía decenas de prácticas como las denominadas Morescas, Morismas o Soldadescas, e incluso en los torneos medievales, en cuya naturaleza hispana estaba la de representar este dualismo mediante, por ejemplo, los llamados juegos de cañas. También en la tradición religiosa pueden encontrarse precedentes unidos a los propios ritos de las liturgias concretas, como es el caso de los sainetes del Corpus Christi en el siglo XV. Ver: Albert-Llorca, Marlène; González Alcantud, José Antonio, eds. *Moros y cristianos: representaciones del otro en las fiestas del Mediterráneo occidental*. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2003.



tradición antigua frente al fenómeno contemporáneo de la recreación histórica. La recreación, frente a este tipo de acontecimientos folclóricos, se muestra como una práctica distante, alejada, peregrina. Contrastan no solo las abismales diferencias de vestuario, atrezzo y puesta en escena, sino el mismo desarrollo entre ambas prácticas. No es únicamente el fin lo que las diferencia, sino la forma. La recreación ha sacado la historia de los anaqueles, la ha hecho palpable, la ha devuelto a la vida y la muestra para conocimiento de la sociedad con unas supuestas garantías científicas. Las fiestas de moros y cristianos persiguen y han perseguido el mantenimiento de una tradición cultural y folclórica fundamentada en nuestro pasado, pero carecen del ánimo divulgativo y del proceder científico en su articulación y puesta en marcha. Mediante la recreación, a modo de ejemplo, podemos explicar por qué conviene cocer en arena las plumas de ganso antes de usarlas como plumas de escritura, tal como se hacía en la Edad Media.⁷ Mediante las fiestas de moros y cristianos no podemos explicar nada de esto; de hecho, por mediación de ellas no tratamos de explicar nada, sino que los fines son distintos. Sin embargo, aunque diverjan en el por qué y en el cómo, no lo hacen en el qué. Tan distintas, pero tan iguales. ¿En qué hemos cambiado?

Si, como hemos visto, el origen del fenómeno recreador se sumerge en la albor de la Edad Antigua, el origen de la recreación histórica moderna debemos situarlo tan solo unas décadas hacia atrás. Este tuvo lugar desde Estados Unidos, en concreto en la década de los 60 del siglo XX. Fue en estos años cuando comenzó a conmemorarse mediante recreaciones históricas la Guerra Civil Americana (1861-1865). A partir de entonces el número de grupos y asociaciones dedicados a esta disciplina comenzó a crecer y a diversificarse, conformando sociedades y federaciones a nivel nacional, modelo que dio el salto a Europa poco después.⁸ En España este desembarco cultural puede situarse a mediados de los 90, cuando comenzaron a conformarse los primeros grupos de recreación antigua y medieval.⁹

Ahora bien, no podemos decir que los intereses y motivos de los colectivos que llevan a cabo la recreación medieval sean los mismos; a ello nos referíamos en el capítulo introductorio. Aunque el fin último de la recreación sea exclusivamente la divulgación, muchos colectivos que recrean la Edad Media adolecen de presupuestos serios y sólidos al respecto, cuando no contribuyen al enaltecimiento de otro tipo de eventos historicistas de dudoso rigor. De otro lado, se constata en los círculos y foros de recreadores medievales que la recreación histórica, en España, se jacta de una vocación eminentemente didáctica, pero en la práctica muchas veces no es así, dado que la gran mayoría de los practicantes de esta disciplina desconocen los principios metodológicos que hacen de un procedimiento demostrativo un recurso didáctico. Para hacer didáctica no basta con vestirse con más o menos rigor histórico y ponerse a vivir en la Edad Media.

Por ello se hace necesario clarificar algunos de los conceptos que intervienen en el resultado final de la práctica de la recreación histórica cuando la acompañamos en la difusión de la historia y el patrimonio. Entre esos términos destacan el de divulgación, el de interpretación y el de didáctica, que para nada son sinónimos.

Por “divulgación” entiende el DRAE “Publicar, extender, poner al alcance del público algo”.¹⁰

7. De lo contrario no servirán para escribir.

8. Cortadella, Jordi. “Los grupos de recreación histórica (historical re-enactment)”, *La guerra en la Antigüedad desde el presente*, Jordi Vidal, Borja Antela, eds. Zaragoza: Libros Pórtico, 2011: 94.

9. Balbás, Yeyo. “La Recreación Histórica”. *Despertaferro-ediciones.com*. 24 Julio 2015. Ediciones Desperta Ferro. 17 Noviembre 2017 <<https://www.despertaferro-ediciones.com/2015/07/24/recreacion-historica/>>.

10. “Divulgar”. *Real Academia de la Lengua Española*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<https://dle.rae.es/?id=E1q9Jgy>>.



¿Divulga la recreación histórica? Nada hace pensar lo contrario, si esta se lleva a cabo con ánimo de explicar lo que se hace, y de contextualizarlo con el entorno en el que se está haciendo si este es importante para la misma práctica. En este caso, el nivel de proyección sería el mismo que representa la prensa de divulgación, la literatura no especializada, los videojuegos, los juegos de rol, el cine, los documentales u otros recursos tradicionales.¹¹ La divulgación, así pues, no deja de ser el acto de transformar un conocimiento científico en un constructo procesado que permita despertar el interés por un público no especializado. Pero nada garantiza que este conocimiento vaya a ser asimilado, aprendido, adoptado o utilizado con posterioridad por ese público seducido.¹²

El concepto de interpretación del patrimonio lo acuña Freeman Tilden en 1977,¹³ y dice de él que es:

Una actividad educativa que pretende revelar significados e interrelaciones mediante el uso de objetos originales, experiencias de primera mano y medios ilustrativos, en lugar de simplemente transmitir la información de los hechos.¹⁴

De esta definición se desprende, a priori, que para interpretar el pasado es necesaria una intermediación consciente que anteponga estrategias basadas en recursos adicionales ante la sola explicación de cualquier conocimiento o contenido científico. Tilden, no obstante, asevera que el acto de interpretación es ya en sí mismo un acto educativo, lo cual podría llevar la discusión a un contexto diferente del que aquí nos concierne.¹⁵ En cualquier caso es evidente que este proceso

11. La bibliografía de análisis sobre la divulgación de la historia y el patrimonio en la Edad Media es ingente, no es nuestro objetivo ofrecer un estudio pormenorizado de la amplitud de los trabajos científicos a este respecto, aunque para iniciar el conocimiento en este campo recomendamos: Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "Reflexiones en torno a la difusión del Patrimonio Histórico", *Difusión del Patrimonio Histórico*, Marcelo Martín Guglielmino, ed. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 1996: 14-27; Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "Difusión del Patrimonio I: La Historia". *PH. Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, 5 (1993): 6-7; y Martín Guglielmino, Marcelo. "La difusión del patrimonio. Actualización y debate". *e-rph-Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 1 (2007): 195-215, desde una perspectiva generalista. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. "Videojuegos y Edad Media". *Imago temporis: Medium Aevum*, 3 (2009): 551-587, en lo que respecta a los videojuegos. Hernández Corchete, Sira. *La historia contada en televisión. El documental televisivo de divulgación histórica en España*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2008; Barrio, Juan Antonio. "La Edad Media en el cine del siglo XX". *Medievalismo*, 15 (2005): 241-268. Alonso, Juan José; Alonso, Jorge; Mastache, Enrique. *La Edad Media en el cine*. Madrid: T & B Editores, 2007; y Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Cultura Visual y enseñanza de la historia. La percepción de la Edad Media". *EARI – Educación Artística Revista de Investigación*, 2 (2011): 153-160, en lo que respecta a la Edad Media en el cine y la televisión. Y Millán, M^a Dolores. "La simulación y la representación de la realidad", *Estrategias de simulación: Ora, un modelo innovador para aprender del medio*, Saturnino de la Torre, ed. Barcelona: Octaedro, 1997, si queremos saber más acerca de los juegos y procesos de simulación en la divulgación de este periodo; este último artículo, con perspectivas también para la didáctica.

12. Sobre la función exclusivamente divulgadora del recreacionismo ver Cózar Llistó, Guillermo, "La Recreación Histórica...": 9-11; Del Barco Díaz, Miguel. "La recreación histórica como medio para la divulgación de la historia", *La Divulgación de la Historia y otros estudios sobre Extremadura*, Félix Iñesta Mena, ed. Llerena: Sociedad Extremeña de la Historia, 2010: 243-254; y Rojas Rabaneda, Antonio. "Herramientas y estrategias de difusión del Patrimonio Histórico: los eventos de recreación histórica en Cataluña". *e-rph-Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 9 (2011): 89-110.

13. En su obra, ya de culto: Tilden, Freeman. *La interpretación de nuestro patrimonio*. Pamplona: Asociación para la interpretación del patrimonio, 2015.

14. Una actividad educativa que pretende revelar significados e interrelaciones mediante el uso de objetos originales, experiencias de primera mano y medios ilustrativos, en lugar de simplemente transmitir la información de los hechos. Tilden, Freeman. *La interpretación...*: 37.

15. Para que haya acto educativo es necesario que se dé transferencia, esto es, "el efecto de un aprendizaje previo sobre uno nuevo o sobre la resolución de un problema"; y que se haga por medio de lo que denominamos aprendizaje significativo. Ver Mayer, Richard E. *Psicología de la Educación. Enseñar para un aprendizaje significativo*. Madrid: Pearson, 2004: II, 7. Adolece el método de Tilden, a priori, de un estudio pedagógico que nos permita garantizar el uso de una metodología plenamente educativa en este proceso de interpretación. Ahora bien, esto no implica que la interpretación del patrimonio en los términos que propone Tilden no sea un presupuesto válido para la educación, sino todo lo contrario:



interpretativo necesita ya de la proyección de una metodología para su aplicación. La recreación histórica, tomada como una de estas estrategias para la interpretación del pasado, goza de amplias posibilidades en este sentido, a pesar de que en la mayoría de los casos este proceso interpretador no se haga sobre objetos originales, sino sobre la evocación de cultura material, costumbres y actitudes del pasado. Asimismo, la perspectiva cambia si tomamos la recreación histórica como el protagonista en la intermediación de este acto interpretativo; no el fin sobre el que interpretar, sino el medio. Y para ello es ineludible ligar esta práctica con el propio patrimonio, bien en contextos museográficos o de bienes muebles (monumentos, yacimientos arqueológicos...).

Si aceptamos que la recreación histórica constituye una de las estrategias más eficientes para la interpretación del pasado, es necesario analizar si también lo es como metodología para la didáctica de la historia.

La didáctica es una disciplina científico-pedagógica que estudia las técnicas y métodos de enseñanza. Komenský la definió como el arte de enseñar, o el “artificio universal para enseñar todas las cosas a todos con rapidez, alegría y eficacia”.¹⁶ En efecto, la didáctica se ocupa de las estrategias que ponen en práctica los principios teóricos de la pedagogía, por lo que debe velar para que exista aprendizaje. Ni la divulgación ni la interpretación garantizan que exista aprendizaje sólido y duradero de la historia; la didáctica, por tanto, se emplea en crear una transformación en la mente de la audiencia. Como disciplina de base científica inserta en las ciencias de la educación necesita de un método, lo que nos lleva a preguntarnos: ¿es didáctico todo lo que rodea a la práctica de la recreación histórica? No, como luego analizaremos; ni siquiera, en ocasiones, la vertiente que más se jacta de serlo. ¿Puede ser un recurso para la didáctica? Sí, pero en el planteamiento actual de la recreación medieval han de cambiar las cosas para que, de pleno derecho, lo sea.

3. Sobre modelos

Casi desde sus inicios modernos, la práctica se ha jerarquizado con arreglo al nivel de autenticidad. En sus círculos protocolarios se establecen tres niveles o categorías que se conocen con sus términos anglosajones: los *farb*, los *mainstream* y los *progressive*, también denominados estos últimos *hardcore*.¹⁷ Del mismo modo, también se le asocian otros términos como *elite warrior*.¹⁸

Pero si lo que perseguimos es una reflexión profunda desde la gestión del patrimonio cultural y la difusión del conocimiento científico en relación al fenómeno de las recreaciones históricas medievales en el sur de Europa, necesitamos acometer el verdadero debate que le concierne en la

Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía didáctica*. Lleida: Milenio, 2011, 42-43, sobre todo si atendemos a que es el fundamento de las llamadas museologías emergentes: Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...*: 143 y ss.

16. Comenius, Jan Amos. *Didáctica...*: 163.

17. Estos tres escalafones hacen referencia al nivel de autenticidad del recreador. Así, los *farb* son aquellos cuya preocupación por el pleno rigor histórico quedaría en un segundo plano; los *mainstream* encuadrarían al grueso de la comunidad recreadora, con un mayor interés en esta autenticidad; y los *progressive* incluirían a los recreadores puristas, que pretende vivir una inmersión total en el pasado. A modo de ejemplo, estos últimos tejen y cosen su vestuario a mano, se nutren de elementos totalmente artesanales, seleccionan tejidos naturales e incluso los tiñen mediante métodos totalmente históricos. Para profundizar en la terminología y en la controversia que en ocasiones esta suscita, véase: Hodges, Phil. “Inglorious farb’terds”. *War History Online*. 18 Abril 2015. War History Online. 17 Noviembre 2017 <<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/articles/inglorious-farbtards-by-phil-hodges.html>>.

18. Se refiere a los recreadores amantes de las batallas y combates, por su vinculación al cuero y el acero: Balbás, Yeyo. “La Recreación...”.

actualidad, que no es otro que el de los modelos. Retomando el hilo de las tradiciones folclóricas, que como hemos visto hunden sus raíces en las festividades de moros y cristianos, el verdadero fenómeno que ha desdibujado en nuestro país la práctica de la recreación como elemento de difusión histórica ha sido la aparición, en la década de los 80, de un modelo típicamente ibérico: las fiestas históricas. Fiesta histórica y recreación histórica no son sinónimos, a pesar de que se les relaciona erróneamente con frecuencia. De hecho, corresponden a dos modelos si cabe antagónicos en lo que a difusión de la historia se refiere. En la actualidad podríamos abogar por la existencia en Europa de un *telón de acero* cultural. Esa frontera dejaría en una parte al sur de Europa y sus fiestas históricas, y en la otra el centro y norte de Europa y el ámbito anglosajón en relación a la recreación histórica. Como todo, el fenómeno de las fiestas históricas es inherente a todo el conjunto de países del viejo continente,¹⁹ sin embargo es en países como España, Italia, Francia o Portugal donde se han desarrollado verdaderas industrias culturales en este sentido.

En España las fiestas históricas se han consolidado como una industria muy potente, con cifras de facturación que ya desearían otras industrias culturales. Existen incontables ejemplos que concitan a miles de personas en cada edición, como son la Semana Medieval de Montblanc (Tarragona); la fiesta de Cartagineses y Romanos (Cartagena), uno de los eventos más importantes por el volumen de actos y participantes, que se crea en 1989; la *Festa del Renaixement* de Tortosa, cuya primera edición se realizó en el año 1996; o la celebración de las Bodas de Isabel de Segura, los llamados Amantes de Teruel, también de época medieval. Podríamos citar muchos ejemplos más. La actual Asociación Española de Fiestas y Recreaciones Históricas se crea en el año 2000 en Cartagena. Actualmente la AEFRH tiene miembros repartidos entre la mayoría de comunidades autónomas.

Estas fiestas históricas se organizan, comúnmente, desde un punto de vista municipal, y tienen como principales señas de identidad la dinamización del comercio local durante los días de la fiesta y la potenciación del turismo. Del mismo modo, facilitan la participación festiva de los ciudadanos, contribuyendo a la creación de grupos de voluntarios locales o agentes amateur que se articulan alrededor de criterios de gestión provenientes de los comerciantes locales, concejalías de festejos o turismo, y empresas privadas de gestión de eventos.

En este contexto se encuadra la apabullante proliferación de ferias y mercados medievales, eventos ambos que responden a criterios similares de organización, gestión y programación. Por lo general, estos eventos carecen casi completamente de rigor histórico, y su afán, al igual que el de las fiestas de moros y cristianos, no es el de divulgar o interpretar el pasado, sino que persigue únicamente fines comerciales, festivos y recreativos. En muchas ocasiones, este tipo de eventos se aderezan con clichés de bajo nivel académico, sacados del cine y la literatura. Al crecer al amparo de una nula vocación por la divulgación, se fomenta un amateurismo en la gestión y participación, creando verdaderos estereotipos de vestuario e impedimenta que poco o nada tienen que ver con los periodos en los que dicen ambientarse.²⁰ La Edad Media es, a nivel nacional, el periodo que más eventos de esta raigambre concita, constituyendo los mercados medievales un ejemplo de verdadera burbuja en la proliferación de subproductos pseudoculturales, lo cual representa uno de

19. La Confederación Europea de Fiestas y Manifestaciones Históricas nació en 1991 y aglutina a federaciones de varios países: *Confédération Européenne des Fêtes et Manifestations Historiques*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.cefmh.eu/>>.

20. Véase, a modo de ejemplo, Cabezas Barrios, María. *La distorsión histórica y de las culturas no occidentales en las recreaciones y fiestas históricas*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017.



los principales escollos para la consolidación definitiva de dichas manifestaciones como productos de calidad.

Con todo, aunque su interés por la conservación, difusión y gestión del patrimonio cultural haya sido testimonial, sería injusto negar el protagonismo al respecto que estos eventos han tenido en las últimas décadas en España, pues han suscitado taimados intereses en la preservación de bienes de patrimonio donde los actos de este tipo de eventos han tenido lugar.

Desgraciadamente, los fines recreativos y comerciales de este modelo han propiciado un mutismo casi sepulcral de las distintas comunidades profesionales, académicas y científicas de los territorios donde se han desarrollado. Actualmente es extraño encontrar un gestor del patrimonio, un museo, un centro de estudios local o una universidad que esté detrás, ni siquiera colaborando, en el diseño de criterios de organización y documentación de este tipo de manifestaciones, a pesar de que estas beben y ponen de actualidad procesos históricos que tales instituciones, en su mayoría públicas, tienen como cometido principal de estudio. El antagonismo total entre mundo académico y manifestaciones ciudadanas de la historia es tal, que cuesta creer que historia y patrimonio se hayan mezclado entre la ciudadanía como nunca antes lo habían hecho, y estos centros de conocimiento académico, cuyo fin debe ser ese y no otro, no hayan tenido nada que ver. Algo que debería hacernos reflexionar.

Pero además de todo lo argumentado anteriormente, es de justicia asumir que el papel que buena parte de estas manifestaciones (fiestas históricas, concretamente) han desarrollado en aras de la difusión de la historia medieval y el patrimonio ha sido y sigue siendo loable, independientemente del grado de autenticidad y rigor histórico, o de la difusión de aspectos controvertiblemente banales de la historia frente a otros más importantes que habrían quedado al margen. No hay que negar que estos eventos populares han permitido que el interés por el pasado crezca, y la historia siga siendo una compañera de viaje en pleno siglo XXI.

Frente a este tipo de manifestaciones nos encontramos el modelo basado en la recreación histórica, mayoritario en el ámbito de los países nórdicos, Centroeuropa y los países anglosajones. Este modelo, para nada reñido con el desarrollo económico de industrias culturales, entiende que la recreación histórica no debe circunscribirse a un espectáculo desde el punto de vista más estricto del término,²¹ ni ha de perseguir fines estrictamente comerciales. Las fiestas históricas, los mercados temáticos o los espectáculos escénicos de trasfondo histórico no forman parte de la recreación histórica, por cuanto pueden adolecer de un soporte científico en su planificación y diseño, y su objetivo principal y único no es la divulgación, sino que se fundamentan en objetivos comerciales, escénicos o meramente festivos (sin menoscabo de que, en algunas de estas manifestaciones, la divulgación también forme parte de estos objetivos ajenos a la recreación). El modelo de gestión y difusión del patrimonio fundamentado en la recreación se caracteriza por un interés primordial en divulgar la historia y el patrimonio cultural.²² En este argumento subyace una cuestión que no

21. Carece de los recursos propios de un espectáculo: escénicos, espaciales o tecnológicos. Sí lo es en el sentido de que promueve la contemplación intelectual e infunde deleite, asombro u otros afectos.

22. Para profundizar en presupuestos organizativos para el desarrollo de modelos de recreación histórica en bienes de patrimonio, véase: Del Barco Díaz, Miguel. "La recreación histórica...": 243-254; Rojas Rabaneda, Antonio. "Herramientas y estrategias...": 89-110; Cortadella, Jordi. "Los grupos de recreación...": 91-140; Guzmán Ramos, Aldo; Fernández, Guillermina; Fernández, Silvia. "La recreación histórica como herramienta de la interpretación para recuperar y preservar el patrimonio en peligro". *Boletín de Interpretación*, 23 (2010): 18-23; y Leon, Warren; Piatt, Margaret. "Living history museums", *History museums in the United States: A critical assessment*, Warren Leon, Roy Rosenzweig, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989: 64-97.

es baladí: ¿un modelo academicista y serio está reñido con el desarrollo de una industria cultural que pueda llegar al gran público? En modo alguno, como los ejemplos europeos nos muestran. Además, se erige como un método capaz de poner a disposición de estas herramientas de reflexión sobre el pasado. Esta premisa se ampara en que no basta con conservar y estudiar el patrimonio; sin la divulgación y democratización del conocimiento histórico se pierde una gran parte de su valor cultural y social. La participación de los ciudadanos es indirecta, y cuando es directa se realiza a través de grupos de reconstrucción o entidades organizadas que son convenientemente documentadas.

Por otro lado, es curioso constatar cómo otro de los fines que persigue este modelo es la concienciación de la ciudadanía acerca de la preservación de los bienes patrimoniales para las generaciones futuras. No solo basta con divulgar e interpretar la historia, sino que el patrimonio que esta nos ha dejado debe conservarse y legarse para el futuro como parte de nuestra identidad; de hecho, esta premisa enlaza con la función social que este modelo preconiza.

Y, como consecuencia, se promueve la creación de productos culturales de gran cualidad, que generan flujos de turismo cultural y que valoran y focalizan el trabajo en proyectos de recreación histórica articulados con arreglo a criterios profesionales. Estos proyectos permanecen en contacto con grupos de investigación y departamentos universitarios que avalan y respaldan el trabajo que hay detrás de la práctica.

La construcción y desarrollo de proyectos didácticos de calidad con base en la recreación histórica, no obstante, no es nueva. El modelo nace a partir de los denominados museos al aire libre, nacidos primero en Estados Unidos e inmediatamente en Centroeuropa. Es el caso de la ciudad-museo de Williamsburg, en el estado de Virginia. Este proyecto reproduce una verdadera ciudad colonial del siglo XVIII, donde el visitante se sumerge en un espacio con calles de tierra, tiendas repletas de productos coloniales, salones, edificios de madera reconstruidos o caleas tiradas por caballos. Los detalles, los aspectos materiales y la divulgación se cuidan al máximo, en un espacio de ensueño totalmente cultural y museográfico. El visitante no va a ver un museo tradicional, sino que se funde con una sociedad viva de esa centuria que contextualiza las escenas y los actos en el periodo y da respuesta a la naturaleza del poblado.²³

Dos modelos pioneros en Europa similares a los americanos son Biskupin,²⁴ en Polonia, y Eketorp,²⁵ Öland, en Suecia, ambos de la Edad Antigua. Biskupin es la reconstrucción científica de una ciudad comercial sobre el mismo yacimiento de la Edad del Hierro, del siglo VIII a.C. Se dispone del mismo modo a como era el yacimiento en la época señalada en base a un complejo proyecto de reconstrucción que alberga una naturaleza completamente museográfica. Le dan vida mediante recreación histórica sus gentes en vivo, y ubica espacios para el trabajo científico en el propio yacimiento en los que se investigan la ganadería y agricultura del yacimiento mediante arqueología experimental.²⁶

23. Sobre los aspectos metodológicos de este museo al aire libre: Handler, Richard; Gable, Eric. *The new history in an old museum: Creating the past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997; y acerca de la proyección didáctica del modelo de Williamsburg: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Nuria, eds. *Museografía didáctica*. Barcelona: Ariel Patrimonio, 2005: 76-78.

24. *Biskupin*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.biskupin.pl>>.

25. *Eketorp*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.eketorp.se>>.

26. Estas iniciativas de recreación histórica se insertan en proyectos de mayor envergadura como son los llamados museos al aire libre y las reconstrucciones *in situ* del patrimonio arqueológico.



Eketorp se alza como un recinto fortificado del siglo I d.C. sobre su propio yacimiento. Se trata de una reconstrucción con arreglo a procedimientos científicos, convertido en otro museo arqueológico en vivo en el que se cuida al ganado, se hacen oficios propios de la Edad del Hierro escandinava y se vive en distintas temporadas del año como lo hacía la cultura que levantó este tipo de espacios defensivos en los territorios bálticos al principio de nuestra era. Del mismo modo que Biskupin, Williamsburg y tantos otros, Eketorp está concebido para atraer visitantes, divulgar, educar e investigar.²⁷

Adopciones similares para la Edad Media han proliferado en Europa en estadios más recientes. El modelo basado en la recreación, como ya hemos visto, no solo involucra a universidades, centros de estudios, museos y gestores del patrimonio, sino que, en ocasiones, son las propias instituciones del estado quienes están detrás del mantenimiento y proyección de iniciativas para la investigación y difusión del patrimonio mediante esta herramienta. Nos estamos refiriendo a consorcios como *Historic Scotland*²⁸ o *English Heritage*.²⁹ Estos organismos dependen directamente del gobierno del Reino Unido, y tienen como fundamento gestionar, preservar y difundir gran parte del patrimonio de propiedad pública.

Tales consorcios llevan a cabo la gestión de los bienes de patrimonio contando de manera habitual con grupos, proyectos y empresas de didáctica y difusión de la historia y el patrimonio que usan la recreación como vehículo principal. El fenómeno de los mercados medievales, las fiestas histórica o los desfile de disfraces, tan propio del sur de Europa,³⁰ no cabe en este modelo de gestión y promoción patrimonial, que atrae al año a millones de visitantes y que tiene como objetivos primordiales la difusión de la historia y el patrimonio del Reino Unido y la creación de industrias culturales de calidad en torno a él.

Sin ir más lejos, el evento de conmemoración histórica más multitudinario de este país es la recreación de la Batalla de Hastings, contienda que tuvo lugar en 1066 y en la que el duque de Normandía, Guillermo ‘el Conquistador’, ganó para sí el trono de Inglaterra frente al rey Harold. Esta gran recreación, organizada por *English Heritage*, concita cada año a miles de recreadores históricos de toda Europa y a decenas de miles de visitantes. Los controles de autenticidad de vestuario, panoplias, tipología del armamento, orfebrería, equitación, arquería, campamento militar y otros factores son sumamente restrictivos entre los recreadores, y se exige e impone una férrea

27. Para profundizar el tratamiento museográfico, arqueológico e historiográfico de estos espacios recomendamos algunos artículos como (Eketorp): Edgren, Bengt. “Eketorp Rediviva: ‘an ongoing scientific discussion’”. *Museum international*, 50/2 (1998): 10-15; y (Biskupin): Piotrowska, Danuta. “Biskupin 1933-1996: Archaeology, politics and nationalism”. *Archaeologia Polona*, 35 (1997): 255-285. La literatura científica hispana, a este respecto y de manera monográfica, es prácticamente inexistente. Algunas reseñas pueden encontrarse en: Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...*: 31-38; o, tangencialmente, en el contexto que suscitan las discusiones sobre las reconstrucciones del patrimonio arqueológico y la función social de la arqueología: Masriera Esquerra, Clara. “Las reconstrucciones arqueológicas: problemas y tendencias”. *Her & Mus. Heritage & Museography*, 1 (2009): 41-49; Ruiz Zapatero, Gonzalo. “Fragmentos del pasado: la presentación de sitios arqueológicos y la función social de la arqueología”. *Treballs d’Arqueologia*, 5 (1998): 7-34; Belarte, Maria Carme; Masriera Esquerra, Clara; Paardekooper, Roeland; Santacana Mestre, Joan, eds. *Actes de la VI Reunio Internacional d’Arqueologia de Calafell*. Barcelona: Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2013; y Santacana Mestre, Joan. “La arqueología experimental, una disciplina con alto potencial didáctico”. *Íber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 13/57 (2008): 7-16.

28. *Historic Scotland*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<https://members.historic-scotland.gov.uk/>>.

29. *English Heritage*. 1 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>>.

30. Y propiamente hispanos.

documentación para su puesta en escena.³¹ Y todo para ofrecer al gran público un producto de calidad, abarcando tanto al consumidor menos especializado como al que más lo está, que exige un producto serio. Este tipo de eventos se articulan en torno a diferentes actos que, algunos de ellos, requieren el pago de entrada. Es, a la sazón, una industria cultural como puede ser el teatro profesional, la danza, la ópera o el cine, que ofrece al espectador un producto de calidad y unas garantías. Frente al tipo de evento poco especializado, gratuito y de entretenimiento como es el modelo antes referido, se observa un tipo de industria que no solo ofrece una seriedad y responsabilidad con la historia y el patrimonio que es de todos, sino que emplea a profesionales de la rama de las humanidades y de las ciencias sociales, infravalorados en un modelo como el anterior, que genera millones de euros de facturación en torno a la historia pero que, paradójicamente, no necesita de mano de obra especializada en ella. Además, esta industria es, en buena parte de los casos, sostenible; es decir: es el consumidor final quien la financia, y no íntegramente los ciudadanos con sus impuestos como sucede en otros modelos, quienes, en este caso, no pueden escoger la calidad de estos productos cuando se los plantan en medio de las calles.

Otra iniciativa similar es el proyecto *Jorvik Viking Center*,³² creado en 1984 en York, Reino Unido. El consumidor cultural experimenta en este espacio un verdadero viaje en el tiempo en el que se traslada a la época del Danelow, y que le sumerge en la ciudad del York en la Alta Edad Media. La reconstrucción permite visitar el propio yacimiento reconstruido con espacios del antiguo asentamiento vikingo de la ciudad, e incluso muestra el trabajo de los arqueólogos, que puede visitarse y comprenderse en directo. También cuenta con museo anexo, centro de visitantes y recreaciones todo el año.³³

Mención especial también merece el proyecto Guédelon,³⁴ que constituye otro modelo singular de museo al aire libre. Guédelon es excepcional en sí mismo. Ubicado en Treigny, Francia, se trata del proyecto de la construcción de un castillo del siglo XIII únicamente mediante técnicas y materiales propios de la Edad Media. Las obras comenzaron en 1997 gracias a Michel Guyot, propietario del cercano castillo de Saint-Fargeau, y se prolongarán hasta 2020, cuando estará completamente terminado. La dirección arquitectónica de la obra planteó el proyecto como la reconstrucción de un castillo de la época del Felipe II, y su desarrollo se realiza estrictamente con materiales, técnicas y procedimientos del periodo.³⁵ El proyecto se concibe, por un lado, como un vasto museo al aire libre fundamentado en la didáctica y en la arqueología experimental. Por otro, como un incentivo para la creación de puestos de trabajo.³⁶ Se trata, pues, de investigar las técnicas y procedimientos de construcción medieval: se usan elevadores y andamios de los siglos XII y XIII, el vestuario de los recreadores/obreros es el de la centuria, los métodos de trabajo, traslado y decoración de materiales son los propios de la Edad Media, y un largo etcétera de factores que hacen de Guédelon un museo viviente. La reconstrucción es foco de atracción para universidades, escuelas de ingeniería y

31. Gapps, Stephen. "Mobile monuments: A view of historical reenactment and authenticity from inside the costume cup board of history". *Rethinking History*, 13/3 (2009): 395-409.

32. *Jorvik Viking Centre*. 2 de diciembre de 2017 <<https://www.jorvikvikingcentre.co.uk/>>.

33. Ballart Fernández, Josep; Juan i Tresserras, Jordi. *Gestión del patrimonio cultural*. Barcelona: Ariel Patrimonio, 2012: 206; y en: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía...*: 428.

34. *Guédelon*. 2 de diciembre de 2017 <<https://www.guedelon.fr/>>.

35. Baud, Anne; Martin, Maryline. "Guédelon: chantier d'archéologie expérimentale", *Actes de la VI Reunioà Internacional d'Arqueologia de Calafell*, Maria Carme Belarte, Clara Masriera Esquerra, Roeland Paardekoooper, Joan Santacana Mestre, eds. Barcelona: Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2013: 65-72.

36. Mantiene en la actualidad 55 puestos de trabajo de manera continuada.



arquitectura, así como liceos y colegios de enseñanzas primarias y medias. No solo se proyecta para la investigación y la difusión, sino que se está consolidando como un motor de desarrollo turístico: en la actualidad atrae a más de 300.000 visitantes al año.

En lo que respecta al sur de Europa, es preciso señalar que aunque el modelo de difusión del patrimonio basado en la recreación ha tenido y tiene menos calado, en la actualidad se están desarrollando algunos proyectos que merecen ser reseñados. En el caso de España, la recreación histórica, en general, se encuentra en una fase embrionaria. Las administraciones todavía desconocen este recurso como vehículo de difusión del patrimonio, y el mundo académico prácticamente carece de relación alguna con esta disciplina. En particular, la recreación de la Edad Media en España constituye el ejemplo más notable de esta diáspora de atención. El *reenactment* medieval español se debate en la actualidad entre su fatal permeabilidad dentro de un modelo cultural dominado por los mercados medievales y las fiestas históricas, y la reivindicación de su desarrollo como práctica seria y de base científica. En este último caso, adolece de proyectos de conjunto que le otorguen una posición de importancia a nivel nacional, reduciéndose a iniciativas descontextualizadas entre sí y bajo el abrigo de un ánimo totalmente aficionado.

En Italia, aunque la estructuración responde a un perfil similar, existen iniciativas que colaboran codo con codo con administraciones y proyectos de investigación públicos, como por ejemplo la plataforma *Rievocando*,³⁷ que aunque aglutina eventos y proyectos de distintas índoles, supone un punto de referencia para grupos e iniciativas de recreación. Algo similar constituye el CERS (*Consortium of European Reenactment Societies*),³⁸ institución de presencia en varios países de Europa pero que tiene su presidencia en el país itálico. Este consorcio engloba eventos también de varios perfiles, y acomete iniciativas a nivel europeo en las que fomenta el turismo cultural en torno a la historia y el patrimonio.

La proliferación de grupos y asociaciones culturales en España dedicadas a la recreación de la Edad Media ha sido notable en los últimos años. No obstante, el posicionamiento hacia la organización de eventos y acciones particulares o privadas, de un perfil plenamente amateur, ha fomentado, en algunos casos, una invisibilidad por parte de las administraciones hacia estos grupos, que en raras ocasiones cuentan con ellos para proyectos serios de gestión del patrimonio, gestión y comunicación cultural o proyectos educativos de base territorial. Destacan, no obstante, algunos grupos que por su perfil profesional³⁹ se han erigido como adalides de este nuevo modelo, gozan de visibilidad en documentales o series históricas y asisten regularmente a eventos europeos de prestigio. Es el caso, por ejemplo, del Clan del Cuervo,⁴⁰ asociación que recrea la Antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media hasta el siglo XII.

Otros proyectos han conseguido reunir a numerosos grupos en torno a una época o a un periodo concreto, generando acontecimientos que poco a poco comienzan a tener visibilidad en el panorama de eventos a nivel nacional. Estamos hablando de la Hispania de los Vikingos,⁴¹ proyecto que realiza eventos anuales a los que asisten grupos y asociaciones de toda España y que recrea,

37. *Rievocando*. 3 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.rievocando.it>>.

38. *Consortium of European Re-enactment Societies*. 3 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.cersonweb.org>>.

39. Quizás no para vivir de ello, pero sí en su planteamiento: documentación e investigación colegiada, trabajo de gestión cultural profesional y capacidad de divulgación a gran escala.

40. *Asociación Cultural El Clan del Cuervo*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.clandelcuervo.com>>.

41. *Hispania Vikinga*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://hispania-vikinga.blogspot.com.es>>.

con más o menos acierto, el contexto histórico de las invasiones vikingas ibéricas, así como los reinos y territorios al norte de al-Ándalus en los siglos VIII, IX, X y XI.

Otras iniciativas no contaron con el apoyo de la comunidad recreadora, a pesar de constituir un buen comienzo para la reunión de fuerzas en este sentido de cara a fomentar un modelo para las administraciones que, en la mayoría de los casos, directamente desconocen. Entre ellas se encuentra el I Congreso Internacional para la Recreación de la Historia, que se celebró en Barbastro (Huesca) en 2015 y que contó con los representantes más destacados de este modelo a nivel nacional.⁴² A pesar del loable inicio, ha carecido de continuidad.

Son solo algunos ejemplos, y podrían añadirse otros más. Sin embargo, la recreación medieval está teniendo también otros enfoques. Es el caso de los proyectos que se llevan a cabo en Europa con respecto a las prácticas deportivas que tenían lugar en la Edad Media, y que están volviendo a la vida desde una perspectiva recreadora. Es el caso de los torneos medievales o *Jousting*, deporte de contacto de raíz histórica que consiste, del mismo modo que en el Medioevo, en recrear pasos de armas a caballo en los que varios caballeros se batían para conseguir la victoria. Los torneos se han focalizado en el siglo XV, mayoritariamente, y responden a un perfil de organización similar al que seguían en la Baja Edad Media: una celebración de naturaleza urbana, en ciudades o castillos, donde se daban premios en metálico o especie, y en los que varios miembros de las élites nobiliarias se jugaban el honor mediante enfrentamiento armado. Estos torneos históricos, que en la Edad Media, paradójicamente, podían ser también recreaciones de hechos anteriores, adquirieron una naturaleza deportiva a partir del siglo XIV, por lo que se embotaron armas y se establecieron protocolos de puesta en escena para el disfrute del vulgo congregado. En los torneos actuales, aun con las consabidas medidas de seguridad, se reproducen las fases y los objetivos, es decir: se trata de descabalar al adversario al galope en la fase de justa, de golpear con armas de cortesía en la fase propia de torneo, o de derribarlo en la fase de combate desmontado. Todo esto se hace con réplicas de armaduras que reproducen pesos, medidas y diseños extraídos de museos. A pesar de constituir una práctica bien asentada desde hace años en Reino Unido, Alemania, EEUU o Canadá, el sur de Europa carece de una tradición similar, salvo honrosas excepciones. Caso de *Les Ecuyers de l'Histoire*,⁴³ en Francia, que organizan uno de los torneos más afamados de Europa: el torneo de l'Ordre de Saint Michel. O la Compañía de *l'Aquila Bianca*⁴⁴ italiana, que pertenece a la Federación Italiana de Deporte Equestre. En España el modelo de fiesta histórica ha promovido en los últimos años la creación de compañías de teatro que realizan espectáculos con caballos que ellos mismos denominan torneos medievales. No obstante, estos autodenominados torneos no se asemejan en absoluto a lo que era esta práctica en el Medioevo. En ellos se ven atuendos de colores y telas sintéticas propias de las fiestas de moros y cristianos, ausencia de armaduras históricas (cuando no son directamente de plástico), y fases y procedimientos que no se documentan en ninguna parte de Europa en referencia a este tipo de acontecimientos. No obstante, existe un proyecto de recreación llamado *Jousting Iberia*,⁴⁵ pionero a nivel nacional, que sí realiza torneos completamente históricos y que en los dos últimos años ha implementado iniciativas para la difusión de los verdaderos torneos medievales en España, con presencia en algunos bienes de patrimonio y en diversos eventos.

42. Como la dirección del festival de divulgación histórica más importante de este país: *Festival Tarraco Viva*. 4 de diciembre de 2018 <<https://www.tarracoviva.com>>.

43. *Les Ecuyers de l'Histoire*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://ecuyersdelhistoire.e-monsite.com>>.

44. *Compagnia dell'Aquila Bianca*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://aquilabianca.org>>.

45. *Jousting Iberia, equitación histórica*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.joustingiberia.com>>.



Y, por último, reseñamos otro deporte que en los últimos años ha experimentado un crecimiento casi desorbitado, y que tiene también una base histórica. Como tal, es una práctica de competición que no busca difundir el pasado, sin embargo, los controles de autenticidad en las armaduras y armas (del siglo XIV, por lo general) hacen de él una práctica violenta basada en las artes marciales europeas. Se trata del HMB (*Historical Medieval Battles*); Combate Medieval, en su acepción hispana; o *bohurt*, en la francesa. Surge en Rusia en la década de los noventa, y se define como un deporte de *full-contact* donde se utilizan armas ofensivas y defensivas propias de la Edad Media, y que posee un reglamento específico para cada tipo de competición histórica, asistido por un cuerpo de arbitraje que hace que se cumpla dicho reglamento tanto en el ámbito deportivo como en el histórico.⁴⁶ Se trata de una práctica violenta donde el combate es libre con cualquier tipo de arma real.⁴⁷ El reglamento estipula qué golpes no están permitidos, o cómo ha de terminar un combate para ganar la competición. Existen diferentes modalidades en este tipo de torneos, y en la actualidad hay una gran cantidad de selecciones nacionales en todo el mundo y una federación internacional. Una práctica que va sumando adeptos a lo largo y ancho de todo el globo, y que en cada acontecimiento reúne a decenas de miles de personas. Los últimos campeonatos internacionales han tenido lugar en espacios como la ciudadela de Carcasona o el castillo de Belmonte (Cuenca).

4. El reenactment medieval, la problemática de la heurística

Como hemos visto, la recreación histórica, desde el sentido más estricto del término, tiene por objeto divulgar, interpretar o educar en el pasado. Sin embargo esta disciplina también es una práctica recreativa. En cualquiera de los dos casos, los proyectos que implementan acciones basadas en la recreación histórica consideran indispensable una documentación previa, amparada en el método histórico.

Y es este aspecto el que hace de esta disciplina una herramienta a tener en cuenta para la difusión del pasado. La recreación histórica, sin una fase heurística de método científico, pierde su razón de ser.

¿De qué manera localiza y recopila las fuentes que la hacen posible, y qué relación tiene con el resto de fases del método histórico? Para responder a esta cuestión tenemos que entender que la recreación histórica, por sí misma, encuentra importantes problemas para difundir la historia más allá de la propia cultura material. En la actualidad, y por diversos factores, la recreación no ha sabido superar el reduccionismo que supone difundir, únicamente, aspectos muy concretos sobre vestuario, impedimenta, cultura material, costumbres, prácticas en desuso, protocolos ceremoniales, rituales o liturgias. Es decir, una escena de *historia viviente* es capaz de mostrar y difundir cómo era el vestuario, cuáles eran los modales que se requerían en la mesa o cómo eran las técnicas de combate con espada y broquel en el segundo tercio del siglo XV, pero no es capaz de explicar, por sí misma, el contexto y las consecuencias del nacimiento del Sindicato de Remensas en 1440, o la evolución de la escritura desde la cuneiforme hasta la invención de la imprenta de Guttenberg en ese mismo periodo, por ejemplo. O lo que es lo mismo, no es capaz de contextualizar y explicar por sí sola procesos históricos complejos. Por todo ello, es lógico que desde un principio haya sido arrinconada a una práctica de perfil educativo, y con reservas. No obstante, como veremos más

46. Martínez Ciruelos, Jordi. *Bohurt, La melé del antiguo deporte de combate medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Alas, 2014.

47. Por descontado, las armas ofensivas no llevan punta ni filo, aunque son metálicas y de todo tipo: espadas, alabardas, mazas, hachas.

adelante, este constructo puede superarse dotando a la práctica de otros resortes que la complementen. En cualquier caso, para la difusión de la historia, sea en el nivel que sea, la recreación histórica se basa en el uso de fuentes primarias y secundarias.

Cabría esperar que esta práctica bebiese principalmente de fuentes secundarias, pero no es menos cierto que la historiografía relativa a los aspectos del pasado que constituyen la espina dorsal de la recreación (cultura material, sobre todo), no es ciertamente muy abundante. La producción historiográfica sobre vida cotidiana experimentó un crecimiento a partir del nacimiento del concepto de historia total, algo que ocurrió hace algunas décadas. Además, otras disciplinas auxiliares de la historia medieval, como la arqueología, tienen en el sur de Europa una vida relativamente corta. Por esta razón, la heurística de la que bebe la recreación histórica, y concretamente la focalizada en la Edad Media, se ampara no tanto en la historiografía y otras fuentes secundarias como en las fuentes iconográficas, arqueológicas y, en menor medida, las documentales. Es decir: en fuentes primarias.

Las fuentes documentales aportan y han aportado a la recreación histórica no solo conocimiento sobre elementos propios de la cultura material, sino la denominación propia de la época de los elementos a reconstruir, su procedencia, su valor pecuniario o su hechura. Por todo ello no es extraño ver cómo entre las fuentes de los recreadores se encuentran colecciones diplomáticas de instituciones y congregaciones, documentación gremial o administrativa, y tantas otras que inventarían prendas de vestir, alimentos, armas, armaduras, menaje, ingenios militares; así como tratados bélicos, de ciencia, herbolaria, poliorcética, etc. La visión de esta documentación, en muchos casos, ahonda en aspectos que otros investigadores pueden encontrar triviales o no relevantes para sus objetos de estudio. No obstante, es preciso no obviar que la información que aportan las fuentes documentales es textual y no visual. Esto permite reunir conocimiento importante para reconstruir, pero no esencial. Para reconstruir la historia necesitaremos, obligatoriamente, de otras fuentes primarias como la iconografía y la arqueología medieval.

Por consiguiente, buena parte del trabajo del investigador que va a recrear la historia se centra en los museos, bienes de patrimonio y otros. Esta prerrogativa se cumple en la teoría, y a veces no del todo en la práctica. Actualmente el recreador histórico de la Edad Media adolece en muchos aspectos de la asunción de una metodología de investigación mínimamente profesional. Esto se debe, en buena medida, a su perfil amateur. Aunque el recreador asume que su práctica es para la difusión, en realidad la desarrolla de forma recreativa o hobby, dejando en un segundo plano procedimientos rigurosos de investigación en fuentes, así como metodologías profesionales de divulgación y comunicación.

En este sentido, la recreación medieval en España acusa algunos vicios que es necesario superar para dotar de más rigor la disciplina. Por un lado la costumbre del recreador medio poco formado de adoptar elementos vistos en otros recreadores, sin cotejar si estos son correctos para el periodo; muchas veces esto se hace con respecto a recreadores de otras latitudes, cuyas culturas para nada tienen que ver con la propia que deseamos reconstruir. En otras ocasiones, tal práctica implica caer en el uso de réplicas directamente anacrónicas. De otro lado, el recreador carece de una base teórica para la investigación en historia y patrimonio, por cuanto desconoce: cómo se organiza el material arqueológico encontrado en los yacimientos; qué colecciones muestran o almacenan los museos, o cuáles están o no inventariadas; qué publicaciones o cartas arqueológicas dan cuenta de los yacimientos que dieron restos arqueológicos del periodo a recrear; o qué estado de la cuestión existe en cuanto a la tipología de estos materiales y estos yacimientos. El desconocimiento



en algunos casos de procedimientos y recursos que cualquier investigador maneja implica que la reconstrucción de la Edad Media baje de calidad.

No solo eso. A la reflexión anterior hay que añadir que reconstruir el medievo entraña confrontar discusiones sobre detalles o elementos culturales que las fuentes arqueológicas o documentales no discernen, por ello se hace necesario tomar como fuente de primera mano la iconografía. De hecho, se puede afirmar que esta constituye la documentación principal en la recreación medieval española. Entre los grupos proliferan los manuales caseros y capturas digitales que únicamente muestran fuentes iconográficas para informar sobre cómo vestirse o armarse; la arqueología, en muchas ocasiones, no se añade a estos manuales. Es cierto que la iconografía nos permite, por un lado, reconstruir los vacíos que la arqueología deja, sobre todo en relación a materiales perecederos; pero por otro también favorece la creación de imágenes estáticas idealizadas que conllevan el establecimiento de modelos axiomáticos para la comunidad recreadora, cuya autenticidad debería someterse a debates historiográficos serios.

Por lo general, las fuentes iconográficas en las que se amparan los recreadores medievales para reconstruir el pasado son las iluminaciones de los códices, las imágenes escultóricas y las obras pictóricas, en sus diversos soportes.

Actualmente a la iconografía se le arrojan dos acepciones: 1) la rama de la historia del arte que se ocupa de la descripción e interpretación de lo representado en la obra de arte, y 2) la disciplina subsidiaria de la historia que se ocupa del estudio pormenorizado del contenido de la obra de arte tratando a esta como un documento.⁴⁸ La recreación histórica toma esta segunda acepción dentro del método que implementa en su documentación. Ahora bien, es importante entender que los análisis iconográficos del arte medieval parten de la naturaleza simbólica de la imagen en los presupuestos analíticos de cualquier figura artística.⁴⁹ En cualquier análisis de este tipo de fuentes se ponen en marcha metodologías fundamentadas en la semiótica y la hermenéutica,⁵⁰ aspecto que, aunque suele obviarse por parte del recreador medieval, no debe tomarse a la ligera, pues a veces se nos olvida que la imagen medieval es en sí misma un símbolo y no una fiel representación de la realidad. No debemos obviar la importancia del símbolo y su significado en relación con la época, el lugar, el destinatario o la formación del artista; además de que la iconografía medieval es un fenómeno en su mayoría al servicio del poder religioso.⁵¹

Así pues, hay que tomar la reconstrucción de cultura material tomando como base una representación artística conociendo la propia naturaleza de la obra. Si nos documentamos para reconstruir la Edad Media tomando como fuente la iconografía, es necesario adoptar una metodología de investigación previa que considere: 1) la simbología real de la imagen y 2) la identidad del artista,

48. Santo Tomás Pérez, Magdalena. *Las imágenes como fuente para el estudio de la Historia*. Valladolid: Castilla Ediciones, 2009.

49. Sobre simbología y dualidad en la iconografía medieval ver Baschet, Jérôme. *L'iconographie médiévale*. París: Editions Gallimard, 2013: 15 y ss.

50. De hecho, las bases del análisis iconográfico del arte pueden localizarse en la obra de Erwin Panofsky, quien considera tres niveles metodológicos en el análisis de cualquier imagen artística: 1) Descripción preiconográfica, donde se capta el sentido del fenómeno para poder describirlo en su vertiente más técnica. 2) Análisis iconográfico. Permite profundizar en los motivos y significado de la obra e identificarla con total precisión. 3) Interpretación iconográfica o iconológica. Que tiene por objeto la captación del significado más profundo de la obra. Panofsky, Erwin. *El significado en las artes visuales*. Madrid: Alianza, 1995, 51 and ss.

51. Baschet, Jérôme. *L'iconographie...*: 18.

o cuanto menos su exacción social y si se le presumen conocimientos sobre la imagen que está representando. Solo de ese modo validaremos la fiabilidad de la fuente.

Por consiguiente, definimos la problemática heurística de la recreación histórica en torno a cuatro problemas básicos, que desarrollamos a continuación. El primero es el que denominamos *El problema de la realidad*. Tiene que ver con la intención del artista del medievo, que no es representar con un alto nivel de detalle imágenes del periodo, sino transmitir a partir ellas una simbología, un mensaje. La imagen no es la obra en sí, sino el símbolo que esta transmite. Este problema puede estar detrás, por ejemplo, de que el artista esculpa o ilumine detalles de vestuario o útiles cotidianos con arreglo a soluciones estéticas triviales y no exhaustivas. Insistimos: los autores no pretenden mostrar con realismo su realidad, sino comunicar mensajes.

El segundo es *El problema de la imaginación*. Los códices iluminados, por ejemplo, eran realizados en contextos estrictamente monacales, sin embargo son las fuentes más utilizadas para documentar hasta el último detalle en las impedimentas de los hombres armados. Los monjes podían tener conocimientos muy limitados sobre cómo ceñían las armas los caballeros en el siglo XII, cómo era la hechura de sus almófares o cofias de malla, o cuáles eran los arreos de un caballo de guerra. No obstante, se toman como referencias irrenunciables las imágenes de códices copiados por monjes como fuentes militares, aun desconociendo cuáles fueron las referencias que les inspiraron para iluminar escenas de guerra. Añadiendo a esta aleatoriedad que algunos códices eran copias de los originales, lo que habría ocasionado cambios importantes con respecto a las imágenes iniciales. Es importante tener en cuenta que el autor de la fuente iconográfica puede tener conocimientos reducidos de lo que está reproduciendo, y esto conlleva invenciones en la obra o soluciones basadas en su imaginación. Si nosotros reconstruimos y mostramos un elemento tomado de una fuente cuyo autor lo imaginó por desconocimiento, estaremos asumiendo como real algo que nunca existió.

Una tercera referencia es *El problema de territorialidad*. Este condicionante se da cuando tomamos como válida una fuente iconográfica cuyo autor reprodujo a cientos o miles de kilómetros de distancia de la sociedad que deseamos recrear. El problema se revela en iluminaciones, capiteles, frisos o frescos. Es evidente que las modas de vestuario, así como otras costumbres, no eran las mismas en todos los lugares. Muchas prendas se llevaron en la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XIII, pero no se documentan en Borgoña, por ejemplo. Lo que vale para un territorio puede no ser correcto para otro. Y esto se agrava cuando la producción de algunas fuentes, caso de los códices iluminados, se hacía en talleres especializados, y de ellos se servían a distintos territorios de la cristiandad. Un caso sobre este problema lo tenemos en el Vidal Mayor, que se conserva en el Museo de la Fundación Paul Getty.⁵² Dice la profesora Lacarra Ducay sobre este códice:

Estudiadas analíticamente las ciento cincuenta y seis miniaturas y sus decoraciones marginales confirman su parentesco con obras realizadas en territorio francés o en el sudeste de Inglaterra que constituyen, con las parisinas, una sola familia. A todas ellas cabe incluirlas dentro del llamado “Estilo inglés del Canal”, para expresar “el conjunto de caracteres comunes, independientemente de las diferencias locales”.⁵³

52. Santa Mónica, California.

53. Lacarra Ducay, María del Carmen. “El manuscrito del Vidal Mayor. Estudio histórico-artístico de sus miniaturas”, *La miniatura y el grabado de la Baja Edad Media en los archivos españoles*, María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, ed. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012: 20.



De ser así, el manuscrito habría sido producido en un taller del sur de Inglaterra o del norte del Francia. Curiosamente, los recreadores medievales toman sus miniaturas como ejemplo idealizado de personajes aragoneses y catalanes de la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, cuando quien lo iluminó, con toda probabilidad, tomó como modelos los propios de donde vivía. Incluso se da el caso de recreadores que reproducen el tipo de capiello⁵⁴ que aparece en sus iluminaciones, inexplicablemente achatado y contraído, sin pararse a pensar si esta prenda era realmente así o, como todo parece indicar, responde a una licencia del autor en su representación.

El último de los cuatro problemas en torno a la heurística de la recreación es *El problema de la atemporalidad*. Ningún recreador histórico encarnaría a un soldado romano del siglo I d.C. armado con coselete⁵⁵ del siglo XVI, sin embargo es de ese modo como muchos frescos y obras pictóricas muestran a los legionarios romanos en la Pasión de Cristo durante el Renacimiento. Como normal general, los artistas reproducen en sus obras escenas idénticas a como lo fueron en su realidad temporal. El artista medieval no posee constructos culturales que le permitan saber cómo vestían o se armaban personajes del pasado, por eso los personajes de la Biblia aparecen vestidos de forma similar a como se hacía en el momento en que fueron pintados o esculpidos. Esto, que hasta cierto punto parece obvio, supone un problema cuando los artistas representan momentos pasados que no son tan lejanos en el tiempo como pueden ser los pasajes del Nuevo o el Antiguo Testamento. Es el caso, por ejemplo, de las pinturas murales que albergó el palacio Aguilar (Barcelona),⁵⁶ y que reproducen la conquista de Mallorca por parte de las tropas feudales de Jaime I. Los frescos están fechados entre 1285 y 1290, y narran hechos habidos entre 1229 y 1231. A pesar de este desfase cronológico, los grupos de recreación histórica que reconstruyen el primer tercio del siglo XIII tienen como base de inspiración estas pinturas en lo referente a armas, armaduras o blasones. Son sesenta años los que median entre la realización de las pinturas y el hecho representado, lo que hace prácticamente impensable que los autores precedieran el acto artístico de una documentación para saber cómo eran las panoplias de los caballeros y guerreros durante la conquista de la isla. Es decir, lo más probable es que estos pintaran en base a la realidad de su propia época, la de 1290. Por tanto, reprodujeron una escena histórica sesenta años después, plasmando una tecnología coetánea a su trabajo y no al del momento de la conquista.

5. El reenactment medieval, la problemática de la metodología

El interés por la recreación medieval en el ámbito mediterráneo ha crecido en los últimos años desde una perspectiva militarista. El gusto por recrear elementos y constructos de la cultura militar ha dejado de lado otros aspectos de este periodo. No es menos cierto, también, que recientemente se observa un incipiente crecimiento de grupos de aficionados que ponen en escena otras modalidades de recreación relacionadas con la vida civil: vida cotidiana (de las diversas clases sociales), modelos religiosos (ritos sacramentales, ceremonias, eucaristías...) y otros acontecimientos civiles (como coronaciones, banquetes, torneos...).

54. Tocado o gorro masculino del siglo XIII.

55. Media armadura vestida por la infantería de época moderna. También se denomina así al miembro de la infantería de un tercio hispano armado con esta media armadura, que solía ocupar por su veteranía los puestos más destacados en las formaciones de batalla.

56. Actualmente en el Museo Nacional de Arte de Catalunya.

Desde este prisma militar, el aficionado a la recreación militar del Medievo suele portar equipos constituidos por las denominadas armas negras, que se caracterizan por reproducir modelos históricos carentes de filo y punta. A nivel europeo existen varios sistemas de lucha deportivos reglamentados en los que existen blancos del cuerpo prohibidos y otros condicionantes en aras de la seguridad. Del mismo modo, hay que reseñar el crecimiento de las prácticas militares relacionadas con las *Historical European Martial Arts*, una práctica deportiva basada en la documentación histórica que reproduce técnicas de combate con armas europeas de la Edad Media y la Edad Moderna. Sus practicantes se organizan en escuelas y academias federadas, que son tuteladas por organismos internacionales, como la *Academy of European of Medieval Arts*. Esta entidad define su labor y la de los que se dedican a esta disciplina como:

*[...] is focused on the research, reconstruction and resurrection of authentic mediaeval combative systems (armed, unarmed, armoured and unarmoured), firmly based on the works of the late 14th century Friulian swordmaster by the name of Fiore dei Liberi, demonstrating the deadly practicality and effectiveness of the art as it applies to today's personal self-defense.*⁵⁷

También es cierto que las imposiciones reglamentarias conforme a la seguridad desdibujan en cierto sentido un acercamiento pleno al combate medieval, pues prohíben estocadas y otros golpes fundamentales en los procedimientos marciales de la época. Esto, no obstante, no ha ocultado la capacidad de estas prácticas para divulgar otros elementos como las tácticas de combate.⁵⁸

Independientemente de este interés por todo lo militar, lo cierto es que en España los practicantes de la recreación medieval aducen implementar metodologías cercanas tanto al método histórico, a la divulgación y, en último término, a la arqueología experimental. Porque la disciplina no solo permite difundir la historia para una mayor comprensión de esta, sino que también puede servir para investigarla.

La arqueología experimental se ha conformado en los últimos años como una disciplina valiosísima para interpretar el pasado, constituyendo una pieza ya fundamental en el estudio de la prehistoria. No obstante, es necesario comprender que la información que esta suministra difiere en gran medida de la ofrecida mediante otros procedimientos,⁵⁹ y que la forma de asunción e inserción en el método científico significará el rédito que esta puede aportar a cualquier investigación. En relación al método histórico, la asunción de la arqueología experimental para investigar el Medievo es casi una práctica inaudita, teniendo en cuenta que se aleja sobremedida de los procedimientos tradicionales de investigación. En cualquier caso, y a pesar de constituir un procedimiento por explorar, el recreador medieval puede experimentar, desde una praxis purista, aspectos relacionados con la alimentación, la higiene, la organización militar o la fabricación de elementos mediante técnicas de la época, entre otras cosas.⁶⁰ No olvidemos que para implementar experiencias didácticas que

57. "Se enfoca en la investigación, reconstrucción y recreación de auténticos sistemas de combate medievales (armados, desarmados, con y sin armadura), firmemente basados en las obras del maestro de espadas friuliano de finales del siglo XIV Fiore dei Liberi, demostrando tanto la practicidad y la eficacia letales de este arte como su aplicación en la actualidad como defensa personal". *Academy of European Medieval Martial Arts*. 4 de diciembre de 2017 <<http://www.aemma.org>>.

58. Balbás, Yeyo. "La Recreación..."

59. Baena, Javier. "Arqueología experimental, algo más que un juego". *Boletín de Arqueología Experimental*, 1 (1997): 2-5. Interesante también, a este respecto, el profundo trabajo y reflexión en: Reynolds, Peter; Espadaler, M. Pilar. *Arqueología experimental: una perspectiva de futuro*. Barcelona: Eumo, 1988.

60. Santacana Mestre, Joan. "La arqueología experimental...": 8-11. No olvidemos, como analizaremos más adelante, su valor como elemento no solo de investigación, sino didáctico: Martín Piñol, Carolina. "La Edad Media: entre la empatía



enseñen el pasado, la experimentación se rebela como una de las herramientas más importantes,⁶¹ tal como ya introdujo Dewey para las corrientes educativas modernas. Al margen de estas posibilidades, no es menos cierto que en España el recreador medieval asume poca vocación científica; las comunidades de aficionados adolecen de conexiones con el mundo de la investigación y de un interés por divulgar en círculos científicos estudios serios a este respecto.

Porque si algo caracteriza a los presupuestos metodológicos de la práctica de la recreación histórica medieval en España es su amateurismo. Aunque este factor parece un condicionante de obligado cumplimiento por parte de los practicantes, que lo proclaman y respetan, lo cierto es que la dedicación no especializada a esta disciplina acarrea déficits de rigor profesional en componentes tan importantes como la comunicación, la divulgación, la didáctica, la gestión cultural, la investigación o la publicación de resultados de investigación, en el caso de una hipotética arqueología experimental. Algunos grupos de recreación histórica medieval han alcanzado buenos niveles en la reproducción de cultura material de la Edad Media, pero carecen de aptitudes profesionales que permitan divulgar con calidad; desconocen los principios fundamentales de la didáctica para mostrar el pasado con rigor, o siguen pautas de organización que no obedecen a métodos de gestión cultural para el desarrollo de proyectos de calidad. Aptitudes necesarias, no obstante, en cualquier profesión relacionada con la difusión del patrimonio.

Esta concepción del recreacionismo como hobby genera una praxis de perfil privado, donde el recreador actúa por filantropía y para sí mismo, constituyéndose como centro de la práctica. Actualmente, se recrea porque se disfruta al hacerlo, como pasatiempo, lo que deja consecuentemente en un segundo plano todo lo referente a una divulgación de calidad y a una difusión del conocimiento desde un prisma científico. Aunque florecen grupos y particulares a los que sí les arroja un procedimiento científico de documentación, las metodologías que usan para su puesta en práctica constata que lo que hacen es practicar, mera y llanamente, una afición.

En este sentido, la prueba de ello es la inadvertencia del mundo recreacionista entre programadores culturales y gestores del patrimonio. Este, en cierto modo, suele estar más preocupado por realizar eventos de corte privado (o público, pero con reservas) donde disfrutar del recreacionismo concebido como hobby particular. Algo que explica, en buena medida, la peregrina acogida del modelo anglosajón en las estructuras de difusión cultural del país.

6. Conclusiones e inercias: hacia un horizonte fundamentado en la didáctica

Es necesario analizar los factores que hacen que la recreación medieval se aproxime a la didáctica, pero también los que la alejan. Ahondar en los aspectos psicosociales del ser humano en épocas pretéritas mediante prácticas propias de ellas puede ayudarnos a comprender cómo vivían. Sin embargo, el pasado constituye un tiempo que no volverá, por lo que es imposible reconstruir un momento que no tuvo los mismos condicionantes físicos, psicológicos, temporales, espaciales o sociales con los que, irremediamente, pretendemos aproximarnos a él en un momento actual. Estamos totalmente limitados por el paradigma con el que interpretamos el presente,⁶² y eso hace

y la experimentación". *Iber: Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 13/57 (2008): 52-59.

61. Gómez Cardona, Gemma; Feliu Torruella, Maria. "Arqueología, vivencia y comprensión del pasado". *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 78 (2014): 15-25.

62. Estas reflexiones sobre la recreación como herramienta para investigar la historia son expuestas magistralmente por A. Cook, quien deja al descubierto la fiebre en los últimos años de las cadenas anglosajonas por ofrecer documentales

imposible, como es obvio, retornar a momentos que ya nunca volverán. Por tanto, como herramienta para acercarnos al pasado con objeto de estudiarlo, debemos considerar sus bondades pero también sus limitaciones.

Este planteamiento puede cambiar cuando usamos la recreación histórica como método para difundir resultados de investigación. De hecho, todo acto de recreación está basado, en sí mismo, es una investigación previa, sea del mismo recreador o no. Por consiguiente, la recreación es un buen método de divulgación del pasado, con los condicionantes a los que hemos aludido. Conviene no dejar de lado la concepción didáctica de cualquier constructo actual de un periodo de la historia. Porque divulgar un conocimiento científico no es garante, por sí solo, de que exista aprendizaje. Para que la recreación medieval se ampare en la didáctica, esta debe adaptarse conforme a las propias metodologías de esta disciplina, aunque sea en entornos de enseñanza-aprendizaje no formales. Toda práctica de recreación medieval pública se convierte de facto en un recurso museográfico, por cuanto pretende mostrar aspectos del pasado por medio de prácticas vivenciales. Por todo ello, desde una dimensión plenamente didáctica, quien está experimentando ese proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje es tanto el propio recreador como el público.⁶³ Pero para hacer de la recreación medieval un amplio transmisor de conocimientos no debemos reducirla a su práctica, pues muy pocos tendrían el tiempo para hacerlo. Es necesario involucrar a un consumidor cultural que pueda tocar, ver y sentir en directo una aproximación lo más rigurosa posible al pasado. Esto no es óbice para pensar que la práctica en sí misma de la recreación medieval pueda ser una herramienta de gran valor para el aprendizaje de la historia en contextos educativos formales,⁶⁴ sobre todo considerando que nos permite trabajar el aspecto más importante a considerar en la enseñanza de la historia, que no es otro que la empatía.

En todo caso, ¿la recreación de escenas medievales es útil para educar sobre este periodo histórico? No por sí sola. Para que se dé un contexto de enseñanza-aprendizaje en ámbitos no formales ha de haber de por medio estrategias basadas en principios propios de la didáctica, que tengan en cuenta el conocimiento previo de la audiencia, de modo contrario será imposible acercarnos a un aprendizaje significativo. Podemos recrear un gabinete burocrático bajomedieval y enseñar qué unidades de medida eran usadas en una alhóndiga aragonesa del siglo XV, pero si nuestra audiencia desconoce qué era una alhóndiga y cuáles eran sus funciones, difícilmente podremos difundir la forma de calcular, almacenar y administrar el grano en esa época. Por ello se hace necesario conocer a nuestra audiencia para elaborar un guion museográfico acorde a sus conocimientos, y que nuestro discurso sobre lo recreado parta de ellos.⁶⁵

Es necesario también reconstruir con ánimo de apelar a las emociones, pues sin ellas no hay aprendizaje. Si reconstruimos aspectos relacionados con la herejía albigense pero no elaboramos un discurso oral y visual que apele a la empatía y las emociones de la audiencia, será difícil difundir por qué fue perseguida. Conviene también establecer distintos niveles de comunicación para poder

históricos para el gran público, en ocasiones, alejados del rigor científico que merecerían, cuando no rebozados de un aire de reality moderno. Cook, Alexander. "The use and abuse of historical reenactment: thoughts on recent trends in public history". *Criticism*, 46/3 (2004): 487-496.

63. Jiménez Torregrosa, Lorena; Rojo Ariza, María Carmen. "Recreación histórica y didáctica". *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, geografía e historia*, 78 (2014): 36.

64. Martín Piñol, Carolina. "La Edad Media: entre la empatía...": 53.

65. Muchos de estos principios guardan estrecha relación con los de la museografía didáctica. Ver: Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografía...: 89-96.*; y Llonch Molina, Nayra; Santacana Mestre, Joan. *Claves de la museografía...: 14-15.*



dirigirnos a distintos públicos, o, en último término, elaborar escenas de recreación que permitan ir de lo simple a lo complejo, y de ese modo introducir conceptos de mayor complejidad a aquellos que desconocen el periodo histórico que tratamos de mostrar. No debemos presentar solo conceptos en la enseñanza del tiempo, sino también procedimientos.⁶⁶ De nada nos servirá decir que algo fue así, si no explicamos cómo hemos llegado a ese conocimiento. Explicar e incluso mostrar las técnicas del historiador para conocer el pasado introduce a la audiencia en el mismo conocimiento histórico. Si sabemos implementar esto en los mismos procesos de la recreación histórica, estaremos dotando de rigor y profesionalidad nuestra propuesta. Lo que está claro es que codificar una escena limitándose a comportarse férreamente como en una época determinada, convierte el hecho recreador en algo ininteligible y hermético, de difícil comprensión para la audiencia, por mucho rigor con el que se haga. Si queremos educar, hay que salir de la historia, y, y desde ella, ser capaz de explicarla.

Ahora bien, para alcanzar unos complejos niveles de profesionalidad en el diseño de cualquier discurso didáctico en una recreación histórica conviene conocer qué hábitos nos acercan a un proceso educativo pleno, y cuáles, aunque enriquezcan nuestra práctica, nos alejan. Es el caso del debate acerca de este rigor histórico. La asunción de un obsesivo y máximo rigor puede alejarnos de nuestro objetivo de difundir conocimiento con calidad. De hecho, se da la paradoja de que los grupos de mayor prestigio en recreación medieval española han alcanzado su reputación por la exaltación de este rigor, pero no por su labor divulgadora, prácticamente desconocida. A una audiencia cultural le satisface más que una recreación sea capaz de reconstruir y explicar constructos paradigmáticos del tiempo pasado, y no tanto que esta misma se centre *ad infinitum* en detalles de un alto nivel de rigurosidad, como la amplitud de los pespuntos en un brial, el número de costuras de una crespina o la composición de la tela de una limosnera. El rigor histórico es necesario e ineludible, pero concentrar el esfuerzo en paliar detalles que nadie va a valorar, resta esfuerzo en diseñar procedimientos que permitan que el conocimiento llegue a cuantas más personas mejor, y del modo más didáctico posible. El purismo, entendido como algo natural e indisoluble de la recreación histórica, debe ser una cualidad al mismo nivel que la capacidad de comunicación, la vocación didáctica o la puesta en escena, no algo superior a ellas. Hasta que esta concepción no se supere y el recreador comprenda que es tan importante el rigor como adoptar estrategias que permitan divulgarlo con calidad, el fenómeno recreador no traspasará el límite de lo privado para convertirse en una práctica entendida por todos y para todos.

Y, por último, no es menos importante señalar, como indicábamos al principio del artículo, que la recreación medieval debe ser capaz de superar el reduccionismo de la difusión parcial del pasado. Debe esta práctica sobreponerse a la práctica aséptica de replicar objetos y artefactos del pasado medieval. Se hace necesario construir recreaciones históricas dotadas de recursos discursivos que alienten la difusión de aspectos más elaborados del tiempo histórico, tales como procedimientos, habilidades o costumbres (sea esgrima, lenguas antiguas, caligrafía, latín medieval, equitación, trabajo del metal o teñido de tejidos). Y que, a la sazón, estos discursos sean capaces de mostrar procesos complejos de la historia, como causas y consecuencias, coyunturas políticas o estructuras jurídicas. Con estrategias profesionales, una calidad en el discurso y una predisposición a adoptar los principios de la didáctica, esta herramienta puede servir para educar y democratizar conceptos complejos que, de normal, solo ocupan a los estudiosos en la materia.

66. Santacana Mestre, Joan; Serrat Antolí, Núria, eds. *Museografia...*: 92.

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