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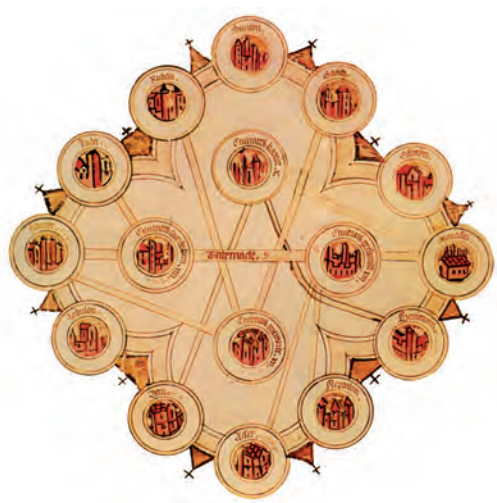
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I PART

THE PAST INTERROGATED AND UNMASKED



AN ECOLOGICAL HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES? THEORETICAL BASES AND SOURCES

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Abstract

This article presents the possibilities offered of building a History, in this case of the Middle Ages, that considers the relations people have had with the natural spaces and the urban environment where their lives have developed. I defend the need for a History of those concerns that are nowadays considered ecological. To this end, I weigh up the possibilities of the documentary sources, present the theoretical bases, show a working method and methodology and evaluate the bibliographical sources. The eco-feminists approaches are emphasised, indicating the possibilities offered by the difference in the relations between women and men with the environment they live in.

Key Words

Relations Women-Men, Urban spaces, Nature.

Capitalia verba

Virorum ac mulierum ratio, Vrbes, Natura.

1. Introduction

Since the late 1970s, my main dedication has been to women's history, though I have always maintained other lines of research in which I have sought and noted the importance of women in any historical process. It was the late nineties when I started to emphasise the differences in the relationships that men and women have held and maintained throughout the history with nature, with natural spaces and the modified areas. Moreover, that was when the translation of studies and research began into an emerging trend within Women's Studies, Eco-feminism. My interest in this made me think about the possibility and need to build an ecological history and show the possible concern in medieval societies for the environment in which the activities of men and women took place. This would be done to assess whether these relationships were similar or had differences, and especially if there was an awareness of the deterioration of nature and the consequences this might have on people. I believe that this thought, in its possible existence, is the basis for the construction of an ecological history.

In this paper I will try to show the contents of ecological history that should not be confused with agrarian history or the economic history of rural areas. To build an ecological history requires a theoretical basis and methodology, different from other historical constructions, but there may undoubtedly be contributions from consolidated methodologies. Similarly, the sources, that are normal for any historical development, should be subjected to a special treatment. These will be the contents of this article, together with an approximate state of the art with reference to the ecological history in medieval Spain.

I wish to state that my readings are mostly linked to eco-feminism, because while there is much literature from philosophy, theology and politics on this issue, less has been written from history and very little referring to the Middle Ages. Through these readings and my research, I have reflected on the possibilities of this new line to try to define the content and methodology that differentiate ecological history within history and set it up as a emerging way of scientific research, providing a new vision of the past and the relations of individuals with each other and the places where they lived. All this is within the guidelines of the social history, which thus provide an analysis of historical events from a new and unfamiliar perspective.

I start my discussion with an assessment of the sources and literature and then move on to propose some theoretical bases. These are the tools for building a working method and a methodology for ecological history. I dedicate a paragraph to eco-feminist history and end with very tentative conclusions given the incipient nature of the development of this type of history, especially as proposals for myself and those who want to follow this path. It is, without doubt, a provisional working hypothesis and open to new contributions.

2. Documentation

There are no specific sources for ecological history, but rather we need to find useful information in the well-known and traditional sources. All of these should be subjected to rigorous review to assess the content of the information properly, contextualize the situation and seek the root causes behind the data used. We must also take into account the difficulties of finding these. Therefore, given the methodological characteristics of this work, I will make an assessment of the ones I have used in other studies[1] and the specific problems they have caused. I will also propose some general considerations and a list of all documents I have searched or think need to be searched for information.

I want to emphasize that there are no sources on the relations between people and the environment in which they lived and information is scattered across many different types of sources. My work on this matter is based on written sources, some published, others unpublished or that I have published. The written sources are those I have always worked with and which I know how to manage and analyse technically. However, it is complicated to find information on this subject, because it was not a major concern, so it was not usually reflected in a document. Nevertheless, despite the absence of environmental concerns, there are some scattered reports that, dealt with properly and jointly, can provide a good route for research.

In principle, any document, provided it is subject to the proper criticism, can supply something of greater or lesser importance that can be used for any historical development. The study of the sources referred to a monastic domain, the workings of a council or the repopulation of a city, can store information related to ecological approaches, but we must find this among the full set of conventional data that have customarily been used. The difficulty is not greater than that of any other research, although the quantitative results may be poor, but significant new contributions can be found.

There is another difficulty in this subject. There is a no specific corpus of documentary sources nor is there a section in the archives where the documents pertaining to these issues are sorted, as there are in other avenues of research. We must use all kinds of documentation to find something that may refer to the relations between people and the physical environment in which they lived and worked.

I will follow the traditional assessment of sources, but will leave the reference to written documents in last place, because they are the only ones I used in my research in this field. Therefore, in principle I will list the sources that should be used especially to assess their potential, hitherto unpublished in these studies and in the majority, as it is usual to use written sources and, to a lesser extent, material remains.

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1. Segura, Cristina. "Las mujeres y la naturaleza en la legislación visigoda". *Gerión. Necesidad, sabiduría y verdad: el legado de Juan Cascajero*, Extra (2007): 489-503; Segura, Cristina. "La tala como arma de guerra en la Frontera", *VI Estudios de Frontera. Población y poblamiento. Homenaje a Manuel González Jiménez*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2007: 717-724; Segura, Cristina. "Rastros de un pensamiento ecológico en Al-Andalus?", *Al Andalus. Espaço de mudanza. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hanssen*, Susana Gómez Martínez, coord. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006: 29-34.

3. Iconographic and archaeological sources

Iconographic sources have always seemed to me not to be sufficiently valued and not used to their full potential. The visual messages that people who lived in the Middle Ages have left, through paintings, sculptures, constructions, and even everyday objects, have very rarely been taken into account.

The capitals, tombs, doorways of churches or some friezes such as wonderful and little known calendar carved on a wall of the church in a village in the north of Guadalajara, close to Cantalojas, with each month of the year represented by the typical farm work done in that month and many other reliefs where men and women appear doing farm work, caring for livestock or fighting wild animals. Similar information is also available in different types of painting. Thanks to the iconographic sources the spaces where various activities were done can be analyzed and an attempt made to deduce the relations between the people and the physical environment in which they lived, although it is difficult because it only represents the moment when an act was perpetuated.

At present, sculpture is not a widely used source in historical studies. It is possible that in the future a method of analysis may be established that can provide results or some kind of work may be found with more explicit messages than those hitherto known. The same is true with respect to the paintings. They are very abundant and increased in number as the Middle Ages went by.

The miniatures of the codices, the Books of Hours, the murals in churches or palaces, the tables and charts, have numerous scenes of people in various circumstances, in real or idealised landscapes. Through these illustrations, the distribution of places between men and women can be seen, their different activities, in domestic and the natural, spontaneous or humanized spaces. I believe that until now, as I have mentioned, there are great difficulties to perceive the relationship with the physical environment and the perception people had of this. However, the usefulness of iconographic sources in general, both sculpture and painting, cannot be judged fairly until they are used more commonly than now.

I think that archaeology can be of more use. It must be emphasized that I do not mean conventional archaeology, as the remains of a city, a building, a hydraulic system or the household can provide scant information on this topic. However, the relationship these artefacts have with the environment in which they developed can always be evaluated. If they meant an aggression in the area where they settled or, conversely, are perfectly suited to it. To appreciate all this, sufficient knowledge and tools are needed to perceive the messages that can be derived. Without doubt, the experts in archaeology will capture and establish working hypotheses on the impact these had on the environment they developed in.

In contrast, I believe that archaeology of the landscape is critical, and is beginning to give excellent results on the conservation, modification or degradation of natural landscapes. These include the decline in the forest, the expansion of cultivated fields, the abandoning of and/or commitment to certain products, the introduction of irrigation systems with the changes these entail for the environment, or the

construction of a city and the infrastructure necessary for the conurbation to work. All this can be analyzed and evaluated by archaeology, which needs a mastery of special techniques and tools, which unfortunately we paper-based historians do not have. But this situation does not prevent me from assessing the significance of these study skills for progress in fields where there is no written information or this is inadequate.

All the above can be good ways of working which will provide results on the physical environment in the Middle Ages. This information, in some cases, are a simple endorsement of what the written documents have provided, but it also offers information from the past that we now do not have, since it has not been reflected in written texts, but has left its mark on the landscape and land use. It corresponds to archaeology, and it has a broad field, to evaluate the quality of human intervention in modifying the natural environments.

4. Written sources

I have followed a traditional pattern in assessing the sources, which seems appropriate, because it marks a logical path to gaining an understanding of a process. The order of reference to different types of sources does not imply any hierarchy. I think all are equally important and each person has his or her option, and the ideal is to compare information from various sources.

The legal sources are the first step in any historical analysis, thus marking the legal framework that the legislator, representing the dominant power, seeks to impose on society. Therefore we need to understand and assess whether there is legislation on the treatment that people must give to the natural environment that surrounds them. We must also look in the sources of the application of the law to see how it was enforced. In this type of normative sources not only should the secular legal texts be taken into account, but also religious ones, for example the provisions by council and synod.

In the economic documentation there is a great deal of information about the working of businesses. I use this term to refer to current holdings, such as lordly and monastic domains, ecclesiastical, council or private possessions. Certainly, the data on agricultural development should contain information about the demands that people made on nature. The development of workshops of artisans or trading activities also marked in some way, each in a different way, the space surrounding each business, which is reflected in the written texts.

In all this documentation the insinuations must be used, I stress the word "insinuations" at environmental issues that may occur. This type of documentation is very valuable since it refers to the social reality in which people lived, and therefore when the data is usable, it is of unquestionable effectiveness. Also, purchase and sale contracts, letters of dowries, wills, inventories of goods, donations and alms are documents with a large economic content and also implement the law and some

have religious content. Some kind of environmental concern can be traced from all of this information.

Equally useful are the texts of the chronicles of reigns, cities and events. All these contain references to the places where the events took place and to questions related to these. Reading the chronicles can give results, as I noted in my work quoted above on the use of logging as a weapon of war, the economic consequences of environmental degradation and that Hernando del Pulgar referred to in the Chronicle on the Catholic Monarchs.[2]

I think that religious texts should also be used. Above I referred to council canons, now I wish to mention that the letters of religiosity, penitentials, lives of saints, martyrdom or any pious text contains some information on the official belief of the church about nature and the consideration this should be given by the people. It is interesting to note the scant regard the Christian religion has for nature and therefore its rejection of ecological thinking, as has been rigorously studied by the great theologian Anne Primavesi,[3] so religious texts can provide a dominant thought far from respect for natural areas. Do not forget the news that may have been kept, about prayers about droughts or asking for protection against any weather event, which provides information.

Finally, I will defend the importance of literary sources. One must start from the basis that they create fictional events that are often set in a real place.[4] The treatment given to the physical space in which the action takes place is usually not fiction, but rather recreates the reality to a great extent, and also expresses the dominant thought at the time the text was written. Therefore, with the critical and necessary restrictions, the literary texts should not be forgotten when doing history, not that of exceptional events, but of daily events done by many people, whose name has not entered into history. The ecological history largely escapes the exceptional and is based on the normal, hence the need to take the literary sources into account.

5. Bibliography

It is difficult to try present a state of affairs about the existing literature, which is very scarce. Therefore I limit myself to a first approach to the bibliographic evaluation. In most cases, the basic general works refer to the current situation, although they contain some useful information from the past. I believe they are valid as they offer methods and techniques to analyze the subject in the present that can used for

2. Segura, Cristina. "La tala como arma...": 717-724.

3. Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis. Ecología, Feminismo. Cristianismo*. Barcelona: Herder, 1995.

4. Segura, Cristina. "Las fuentes literarias en la Historia de las mujeres", *Feminismo y misoginia en la literatura española. Fuentes literarias para la Historia de las mujeres,* Cristina Segura, coord. Madrid: Narcea, 2001: 13-18.

research into the past and seem useful for contextualising the problem in the Middle Ages and as a theoretical reference.

Coupled with the difficulty of the lack of own sources mentioned above, there is little literature derived from the little concern for this area in the medieval research in general. To a large extent, this lack is due to more to the difficulties in the subject than to a lack of concern about it from a social and even scientific level. In other more consolidated type of research, there is bibliography that acts as a support, offering methodology or models to apply. In this case, the bibliography is very scant, current knowledge is very superficial, and therefore any contribution is novel, useful, and especially risky because there are not many reference points in Spanish medievalism. Its interest lies in the novelty and, more importantly, in that it can be the beginning of a new way of making history.

My intention is to draw attention to this, like many others, unattended issue. At this time, in which the current paradigm of history is being questioned and subjects are being identified that should be considered as new avenues of research, I believe we must initiate new topics for a new history more in line with current social and political concerns. I think the history of relations between people and both the rural and urban environments a very valid line of inquiry and one destined to have a good future, after overcoming the usual difficulties that arise when starting any new line of research.

There are few general works in Castilian.[5] The literature specific to the Middle Ages is not very abundant, although there is not satisfactory enough, although it must be appreciated because it represents the beginning of knowledge in this important topic.[6] Most of the works cited are group works whose origin have been a scientific meeting and a prior environmental concern. The interest is to raise a new issue of importance, which is quite commendable and should be welcomed. The limited development of this question so far in Spain, which is worse in the case of the Middle Ages, is the driving force of these encounters whose aim is to open new fields of research. I think the lack of methodology and methods of work, along with a shortage of reference literature, are the reason for holding these meetings so that the discussion and interest in the subject arises from them and, consequently, its scientific development. One of the frequent theoretical problems appears in them, namely the linkage to the rural. Undoubtedly a dominated nature involves

5. Deleage, Jean Paul. *Historia de la Ecología. Una ciencia del hombre y de la naturaleza*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1993; Fariña Tojo, José. *La ciudad y el medio natural*. Madrid: Akal, 1998; González Molina, Manuel. *Historia y medio ambiente*. Madrid: Eudema, 1993; López Bonillo, Diego. *El medio ambiente*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994; Sotelo Navalpotro, José Antonio. *Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente en España*. Madrid: Fundación Infodal, 2000; Tricart, Jean. *La ecogeografía y la ordenación del medio natural*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1982.

6. Pérez Embid, Jávier, ed. *La Andalucía Medieval. Actas de las I Jornadas de Historia Rural y Medio Ambiente*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2003; Brawlowski, Elio. *El ambiente en la Edad Media*. Buenos Aires: Pro Ciencia-Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, 1997; *II Encuentro sobre Historia y Medio Ambiente. Preactas*. Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 2001; Coladerlle, Michael, ed. *L'homme et la nature au Moyen Age. V Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Medieval*. Paris: 1996; Clemente Ramos, Julián, ed. *El medio natural en la España medieval. Actas del I Congreso sobre Ecohistoria e Historia Medieval*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2001.

the deterioration of the spontaneous, but crops do not always mean environmental degradation, and the urban centres are possibly more polluting.

The publication of the minutes of these meetings is useful, because attempts to open a new path in the field of knowledge become known. They are collective works in which established historians recognised for their research on other areas raised and their work presents opportunities for research. There are also texts that appear to be the first research by young people and their work, while well intentioned, does not always meet requirements. Most of the authors involved have very different thoughts about what the physical environment is and about how the history of the relations of people with it should be approached.

All these contributions show interest in this new subject, but most are merely contributory and often do not consider the need to develop an appropriate methodology. This leads to many of them tackling the problem from an approach related to the economic history of the rural environment. The results are very uneven, as history of the rural economy has already been studied and inputs in this case are often repetitive. In other cases it is an approach that detracts from the subject, since it implicitly accepts that history of the environmental refers particularly to the relationships between people living in rural areas with their surroundings, both with the spontaneous and modified nature. In very rare cases is there reference to the relations of people living in the urban environment and to its possible deterioration.

At the end I include a brief general basic bibliography that can be related to ecological history. The content of these texts is irregular and together with very valuable and essential works there are other totally circumstantial ones. However, given the paucity of literature on the subject, they are all of greater or lesser interest, as a tool that can be of use to anyone interested. However, the most valuable, coherent, articulate contribution that has already given excellent results comes from eco-feminism. Below I only include basic works with theoretical contributions representative of the various approaches within eco-feminism.[7]

6. Theoretical bases

Social history in this country now has an established trajectory, although there are still those who ignore it. A quick look at its output shows that there is enough work to know how people lived in many ways. However, the results are not com-

7. Agra Romero, Mª Xosé, coord. *Ecología y feminismo*. Granada: Comares, 1998; Holland-Cunz, Barbara. *Ecofeminismos*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1996; Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions, Nature, Gender and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989; Mies, Maria; Shiva, Vandana. *Ecofeminismo. Teoría crítica y perspectivas*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1997; Puleo, Alicia H.; Segura, Cristina; Cavana, María Luisa, eds. *Mujeres y Ecología. Historia, Pensamiento y Sociedad*. Madrid: Almudayna, 2004; Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis. Ecología. Feminismo. Cristianismo*. Barcelona: Herder, 1995; Shiva, Vandana. *Mujer ecología y supervivencia*. Madrid: Horas y Horas, 1995.

parable in all subjects. History is made of the political vicissitudes of the economy, society, the mentality of the marginalized or women, but there are some aspects of social reality that are still very murky. This is possibly due to a lack of concern about them, not the lack of documentary sources that encourage research on the least known such as the relationship between people and the physical environment.

The result of my interest in this was the application for project of the Sectorial Plan for the Study of Women and Gender in the III National R & D Plan under the title "Actions and Attitudes of Women towards the Environment. Historical Perspectives and Future Projections" that I was awarded in 1999 with number 52/99 for four years. To a large extent, this paper is indebted to this project, although during the period it lasted, I focused only on the relationships of women with the space where they lived, in the sources, men also appeared more frequently than women. I then used the information on men to compare the different attitudes of both sexes. Then a new research field opened up for me.

The result of this project was some publications that are cited throughout this work. There was also three scientific meetings in the Universidad Complutense of Madrid: "Encounters I: Women and Urban Spaces" (2000), "Women and Ecology Symposium: Historical-Philosophical Perspective" (2001)[8] and "Women and Spaces urban. History and Current Reality" (2002).[9] All three were held in the Faculty of Geography and History at the university. These readings and research served as the basis for the research work that I presented for my evaluation as cathedratic (2006). Since then I have not stopped thinking about the problems of history of the environment or ecological history, including the establishment of a nomenclature that is still not properly defined. I have published some of that work[10] with modifications for their new destination, all culminating in a book. This text is undoubtedly in debt to the introductory part of it and its fundamental aim is to encourage only consolidate this new way of interpreting the history of the past. This is not a new story, the story is only one, but a new way to interpret it to make a thing of the past is so far not known.

Marc Bloch defined history as "the science of men in time".[11] It should be noted that this definition is prior to 1944, when Bloch was shot by the Nazis. Despite the time that has passed, I still seems the best of the proposals. However, I always very respectfully make a criticism because in the early twentieth century, Bloch could not foresee a part of history not yet developed. From my appreciation of the master, I would qualify his definition. No word in it is superfluous, all are essential, but I think other concepts would enrich, qualify and especially update it. These two words are women and space.

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8. Published as Puleo, Alicia H.; Segura, Cristina; Cavana, María Luisa, eds. *Mujeres y Ecología. Historia...*

9. Most of the contributions were published in Segura Graíño, Cristina, coord. *Mujeres y Espacios Urbanos. Homenaje a Christine de Pizan en el VI centenario de la 1ª edición de "La ciudad de las damas", 1405-2005*. Madrid: Asociación Cultural Almudayna, 2007.

10. Mentioned in note 1.

11. Bloch, Marc. *Introducción a la Historia*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974.

Though the term "men" can be interpreted as synonymous with humanity, and it may include men and women, as Bloch explains. But I believe that it is precisely the need to clarify, to show that men are not always interpreted as a synonym for humanity, it must be emphasized that there is not a single historical subject, men, but women are also social subjects since their social reality is different from the other group.

The term "space" was evaluated by Bloch to add to his definition, but he ended up rejecting it, given the harsh criticism of geographical determinism. Liberal thinking could not defend that a person, given the place where he or she was born or lived, could only live a certain way, without the possibility of changing their original situation. Thus, Bloch did not include space in his definition. At the beginning of this century, geographical determinism has been qualified and it cannot be denied that people develop a specific activity depending on where they live, which affects their lives to some extent, although they always have the possibility of escaping from these conditions, albeit in a small boat.

Undoubtedly, people hold certain relationships with the other people they live with and history has been largely devoted to research into them. However, and equally as defining for their social reality, they have relations with the space where they conduct their activities. The relationships with the environment in which they live are not stable, nor are the ones established with people and they are modified as needed. They can be good or bad, of acceptance or rejection, attention or disregard, care or aggression. We must also not forget that any human activity in relation to their habitat, not only affects it when it occurs, but has implications for the future. Only recently have the actions of people over time begun to demonstrate negative consequences they are having for the Earth, which for me is everything on, or surrounding, the planet, be they persons, animals, plants, deserts, ice or sea, that is Gaia. Moreover, it should also not be forgotten that this important issue does not concern the various individuals, companies or governments to the same degree.

7. History of Ecology / Ecological History

The concern about the relationship of people with the space they live in has been called ecological thinking. A new science of ecology has emerged from this new thinking that has an important social and political content, together with serious economic consequences for capitalist societies, since it denounces the exploitation planet earth subject has been to. I think that there is no need to emphasise this more here, but this does not mean that the issue is resolved. However, I want to emphasize that damage to the environment is not exclusive to contemporary times. The current situation has been reached by a progression of derived actions that have intensified with the advance of technology. I find it interesting and useful, as well as novel, to do the history of this process and I consider it a way of making a history of social and political topicality. History should not be reduced to a desktop

activity that is not involved in the social reality in which it develops and does not meet the social demands of the moment. History must give answers, undoubtedly scientific, but which help to give a better understanding of the problems of the past and present, to improve the future.

Terminology is a problem when you wish to create a list on this new line of research. It is necessary to define the terms used because they can respond to different contents. Does ecology examine the relationships of people with nature? Or with the physical environment? Or with the countryside? With the city? What should we call the history that deals with these relationships? Is the physical environment the same as the natural environment? The answers to these questions are complicated and throughout this article I will try to give some. As a starting point I want to clarify that the natural and physical environment have the same meaning. It is the spontaneous nature without human modification. Instead, I believe environment is the result of the action of people on the natural environment, leading to its modification. This action need not always be harmful to nature. However, throughout history, in many cases, it has been so gradually, through technological development, which has been inversely proportional to the deterioration of the natural environment.

I do not think it necessary to stress the difference between the history of ecology and ecological history, as it is obvious. The first is very short as ecology is less than a century old. The history of ecology discusses the development of this science, which is not my task now, but I am involved in the construction of an ecological history, which can be viewed as a new way of doing history. The subject of ecological history should be the relationships of people with the environment in which their lives have evolved over time. The social subject is the people who have certain relationships with the spaces in which their activities take place, taking the social reality into account in each case.

Ecological history is not a part of history, but rather history from the analysis of certain problems in society, and must therefore be done with the budget for social history. Human behaviour with the environment in which they lived and which has consequences for this must be valued. The results depend on a number of factors, so it is necessary to apply certain categories of analysis. Narrating the relationship of the medieval peasants who worked the fields is not enough. We need to assess the causes of these relationships, their consequences and impact on nature. The social reality is crucial to establishing that those actions are only justified and understood with this method. The new Social History will be born crippled, if something so important to people's lives is forgotten, something like the ecological criteria which has influenced both the economic development, which has led to many conflicts and now is of priority interest.

Until now, there have been very few voices in the field of history who demanded the inclusion of ecological history in the purported history of the paradigm of the twenty-first century, although some references have begun, such as for the scientific meetings referred to above. The one in Cáceres[12] is related to a project, "Man

12. Clemente Ramos, Julián, ed. *El medio natural en la España medieval...*

and the Environment in History", funded by the Ministry of Education of the Junta de Extremadura.

The importance of ecological history has also been valued in the *Manifesto of History in Debate*[13] (2002) that emerged from the first two congresses of this historiographic current and was endorsed at the third, all held in Santiago de Compostela in July 1993, 1999 and 2005. All of these were called by Carlos Barros, a professor of medieval history at the university and the first editor of the manifesto. Among the principles it contains that must define the new history, it defends the need for ecological history or history of the Environment. This was one of the topics for debate in the 2005 congress in as transversal to all the different currents and proposals. This confirmed the need for a scientific statement about methods, methodologies and, above all, content. If the need for it is not claimed then it will be difficult to develop.

8. Analytical categories

Acknowledging the importance of studying the relationship of people with the environment, the need soon arose to qualify if they were all similar, or if there are categories of analysis that mark differences. Historical time is critical, although not understood according to the old divisions of Ancient Times, Middle Ages, etc., but rather especially to the changes in the socio-economic structures. Other references are much more effective in this case, such as pre-industrial or industrial societies. Nor can the situation be considered stable in those societies known as pre-industrial. There were deep changes throughout this period, due mainly to technical advances, but the substantial is permanent. Medieval society must be integrated into this group, but without forgetting that it was predominantly European and incorporated only those political and/or social formations that relationships were maintained with. There are still presently indigenous peoples or communities who have not reached the industrial revolution, and much less the technological revolution. Thus, the accuracy of the analysis of historical time is a priority. Together with this, the space where people lived should be valued, because the physical infrastructure also changes every historical process.

Along with the necessary time and spatial precision, other essential categories of analysis, such as gender and social class, must be applied to any work of history. In the first case, this must be from a dual perspective. We must assess whether the relations between men and women with nature are similar, and, if they are not, analyze the causes of this difference. It is also necessary to ask whether the perception of the environment in which people live is the same or whether there are differences according to gender. We should not forget the different considerations of women and men in classical philosophy and, nowadays, in certain tendencies in

13. "Manifest von 'Historia a Debate' (Geschichte zur Discusio)". *Zeitschüft für Weltgeschichte*, 3 (2002): 113-114.

psychology. While men have been described since Aristotle as the holders of reason, which governs their actions and establishes certain relationships with the mastery of nature, women are seen as closer in their behaviour to feelings induced by the spontaneous nature than to reason. Aristotle's legacy is still very much present in the dominant thinking.

The social class each person belongs to is a basic category for analysis that modifies the individual's relationship with the natural environment. In the case of ecological concern, each person's place of residence of should also be applied as a category of analysis, which, to some extent, is related to social class. The attitudes and lifestyles of a person whether they live in the countryside, the woods or the city, are critical. This creates specific needs that must be assessed. We must also take the dominant mentality into account in the medieval Hispanic area. Here there were followers of three religions and the three groups had different concerns about the environment.

Therefore, the proposed categories of analysis (historical time, place of residence, gender, social class and culture) are essential to contextualize the problems that ecological history must stress. We must also banish emotional perceptions of emotional proximity with nature. Women do not have different feelings regarding nature, nor are they closer to it by constitution, as claimed by Greek philosophy. These supposed feelings, or rather female group attitude, derive from the social reality in which women live, which I will go into below.

For all the above, the application of these analytical categories will enhance the development of ecological history, contextualised in the social milieu which led to the events to be analysed. I believe that the ecological approach should be present in any historical analysis, but, as there has been little concern about this knowledge until now, it is good to stress this perspective and carry out studies whose centrepiece is the relationship of people with environment they live in at a particular historical moment, in the country or the city, distinguishing between social class, religion and gender. This will build a knowledge base, to help a better understanding of different societies, past and present. But to accomplish this task we must first make a series of conceptual details, develop working methods, make an assessment of sources and, with all this, establish a methodology.

9. Proposal for Ecological History

The story history, contributory history, positivist history must be overcome in any theme. Describing the possible relationships of people with the physical environment in which they live is contributory history, which can be very valuable for collecting data that it represents, but it is not ecological history. To be so, it requires a theoretical basis that goes beyond the simple story and analyses events from ecological positions. Ecological history is a conception of the world and therefore, of society and economic development, which argues that progress should not be achieved at the expense of environmental degradation, which in the Middle Ages could occur,

although they were unaware of its consequences. A clear example is the consumption of wood needed to build a boat and the ecological disaster of the sinking of a ship, something quite common, because new wood had to be felled in the forests. Only the cost and the defeat if the sinking happened in battle were appreciated.

Ecological history is not the history of agriculture or a history that studies natural resources, the landscape or the forest. It is common to confuse the history of agriculture with ecological history and consider that an ecological approach is only introduced by relating to the rural environment. Valuing agricultural development is not an ecological thought, but rather emphasises issues of economic development. Of course, the use of rural resources is a key issue in ecological history, but not in itself, more for its impact on the environment. The treatment, demands and impacts on nature by agricultural development are of concern to ecological history while yields, census or improvements are the same for economic history. It is possible that one might fall into this confusion in an initial perception, as the most frequent subject is the countryside. Accordingly, I want to emphasise that the study of agricultural production alone is not ecological history. For it to be so, it is necessary to assess the environmental impact it produces.

Another frequent error, closely linked to the previous, is to consider that ecological history should only focus on rural areas. Some special relations also arise in the cities between the urban environment and those living there, who have their own relationships, of abuse or respect, for the environment they live in, to which the appropriate categories of analysis can be applied. Ecological history may be made taking as its subject a feudal order, a forest, a city or even a battle. For example, fire is a weapon of war and, in addition to the economic ruin caused to the people it affects, fire destroys their natural resources and has negative consequences for nature that affect not only the present, but also future societies. King Alfonso X in the *Partidas* ordered that any one starting a fire in a forest should be "thrown into it" as a punishment. It was a harsh punishment, death, demonstrating the importance of the offence then. This doctrine appears in many legal texts and in the Courts of Valladolid in 1258, "*Manda el Rey que non pongan fuego pora quemar los montes e al que lo fallaren faziendo quel echen dentro*".[14] Fire was a weapon of war with a strong environmental impact and was widely used.

The lack of attention to this issue cannot be blamed on a lack of sources. Something similar is alleged whenever work begins on a new line of research. The sources contain many messages that are not always used. The documents, of whatever type, offer many useful data that are not valued because they are not involved directly with the goals of conventional research. One has to return insistently to all the documents whatever these may be. All of them contain small, unused pieces of data that, together with each other or in a particular context, may open new avenues of knowledge. We must read the texts looking for new data. We must ask many varied questions to obtain new answers.

14. "*The king orders that fire shall not be made to burn the forests and he who does so shall die by being put into it*". (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1861: I, 62).

The information that allows us to reconstruct the relations between people and nature is found by reading the papers, both published and unpublished. This method of work must be accompanied by its own methodological approaches. The collection and presentation of data alone, displayed neatly, only serves to rebuild how these relationships occurred. This in itself is already very valuable, but more progress is required. To date, there are general ideas on which we have to go deeper into and analyse with the appropriate methodology. It is imperative from a theoretical basis, based on the principles of social history and ecological thought, concerned about the indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources over time and human intervention in the natural environment.

Above I stated that, although the definition of ecological thinking is very recent, this does not mean that it did not exist previously. However, ecological thinking means an awareness of the deterioration of nature, an overview of this and some policies to prevent this in the long-term. It is very difficult to find this thought stated earlier than the twentieth century, although from the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment, there was concern for nature. But alongside this, in Al-Andalus, from the eleventh century, and the Christian kingdoms in the Peninsula from the thirteenth, there were a number of measures that could appear as a manifestation of an ecological mindset. There are written documents from these times which contain rules to protect the forest, ban hunting and fishing or polluting activities are isolated so they do not disturb people. Even the Codex Euricianus[15] has provisions of this type designed to protect the natural environment.

I have analysed the evidence of environmental concern preserved in the medieval Castilian legislation in a study[16] and here I will go more in-depth into the documentary bases on which to develop a history of the Middle Ages concerned about a emphasising thought aimed at protecting nature, which led to rules to achieve this. However, I believe that these laws did not arise through a concern for the environment, but only to create a comfort in the case of urban life and for the protection of private property in rural areas. So far nothing leads me to think of ecological mentality, although it is possible that further research may prove otherwise. There can be no ecological mentality because this demands a number of requirements. First one needs an overview of the problem. If this was the case, the authorities should take long-term measures, not temporary solutions, which is what appears in the medieval documentation. Concern for the future, would show the existence of a mindset which prized the need to protect the environment where people lived. However, given the research to date, I am afraid that the concern was economic.

There could be no global view of the situation because few people left their land or town and could hardly ever receive information that would affect this issue elsewhere. The concerns that may appear in the texts have no long-term projection,

15. Segura, Cristina. "Las mujeres y la naturaleza...": 489-503.

16. Segura, Cristina. "Mujeres y medio ambiente en la Edad Media Castellana", *Oficios y saberes de Mujeres*, Rosa María Cid López, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002: 159-188.

but in the very short-term to solve everyday problems. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in pre-industrial societies, nature, above all, was feared and does not appear as a protective mother as advocated in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and which was the earliest origin of the current concern about its deterioration. Nature was adverse to people in many situations, with cold, frost, droughts, windstorms, floods, hail, torrential rains and fierce animals for example. People trying to protect themselves from this show a series of practical materials, as well as prayers, spells, and processions to try to make nature benign and supportive.

Nobody thought they had to protect nature, but rather to defend themselves from it. The forest advanced at the expense of the crops if no measures were taken to avoid it. The rivers flooded the ploughed fields if there were torrential rains, frost killed crops or plagues of insects devoured fruit. Despite all this, nature provided water, fruit and firewood for heating and, thus, gave life. We must also bear in mind that in the Middle Ages most land, which included forests, rivers, springs and fields, belonged to the king, the Church or the feudal lord, not the peasants who were in direct contact with it. Their concern was to produce enough crops to meet the feudal obligations and, if possible, obtain a surplus to improve their living conditions.

On the other hand, and it seems important to stress, the farmers' worries were limited to obtaining enough to feed his family. It is very difficult for an ecological mentality to arise in a subsistence society, although in practice, and precisely because of this shortage of everything, water, fruit, cereals or farm animals, there was apparently an ecological attitude. That means that protection was needed for life and this was scarce. However, I consider that taking care to protect what nature provides is not due to ecological concerns, but to the simple need for survival. In practice, in the everyday reality, there are ways to interact with nature, written or legal laws that may suggest that there was an ecological mentality. I do not dare to state this, or to deny it flatly. That is why, I insist, I consider it a good line of research.

A cursory overview of the various medieval social formations can be done with a first approximation to facilitate the analysis of each of these with the natural or urban environment in which people lived. Great care was taken in Islamic society to avoid activities that undermined life in the city. The preserved Hisba treatises[17] contain rules against polluting water or the air with bad smells. These treatises were intended to regulate urban life and establish how life should be organised in the city. They are a magnificent source, presenting provisions that Christians also included into the municipal legislation, with which the concern of the legislature to make life comfortable and enjoyable is apparent.

In the legal norms, both at the higher level and the application of law, there are provisions about forests, crops, water, polluting activities or air purity that can be used to reconstruct legislators' thinking about the environment and to analyse the application of this thinking in everyday reality. In the chronicles or other types of writing, such as literary sources, there are references to the landscape, its appreciation, people's contacts with nature or natural phenomena. Among these, exception-

17. Segura, Cristina. *"¿Rastros de un pensamiento ecológico en Al-Andalus?..."*: 29-34.

al events like disasters, fires, floods, frosts and drought must be highlighted. When all this is examined, it has been done with the criteria of contributory or economic history or as a cause of social processes, but their potential impact on the physical environment has not been evaluated. All these natural phenomena have, above all, a strong environmental impact that has not been valued.

The writings by female authors may contain information related to women's thinking about nature as they supplied their homes and fed their families with what they took from it. It would not be unusual to find actions that lead us to believe that there were ecologists from necessity prior to this doctrine being enunciated. In iconographic sources that illustrate landscapes or farm work, until now very little used, there are a considerable number of women doing the most varied agricultural tasks. Even oral information can be very valuable, because ancestral agricultural practices still remain either in the geographical areas that the feudal society was tailored to or in twentieth-century societies with little technological development, which would certainly have elements in common with techniques known in medieval times, not to mention people of the so-called Third World who still live in ways that have similar difficulties to those in the Middle Ages.

10. Eco-feminist history

In conclusion, it is necessary to brief refer briefly to eco-feminist history. Eco-feminism is an emerging trend, increasingly consolidated within feminist studies and approaches. I augur a great future for eco-feminist history, as it combines two of the most innovative fields in history, women's history and environmental history. Women's history, with more than a century of life, has a solid theoretical and documentary basis, something that ecological history must aspire to. The beginnings of women's history, compared with conventional history, have provided a strong renovating impetus to accommodate non-traditional approaches. Is still a history in construction, because it always seeks the advance of knowledge and theory. Ecological history in this country is almost newborn and this has been outside the Middle Ages where there have been the biggest advances.

There are several trends in eco-feminism that influence the conception of eco-feminist history.[18] There is an essentialist eco-feminism that identifies nature and women and establishes greater proximity between the two than between nature and man. Women and nature give life and nurture and, in theory, are protective. Greek philosophy matched nature, feelings, disorder and women, compared with polis, reason, order, and men. Therefore, the feminism of equality is very reticent about some eco-feminists approaches that, to an extreme degree, identify women and nature.

18. Segura, Cristina. "Historia ecofeminista", *Mujeres y Ecología. Historia*...: 35-56.

Socialist eco-feminism believes that men and women have different relationships to nature. Men have maintained a relationship of exploitation, as they have used natural resources to achieve these gains. Barbara Holland-Cunz[19] qualifies that the destruction of nature through its use is expanding in the public non-feminine space. Women, however, maintain a home for the daily supply of the family, and have done so throughout history and still do in the Third World. I add another common point to these approaches between nature and women, which is the exploitation, of both one and the other, by the male group, benefiting from the resources and capital gains generated by unpaid household work[20] that nature also provides free. In the same vein, Carolyn Merchant[21] says that women and nature are in a similar level of replenishment, and that both are products of historical processes.

The theologian, Anne Primavesi,[22] proposes an important route of analysis. It focuses on the treatment that women and nature are given in the Bible. From Genesis, the position of man, the first being created in the image and likeness of God, is superior to nature, created beforehand and which God placed at Adam's disposal, like Eve, the woman, created after and as an appendix to the man. Adam is like the divinity, while neither the nature nor Eve are. This is the argument that justifies men acting with free will towards both, without being accountable to anyone. From this biblical analysis, Primavesi deduces the poor relations Christian religions have with nature and hence their strong rejection of pantheism.

In its origins, agriculture was a modification, not an assault, on nature by the women who were gatherers picked whatever was at hand. They wished to give their families the best nutrition but did not speculate on the fruits that nature offered. They began settling to stay with their crops and keeping small children them with, while the men were still nomadic hunters although they began to return to where the women were. This led to the process of settlement where men and women began to work fields collectively.

Individual ownership of the land under cultivation soon began together with a tendency to produce more than necessary for sustenance, to achieve a wealth from the sale or exchange of the surplus. Women were no longer involved in this process, but rather this was driven by men. In addition, the patriarchal society established, that within domestic responsibilities that concerned women, there was the supply of everything needed to maintain the family, such as water, food, fire, and care of the home, that is the reproduction of the family unit. All of these tasks, being domestic and women's obligations, received no financial compensation. Similarly nature also provided free and cyclical gifts. Nature does not rest over the entire cycle, making seeds germinate, plants flower and fruit ripen. When these were harvested, the process re-started. Women's lives ran a similar cycle and a similar measurement of

19. Holland-Cunz, Barbara. *Ecofeminismos*...

20. Segura, Cristina. "Actividades remuneradas y no remuneradas de las mujeres en la Edad Media", *Rentas, producción y consumo en España en la Baja Edad Media*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001: 109-120.

21. Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions*...

22. Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis*...

time. Women and nature did not rest, day or night, nor was there a period of the year when their obligations ceased. Every day both had to start tasks they did not finish.[23]

The realities stated show a great similarity between nature and women. However, I would like to insist on a chronological precision, that I am referring to strongly patriarchalised pre-industrial societies, in which women and nature supply the family without any material compensation.[24] It is the duty of one and the other. In comparison, men make a profit for their own benefit from the fruits of nature and women's work. Here there is a strong economic element, which negates any accusation of essentialism in the similarity between women and nature. The same can be argued about the periodicity of natural processes and women's lives. In both cases such there are cycles that are invariably met and that produce wealth. In the case of women, this is the children, who increase the family assets. In the case of nature, it is the annual harvest. And finally, I would like to point out briefly, as I have studied it in more detail elsewhere,[25] women's work has no fixed schedule, unlike men's tasks. They serve continuously, everything that is needed for family welfare, a task that never ends. Women's activities are not suited to the economic division of time into working time and leisure, with a rest day each week. Women's work never ends and at any time of day or night it has to be taken care off. Nature does not a set timetable, although it grows in cycles, but it is always producing, even in winter, as are women.

11. Absolutely provisional conclusions

Everything expressed so far manifests the possibilities of a history that takes into account the relationships of people with the environment in which they lived. This would be a history in which these relationships are valued, and also the consequences they had for the future. I also think it is necessary to contextualize these relationships in the social realities of each era and in relation to the dominant thinking at any given time, expressed through laws and rules of coexistence. But it is also essential using unconventional papers, to try to perceive what the thoughts, feelings and sentiments of the anonymous men and women were. This is a difficult and complicated task but it can attempt a rapprochement thanks to a suitable treatment of all the sources that may contribute. The results are very gratifying since they open a new line of research that is going down a little travelled path. It will provide a history that until now has not been done. An unknown history, it will provide important knowledge about people's lives, of anonymous men and

23. Segura, Cristina. "La tela de Penélope. El tiempo de las mujeres en la Edad Media". *Arenal,* 8/1 (2001): 39-54.

24. Segura, Cristina. "Actividades remuneradas y no remuneradas...": 109-120.

25. Segura, Cristina. "Definición/indefinición de los espacios femeninos atendiendo al tiempo y a los tiempos de las mujeres", *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. La Mujer*. Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 2002: 199-215.

women, whose daily work has built history. It is not a history of major characters and unrepeatable events, but the history of the various social formations that have occurred throughout the ages and which, from this perspective, are until now unknown.

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THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORY BEFORE MODERN-DAY PORTUGAL: ROOTS OR PRECEDENTS? A GEO-HISTORICAL REFLECTION

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Abstract

Portugal's identity has given rise to numerous theories. For a long time, many of them have been continuist, founded notably on what was believed to be the *ultima ratio* [last argument]: environmental factors. By considering that a territory like the Portuguese Kingdom around 1250, almost complete from a geographical point of view, was the product of different systems (economical exchanges, links between local communities, political network) and one identity, we shall attempt to look back over many years and study the relationship between the shape of this territory and that of the units that preceded it since in the Roman provinces of Lusitania and Galicia. Is there continuity, repetition or coincidence? Putting aside the problem of borders as such (the crossing of extremely voluntarist limits at precise points), considering that their global (not detailed) outline was always imposed by strong polarisation processes, we shall adopt a comparative approach to these "prefigurations" of Portugal.

Key words

Geohistory, Territorialisation, Frontiers, Long Term, Portugal.

Capitalia Verba

Regionum descriptio historiae iuncta, De territorio augendo, Fines, Diuturnitas, Lusitania.

Portugal's determination to affirm itself and survive as an entity is apparent from the start of the 12th century, with such intensity and precocity (in comparison with the formation of the State), that the roots of its identity need to be identified before we see the appearance of an autonomous political power. This is an inevitable, but dangerous method: you have to know where to stop (i.e. not go too far back), because, like the great historian of medieval Hispanic identity, C. Sánchez Albornoz, you might be accused of "geological Hispanism" —or, in our case, geological Lusitanism!

Therefore, nationalist theories, for which antiquity and continuity are essential values, taking the Portuguese people's culture back to the Celtic Lusitanians (humanist theory, from the 16th century), or even the Palaeolithic shellfish gatherers, or the dolmen builders (ultra-nationalist theories of the 19th-20th centuries) have not been retained[1]. However, as comparison is key to comprehension in historical reflection, a brief observation of the "archetypes" (in the sense given by specialists in literature) of the Portuguese territory and State would not be devoid of interest.

Moreover, the reference to a distant past is inevitable. Since, even considering a shorter time-frame, between the Arab invasion (711-716 in this part of the Iberian Peninsula) and the 13th century, we have to admit tacitly that the motivating ideology of the Reconquista was the reconstruction of a lost unity; but the unity of what? Beyond the triumph of one faith over another, which was not very territorialised, we need to give a spatial definition. For the Kingdom of Asturias and León, before the secessions it suffered, the point of reference was the Visigothic Kingdom (whose spatial configuration was clear, since it was peninsular, i. e. the boundaries were mainly defined by coastlines). However, the principalities of Castile and Portugal —which came from León— each had its own front against al-Andalus, so which referential space should be "restored"?

With this in mind, there is no point tracing back the ancient evolution in events over many years. It might be better to study the existence of "long-term" structures. With regard to the issue of Portugal's "prefigurations", some people have cited a long-established feeling of identity, transmitted by the collective memory, and the continuity of encompassing or local institutions. Others, following geographical models, have supported the theory of continuity through the territorial (environmental or cultural) dimension[2], since the outline of political and administrative units is very resilient and, through a kind of "memory of

1. On this subject a good explanation is given by Ribeiro, Orlando. "Formação de Portugal", *A formação de Portugal*. Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1987: 19-64. The historiographical dimension of this issue is particularly well explained in the introduction by Mattoso in the second edition of the Herculano's History of Portugal: Mattoso, José. "Prefácio", Herculano, Alexandre. *História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até ao fim do reinado de Afonso III*, José Mattoso, ed. Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1980-1981 (2nd-4th ed. 1862-76): I, 4-22.

2. This theory of the "distant roots" of Portuguese territory, formulated by J. Cortesão, is maintained and scientifically supported in the summaries by Torquato de Sousa Soares in particular: Soares, Torquato de Sousa. "Carácter e limites do Condado Portugalense (1096-1128)", *Papel das áreas regionais na formação histórica de Portugal. Actas do colóquio, Lisboa 1975*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975:

places", can sometimes withstand the most radical changes in social and political conditions.

Indeed, no-one dares to claim that the linear limits of the large entities from the Roman period until the 13th century still remain valid —if indeed they ever existed. However, we might suppose that the establishment of human groups, their economic exchange networks and their languages, etc., constitute objective (unconscious) factors, which occupy virtually the same space for a very long time —since they repeat themselves without sufficient evolutions to entail the modification of their territoriality[3].

However, this spatial dimension, involving numerous factors, is hard to tackle, because the number of specific elements that can be grasped is low, and the resolutely "contemporary" geographical models do not really supply enough methodologies for an efficient review of the ancient spatial systems or their long-term evolution (despite the historical origins of the notion of the term "region")[4]. Moreover, our reflection is inevitably based on the study of maps[5]. However, any possible resemblance of the spatial forms in no way prejudges the social configurations that implemented them: even in the most material mechanisms, the territoriality of a Roman province is not that of a feudal kingdom. And, at the other end of the scale, the capacity for polarisation of an imperial network of *civitates* and roads is not the same as that of a series of medieval bishoprics. Social factors remaining stable over a few generations do not engender —under the pretext that they combine in a complex manner— a spatial structure (a political territory) that remains unchanged in the very long term.

9-22; and finally, Soares, Torquato de Sousa. *Formação do estado português (1096-1179)*. Trofa: Sólivros de Portugal, 1989.

3. On this concept of territoriality, which we use here without can to define it, see more in-depth reflections in Boissellier, Stéphane. "Introduction à un programme de recherches sur la territorialité: essai de réflexion globale et éléments d'analyse", *De l'espace aux territoires: pour une étude de la territorialité des processus sociaux et culturels en Méditerranée occidentale médiévale. Actes de la table-ronde, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale (Poitiers), 8-9 juin 2006*, Stéphane Boissellier, dir. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, forthcoming likewise, the introductory contributions in Mousnier, Mireille; Cursente, Benoît, dirs. *Les territoires du médiéviste*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005.

4. See for example the brief chapter devoted to "chronogeography": Bailly, Antoine, dir. *Les concepts de la géographie humaine*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2004: 223-228, which uses above all sociological concepts and refers to a bibliography that has not progressed since 1980. More developed is the collaborative essay by a medievalist and a historical geographer, Boissellier, Stéphane; Baron, Nacima. "Sociétés médiévales et approches géographiques: un dialogue de sourds?", *Être médiéviste au XXIe siècle. Colloque SHMES, Evry-Versailles-Marne la Vallée, 31 May – 2 June 2007*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008 167-177.

5. Notably the excellent Mestre Campí, Jesús; Sabaté, Flocel. *Atlas de la "Reconquista". La frontera peninsular entre los siglos VIII y XV*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1998.

1. A geographical logic?[6]

Even in recent scholarly works, historians believe they are obliged to subscribe to the unbearable "geographical introduction to history"[7], painting once and for all a background of physical and human geography, which, just like a theatrical set, will no longer be involved in the action. I shall try to avoid this trap by only presenting here theories that have already been expounded by Portuguese historians and geographers, in particular with regard to environmental elements that are farthest removed from mankind (main characters of the relief, the position with regard to other countries, climatic features) regarding the formation of Portugal. The problem is worth expressing: just as some ethnographers have tried to see the key to the Portuguese identity in one race (Lusitanian), many geographers, from E. Reclus to the German geographer, H. Lautensach, have tried to see a "natural unit" in the Portuguese territory. The great geographer, O. Ribeiro, a supporter of the culturalist position of a long-standing Portuguese identity, did justice to these theories.

1.1 Portugal and beyond: land and sea

Firstly, we must take the Portuguese territory as a whole; since it has scarcely evolved since 1297 (Treaty of Alcañices), its present shape is the same as it was during the medieval period —at least after the end of the Reconquista (1250). Beyond its "contents" and in connection with this, the shape that the country has acquired (a rectangle bordering on the sea) explains its territorial functioning and perhaps constitutes an "objective" element of its identity (i.e. one which people in the Middle Ages, with no maps, were not aware of). A regular-shaped territory, which is quite massive despite being slender (560 km from north to south and on average 160 km from east to west), and covering 90,000km², Portugal is made up of a rather narrow coastal band. No part of the country is more than 200 km from the sea, and the frequent disputes with Castile-Léon did not help east-west relations. This coastal character accentuates the country's eccentricity on peninsular and European levels: the whole of Portugal, a country that contains continental Europe's westernmost

6. See, in French, the useful summary by Ribeiro, Orlando. "La terre et l'homme", *Portugal. Huit siècles d'histoire au service de la valorisation de l'homme et du rapprochement entre les peuples.* Brussels: Comissariado Geral de Portugal para a Exposição Universal e Internacional de Bruxelas de 1958, 1958 (separate edition, in French, of Ribeiro, Orlando. "Um povo na Terra", *Portugal. Oito séculos de História ao serviço da valorização do homem e da aproximação dos povos*. Lisbon: Comissariado Geral de Portugal para a Exposição Universal e Internacional de Bruxelas de 1958, 1958: 33-38). There is an excellent historio-geographical reflection by Durand, Robert. *Histoire du Portugal*. Paris: Hâtier, 1992: 11-14.

7. For example: Duby, George, dir. *Histoire de la France.* Paris: Larousse, 1970-1991; Mattoso, José, dir. *História de Portugal.* Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1992-1994. Its chapters, written by the foremost specialists, are often remarkable and, in their contents, go beyond the determinism that we denounce (preferring a "possibilism"). However, it is their place in the economy of historical reflection that poses a problem: in the foreword, which pays homage to the importance of spatial structures, they can only reveal "long-term" phenomena, whilst the relations between mankind and the environment evolve continuously alongside the social configurations.

point on the Atlantic coast (Cabo da Roca), constitutes an oceanic borders of the Europe. Maritime cabotage facilitates communication in Portugal thanks to its long coastline. Moreover, the fact that the floor of the continental oceanic plateau is extremely rich in fish favours coastal occupation and navigation. The opposition between the open coastal zones and the compartmentalisation of the inland areas, at least in the north of the country, explain why a major land route was established following the coast from Braga to Lisbon —overshadowing the sea route for short trips. This also leads us to reject the theory, more poetical and sentimental than scientific, of a Portuguese "maritime calling".

Thus, although it is not a mere seafront and does have a real hinterland (at least as highly populated as the coastal strip), an area with as few continental features as the future Portugal was naturally polarised by the sea: classically dividing the Iberian Peninsula into three longitudinal sectors (eastern, central and western), the great "Portuguese" Andalusian poet and historian from the end of the 11th century, Ibn Bassam of Santarém, presented the West (*Gharb*) of al-Andalus as a region polarised by Seville, its capital (*madina hadira*), and made up of "the costal areas of the 'Roman' ocean, which belong to this region"[8]. Moreover, the only geographical (material) logic that unifies the country is that the main part of its territory constitutes in general terms the zone the continental plateaux of the Iberian Meseta, where become progressively lower towards the west, forming an amphitheatre that opens up to the Atlantic[9]. Furthermore, the relative enclave-like situation of the country in relation to the Iberian "continent", next to an often hostile neighbouring kingdom, explains why its distant foreign relations were often carried out via the ocean. In this respect, the annexation of the Algarve (the last Muslim territory conquered) in the middle of the 13th century, besides giving Portugal 200 km additional coastline, helped develop navigation. The only province to have difficult relations with the rest of Portugal (due to being isolated by its rugged terrain), whilst offering highly appreciated specific agricultural and maritime production which forced it to trade, the Algarve had to communicate with the outside world —Lisbon in particular— by boat. This link was the first in the history of this country that did not take place using cabotage (because of the absence of any big ports between Setúbal and Lagos), thereby setting the scene for Atlantic navigation.

However, the current predominance of maritime cities (Lisbon, Porto, Faro and Setúbal) was less pronounced from Roman Antiquity until the 15th century (even including the non-coastal cities that were linked to the sea, such as Braga, Coimbra and Alcácer). Indeed, from a geostrategic point of view, the Atlantic is completely different from the Mediterranean in terms of relations between countries: there was no known coast to the west of the 'Mare Tenebrosum' (Dark Sea) before 1492,

8. On the other hand, it does not specify the Andalusian Levant by the presence of the Mediterranean (but rather by the presence of a military march against the Christians); see the Italian translation of his work in Soravia, Bruna. "L'introduzione d'Ibn Bassam al *Kitab al-dhahira fi mahasin ahl al-djazira*: presentazione e traduzione", *Bataliús II. Nuevos estudios sobre* el *reino taifa de Badajoz*, Fernando Díaz Esteban, ed. Madrid: Letrúmero, 1999: 253-271.

9. Portugal has an average altitude of 240 m in comparison with 660 m in the case of Spain.

and the countries bordering the Atlantic were the only ones to frequent these waters. However, when Portugal was formed, two seafronts opposed one another for several centuries: one, to the north, from Norway to Galicia, was Christian. And the other, to the south, from Lisbon to Senegal, was Muslim. It was the Iberian Reconquista, moving from north to south, which enlarged the first front to the detriment of the second. And Portugal was where all this disruption took place — leading to many small coastal villages being abandoned. Therefore, the Portuguese coastline did not constitute a "natural condition" from the outset. All the more so because the military insecurity of the coast, linked to the split between the Kingdom of Asturias and the Andalusian State, was made worse in the 9th-10th centuries by Norman pirates. Furthermore, we should not give in to "road determinism", attributing the driving force in the formation of cultural, economic and political units to communications (maritime in this case) —although it would no doubt be preferable to topographic and climatic determinism. Moreover, whilst the current territory has almost as much coastline as terrestrial borders[10], primitive Portugal, with 200 km of coastline and 800 km of continental borders, was far less open to the sea. In other words, once again, it was the Reconquista which, with its north-south orientation, "coastalised" the country.

The final geographical problem is that of the separation from the neighbouring kingdoms of León and Castile (Castile-León was unified from 1037-1157 and the two kingdoms were united definitively in 1230). During the 10th-11th centuries, the future Portugal (between the rivers Minho and Mondego) constituted the southern military march of Galicia (province of León) against al-Andalus: therefore, its formation obeyed a political and military geostrategy. Certainly, the coastal landscape is clearly contrasting. In the north of the "Galician" zone there are *rias*, deep fjords that indent the coast from A Coruña to Vigo, and in the south there is a "Portuguese" coastline, which is far straighter (except for the Aveiro Ria). However, in the inland, this determinism was far weaker. Whilst there was a global topographical opposition between Portugal and the regions farther east, the borders of the incipient Portugal, covering an area between the Minho and Coimbra, were not at all "natural" in their detailed layout —nor were those in the southern part of the kingdom, which were added after 1130. The most notable features of the landscape (the large rivers, and the mountain ranges of the Central System, in particular the Serra da Estrela, and the Algarve Range), globally oriented SW-NE, cut across the country rather than defining it. On the contrary, the Douro and the Tagus rivers, more navigable in the Middle Ages than nowadays, facilitated communication between Portugal and Castile when political ideologies did not prevent it. The border, as it was defined up to 1297, was supported in places by major topographical elements, especially sections of rivers (small parts of the rivers Minho, Douro, Tagus and larger sectors of the Guadiana). However, this was due to loyalty to very old districts more than to the direct influence of natural elements. As for the mountainous landscapes, which

10. 832 km as opposed to 1,215 (but that is because the terrestrial border, more "political" because it borders on another State, is more indented). The terrestrial border of northern Portugal today is 339 km long and takes a sharp turn southwards to constitute a 876 km long western border.

were supposed to isolate NE Portugal quite clearly, they belonged to a larger series of ranges, in the midst of which the border could have been just as clear elsewhere. As in the whole of Portugal, locally the border used its environmental potential, which could sometimes even prevail, but overall its definition was due to the wishes of men and women and the weight of the past[11].

1.2 The internal diversity

The Portuguese identity is not remarkable either when one considers the mosaic of landscapes that makes up the territory. J. Mattoso devotes the majority of his important two-volume essay on "the identification of the country" to the "opposition" between the regions —subjecting himself perhaps a little too much to the geographers' determinism[12]. Admittedly, there is a need for research to ensure that the diversity was as pronounced in the Middle Ages. But even if it were less notable, it would not be less significant. This is not at all surprising. Despite the modest size of the country, it is too vast for there not to have been notable local and regional variations.

Geographers have long stressed the topographical contrasts between the coast and the interior; moreover, the interior is in parts characterised by a fold structure (in the centre of the country and the extreme northeast), whilst in others it is very open (especially south of the Tagus). This contrast creates a global altitudinal opposition between one side of the Tagus and the other[13]. This opposition, perhaps greater than the global topographical differentiation between Portugal and Castile, had a great impact. The difficulty in the communication between the north of Portugal, as much (if not more so) inside the country as in relation to Castile, involved a local particularism, whilst the opening up in the south would have meant that the region was more closely linked to the east, had it not been for the old tradition of separation between the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica[14]. Moreover, as we have seen, three large rivers, the Douro (known as the Duero in Spanish), the Mondego (the only one not to be shared with Castile) and the Tagus, cross the country from east to west

11. A good example of this difference of scale in the complex relation between the environment and political will is the region of Riba Côa: whilst this narrow strip of land between two southern tributaries of the Douro River, currently Portuguese, was colonised by León in the 12th century, this was probably because it belonged topographically to the plateaux of the Castilian Meseta (whose lower part constituted the Luso-Castilian border). However, this landscape identity is also found in the Mirando do Douro area, which belonged to this primitive county of Portugal from the start.

12. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325.* Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1988: I (*oposição),* II (*composição*).

13. 95% of the lands at altitudes of over 400 m are found north of the Tagus, whilst 63% of the land in the south are below 200 m.

14. On a local scale, which is more relevant, this opposition is even more striking in the size of the medieval community territories: miniscule parishes (in the northeast) or small to the north of the end of the River Tagus and of its southern tributary, the Zêzere, and vast or immense municipal territories south of this line.

and compartmentalise it. It is true that it was their use by men, as borders against the Muslims in the south, that created then as clear internal separations.

The climatic contrasts also oppose the north-west, with its oceanic, rainy climate with no great differences between the seasons, to the rest of the country, which becomes increasingly continental as it nears the Spanish border, and clearly Mediterranean southwest of the Tagus. However, the climatic opposition between the coast and the interior is not as great as their topographical contrast. To the north of the Tagus, the oceanic influence penetrates far inland (except in Trás-os-Montes), while these influences are uniformly weak —i. e. even near the coast— in the "Mediterranean" south. These differences combine with the location and the landscape, already mentioned, but also with the quality of the soil (which affects the vegetation), and even the use of the land (largely linked to economic activities and socio-political fiefdom) in order to define the numerous clearly defined "countries". Moreover, this diversity of landscapes, quite astonishing and almost unique in Europe, concentrated on such a small area, generated the major theory of a dualism between "Atlantic Portugal and Mediterranean Portugal"[15]. We might prefer a more lasting dualism between northern and southern Portugal, on either side of an intermediary zone, which stretches from the central mountainous system to the Tagus, to this notion, largely based, in terms of human geography, on ethnogeographical observations dating back to the 19th century. Without achieving demographic, economic and cultural self-sufficiency, the regions of medieval Portugal led most of their existence in an endogenous logic; the slowness of connections, the strength of socio-economic and cultural particularities and, even more so, the parochial mentality (i.e. a localist mind-set), meant that, here, as in the entire medieval West, political unity prevailed over local realities and integrated them very slowly, but without ever destroying them.

It must be concluded that diversity, in terms of the environment, was an asset rather than a handicap, at least when intent and actions (necessarily collective) were strong enough to marke it complementarity. It associated these countries in a global unity, creating *ipso facto* a kind of division of work on a large scale, inevitably developing exchanges of goods and services that create unity —even if the major agricultural and artisanal production was largely represented in all the regions, and even in each territory, and did not constitute an object of exchanges. Some products and means of production cannot be substituted; sea fish have to come from the sea, whilst summer grazing pastures are generally found in the mountains: the tolls in the charters of franchise (known as *forais* in Portuguese), revealed that sea fish was sold all over, and the reconstruction of transhumance journeys shows that there were links between the "countries" at least after the 13th century[16]. Thus we see that landscape diversity is not at all "natural", but instead

15. Ribeiro, Orlando. *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico. Esboço de relações geográficas*. Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1987 (1st ed. 1945 and many further editions after the one we have cited).

16. A recent summary, based on Portuguese works, in Boissellier, Stéphane. "Les recherches sur les déplacements de bétail au Portugal au Moyen Âge, bilan des travaux et éléments de réflexion", *Transhumance et estivage en Occident des origines aux enjeux actuels. Actes des XXVIe journées internationales*

reflects the differences in the form that human control has taken; it is above all a historical diversity.

2. The Roman province of Lusitania

As elsewhere, the Portuguese, and above all their historians, have been fascinated by their Roman past since the Renaissance. Portugal has produced some of the greatest humanists, such as André de Resende. This fascination is legitimate, but often to the detriment of the period following Roman domination: even the most impressive medieval castles could not match the monumentality of the Roman cities of Conimbriga or Mirobriga, and the medieval villages, despite their churches and their high walls, were clearly more rustic than the Roman *villae*, with their mosaics and their thermal baths[17]. Besides, several centuries of Roman Peace, the economic and cultural integration into an empire on the scale of the Mediterranean —when the horses of Lusitania were renowned throughout the Roman world—, images of a lost paradise, contrast with the centuries of war against al-Andalus, and with the progressive relegation of southern Iberia outside of the Mediterranean[18].

It was the Roman political and cultural domination that left the medieval Portuguese culture its most important pre-medieval elements: Portuguese is a Latin language, wine growing and numerous agricultural practices were started by the Romans, and the global polarisation of the territory (several major cities, which were Roman colonies, as well as major roads) resulted from Roman colonisation. However, these significant elements are not specific to this area, since Rome left them across the entire Mediterranean region, and thus they are common to the whole Iberian Peninsula (except the Basque Country and perhaps Cantabria), therefore they do not form part of a regional identity. Moreover, in terms of spatial organisation, a territory constitutes a framework as well as its "contents", and things are less clear from this point of view. It is true that the territory of Portugal, as it appeared around 1250, because of its shape and extent, reproduced quite clearly, although not exactly, a series of three Roman (judicial) districts, the *conventus*, with capitals in Bracara Augusta (Braga), Scallabis (future Santarém) and Pax Julia (Beja) respectively. And even the old border of the Tagus ("internal" border in the old Province of Lusitania), between *Conventus Pacensis* and *Conventus Scallabitanus*,

d'histoire de l'abbaye de Flaran, 9, 10, 11 septembre 2004, Pierre-Yves Laffont, ed. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2006: 163-182.

17. See the different contributions by: Gorges, Jean-Gérard; Salinas de Frías, Manuel, eds. *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine. Occupation du sol et habitats. Table ronde internationale (Salamanque, 29 et 30 janvier 1993).* Salamanca-Madrid: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca-Casa de Velázquez, 1994.

18. It might however appear regrettable, that, until the Romantic Period, Antiquity relegated the medieval past (including that of al-Andalus) as a barbaric time not worthy of interest, and that, until very recently, archaeological finds of medieval remains were dug up with hydraulic shovels so as to reach antique levels, on sites that had been occupied continuously or reoccupied.

reproduced in the 5th-6th centuries by the border between the (barbarian) Sueve and Visigoth kingdoms, was reactivated in the 12th century (as a relatively enduring border against the Moors) by the young Portuguese monarchy, and was to be used for a long time as an internal border of the kingdom between the medieval provinces named "between the Douro and the Tagus" and the Alentejo ("beyond the Tagus")[19].

Under Roman domination, these *conventus* were simply subdivisions of larger and probably earlier areas, the provinces. However, the latter cannot be recognized easily when passing from Antiquity to medieval Portugal. Indeed, Lusitania was a clearly continental province, with its capital in Mérida, whilst the Portuguese territory as it stood around 1120 (at its political birth), associated the southern half of the Province of Galicia (capital Braga) and a small (southern) part of the coastline of Lusitania, and thus completely tore these Roman districts apart. However, in its expansion southwards during the 11th-13th centuries, Portugal reconstructed quite precisely the coastal part of Lusitania (in the form of its two *conventus* of Beja and Scallabis), and gave the former provincial border (between Lusitania and Baetica) back its role in the lower course of the River Guadiana —the only Roman border that still exists unchanged[20]. Moreover, the new Portuguese unity destroyed the River Douro as frontier. This river had formerly constituted an enduring border (withstanding all the provincial reorganisations under the Empire) between the Roman provinces of Galicia and Lusitania, but it did not last as an internal boundary in the new country; the role played by the town of Braga was essential in this process.

It was thus on an intermediate scale (that of the *conventus*) that the spatial continuity was clearest, and not on the scale of the higher level of districts; although it should also be noted that the Portuguese territory moved the borders of the *Conventus Scallabitanus* clearly westwards, in addition to making other minor modifications. This was not a minor detail, because a reorganisation, even involving a short distance, shows that a new logic is at work, especially when it takes place several centuries later. Finally, as can be seen by studying the penetration of Christianity, in the detailed "contents" of these vast districts, the centuries after the end of the Roman period were to effect great changes to the polarity within the Gallaecian and Lusitanian area. Under Rome, the strongest organisation (a systematic network made up of local districts, the *civitates* or "urban settlements"[21]) was located south of the Douro and even further south of the Tagus: the *Conventus Baracarensis*

19. Today historians studying Antiquity are not certain that the River Tagus was used as a border between the *conventus*: Alarcão, Jorge de, dir. *Portugal das origens à romanização* (Serrão, Joel; Marques, António Henrique de Oliveira, dirs. *Nova História de Portugal,* I). Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1990: 384, 385 (map).

20. Some historians even suggest that the expeditions carried out during the High Middle Ages, by the kings of Asturias and León to Mérida, were aimed at reconstructing the former province of Lusitania. This geostrategic interpretation of often fortuitous military events (at least when they were not repeated in a very lasting form) is dangerous, reproducing the vagaries of "historical geography" of the beginning of the 20th century. In some cases it is impossible; thus, the eastwards expansions by the Portuguese sovereigns, after the kingdom's independence, to the detriment of the "mother" territory of León (north of the Douro), notably in the direction of Zamora, had barely any meaning with regard to Roman Gallaecia or the Sueve Kingdom.

21. Around 20 urban settlements in the *Conventus Scallabitanus* and around 12 in the *Pacensis*.

was not even divided up into civitates, the *Conventus Scallabitanus* had a completely off-centre capital (very far south), and these two districts were separated by a no-man's-land, consisting of a central mountain range (it is also lacking in urban settlements). It was in the Sueve and Visigothic High Middle Ages that the northern part was structured more strongly and central Portugal between the Douro and the Tagus became the heart of a unit, which ended up, in the 13th and 14th centuries, by associating equally to the regions at either end, the one at the north of the Douro and the of the Tagus the south.

The main element that explains a continuity in the global shape of the districts for around 800 years, was that the old civil territories (not just the *conventus* but also, and especially, the *citivates*) formed the framework for Christianisation and thus were turned into dioceses between the 3rd and 7th centuries. Admittedly, in the south of the country, strongly Islamicised after the 10th century, the dioceses ended up disappearing, but the Christian conquerors tried to "restore" them —that is the word used in the medieval charters— to their primitive form in order to reject Islam and affirm, via the idea of continuity, the legitimacy of the Reconquista. Moreover, this diocesan continuity was to constitute the main source of international conflicts for Portugal. Even in the 11th-12th centuries, the regrouping of the dioceses into ecclesiastical provinces (or archdioceses), reflecting obsolete Roman provincial logic, no longer matched the new division into differentiated and rival nations that had existed since the 8th century (and in fact since the Germanic invasions). Moreover, the Roman districts, which originated in military conquest and were used to support colonisation, were divided up in accordance with urban centres; in the West of Iberia, which became Muslim after 711, the Arab civilisation allowed the local capitals to be maintained (Coimbra, Lisbon, Santarém, Évora, Beja, Ossonoba/Faro), except for Idanha. And, in the north, which had remained or rapidly became Christian again, the urban decline of the High Middle Ages did not entirely challenge the centrality of the main former or Sueve-Visigothic capitals (Braga, Chaves, Lamego, Viseu). Much of Portugal's urban framework was thus very ancient, which guaranteed a certain degree of stability to the administrative polarisation of the population and activities.

But if one tries to associate the elements of spatial continuity (or rather "reconstruction") with the continuity of a *cultural* identity, the difficulties begin to accumulate. Indeed, no important cultural criterion allows clear identification of the western *conventus* within the heart of ancient Lusitania. With regard to the degree of Romanisation, the Tagus marks a caesura between the southern precocity of the introduction of a network of *villae* and the northern persistence with the indigenous way of life —which brought the north of Lusitania close to Galicia— and thus many phenomena, such as the geographical distribution of clans and large families, went beyond the province or developed there in a uniform fashion, without the lands of the future Portugal being clearly defined[22].

22. On this point, see the work by Aguilar Sáenz, Antonio; Guichard, Pascal; Lefebvre, Sabine. "La ciudad antigua de *Lacimurga* y su entorno rural", *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine*…: 109-130.

3. The Sueve Kingdom and Visigothic unification

After the 4th-5th centuries, the Roman unity was broken up in the West by Germanic tribes (in the Iberian Peninsula by the Vandals, Sueves and Visigoths), which were for many years considered barbarians. On a cultural level, their contribution was uneven: the Germanic languages only left around 40 words in Portuguese —although the adoption of Germanic names (of places and, above all, of people), was very popular, until this died down in favour of saints' names in the 12th century— and the barbarians' technical legacy seems very limited (except for the metalworking industry). However, even as late as the 12th-13th centuries, the political practices of Iberian leaders were greatly influenced by Germanic customs. From a territorial point of view, these peoples founded kingdoms on a largely ethnic basis, thus paying little respect to former districts (except the smallest ones, the *civitates*, and possibly even the *conventus*, which formed the framework of the kingdoms). Despite the numerical weakness of the invaders and their desire to conserve the Roman civilisation, inevitably these new territorial units *sui generis* had a more marked identity than the Roman provinces (conceived to convey Rome's orders in a uniform fashion), even though they corresponded to them in spatial terms. However, the political units which constituted the west of *Hispania* did not clearly prefigure Portugal's territory; but one of them, the ephemeral Sueve Kingdom (411-585) was considered the first case of an "west Iberian" identity awareness.

Naturally, no-one could predict a morphological relationship between the Sueve Kingdom and 13th century Portugal; even when limiting to the "cradle" of Portugal (the region between the Minho and the Douro, before 1000 AD) and to the neast of the Sueve Principality (which was the Germanic settlment area, between Braga and Porto), it is hard to enter a territorial reflection —and the problem was posed above all (and rightly so) in terms of identity. One therefore has to go beyond the comparison of global forms, and instead consider certain spatial mechanisms.

It would be easy to see the Sueve Kingdom, small and enclosed, as an irredentist region in comparison with the Visigoth hegemony (a kingdom that occupied the whole of the rest of the Iberian Peninsula)[23], just as Portugal will be in relation to unified Spain after the 16th century. Except for its brief clarification in the chronicle by Hydatius, Bishop of Chaves[24], its history is not well known. However, due to its size alone, this small kingdom was perhaps better structured than its huge neighbour, at least in respect of religious administration, since a list of parishes from this period survives today (the very famous *Parochiale suevicum*, a unique document in the Europe), testifying to the density of local districts in the dioceses of Braga and Porto (30 and 25 "parishes" respectively). This vigour was in part due to the evangelising activity of St Martin of Dume/Braga, the "Apostle of the Sueves" (bishop from 550-579), whose renown spread across the entire Peninsula. For a generation, the

23. All except for a thin coastal strip occupied during the years 530-50 by the Byzantine armies of the Emperor Justinian, who wanted to take the western part of the Roman Empire back from the Germanic sovereigns.

24. Hydace. *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Alain Tranoy. Paris: editions du Cerf, 1974.

Sueve Kingdom stood out (in comparison to its powerful and threatening Visigoth neighbour) due to its monarchy won over by Catholicism (in 559, after an aborted attempt in 448), whilst the Visigoth kings only abandoned Arianism in 589[25]. So, can we say that there was Sueve nationalism beyond the royal Court?

From a territorial point of view (probably more enduring than socio-political identity), the small Sueve Kingdom was more "antique" than medieval, since it corresponded to the entire Roman province of Gallaecia (thus largely facing towards the Bay of Biscay), yet added to the *Conventus Scallabitanus*, torn off the Province of Lusitania —and on account of these features "medieval". As we have already mentioned, the role played by Braga, which became an archdiocese in 448 (at the expense of Astorga)[26], was then essential in the attempts to "conquer" once and for all the ancient border between Galicia and Lusitania —although this was to generate problems, because the ecclesiastical Province of Braga extended beyond the borders of the future Portugal. On the other hand, as the ancient provincial capital of Galicia, Braga did not intend for dominate a district of Lusitania; its stature within the unity of the Sueve Kingdom showed that the cities held greater sway due to their religious centrality than their strictly civil functions.

However, in order to understand the territorial conformation of the Sueve Kingdom, one also has to take into account the Germanic population. However, the Sueves mainly settled in the region between the Minho and the Douro rivers, and above all towards the coast, between Braga and Porto, in other words at the southern end of *Gallaecia*. From this core area, it was logical that their political domination would extend northwards and southwards without much respect for the ancient administrative organisation. Even though the stabilisation of this territory depended largely on military and political events, or a mixture of arbitrary and fortuitous twists and turns, thereafter there was unity between Gallaecia and Lusitania, particularly in the cultural domain. When, during the High Middle Ages, almost all over southern Europe, Romance languages developed from the late Vulgar Latin, there was no distinction between the languages spoken in Galicia and those in the north of (future) Portugal.

The territory of the Visigothic Kingdom, meanwhile, far larger than the previous one, was nothing like the future Portugal, because, although it included its southern half (in fact the coast of ancient Lusitania), it extended over an area which covered the entire Peninsula and even expanded northwards beyond the Pyrenees. And our region remained closely linked, as it did under Rome, to continental Mérida; the link of this southwestern end of the Iberian Peninsula with the rest of the Visigothic

25. Remember that the Germanic peoples were converted to Christianity in its Arian version (condemned as a heresy at the Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325) and thus dominated the Latin populations who were almost entirely Catholic, which caused the sovereigns serious legitimacy problems —a problem that Clovis and the Francs were able to circumvent by passing directly from Paganism to Catholicism.

26. This transfer in 448, which took place within the Sueve Kingdom itself, did not have political origins, but can probably be explained by the desire of the royal dynasty (which was trying to convert to Catholicism at that time) to locate one of their religious capitals —the other was Lugo— in the area with the strongest Sueve population.

territory was all the stronger since, south of the Tagus, communications with the east were easier. It is this same unspecific colossus that ended up absorbing the territorial outline of Portugal represented by the Sueve Kingdom. From the point of view of future Portugal (in its definitive form after 1250), two points should be highlighted:

- the phase of coexistence between the Sueve and Visigoth kingdoms saw the establishment of a strong border on the Tagus and between the Scallabis and Mérida *conventus*, whilst during Antiquity they were only internal borders in Lusitania;
- after the reunification with the Visigoths, we note the probable deletion of the possible regional identity created by the Sueve Kingdom[27], despite the maintenance of the Roman-Sueve province of Galicia as the 6th province of reunified *Hispania*[28].

Moreover, this deletion was desired by the Visigoth monarchy: the Third Council of Toledo, which sanctioned the adoption of Catholicism and renounced Arianism, affirmed that King Reccared converted the Sueves. And the chronicles "forgot" the evangelisation carried out by St Martin de Braga![29] Therefore, the phase of Sueve unity probably did not create a lasting regional specificity at that time, but it did constitute a precedent that could be referred to when Portuguese separatism developed.

While the Church constituted the main factor of continuity in the Roman territorial (and cultural) heritage, its administrative geography introduced several new elements that should be taken into account. Although, as we have seen, there was continuity in the main ancient cities and, less clearly, in their associated land (the *civitas*)[30], the presence of Christianity modified their functional hierarchy. Firstly, the oldest episcopal sees —and we know that antiquity is an essential factor of legitimation in ecclesiastical usage[31]— were not founded in the administrative capi-

27. Many authors have underlined the fact that this deletion of identity was given away by at least one clue, the invasion of Visigothic law, attested to late in the "Portuguese" charters from the 10th century by numerous mentions of the Visigothic legal code (*lex Gothorum* or *liber judicum*). However, we should stress the fact that, since these are testimonials made *a posteriori*, after a documentary hiatus of several centuries, they reveal above all a purely administrative continuity, thus a movement driven from above, by a monarchy from Asturias and Léon (which claimed to be the Visigoths' heir), which extended its jurisdiction and influence over the ancient Sueve Kingdom. Thus, nothing proves the legal continuity *in situ* in the Galician region between Minho and Douro, or the original cultural impregnation of this zone.

28. This problem, curiously little studied, was tackled by Mattoso, José. "Les Wisigoths dans le Portugal médiéval: état actuel de la question", *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique. Colloque international du CNRS tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris, 14-16 mai 1990)*, Jacques Fontaine, Christine Pellastrandi, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992: 325-339.

29. Deswarte, Thomas. *L'Espagne et la papauté: enjeux idéologiques et ecclésiologiques (586-1085).* Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3 (unpublished habilitation dissertation), 2007: 192-193.

30. Besides, historians, projecting recent realities on the Roman past, have long believed that a State as centralised and administrative as the Empire —like the modern States we believe to be its heirs— must have covered the territory exhaustively by local dividing and interlocked districts. As revealed by the history of medieval parishes, medievalists now have doubts about this organisation.

31. Together with the east of Baetica and the Tarragona region, the southern half of future Portugal constituted one of the three Iberian zones where the oldest bishoprics were founded.

tals of the *conventus* (except those that were at the same time provincial capitals, as in the cases of Braga and Mérida): in the *Conventus Pacensis*, it was Ébora and Ossonoba that were home to the first Christian communities at the expense of Pax Iulia (Beja), and Olisipo (Lisbon) playing the same role with regard to Scallabis within the *Conventus Scallabitanus*. Furthermore, it was the multiplication of Christian communities in the region during the 5th-7th centuries that obliged the dioceses to multiply in order to organise these masses, thereby breaking the unity of these *conventus*, especially north of the Tagus (where Christianity developed later than in the south but created a closer network). Thus emerged the centres of Pax —which made its ancient civil centrality at least equal to religious centrality— and above all in the north with Aeminium/Conimbriga (Coimbra), Egitania (Idanha), Lamecum, Viseum, Magnetum (Meinedo)/Porto, Dumium and even the ephemeral Aquae Flaviae (Chaves, illustrated especially by its bishop, Hydatius, historian of the beginning of the Sueve Kingdom)[32].

It then became necessary to organise these more numerous episcopal sees into a hierarchy, and it was naturally this new political framework of the kingdoms (Sueve north of the Tagus, Visigothic to the south), which lay behind this hierarchy. However, whilst the ancient provincial capitals were logically transformed into archdioceses (in the case of Braga quite late, in 448, at the expense of Astorga), the barbarian kingdoms no longer corresponded to the Roman provinces: within the Sueve Kingdom, the cities where the bishoprics were located between the Douro and the Tagus (Conimbriga, Lamecum, Viseum and Egitania) were thus dependent on the Archdiocese of Braga —whilst, in an "ancient" logic, they should have been under the religious jurisdiction of Mérida— and this anomaly continued for almost a century after the disappearance of the Sueve Kingdom, until 660. This is the first element of true political continuity for the future Portugal, since, after Portuguese independence, the archbishops of Braga asserted the situation that existed in the Sueve period and legitimated their claims with documents that dated back to that period. This expansion of the *Bracarense* jurisdiction southwards compensated the losses in the north, because Braga was in competition —from the point of view of the Roman province of *Gallaecia* of which Braga was the capital— with another archdiocese, Lugo, which stood like a missionary in a region that remained pagan; and the border between these two ecclesiastical provinces of the High Middle Ages was more or less the northern border of the Portuguese kingdom. Thus, due to a matter of religious jurisdiction, Braga, the political capital of the northwards-looking Sueve Kingdom, was then turned southwards; when Portugal began to become detectable as a kingdom, the old border of the Douro between Galicia and Lusitania was replaced by a border further north, on the rivers Minho and Lima.

It was the Reconquista that was to confirm this global territorial "southernisation" of the western part of the Iberian Peninsula.

32. Most of these dioceses north of the River Tagus were created at the end of the Sueve Kingdom, and their founding was probably aimed at strengthening this kingdom against the Visigothic upsurge, especially in the "Lusitanian" zone (between the Douro and the Tagus), which constituted the most fragile part of the Sueve Kingdom.

4. The western part of al-Andalus, the Gharb, until the beginning of the 12th century: Lusitania's missing link?[33]

Even if, by the time the kingdom was born, Portugal's "cradle" had been turned southwards for a long time and tended to set itself even further apart from a more clearly northern Galicia, the lasting integration of the entire southern part of the Iberian Peninsula (south of the Mondego as far as western Iberia is concerned) in an Arab-Muslim political and cultural unity, al-Andalus, quite clearly cut the *Portucalense* region off from its links with the south and reduced it to a clearly "northern" isolation —not absolutely, but in terms of its position within the future Portugal. The problem that resulted form this situation was also geographical: once the Kingdom of Portugal was complete (as an globally functioning unit), it was more strongly "al-Gharbian" than Galician (in comparison with ancient Gallaecia). However, as we have seen, the "latitudinal" territorial break-up introduced by the formation of al-Andalus may have led to a legitimisation which endorsed the districts that existed before the invasion.

Crucially, considering the value long attributed to the original contribution made by Andalusian culture, historians have neglected to examine the possibility that a specifically Andalusian territorial construction was transmitted to the Portuguese Kingdom. Noting that Portugal corresponded most of all to the Province of Lusitania (with a border along the River Guadiana south of Badajoz and in particular south of Mértola) in his part that remained Andalusian for longest, historians have rapidly passed through the Visigoth-Sueve centuries, proposing a strong continuity in the ancient districts (the *civitates* and *conventus*) of the Andalusian administrative geography[34]; the best studied case (by a geographer, João Carlos Garcia), from a spatial point of view, is that of the *Conventus* of Beja, which the author of the study believes was perpetuated by the homonymous caliphal *kura* [administrative district][35]. In other words, progressing southwards, did the governors of the *Portucalense* Province of the Kingdom of León, above all the Portuguese kings, reconstruct an ancient territory?

It does not look like they intended to do this. If, as has been suggested, the Galician expeditions against Mérida, which had become Andalusian, during the High Middle Ages, had formed part of the desire to reconstruct Lusitania, King Afonso I of Portugal's attempt to take Badajoz in 1169, which some historians

33. Much of the information on which our interpretations in this section are based, have been taken from a paper by Picard, Christophe. *Le Portugal musulman (VIIIe – XIIIe siècle). L'Occident d'al-Andalus sous domination islamique*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000 and, to a lesser degree, from Boissellier, Stéphane. *Naissance d'une identité portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana (Portugal) de l'Islam à la Reconquête (Xe - XIVe siècles)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1998: 46-50.

34. For al-Andalus in general, see Chalmeta, Pedro. *Invasión e islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1994; and several contributions by Vallvé, Joaquin. *La división territorial de la España musulmuna*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986. For Portugal, this idea was studied in particular by Mattoso, José; Brito, Raquel Soeiro de; Fabião, Carlos; Macías, Santiago; Torres, Cláudio. *Antes de Portugal* (José Mattoso, dir. *História de Portugal*, 1). Lisbon: Estampa, 1997.

35. Garcia, João Carlos. *O espaço medieval da Reconquista no Sudoeste da Península Ibérica*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1986.

have attributed to a "Lusitanian continuity", did not seem to have had more than immediate or medium-term strategic objectives. Since the reign of Sancho I, the lands beyond the lower course of the River Guadiana, such as Aroche and Aracena, Huelva, or even Seville, were sought after by the Portuguese kings; the definition of "conquest corridors" during the 12th century, through treaties between Christian kingdoms, has never been very precise in geographical terms, and referred more to Andalusian realities than to the memory of districts predating the invasion in 711. It was through a move backwards by the Portuguese (during the resolution of the "Algarve issue", which constituted a *taifa* astride the Guadiana during the 1230s), and it was not through conforming spontaneously with this that the old border between Lusitania and Baetica was reconstructed.

The main problem to be solved was thus that of the territorial definition of the West of al-Andalus. Towards the north, it seemed to be quite clearly defined, based on control being seized by the Asturians (between Minho and Douro) and the Andalusians (between the Tagus and Mondego) from the middle of the 9th century, through the border march between Douro and Mondego. This "definition", however, is flawed, since in political terms, a large part of the region between the Douro and Tagus remained poorly integrated, politically speaking. However, if you consider that the basic character that defined al-Andalus was its civilisation (its language, religion, social and economic structures) and not its geographical definition or political obedience, Muslim "Portugal" can be defined as the zone that stretched south of the Mondego, where the population had absorbed the Andalusian civilisation deeply and continuously for at least two or three centuries. Things were even less clear in the east, where "Andalusian Portugal" only had potential borders, as in the Visigothic period (and even fewer, since it lacked the continuity of the Roman *Conventus Pacensis* and *Scallabitanus*): the current border was created in this area by Christians from the north during their reconquest, a long time after the formation of al-Andalus. Due to its geographical permeability, the southern part of the future Portugal, especially south of the Tagus, had fluid or even strong relations with the encompassing Andalusian State. As in the past, its main specificity was to constitute virtually the entire Atlantic seafront of a mainly Mediterranean territory[36]. What was new, was that way in which, like Galicia within the Kingdom of Asturias and León, the West of al-Andalus benefited from a global geographical definition, *al-gharb al-Andalus* ("the West of al-Andalus") —whose name after the *Reconquista* was the basis for Portugal's southernmost medieval province, the Algarve.

The eastern delimitation of this Gharb was first given to us by tenth-century geographers, who envisaged it as the western *half* of the Peninsula, the part where the rivers flowed into the Atlantic: we are far from the future Portugal and Roman Hispania! The Andalusian chroniclers and compilers between the 10th and 13th centuries spoke of a West that was smaller and more western, sometimes called *al-*

36. Which conferred a final territorial specificity, but this time on a very vast scale and from an exclusively Muslim point of view: along with Morocco, western al-Andalus formed the extreme and impassable border of the Arab-Muslim world, and thus a confined zone (the Atlantic Ocean, known as the *al-bahr al-muhit* or the "encircling sea", was seen more as a barrier, the end of the world, than an open border).

gharb/al-maghrib al-aqsa ("the far West"), but which was all the same much "larger" than the future Portugal, including the territories of cities such as Salamanca, Cáceres-Mérida-Badajoz, Niebla-Huelva and sometimes Seville. Without designating a formal administrative organisation, the Gharb of the chronicles was more real than that of the geographers and the anthologists[37], especially when the growing differentiation between the northern Christian kingdoms obliged the Emirate of al-Andalus to organise a differentiated military defence, in the form of three "marches" (*thaghr/s*), eastern, central and western: the western march, also known as the "Lower March" (*al-thaghr al-adna*, because it is further south than the other two), corresponded mainly to the southern border of the Kingdom of León and, by extension, the "westernness" of the Andalusian regions south of this march was better defined. The lasting lack of political definition of the region between the Minho and Tagus rivers also explained why the Gharb stood out in al-Andalus due to being further south than the other regions: when the "Lower March" gained a capital in 929 or 939, it was located in the very heart of the Caliphate, in Badajoz, much farther south than the other military administrative centres, Toledo-Medinaceli and Zaragoza. Paradoxically, then, it was an external action that defined the territory of the West of al-Andalus.

Knowing the end of the story, it is a little teleological to foresee a regional identity in certain political events[38], in particular in the rebellions against the centralism of Córdoba, under the Emirate (756-929), and the Caliphate (929-1031). In the entire Peninsula, rebellions were almost proportional to the distance from Córdoba and the vigour of the local elite, and their particular intensity in the Gharb, during the great *fitna* [civil war] at the end of the Emirate, only expresses an especially pronounced geographical marginality[39]. It is better to focus on structural elements, such as the weakness of the urban network in Western al-Andalus: except for Seville, which is hard to include in the Gharb, in the 10th century only Badajoz (which was only founded around 890[40]) could rival Toledo, Córdoba, Grenada,

37. The Andalusian chroniclers, who always served the central authorities, based their writings on administrative documents, in particular the minutes of the nomination of local governors. As for the compilers of biographical dictionaries and literary anthologies, we are still uncertain of their topographical logic; thus, in the 13th century, the Andalusian Ibn Sa'id, in his anthology of poets, classed those of al-Andalus in a Gharb that included six "kingdoms" (Córdoba, Seville, Badajoz, Silves, Beja and Lisbon) (Viguera, María Jesús. "El 'reino' de Badajoz en el *Mugrib* de Ibn Sa'id", *Bataliús* II...: 225-248): perhaps taking the 11th century *taifas* as territorial units, he tried above all to establish three parts of al-Andalus (east, centre and west) all similar in size.

38. This approach has been adopted by almost all historians of Portugal, including the author of this text (Boissellier, Stéphane. *Naissance d'une identité portugaise*...).

39. These were simultaneous rebellions but ones that remained purely local (except for the creation of the ephemeral principality of Ibn Marwan in the Badajoz-Mérida area from 875-923) and gave no global political specificity to the region in which they occurred: it was thus an inadequate methodological process, based on the subsequent existence of these regions, which makes us postulate the significance of their regional identity.

40. Here Badajoz played the same polarising role as the —also "new"— city of Porto in the north; we can note that they were founded around the same time (868 in the case of Porto). For more information on Badajoz, see Picard, Christophe. "La fondation de Badajoz par Abd al-Rahman Ibn Yunus al-Jilliki

Almeria, Zaragoza, Valencia or Murcia[41]. More debatable —since it is based on erratic data— is the theory of weakness in the Arab-Syrian and Berber immigration outside of the main southern cities (Beja, Évora, Ossonoba, Silves, Santarém and perhaps Lisbon), which gave the Gharb a more "indigenous" character and thus a stronger pre-Islamic cultural substrate[42]; this conception was largely founded on the (incontestable) fact that the territory of modern-day Portugal north of the Tagus was never strongly integrated (politically speaking) into the Andalusian State, and at most constituted a sort of protectorate. In any case, the problem is badly articulated in these terms, because, if the ethnic factor intervened to a large extent in the political struggles during the first centuries of al-Andalus, it seemed to play a secondary role in the process of cultural integration. If high Arab-Muslim culture was not very apparent in the west (precisely because of the absence of large cities), the conversion to Islam and linguistic Arabisation did not appear to be inferior, the culture of the Mozarab "resistants" stood out more because of its lifelessness, and, in the 12th century, the southern Gharb, on the other hand, was advanced in the diffusion of Muslim mysticism (Sufism). Apart from the above elements, it is not certain that the area west of al-Andalus demonstrated any strong specificities until the end of the Caliphate.

It was only when the Andalusian unity broke up (1009-1031), into a series of regional states, coordinated by the main cities, the *taifas*[43], that an independent (but not unitary) history of the Gharb began, and that we can really study the identity issue, here again in its territorial dimension[44]. There were seven or eight principalities in the Gharb, most of which, in the extreme south, were miniscule; this proliferation, exceptional within al-Andalus, far from being a sign of vigour, rather revealed the weakness of the southernmost western cities, none of which was able to structure a political system beyond a limited perimeter. This proliferation contrasted with the immense northern principality of Badajoz, which is particularly

(fin IXe siècle)". *Revue des études islamiques,* 49/2 (1981): 215-229, and the different articles on the origins of the city in the two collective volumes: Díaz Esteban, Fernando, ed. *Bataliús. El reino taifa de Badajoz. Estudios*. Madrid: Letrúmero, 1999.

41. If we accept that literary activity was a criterion for urban vigour, we may note (Viguera, María Jesús. "El 'reino' de Badajoz"…: 229) that the territories of the "Portuguese" Gharb south of the Tagus are at the end of the list in the classification by number of pages in the anthology of Andalusian poets by Ibn Sa'id (who, writing in the 13th century, offered us a retrospective of all the Andalusian literary activity since the origins): Silves 21, Badajoz 19, Lisbon 11 and Beja 6 (ranking in 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th place out of 17) compared with 200 for the region of Córdoba, 125 for Valencia and 121 for Seville!

42. Theory still supported recently by Sidarus, Adel. "Novas perspectivas sobre o Gharb al-Ândalus no tempo de D. Afonso Henriques", *D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época. 2° Congresso histórico de Guimarães. Actas do congresso. 2. A política portuguesa e as suas relações exteriores*. Guimarães: Câmara municipal de Guimarães - Universidade do Minho, 1997: 249-268.

43. The Arab chroniclers spoke rather about kingdoms, vizirates or emirates; the term *taifa* comes from an expression used to describe these kinglets as *muluk al-tawa'if* (the party kings or petty monarchs).

44. However, the truly territorial character of these entities was again cast into doubt, and historians recognise more networks of fidelities and dependences than a structure materialised by borders. Naturally, each network had its own extension, which constituted its borders and obeyed rules: it became denser and allowed for a real administrative exercise of power by drawing closer to the cities.

interesting since it probably reveals what the enigmatic "Lower March" was like[45]; its size inferred that the weakness of the cities was even greater in the centre of the future Portugal, since none of them was able to establish itself locally against the distant capital of Badajoz. The geography of the primitive southern *taifas* —which were quickly annexed to the Kingdom of Seville— showed us, rather than existing districts, the new polarisation induced by the evolution in the urban network: the emergence of Badajoz, Mértola, Huelva/Saltès and Silves, the decline of Beja, and the possible inertness of Lisbon, Santarém and Alcácer do Sal (al-Qasr Abu Danis, the Roman Salacia). Except for the *taifa* of Badajoz, whose specific (military march) structures were coupled with a strong Berber population, we might surmise, against a historiographical current that is still very present, that the factors concerning the formation of the southern principalities were not very ethnical but rather socio-economic and political, at least in the Gharb. It was the large, long-established local families (Arab, except in Ossonoba —which became Shantamariyyat al-Gharb— where converted indigenous families prevailed) that took power, backed by their wealth, their network of clients and the holding of senior positions in the caliphal administrations.

The Andalusian division in the 11th century was not reflected in the formation of the Portuguese Kingdom, nor was the bipartition of its Christian north between the provinces of Porto and Coimbra. Admittedly, the political identity was probably stronger in the framework of the *taifas* than in the administrative districts within a political unity, but the memory of the political legitimacies faded fast —even faster in this case, since the last local emirs were discredited for their powerlessness in the face of the Christians. Even after 1050-60, when the southernmost principalities were founded in the vast Kingdom of Seville, the division of the Gharb between the *taifas* of Badajoz in the north and Seville in the south, on either side of a purely artificial line crossing the lower Alentejo, would not leave any detectable trace in Portuguese geography or culture —maybe because the direct descendants of those who experienced this situation were those who were defeated and who had little influence on the formation of subsequent local identities in the change of political domination[46].

45. This is the most interesting hypothesis in the article by Valdés Fernández, Fernando. "Consideraciones sobre la marca inferior de al-Andalus", *Castrum* 4. *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen-Age. Actes du colloque d'Erice-Trapani (Italie) tenu du 18 au 25 septembre 1988*, Jean-Michel Poisson, ed. Rome-Madrid: École française de Rome-Casa de Velázquez, 1992: 85-98.

46. Without mentioning the populations north of the *taifa* of Badajoz, which were annexed by the Christian rising in the second half of the 11th century (thus during the "pre-Portuguese" phase of the western Reconquista), the older inhabitants of the region of Leiria or of Lisbon and Santarém, in the years 1130-40 could remember the final *taifa* period (in the 1090s) perfectly well, when Portugal was born and these regions were annexed.

5. Conclusion

The cult of the "long duration" should not lead us to anachronism, especially when we debate with a certain degree of generality and when we use a regressive process. The complex combinations of factors are eminently progressive, even when they include the most lasting elements, such as those linked to the environment. The repetition of political units in a roughly identical area should thus be considered with care. We cannot limit the analysis improperly to political and administrative mechanisms and to spatial voluntarism implemented by the supreme authorities (located in Rome, then in Braga and Toledo, later in Oviedo and finally in León): the territoriality of an area like post-Reconquista Portugal cannot remain the same for a millennium. The persistence, or even continuity of the layout (specifically the boundaries) of a governmental spatial entity, while admitting that there is a political will for "restoration", might be completely out of step with the "contents" of the territory; however, it is the contents that constitute the real driving force behind territorialisation, even on a large scale.

The cultural uniformity (due to the power of seduction of the Roman model on the local elite), and the strong economic integration in Roman Hispania and perhaps under the Andalusian Caliphate, turned the urban centres into staging posts for a generalised movement, and the provinces and *conventus* (or *kura/s*) into a conventional, purely administrative framework, without a marked identity; starting in the Sueve period, the identity processes, on a local or supralocal scale of larger the dioceses, and the communities of inhabitants, made the districts[47] an aggregate of solidarities within the elite, and a network of pacts with the supreme leaders. Even though there was continuity in the higher administration (notably in the location of the authorities in the main cities), this reticular logic modified the spatial mechanisms[48]. Moreover, 13th century Portugal, like almost all the other Iberian kingdoms, came from the fusion of a northern "cradle" and its expansion zone in al-Andalus: there was a slim possibility that, in these two areas with very different cultures, the administrative traditions could combine in order to reconstruct a broken framework, whether by continuity or restoration.

In order to pose the problem in classic terms —which incidentally are not very appropriate, as P. Geary[49] has demonstrated— and to widen the discussion beyond the territorial dimension, we might ask the following question: did the Nation precede the State in Portugal? J. Matosso's great thesis, showing the importance in the 11th century of the "new nobility" (feudal) of the *infanções* in the emergence

47. In this case, the Sueve Kingdom and the Lusitanian Province of the Visigoth Kingdom, then the *Provincia Portucalensis* of the Kingdom of Asturias and León, and the large western *taifas* succeeding the Caliphate.

48. Focusing on the coincidences of locations and boundaries: Garcia, João Carlos. *O espaço medieval da Reconquista*…: *24,* considered that the social mechanisms (basically the economic and administrative polarisation of cities) implementing them have been perpetuated from Antiquity up to the Reconquista.

49. Geary, Patrick J. *Quand les nations refont l'histoire. L'invention des origines médiévales de l'Europe*. Paris: Aubier, 2004 (translation of: Geary, Patrick J. *The myth of nations. The medieval origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

of a regional princely power, suggested on the one hand that society precedes the State (but a "society" limited to the local power holders), and, on the other hand, that the roots of Portugal should be found in the not too distant past. Therefore, Portuguese political unity did have *precedents*; precedents, but without direct connections between these situations of unity, because the context was very different in each period: in the form of a Roman province or a barbarian kingdom, we observe a certain territorial and administrative entity, which is reproduced several times, without superimposing itself precisely and never involving the entire medieval Portuguese territory. But the cultural and social personality of the region was not yet as clear as it would be after independence; however, it is just this personality that allows us to speak of identity continuity; in fact, and this is an essential point[50], there was no continuous transmission of specific political power since the Antiquity.

50. We should recall that, in ancient societies where it was hard to circulate information through the population (i.e. there was no "mass culture"), the feeling of belonging existed above all on a local level, where it was based on everyone knowing each other. Beyond the objective identities (community of the environment, language and lifestyle), a population spread out over several thousand (or tens of thousands) km² and broken up by the parochial mentality, cannot reveal an identity *feeling* if there is no common object for this feeling to be crystallised, in other words a political power (if possible sacred), capable of creating social integration.

ELITES AND OLIGARCHIES IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESE URBAN WORLD

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to review the state of knowledge about elites and oligarchies in the Portuguese urban world, during the Medieval Era. To achieve this objective, the following outline will be used. 1- Review of the situation in urban history and studies of power in Portugal. 2- Recent research: a political reading of the Portuguese urban world. 3- Summary of the status of municipalities in the political system in medieval Portugal. 4- The methods and historiographical perspectives of research on urban elites. 5- Case study: the power elites in a Portuguese town in the Medieval Era.

Key words

Urbain history, Political elites, Methodology of research groupes, Case study.

Capitalia Verba

Historia urbium, Optimatium dominatus, Ratio coniuncte indagandi, Carptim euoluere, Peculiariter condiscere.

In the 1980s, urban history in Portugal underwent a process of profound renewal. At that time, a research project was set up based on consistent conceptual and methodological foundations, aimed precisely at the medieval chronological period. Oliveira Marques designed a programme of comprehensive research[1] and created conditions for it to be materialised: he directed a Master's seminar on this subject and included it among the research activities of a Centre for Historical Studies.

The purpose of Oliveira Marques's *Plan* was to *understand the medieval Portuguese city,* going beyond a *mere compilation of erudite data*, and embarking on *interpretation, theorising and comparison*[2]. To this end, he drew up a table of questions to be applied to medieval documents from the different urban centres. He used this to attempt to understand aspects specific to each location and, at the same time, he collected information on the *common denominators* of *medieval Portuguese cities*.

Within a few years, many urban history monographs had been written according to this *Plan*. More recently, some Portuguese medievalists have extended the scope of the analysis of cities. These authors have examined the relationship between urban centres and the rural world, establishing hierarchies between various towns and cities in a region and studying the process of urbanisation of geographic zones as a strategy of territorial domination by royal power. And, in addition to research addressing the city as a whole, studies have also emerged from the field of Portuguese historiography that analyse certain specific realities, including landscape, forts, defensive structures, neighbourhoods, place names, urban interventions, property, public health, festivals, processions, solidarity, minority and marginal groups and elites[3].

Despite this boom in research, there are both geographic and chronological disparities in current knowledge of the medieval Portuguese urban world. In geographic terms, the urban monographs concentrate on centres situated on the north and central coast area of the kingdom; in chronological terms, there is a preponderance of studies of the Late Medieval Era rather than earlier eras. This chronological tendency is less the result of the choice of authors than an imposition of the existing sources, which, as is well known, are much more extensive for the final centuries of the Medieval Era.

In parallel to these studies of urban history, the influence of the historiographical movement to rehabilitate politics as a subject of analysis has begun to be felt in

1. Programme presented in two articles of a methodological nature: Marques, António Henrique de Oliveira. "Introdução à história da cidade medieval portuguesa"; "As cidades medievais portuguesas (Algumas bases metodológicas gerais)", *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1988: 13-67.

2. The publication of an atlas of the cities was the first achievement of the last aspect listed: that of comparison. Marques, António Henrique de Oliveira; Gonçalves, Iria; Andrade, Amélia Aguiar, eds. *História Atlas das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas (séculos XII-XV). Historia Medieval – 1*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa-Instituto Nacional de Investigaçao Científica, 1990.

3. A list of studies of urban history conducted in Portugal can be consulted in our work: Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *O Mundo Urbano em Portugal na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2004.

Portugal[4]. The long Portuguese tradition of research on local power[5] was thus enriched with new issues and new methodologies. Areas studied included: the operation of municipal governance structures[6]; local finances[7]; royal and seigneurial strategies for domination of local power[8]; the values defended by the common people, analysed on the basis of complaints presented at *cortes*[9]. A significant new approach was the application of the prosopographical method to local political societies, permitting an analysis of their socio-professional composition and a discovery of any *cursos honorum* developed in the power structures of the communities[10].

More recently, the two paths of research have covered common ground. Like the famous *Plan* of Dr Oliveira Marques, this project is intended to find "common denominators" that can help us with a political reading of Portuguese medieval

4. These influences were initially visible in studies on central administration and its political staff. See Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho. *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Porto: Instituto Nacional Investigaçao Científica – Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990, and MA and PhD theses following the line of research developed by this historian.

5. On this subject see Torgal, Luís Reis; Mendes, José M. Amado; Catroga, Fernando. *História da história em Portugal, séculos XIX-XX*. 1, *A História através da História*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1998: 31-35.

6. This note and the following are not intended to provide a comprehensive list of the studies, but just some examples of work addressing these issues. Moreno, Humberto Baquero. "A evolução do município em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV", *Actas das Jornadas sobre o município na Península Ibérica (sécs. XII a XIX), Santo Tirso, 22 a 24 de Fevreiro, 1985*. Santo Tirso: Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso, 1988: 75-110; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. "As oligarquias urbanas e as primeiras burguesias em Portugal". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História,* 11 (1994): 111-136.

7. Gonçalves, Iria. *As finanças municipais do Porto na segunda metade do século XV*. Porto: Arquivo Histórico - Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1987.

8. Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. "Estado, territórios e administração régia periférica", *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal tardo-medievo*, Maria Helena Da Cruz Coelho, Armando Luís de Carvalho Homen, coords. Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma, 1999: 151-188; Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho. "L'intervention de l'État portugais sur le pouvoir municipal aux XIVe et XVe siècles: rejets et conflits", *Genèse Médiévale de l'Espagne Moderne, Du refus à la révolte: les résistances,* Adeline Rucquoi, ed. Nice: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1991: 95-106; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. "O poder central e o poder local: modos de convergência e de conflito nos séculos XIV e XV". *Revista de História*, 6 (1988): 53-67; Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "Relações entre o poder local e poder central - uma síntese", *Universo Urbanístico Português, 1415-1822: Actas do Colóquio Internacional Universo Urbanístico Português,* Walter Rossa, Renata Araújo, Helder Carita, eds. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2001: 17-34; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "Relações de domínio no Portugal concelhio de meados de Quatrocentos". *Revista Portuguesa de História,* 25 (1990): 235-289; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "O poder na Idade Média: um relacionamento de poderes", *Poder Central, Poder Regional, Poder Local. Uma perspectiva histórica,* Luís Nuno Espinha da Silveira, coord. Lisbon: Ediçoes Cosmo, 1997: 35-46.

9. Sousa, Armindo de. *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigaçao Científica - Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1990; Sousa, Armindo de. "O discurso político dos concelhos nas cortes de 1385". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 2 (1985): 9-44; Sousa, Armindo de. "A estratégia política dos municípios no reinado de D. João II". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História,* 6 (1989): 137-174.

10. Even though the sources available were not always helpful for knowledge of local political societies, as they were for the human contingents that made up central administration. Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *'Vereação' e 'Vereadores'. O governo do Porto em finais do século XV.* Porto: Arquivo Histórico - Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1993; Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. "Composição social e gestão municipal: o exemplo de Ponte de Lima na Baixa Idade Média". *Ler História*, 10 (1987): 3-13.

cities. To this end, the following criteria of a jurisdictional, institutional and political nature have been used to catalogue urban centres[11]:

1. Symbolic political hierarchical system of cities and towns[12].
2. Jurisdictional definition/evolution of the centre.
3. Regulations —list of all the sources of law that regulate the municipality and their relationship with the crown.
4. Administrative, judicial, tax attributes of the urban centre in terms of the organisation of the kingdom.
5. Positioning of the urban centre in the geographic circuit favoured by the monarchs.
6. Royal policy towards each city or town.
7. Local political societies.

It has not yet been possible to complete this grid with all the information required. For a considerable number of urban centres, the exploration of these topics has yet to be completed. It is, however, important to emphasise that the subject addressed here is part of a wide-ranging research project[13].

We can start by creating a framework for the problem through a summary of political and institutional evolution in Portugal in the Middle Ages.

Historians have considered the Portuguese crown to be somewhat precocious in its establishment of measures aimed at centralising power. Indeed, from the late twelfth century and particularly during the thirteenth century, there was a political strategy —conceived by jurists— that aimed to structure the territory and the society under the king's rule. This resulted in some general laws (in 1211), records in royal chancellery (in 1217), surveys of the property titles of lords (after 1220). Over the years, the crown's programme was developed and intensified. The territory was divided into five districts of a judicial nature (*comarcas*) and twenty-five for tax purposes (*almoxarifados*). A central, regional and local administrative hierarchy was created, operated by agents of the King who acted in legal and tax matters. Naturally the lack of means to guarantee the effectiveness of the crown's directives meant that many measures were not actually put into practice.

In this ideological paradigm the crown interacted with other powers operating in the medieval political system: the lay and ecclesiastical lords and the organised territorial communities. These communities —called *concelhos*— corresponded to the

11. These indicators should naturally be combined with the knowledge transmitted by urban monographs written in the last thirty years in Portugal, which help to characterise each urban centre in geographic, spatial, economic, corporate, cultural terms, etc.

12. Throughout the article, the formal distinction between cities and towns in force during the Middle Ages in Portugal has been adopted. Cites were exclusively the seats of bishoprics, in other words Braga, Coimbra, Évora, Guarda, Lamego, Lisbon, Oporto, Silves and Viseu. The other urban agglomerations were called towns (Marques, António Henrique de Oliveira. *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV* [*Nova História de Portugal, 4,* Joel Serrão, António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, dirs.]. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1987: 182). However, medievalists commonly use the general term 'city' to designate the urban world of the period.

13. It corresponds to item 7 of the research project.

smallest recognised civil district[14]. They enjoyed a level of autonomy that allowed them to pass laws within certain limits and to exercise justice at first instance. Little by little, the crown managed to interfere in and to standardise the running of these structures: by the fourteenth century, royal legislation regulated the mechanisms for individual access to municipal power[15], established the powers of magistracies and created external agents who supervised the town halls[16].

The relationship established between the crown and the municipalities in the late Middle Ages was quite intense. Municipal documents show that the king was informed of many of the decisions taken at a local level. These included deliberations on matters as varied as administration, the economy, urban interventions or public health. Much of the correspondence from the *concelhos* was related to complaints and requests. However, although no *concelho* was denied access to the monarch, the fact of the matter is that the political representation of the territorial communities was markedly urban. This means that all the *concelhos* called by the King to be present at the *cortes*[17] were cities and towns.

We have thus made a brief presentation of studies in urban history and of the history of power in Portugal. This also included a summary of the political and institutional framework of the kingdom within which the relationship between the crown and the *concelhos* was established. We will now move on to the main theme of this article: elites and oligarchies in the Portuguese urban world.

As we know, the first term applies to higher level groups within the community, regardless of the factors that permitted their social projection, such as family, economic activity, culture, or loyalty network[18]. The urban oligarchy corresponds exclusively to the group of individuals who held municipal offices.

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14. For systematisations on factors that explain the municipal and urban geography of Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal (1096-1325). 1. Oposição*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1995: 34, 307; Mattoso, José, dir. *A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)* (*História de Portugal, 2*, José Mattoso, dir.). Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 1993: 1-205; Coelho, Maria da Cruz Helena; Homem, Armando Luís de Carvalho, dirs. *Portugal em definição de fronteiras (1096-1325). Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Século XIV* [*Nova História de Portugal*, 3, Joel Serrão, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, dirs.]. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1996: 1-554.

15. In particular the *Ordenação dos Pelouros*, stipulated by king João I, in 1391 (published in: *'Vereaçoens', Anos de 1390-1395. O mais antigo dos livros de vereaçoes do munícipio do Porto existentes no seu arquivo*. Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto – Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1937: 235-236).

16. Legislation compiled in the fifteenth century in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* – whose *Book I* includes the regulations for crown offices and offices in the municipalities (see *Ordenaçoens do Senhor Rey Dom Afonso V*. Coimbra: Na Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1792 [facsimile: *Ordenaçoens do Senhor Rey Dom Afonso V*, eds. Mário Júlio de Almeida Costa, Eduardo Borges Nunes. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984].

17. The *cortes* corresponded to a parliament in Portugal. In addition to the *fidalgos* and the higher clergy, representatives of the communities also had seats in the *cortes*. This body only met when called by the king, without any established interval, and was only attended by delegates from the *concelhos* that received official notifications.

18. Articles consulted on this subject include those published in *Les Élites Urbaines au Moyen Âge. XXVIIe Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. Rome, mai 1996*. Paris-Rome: Publications de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 1997; Barata, Filipe Themudo, ed. *Elites e Redes Clientelares na Idade Média: Problemas metodológicos. Actas do Colóquio*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri - Centro de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Ciências Humanas da Universidade, 2001.

The two categories did not necessarily overlap, however they were related. In historical research, urban elites and oligarchies have not enjoyed the same level of attention from historians. These have focused their research on the analysis of oligarchies, using prosopography[19].

The use of this method is based on the use of an objective characteristic to circumscribe a group of people. This method began to be applied precisely to the members of organisms of political systems, as part of global research on these organisms. Thus the following have been studied: the organics of the central power, the "departments", the offices, and their incumbents[20]; the processes of organisation of justice, the offices and the men[21]; the duties and powers of public offices and their holders in a town[22]; the running of town halls and the oligarchies that dominated them[23].

However, prosopography, while enabling us to build up the collective biography of the group of people related to an organism, separates it from the community, isolating it. The group is characterised through quantitative approaches that systematise common political paths and enable us to discover the singularity of other paths. In other words, the group is always analysed in the light of the political organism in which it acts.

Due to its particularities, this method does not adapt well to the study of elites in an urban centre. And we can question whether its use will indeed let us understand the more restricted group of political elites. Indeed, we know that power relationships are not exclusively played out within institutions. At best, institutions act as visible stages on which other more subtle solidarities are capitalised[24].

This leads us to propose another methodological hypothesis to delimit the higher strata of the medieval urban societies. The process would involve building partial data bases, based on specific issues. Such as:

- cadastre of the families in the urban centre;
- ist of the people involved in business activities in that city or town;
- reconstitution of social occupancy and of the locations of properties in the urban landscape;
- list of the members of brotherhoods and other associations;
- indexing of forms of solidarity offered in the event of institutional conflict or private conflict;

19. Only the elites of the city of Évora have been studied from a broad perspective: Projecto CIDEHUS/UE "Elites e Redes Clientelares na Idade Média. Uma observação centrada em Évora".

20. See Note 4.

21. Duarte, Luís Miguel. *Justiça e Criminalidade no Portugal Medievo (1459-1481)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 1999.

22. Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. *Gerir e Julgar em Guimarães no século X*V. *Subsídios para o estudo dos ofícios públicos*. Guimarães: Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta – Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1993.

23. Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *«Vereação» e «Vereadores». O governo do Porto*...

24. For a more detailed analysis of this question, see Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. "Prosopografia das elites concelhias e análise relacional: a intersecção de duas abordagens", *Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média. Problemas Metodológicos*...: 63-70.

- names of the participants in a wide range of notary documents (as witnesses, executors or guarantors, for example);
- exploration of loyalties, both internal —within the community under consideration— and external —directed at lords and monarchs[25];
- catalogue of the individuals who received royal grants, whether in the form of property, privileges or jurisdictions;
- list of the municipal, royal and seigneurial officials.

All this information would be cross-referenced in a large scale database —the heart of the research— and attempts would be made to detect the overlap of bonds that motivated urban society.

In other words, the trajectory of the analysis will not be to accumulate news about the human figures of an organism but to list all the factors that permit the integration of individuals into the community and, ultimately, the projection of some of these into the higher strata of that community. In this way, it is possible to obtain a general overview of the elites of an urban centre, regardless of the economic, political or even religious field in which they acted.

Following the rationale developed in this article, only the elites associated with the exercise of political power will be addressed

The urban centres were favoured arenas for structurally or temporarily competing powers[26]. They were thus centres with their own administration —through their municipal organisation— and also with royal administration and, in some cases, with seigneurial administration.

A first question should be raised when intending to circumscribe and characterise urban political power elites. Are there structured and united groups of men delimited by the origin of the power that they wield? In other words, are there members of the oligarchy who do not overlap with royal officials or seigneurial officials operating in the same territorial area?

In principle, the opposition/contrast between the agents of the crown or of the lords with local and regional influence and municipal officials is quite obvious. However, it is important to take into account indicators that enable us to assess the level of integration or independence of the royal and seigneurial officials in relation

25. Several studies have already explored this subject. See Duarte, Luís Miguel; Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "Dependentes das elites vimaranenses face à justiça no reinado de D. Afonso V". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 6 (1989): 175-221; Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "O Arcebispo de Braga, a sua Igreja e os privilegiados da Coroa", *Actas do IX Centenário da Dedicação da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990: II/I, 503-556; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. "As relações de clientelismo nos meios urbanos. O exemplo de uma vila portuguesa no século XV", *Espaços, Gente e Sociedade no Oeste. Estudos sobre Torres Vedras Medieval.* Cascais: Patrimonia Historica, 1996: 275-290; Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. "Sociedade urbana torriense e os privilegiados da Coroa", *Espaços, Gente e Sociedade*...: 291-315.

26. See Mattoso, José. "Introdução à história urbana: a cidade e o poder", *Cidade e História*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992: 9-20; Mattoso, José. "A cidade medieval na perspectiva da história das mentalidades", *Cidade e História*...: 21-33.

to the urban community, in other words, any bonds established between groups of effective players in the relationship between institutions[27].

The "king's men" and the "lords' men" should be studied with regard to the following points:

1. Neighbours/individuals from outside the community;
2. Connected or not by bonds of loyalty to the king or to lords;
3. Social extraction (*fidalgos*/members of the common people);
4. Property interests in the city or town/collection of rights in the urban centre or the region;
5. Family connections with holders of royal offices/members of the municipal government;
6. Careers:
   - 6.1. Duration of the terms of office;
   - 6.2. Type of duties performed that interfere or not in municipal organics:
     - 6.2.1. They regulate and supervise the running of local power;
     - 6.2.2. They act as land magistrates;
     - 6.2.3. They perform specific duties which can be (and sometimes are) performed by judges ordinary;
     - 6.2.4. They keep books;
     - 6.2.5. They perform duties of a judicial scope;
     - 6.2.6. They perform services in tax and financial fields and collect royal rights.
7. Whether or not their office implies itinerancy/the requirement or not to reside in the urban centres.

In order to characterise the oligarchies of cities and towns —the group of men who held offices in local administration by election— it will be important to understand their self-referential system[28]. The analysis of official texts that these individuals produce will be a means to approach the awareness they had of themselves and of the image that they projected of their community. Research, still recent, on the lines of argument presented in the municipal documents sent to the crown, suggests that there was a specific rhetoric used by each city or town[29].

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27. I use José María Imízcoz Beunza's terminological distinction between *symbolic power players* and *effective power players*, which I find particularly useful for the exploration of the relationship between the officials of the crown or of the lords and the official of the *concelhos*. See Imízcoz Beunza, José María. "Comunidad red social y élites. Un análisis de la vertebración social en el Antiguo Régimen", *Elites, poder y red social. Las élites del país vasco y Navarra en la Edad Moderna (Estado de la cuestión y perspectivas)*, José María Imízcoz Beunza, dir. Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad Pais Vasco – Argitarapen Zerbitzua Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 1996: 16.

28. Using the terminology of Hespanha, António Manuel; Araújo, Carla; Xavier, Ângela Maria Barreto. "Les juristes portugais de l'Ancien Régime. Une banque de données prosopographiques", *L'État Moderne et les Élites. XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique. Actes du colloque international CNRS-Paris I, (16-19 octobre 1991)*, Jean-Philippe Genet, Günther Lottes, eds. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996: 47-50.

29. See Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. "O discurso político dos homens do concelho portuense na época medieval", *Discursos de Legitimação. Actas do Congresso*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2003 (digital document) and Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. "O discurso político dos concelhos portugueses na

The application of these methods of understanding political elites must be combined with other variables that enable us to characterise urban centres.

Above all, it is essential to take into account structuring factors and the historical development that transformed each city or town into a unique fact: its geographic environment; its social structure and the type and territorial scope of its business activities; the position it held in a hierarchy of ecclesiastical centres; its jurisdictional development; the political status it acquired in the kingdom. All these factors condition the profile of the group (or groups) of men that led them.

We can summarise the different research routes listed with a view to understanding political urban elites in late medieval Portugal. As we have already seen, there are several different converging approaches:

- firstly, perform the comprehensive task of reconstituting, in each city or town, the more subtle bonds that united neighbours, whether structural or apparently informal;
- next, transfer these bonds to the agents of local political power, redrawing the fixed image of this body in the light of the dynamics of inter-personal relationships;
- thirdly, conduct an analysis of the cataloguing of the political status of cities and towns, according to specific indicators;
- fourthly, circumscribe and characterise the effective players of the various political powers present in the cities and towns;

finally, consider the discourses of men of local power in the institutional relationship with the outside world.

We will now move on from the methodological presentation to its application to an understanding of political elites in a Portuguese urban centre: the city of Oporto.

The city of Oporto is situated on the right bank of the river Douro, close to the Atlantic and the Roman road from Lisbon to Braga. Its geographic situation was a structuring feature in the development of long distance maritime trade and in the increasing economic influence of the city on a regional level, as a centre of reception and redistribution of merchandise. All this activity was in the hands of a group of people who, from early on, also controlled local power.

In terms of jurisdiction, Oporto was an ecclesiastical lordship from the twelfth century to the early fifteenth century, when it was integrated into the crown. It was a royal tax centre (seat of an *almoxarifado*) and a centre of ecclesiastical administration (seat of a bishopric). In the late Medieval era, Oporto was outside the favoured geographic circuit of the monarchs, mainly limited at that time to Lisbon, Évora and Santarém[30].

Detailed knowledge is available on the Oporto oligarchy in the fifteenth century due to the excellence of the sources preserved: minutes of the city council meetings what cover practically the whole of the fifteenth century, books of municipal ac-

Baixa Idade Média: convergências e especificidades: o caso de Elvas", *Des(a)fiando discursos. Homenagem a Maria Emília Ricardo Marques*, Dulce Carvalho, Dionísio Vila Maior, Rui de Azevedo Teixeira, eds. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2005: 265-272.

30. See Gomes, Rita Costa. *A corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Difel, 1995: 241-293.

counts, numerous testimonies of the relationship between the council and outside powers. With this abundance of source documents, it has been possible to undertake prosopographical studies of political players.

These made up a united group of men, this characteristic emerging both from the numerous bonds, in particular family bonds, that united the group and from the political positions taken as a body that controlled the destinies of Oporto. It is curious to note that the most influential members of this group do not appear to have held municipal offices; the duties of this restricted group of citizens included representing the community, providing advice on important issues for the city and choosing those who were to hold offices. As we have already commented, the Oporto oligarchy was strong and stubborn in its defence of the city's privileges, of its own interests and of the "legality" of the running of local structures, resisting the interference of the monarchs in the organics of the city council. The significant political maturity that they demonstrated impelled these men to communicate frequently with the monarchs, by letter and through emissaries, despite the cost of travelling to the court.

The requests and protests presented in *cortes* by the city of Oporto transmit fierce criticism of crown officials with local and regional powers; they were accused of being incompetent, corrupt and ineffective. Given these testimonies, it could be said that the relationship between the oligarchy and royal agents was tense and at times a source of conflict[31].

The group of the royal officers operating in the city during the same period is also well known. The holders of the most important judicial, fiscal and military offices were people from outside the city, some of noble extraction; besides these, other royal appointments were held by "people of the land" [32].

If we cross-reference the members of the two groups, in accordance with the method proposed above, using indicators such as family bonds and clientship, social occupancy[33] or business activities, they interconnect and overlap. However, there was clearly a tendency, accentuated throughout the fifteenth century, for the politi-

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31. This brief characterisation of the city of Oporto. and of its oligarchy, in the late Middle Ages was based on the following main bibliography: Sousa, Armindo de. "Tempos Medievais", *História do Porto*, Luís António de Oliveira Ramos, dir. Porto: Porto Editora, 1994: 119-253; Sousa, Armindo de. "Conflitos entre o bispo e a câmara do Porto nos meados do século XV. 1ª Parte: os grupos em confronto". *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto*, 1 (1984): 9-103; Gonçalves, Iria. *As finanças municipais do Porto...*; Duarte, Luís Miguel. "Um burgo medieval que muda de senhor. Episódios da vida do Porto medievo". *Ler História*, 5 (1985): 3-16; Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *Vereação e Vereadores...*; Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *Projecção espacial de domínios. Das relações de poder ao burgo portuense (1385-1502)*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1999: 1-98; Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. "Comunidades urbanas de senhorio eclesiástico: a divergente experiência das cidades do Porto e de Braga", *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006: I, 77- 86

32. Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *Projecção espacial de domínios...*: 223-265.

33. See Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. "O poder dos homens do poder: oficiais régios na cidade do Porto durante o reinado de D. Manuel I", *D. Manuel e a sua época: Actas do 3º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. 1. Administração, justiça e direito*, Norberta Amorin, Isabel Pinho, Carla Passos, eds. Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 2004: 233-251.

cal careers of the members of each group to develop separately: careers restricted to serving the crown or serving the *concelho* are a significant majority[34].

For the time being, it is impossible to obtain a similar picture of the political elites of any other city or town in Portugal. For this reason I will provide information that cannot be systematized but is sufficiently elucidative with regard to the different situations existing in the kingdom, both in terms of the link between the municipal elite and royal or seigneurial agents and in terms of the desire to hold governing offices in the communities.

Complaints against agents of the crown or of the lords submitted to the king by most of the *concelhos* reinforce the message of criticism transmitted by the Oporto documents. However, these protests, according to the data available, are not confirmed by the existence of autonomous groups within the political elites of urban centres. Although reduced, the signs available point to little differentiation between careers among officers of the *concelho* and those of the king. Examples can be found of agents of the crown performing duties which, using the Oporto paradigm, would be the responsibility of men elected by the community. In certain locations, the officers of the crown were sent on missions of representation of the city or town, as was the case in Braga[35], Guarda[36], Valença[37], Ponte de Lima[38], Guimarães[39]. In Óbidos[40] and in Guimarães[41], members of certain families appear to have "jumped" indistinctly from service to the crown to service to the council. In Ponte de Lima, the confusion between royal officers and officers of the town went even further, with holders of royal offices constantly performing duties in municipal structures, in clear disrespect of the *Ordenações* of the kingdom[42]. In Braga, members of the chapter added to their *ecclesiastical cursus honorum* the performance of municipal offices[43].

In the cities and towns where the court was commonly to be found, the problem was not just the existence of bipolar public careers in the service of the king and the community. It also involved the intersection between institutional areas of a local

34. Costa, Adelaide Pereira Millán da. *Projecção espacial de domínios*...: 223-276.

35. Sousa, Armindo de. *As Cortes Medievais, 1*...: 215.

36. Moreno, Humberto Baquero. "Abusos e violências na região da Beira Interior durante o reinado de D. Afonso V", *Exilados, marginais e contestatários na sociedade portuguesa medieval. Estudos de História*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989: 111; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "«Entre poderes» - Análise de alguns casos na centúria de Quatrocentos". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 6 (1989): 105-135.

37. Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. *Relações de domínio no Portugal concelhio*...: 248.

38. Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. "Composição social e gestão municipal"...: 7.

39. Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. *Gerir e Julgar*...: 46, 53-54, 76 (although in these cases it is not known whether they were holding crown offices on those dates).

40. Silva, Manuela Santos. "Uma prestigiada linhagem obidense: a de Rui Nunes nos séculos XIV e XV"; "Contribuição para o estudo das oligarquias urbanas medievais: a instituição de capelas funerárias em Óbidos na Baixa Idade Média", *A região de Óbidos na época* medieval. Caldas da Rainha: Gráfica da Ponte, 1994: 123-169.

41. Ferreira, Maria da Conceição Falcão. "Relações entre poder local e poder central"...: 75.

42. Andrade, Amélia Aguiar. "Composição social e gestão municipal"...: 4.

43. Ribeiro, João Carlos. *A Instituição Capitular Bracarense no século XIV (1325-1374). Organização e Relações*. Braga: Universidade do Minho, 1998: 172, 174-176.

scope and those covering the whole kingdom. These cross-references can be found on a family level —with members who operate in these different spheres— but also occur on an individual level; thus, among the men of the Lisbon council were officers of the central administration[44]. In these towns and cities there was normally social mixing between local people and people from outside. The city or town itself could be a place to recruit men for central crown offices, and this has been documented in Lisbon, Santarém and Évora[45].

The examples given of the juxtaposition of municipal and royal service (on local or regional levels or on the level of the whole kingdom) are visible in centres of varying economic and political importance. This can be explained by both the small dimension of the market in which officers could be recruited and the excessive proximity between the structures of the two powers.

To finish, we will consider the political maturity of the municipal elites. Maturity can be analysed through their level of commitment to municipal business and the level of professionalism and dedication demonstrated. In some *concelhos* there was a defined political group with a strong desire to perform the duties of magistracies, but in other *concelhos* there appeared to be few neighbours suitable for and interested in fulfilling the requirements of government, and they clearly attempted to avoid this duty which would distract them from their professional activities[46]. Likewise, while in some cities and towns the members of the municipal authority rejected seigneurial or royal interferences, in others they peacefully accepted interference in the running of the council or appointments to offices normally appointed by the people[47].

To conclude, research in Portugal on medieval urban elites is still at an early stage, if we look at the progress of the various lines of research presented in this article. We are still far from establishing the "common denominators" of the higher strata that governed Portuguese cities and towns in the Middle Ages.

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44. Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos. "Aspectos da administração municipal de Lisboa no século XV". *Revista Municipal*, 101-109 (1968): 159.

45. Gomes, Rita Costa. *A corte dos reis*...: 132.

46. A comparison can be made between the municipal elites in Loulé and Oporto, in the late fourteenth century, in terms of their composition and the desire shown for municipal government (apparent in the frequency of meetings and the reasons evoked for holidays) (Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz; Magalhães, Joaquim Romero de. *O poder concelhio das origens às cortes constituientes*. Coimbra: Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquia, 1986: 22-23). Another example of this lack of commitment can be found among the men in power in Ponte de Lima, where they deemed twice-weekly meetings of the Council to be excessive (Andrade, Amélia Aguiar.*Um espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990: 187).

47. See for Coimbra: Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "O Infante D. Pedro, Duque de Coimbra". *Biblos*, 69 (1993): 48; and for Óbidos: Silva, Manuela Santos. "Óbidos. Terra que foi da Rainha D. Filipa"…: 97.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN SPAIN: A REFLECTION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

Knowledge about history is still in demand by many people, but another way of understanding the past is needed in the 21st century. With regard to the Middle Ages in Spain, Spanish medievalism in the early 21st century is the heir of Franquism. The instrumentation of Medieval History for political ends, earlier falsified by the Franco regime to justify the dictatorship, has been distorted over the last thirty years by some nationalisms, and also greatly by Spanish nationalism, to certify their ideological positions. It is time that historians turned their eyes back to the people, the real protagonists of history, and to who it should be aimed.

Key words

History, Power, Medievalism, Manipulation, Future.

Capitalia Verba

Res gestae, Imperium, Studia Medii Aevi, Dolus, Tempus futurum.

1. History, power and medievalism

Although the executive powers try to deny it, it is evident that more than a few technocrats in politics wish to put the shortest possible sell-by date on the humanities, and especially history, or rather, the study of history. And that is despite the fact that knowledge about history is still in demand among many people. A simple glance in a bookshop window or the shelves of a newsstand is enough to show a profusion of books and magazines on history. This is because in the 19th century, history ceased to be the exclusive legacy of the ruling classes to become an accessible and interesting discipline for the popular classes. This has led to the growth of an enormous field around this subject, one with a tendency to controversy, debate and discussion.

History interests people, but does it interest the historians, or the political powers that be? And, especially, are these powers and historians interested in people knowing about and having access to a knowledge of history? And which history?[1]

After looking through many of the texts used in pre-university educational, the scandalous gaps are glaring. It is clear that we need only listen to some public policy managers or certain arrivistes when they try to explain and interpret the past to understand that these are not precisely the best of times for history.

Although it seems nonsense, there are still those who sustain that studying, researching, writing and publishing history is a kind of exotic luxury with no place in a society irremediably dedicated to consumption and immediate profitability.

"History, what for?" many still ask, even some of those with the power to decide about the future of its teaching. Curiously, when history was the property of the ruling class, when unidirectional power monopolised political authority and the use of history, when their sicarios were the only ones who could publish their chronicles and annals, then it was useful and convenient. But since the end of the 19th century, when those who had never had a voice, those who had been silenced so that their laments were hardly even a whisper from the past, claimed their role and found a place on the pages of some books, thus managing to escape from the oblivion and ostracism they had been consigned to, history has not been viewed in the same light by the powerful. This new situation is what irritated the economic and political elites one and a half centuries ago and still does, used as they are to not allowing any shadow to cast doubt about their role and acts.[2]

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1. Peter Burke in an interview given to María Lúcia García Pallares-Burke: "What are historians for? For me they are there to interpret the past in the present. They are a kind of interpreter, translators, cultural translators, as you yourself argued in your book about reception and circulation of ideas. Like other translators, they face the dilemma of being faithful to the text, the past and, at the same time, intelligible to the reader in the present" (García Pallarés-Burke, María Lucía. *La nueva historia. Nueve entrevistas.* Valencia-Granada: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2005: 167-168).

2. For a history that listens to other voices, see for example: Guha, Ranahit. *Las voces de la historia y otros estudios subalternos*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002. According to Jim Sharpe, it was Edward Thompson who introduced the concept of "history from below" in a 1966 article of the same title (Sharpe, Jim. "Historia desde abajo", *Formas de hacer historia*, Peter Buke, ed. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003: 39-58).

Perhaps because in other times it was considered that "*All historians are liars*",[3] and nowadays the word "history" is a still synonym of "lie" in the dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy.

A showcase, not very aggressive, history, a history of fiction a la carte becomes an instrument of political alignment. From the "*tell the facts as they happened*" to the positivist historiography, an axiom that many certainly still hold to in Spain, to the "*show history just as it was*", still proclaimed in some museums and exhibitions, there is no great distance. At the beginning of the 21st century, anything and everything goes to justify the present, and if historians are found in this present prepared to make the past into fiction, then so much the better. Only this way is it possible to understand how some dare to brazenly declare that the skulls found in the oldest levels of the sites in the Atapuerca mountains belong to "*the first Spaniards*" or define the Laietans as "the Catalans who inhabited the Barcelona area before the arrival of the Romans", among other many examples of this style.

And after so many centenaries and remote-controlled monarchic celebrations, we can end up considering the scoundrel Fernando VII as a great statesman with an extraordinary vision of the future, or the imbecile crowned Charles IV as an exceptional man of State,[4] or Isabel the Catholic worthy of appearing on the Catholic altars between Saint Teresa of Avila and Saint John of the Cross.

History, understood in the sense of narrating events from the past, has been used as an intellectual weapon to justify a certain established order.[5] Generally, it has been written by the same power, at least until the 19th century, and consequently, similar arguments have been used to explain events that occurred in the distant past, and on innumerable occasions it has become a formidable theoretical instrument to justify power.[6]

Since the first half of the 19th century, attempts have been made to equip history with a firm philosophical base. A seemingly insuperable dichotomy then arose: either one believed in a metaphysical reality which could be reached through intuition, one that would lead indefectibly to subjectivism and relativism, or the exclusive and meticulous study of the particular and individual was encouraged, renouncing any attempt to generalise or discover common elements in the events of the past, which meant recognising that the historians had nothing to contribute to the scientific study of the human being in general.

The early 20th-century historians tended to leave these great epistemological themes aside and concentrate on marking out the specific terrain of history and the reaction against the dominant academic practices. The "*exhaustive collection of the*

3. Locke, John. *Ensayo sobre el entendimiento humano*. Madrid: Tecnos, 2002.

4. We can observe this in the celebrations of II Century of Peninsular war (1808-2008).

5. "In the past, most history was written to glorify the rulers and, perhaps, so that they applied it in practice. In fact, certain kinds of history still fill this purpose" (Hobsbawn, Eric. *Sobre la Historia*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1998: 205 [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997]).

6. Michael Parenti's observations about the most critical American historians and who question the very manipulated official history of their country are convincing. (Parenti, Michael. *La Historia como misterio*. Hondarribia: Hiru, 2003: 168).

facts" and the "*solidity of historical judgement*" in the interpretation of documentary evidence were the essential virtues of the historian who necessarily had to lead him or her to fruitful conclusions. Obviously, fruitful conclusions are understood as a definitively valid "*register of truths*", acquired thanks to knowledge of the past but also projected into the future. These scientific pretensions combined badly both with the logical and methodological analysis and the practical results of these works, frequently lacking an overall vision.

Perhaps it is not just chance that it is a novelist who has presented the clearest ideas about the historian's work *"It was then that I discovered how many bold fictioneers reside in Clio's grove.[…] With luck, a golden age of historians may now be at hand, freeing novelist to return to the truly great themes…"*.[7]

The important, obviously. Because there is an allegedly "scientific history" which usually rejects everything from what has come to be called "The Academy". This rejection has concentrated on maligning everything that is not centred on the choice of an apparently serious historical theme and its analysis with the right methodology; this is what is now called "research excellence". Thus, all activity that falls outside this "officialist" framework is discarded as not serious.

However, another way of understanding the past, and using it in the present, is possible. There is not enough with the "professional history", based on the knowledge of the method, the formal handling of the most recent bibliography and "adequate" and correct analysis of historical phenomena. For some, this type of history gives us the impression of taking part in another mechanical laboratory exercise. Faced with the dispensable and inconsequential historian who seems dazzled by the construction of a "scientific history", but one with nothing behind it, it is necessary to advocate for the historian who asks about the sentiments that beat behind each document, about the interests and intentionality hidden in the chronicles written to the dictates of the powerful, the ambitions and oppression of thousands of human beings which lies behind each book of accounts or balance sheet, those who get excited about the design in the varnish on a bowl, who reflect about the desires behind the characters of the faces of coins, who understand the fears contained in the mortar and the stones of the walls or who capture the hopes forged in the making of a humble iron adze.[8]

This is far from the thesis the "established power", whatever it is, sets out, one which only aims to manipulate the historical events. In dictatorships, this manipulation is crude and obvious, and the facts are twisted, hidden, changed and altered without any care. In formal democracies, facts from the past are reinterpreted with partisan eagerness, conveniently manipulated to condition or justify situations in the present. It is so much so that some historians have expressed desires for reconciliation that often lead to conservative positions, as with P. Burke when he stated,

7. Vidal, Gore. *The Golden Age. A novel*. New York: Doubleday, 2000: 466-467. Gore Vidal stated in his impressive memoires that "I was a novelist in an era when the line between fiction and fact pretty much broke down as" (Vidal, Gore. *Palimpsest. A Memoir*. London: Abacus, 1996: 3).

8. Corral Lafuente, José Luis. "Historia y ficción sobre la Edad Media". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 18 (2004): 7-36.

> Creo que utilizar la historia como arma en la lucha política es contraproducente. Uno llega a creerse su propia propaganda, a dramatizar excesivamente el pasado y de ahí a olvidarse de la complejidad real de los problemas de cualquier momento. Uno llega a idealizar a su propio bando y a dividir los seres humanos en dos grupos, "nosotros" y "ellos"[9]

Consequently, quiet reflection is needed about the historiographical moment we are going through. More than a few consider positive the "de-ideologisation" that is happening to some historians, previously committed to social change and who are now far from everything except mere empiricism, which is as harmful as it is false in the social sciences.

1.1 And what about in medievalism?

To avoid being less than the grand theoreticians of the historiography, in general very close to the study of contemporary history, the world of European medievalism attempted to offer its own response; and is still trying. Historians as "formal" as Jacques Heers[10] have put their minds to criticising the abandoning of old "star subjects", the stereotype of the chronological models (the inveterate mania of setting historical time as if it were a commercial product) and even the topical and worn image that has been given of the medieval period.

An important dose of self-esteem has spread through European medievalism in recent years, while the medievalists have exported it to their period of study. That is why the historians are putting so much effort into taking apart the traditional and folkloric image of a Middle Ages that appears shadowy and inquisitorial through the eyes of the neophyte. And this is by no means distant from the prevailing wind that comes from the new ideas of political power. I am referring to the efforts by a wide sector to rescue for the present the traditional "values" that made Europe possible, and without any intellectual shame identified with freedom, free thought, the liberal economy, and Christian moral and ethics. It is not chance that the efforts by the Catholic Church and its acolytes in national parliaments, organisms of the European Union and even universities to ensure that the future European Constitution, if it is ever possible, will hold Christianity as a fundamental element in the construction of Europe; and although they may wish to introduce this as a historical factor, this is really a policy choice.

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9. "*I believe that using history as a weapon in political struggle is counterproductive. One can end up believing one's own propaganda, to dramatise the past excessively and from there forget the real complexity of the problems of any moment. One ends up idealising one's own side and dividing humans into two groups, 'us' and 'them'* ". (Burke, Peter. "Historia popular o historia total", *Historia popular y teoría socialista*, Raphael Samuel, ed. Barcelona: Crítica, 1984: 76-77).

10. About stereotypes in the medieval period, see Heers, Jacques. *La invención de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995.

In this time, most medievalists propose a rethinking of the studies into the Medieval period in various directions. The concept of modernity that has been paired with the rise of the Renaissance and the overcoming of the medieval is questioned. The Middle Ages are claimed as an epoch of development in culture and art, and even certain economic practices, always dismissed as "feudal", are rehabilitated, giving them a certain air of modernity. Nowadays, European historiography proposes a rewriting of the Middle Ages away from the constraints and prejudices that for centuries have converted the medieval period into an excessively dark period of our history.

The so-called "scientific history" did not understand, and I believe is still far from accepting, even rejecting as ahistorical, that the lives of the men and women in the Medieval period were full of feelings, fears and dreams. Entrenched in the rancid idea of interpreting the facts, a repetitive and recurrent hobbyhorse, the traditional historiography of the Middle Ages is still bogged down, at the most, in interpretation, avoiding opening new more enriching, and especially more dynamic, foci. Meanwhile, some presumed "scientists of history" are struggling with all kinds of resources to manipulate the facts, invent explanations suited to their ideas and even justify absolutely condemnable actions. European medieval historiography is full of examples of this.[11]

The ideological rearming of history is absolutely necessary for medievalism; only this way can the meaning of the Middle Ages be understood, what were the social movements that arose from it and the mechanisms that controlled it, and what are the imprints that the Medieval period has left on today's society, se we can focus to the right degree on the events and avoid falling into such puerile errors as usually happen. The crisis of history is no more than the crisis of conservative historiography, limited, in some respects, almost only to struggling against Marxism until its death certificate can be issued. However, our times, require a new framework within which historians can carry out their work without the spurious conditioning factors that blight traditional historiography. Probably many things need renewing and philosophy, social sciences and even psychology must be reintroduced, but the value given to the subjective will continue to define the direction of a renewed history. What is needed is freedom of thought, greater commitment, greater capacity for analysis, more generosity, and much more scientific and technical training. Above all it is necessary to avoid the disenchantment, conformism and agreement faced with formulas that are old, very old, although presented as the latest thing in modernity.

In recent years, the political situation in Europe has conditioned the treatment of these aspects. The surrogate attachment of some historians to certain forms of state, such as the monarchy, has led them to transfer their current desires to their historical research. This is especially noticeable in some recent texts about the medieval Castilian monarchy, the kings of Aragon or even about the French and

11. Little, Lester K; Rosenwein, Barbara, eds. *La Edad Media a debate*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2003; Genet, Jean Philippe, ed. *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*: *actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation européenne de la Science du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991.

English crowns. That is, fiction presented with "scientific" arguments postulated as historical when it is a question of pure presentism.[12]

2. Medieval history and "Spain"

To affirm that Spanish medievalism at the beginning of the 21st century is the heir to Franco's regime may sound too strong, especially if stated aloud in a public tribune, but it is still true. One need only review the historiography of the last half century to observe that there is hardly any break between 1975 and 1985, for example; or the training of a whole generation of medievalists who had no other remedy than to attend patiently to the imposition of the acritical and random hierarchy of the Regime.

The mediatisation which the Franco regime's ideology submitted the historiography and the political control of access to university teaching posts and research centres have been enormous scourge whose practices still continue in some cases. And the legacy did not consist only of the continuation of some of these corrupt practices, but also in the response of the nationalist historiography from irreconcilable positions, well fed by the regional power.

The instrumentalisation of History for political ends, previously falsified by the Franco regime to justify his dictatorship, has also been twisted by some nationalisms, and a lot by Spanish nationalism, over the last thirty years to certify their ideological positions and interests. Once again, the citizens have been marginalised from their own history. The demand for "veracity" and to know "what really happened" have led many of these citizens with a desire to know and find new frameworks for thought to search for part of the response to their concerns in other narrative experiments.

Under Franco's dictatorship, the official posture was a consequence of the single party, without historical criticism or valuations beyond the imposed framework. Only a few isolated attempts struggled to break the smothering monopoly of the regime's historiography, subject to dogmas and absolutely outdated postulates, if not completely distanced from the historical reality of Spain.[13]

In the paranoia of the Regime, the Middle Ages in the Peninsula had been a very harmful epoch for the country (Spain, obviously), owing to the "disunion" of its lands and peoples; the ideals of the "common and indivisible patria of all Spaniards" were eternal values, but not only projected towards eternity in the future, but also towards the past, to history. Spanish medievalism of those times did little, or rather nothing, to dethrone this historical aberration.

12. Corral Lafuente, José Luis. "Historia y ficción sobre la Edad Media"…: 7-36.

13. Pérez Garzón, Juan Sisinio. *La gestión de la memoria, La Historia de España al servicio del poder*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2000.

It was a question of turning Spain into a *continuum*, from Atapuerca to the 20th century, with some parentheses in which "national unity" had been broken by external forces, such as the Roman Empire or the Moors. A clear example of this aberration is the speech the then ex-president of the Government, José María Aznar, on 21st September 2004 in the Jesuit university of Georgetown, in Washington. This politician, converted into an improvised historian, undoubtedly assessed by speculators out of nowhere, ended up saying things like, "the problem Spain has with al-Qaeda and Islamic terrorism did not begin with the Iraq crisis. In fact, it has nothing to do with Government decisions. You must go back no less than 1,300 years, to the 8th century, when a Spain recently invaded by the Moors refused to become just another piece in the Islamic world, and began a long battle to recover it's a identity. The "Reconquista" process was very long, lasting 800 years. However, it ended successfully".[14]

Statements like this, often repeated throughout our historiography, are based on the mythology created in the chronicles from Leon and Castile written from the 9th century on, in which warlike deeds were invented, or in certain cases magnified, then converted into the founding myths of kingdoms, in which divine intervention was usually present;

> *Se construye ("la propaganda negra") sobre la falsificación de ciertas verdades propias considerándolas elementos introducidos por el enemigo. Si el público no admite tal posibilidad, entonces la explicación recurre al azar, el destino o la voluntad del Todopoderoso* [15]

This was the origin of a whole historiographical current that has contaminated the history of the peninsula with a nationalist sheen that has spread to all fields. I mentioned above that all power uses history for its own benefit, manipulating it when needed, but this manipulation becomes a true paranoia when power is spiced with a nationalist, or national, eternal and ahistorical feeling that is greatly accentuated in the case of the dictatorships.

> *En los regímenes con fuerte carga nacionalista, la historia ha sido manipulada haciéndola coincidir con los intereses de aquellas ideologías que se desean inculcar a les poblaciones de un determinado territorio. Esta desvirtuación llega a su culminación en los regímenes dictatoriales: cuando el poder es absoluto, la manipulación tiende a ser absoluta* [16]

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14. Aznar, José María. "Siete tesis en el terrorismo de hoy –Extracto-" *Absurda revolución*. 21th September 2004. 10th June 2007 <http://absurda_revolucion.blogia.com/2004/092702-siete-tesis-sobre-el-terrorismo-actual-extracto-php>.

15. "That is ("the black propaganda") was built around the falsification of certain truths considering these as elements introduced by the enemy. If the public did not accept such a possibility, then the explanation resorted to fate, destiny or the Almighty's will". (Torres, Margarita. "La propaganda del poder y sus técnicas en las crónicas leonesas y castellanas (siglos IX-XIII)". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 18 (2004): 75).

16. "In regimes with a heavy nationalistic load, history has been manipulated to make it coincide with the interests of those ideologies that it is desired to instil into the populations of a specific territory. This distortion reaches its culmination in the dictatorial regimes: when power is absolute, the manipulation tends to be absolute." (Abós Santabárbara, Ángel Luis. *La historia que nos enseñaron (1937-1975)*. Madrid: Foca, 2003: 7).

The "History of Spain" has undergone a great deal in the name of nationalism, whether this be the so-called "peripheral" or "centralist" nationalism which has led to a series of contradictions as evident as the following.

> *Sólo puede hablarse de una historia de España cuando los diversos pueblos que la forman comienzan a ser percibidos desde el exterior como una unidad. Mucho después llegará la asunción de ese mismo sentido de unidad por los propios hispanos (...). La unidad de España, prefigurada ya en la diócesis romana de Hispania, se realizó, aunque fuera en condiciones precarias, en el reino visigodo.*

However, at the same time he also states that

> *Al morir Isabel la Católica se produjo una grave crisis institucional, puesto que entre Castilla y Aragón no existía más que una unión personal*[17]

2.1 National unity or personal union? What is it to be?

In recent years, and owing to the "presentism" that continues to condition the historiography, the approaches to the Spanish "national fact" have turned radically. With the democratic period that began three decades ago and the reclamations of the autonomies, the Hispanic Middle Ages have enjoyed an unexpected recognition. Converted into an epoch that generated some of the actual Spanish nationalities, the assessment of the Hispanic Medieval period has change substantially. It is no longer a time of disunity and fights between Spanish territories, but rather the origin of the current nationalities. The new prestige of the Middle Ages goes as far as the recuperation of names of institutions that arose in that period as differential elements for specific national facts.

The examples are overwhelming, but it suffices to cite the events in Catalonia in 1989 to celebrate a supposed "millennium of the Catalan nation", placing its origins in the year 989, in full Middle Ages, or in another case, setting the invented battle of Covadonga as the origin of the modern Spanish nation. And although it would seem that such manipulation would diminish with the passing of democratic time, things have not only not calmed down, but have even become worse in some cases. Some regional governments have backed a "national" historiography that contemplates the late-20th century autonomic territory as if it had existed as such since the

17. "One can only talk about a history of Spain when the various people who make it up begin to be perceived from the exterior as a unit. Much later the assumption of this same sense of unity by the Hispanics themselves would arrive. (...) The unity of Spain, prefigured in the Roman diocese of Hispania, came about, although in precarious conditions, in the Visigoth kingdom". (…) "With the death of Isabel the Catholic there was a serious institutional crisis, given that there was nothing more than a personal union between Castile and Aragon" (Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. *España, tres milenios de historia*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001: 13, 71, 121).

dawn of civilisation, and from here to expressions like "Catalonia already existed before the arrival of the Romans", "The Basque nation dates from before the Middle Ages", etc. These are the same errors as those who celebrate such expressions as "the Spaniards of Atapuerca", referring to the first inhabitants of the Peninsula, or "the kingdoms of Spain in the medieval age".

While the history of Spain was by definition "the national history" until three or four decades ago, in recent years, and although there are still those who keep the most rancid essences, we are faced with a history fragmented by the "frontiers" and limits that have been established in the present. This situation is inherited from Franco's dictatorship, which imposed a formalist and controlling academicism, and stereotypical and rigid modes that have survived in more than a few residues and cliques in universities and research centres. These ways of working have weighed down Spanish historiography, and will continue to do so for some time.

However, and despite some rigid situations, medieval historiography in Spain has progressed notably in recent years. It is true that we still have to escape from the straightjacket of descriptivism, and no less true that little care is taken with the forms of expression or the how to reach a wider audience than the strictly academic, so small at times, and where loyalty are subservience are still rewarded over novelty and brilliance, but something has been gained, although we still depend greatly on external models, sometimes transplanted without the least criticism or corrections required to adapt them to this area.

The Franco-era education still weighs heavily. These were times when almost nobody acknowledged the maestro one learnt from, but rather the boss who set you up, very few the disciple who was taught to better the task of the teacher, but more the loyal and submissive journeyman. This question is reflected in the historiography in statements like this, "On the 2nd of January 1492, Fernando and Isabel took possession of the Alhambra... It was the end of the Reconquest, after seven hundred and eighty years, as Fernando and Isabel recorded in a letter to the city of Seville. The marriage of the Catholic Monarchs now appeared as a culmination to the heroic task that allowed the 'lost' Spain of the 8th century to be restored".[18] And there is little need to remind one that a good part of Spanish medievalism comes from this school.

3. The previsible future?

Just when it seemed that the situation was going to change for the better, conservative historiography, disguised as modernism, has come back in force. Now they do not do this like before, foully censoring criticism and intellectual dissidence, but conservative historiography is back controlling the resorts of the university and

18. Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Los trastámaras y los Reyes Católicos*, Ángel Montenegro Duque, coord. Madrid: Gredos, 1985: 276.

curtailing plans of studies adequate for the progress in history and the interest of the student. What is worse, they are again trying to push the people to the margins of history, as if the historian were a medicine man in charge of protecting the most haloed arcana.

In such a rapidly changing world, so conditioned by imposed models, so little given to the critical, and so superficial and vane, history has little room for manoeuvre. There will always be a loophole to breath through, although the trap of super-specialisation, which more than a few fall into, is always ready and waiting so that the unwary youth who approaches the trade of historian becomes rapidly de-ideologised, integrated into an absurd system and condemned not to reflect about the true sense of history: understanding human beings and their manifestations - a real breeding ground for mediocrity.

Obviously, these things are of little importance, because, although it might seem incredible, there are still those who defend that to become a historian, such inane postulates for the teaching of medieval history as the following, are still valid, that were born old,

> *La participación activa en la labor de programación de todo el equipo de profesores integrado en el Departamento... Unos claros planteamientos epistemológicos de la disciplina... En relación con lo anterior, una clara expresión de los fines y objetivos específicos perseguidos en el área de conocimientos de que se trate -en nuestro caso la Historia Medieval-, contemplándolos dentro del marco más amplio de los objetivos generales del proceso de enseñanza en que esos conocimientos se integran. Adecuación de los contenidos de la enseñanza al nivel en que se imparta, a las limitaciones temporales del curso académico y las disponibilidades del Departamento en profesorado cualificado y en medios auxiliares de trabajo. Una clara percepción de las vertientes que ofrece la enseñanza universitaria, ya que esta oferta se dirige no exclusivamente a futuros especialistas sino a un alumnado que, en buena medida, enderezará su rumbo profesional por la enseñanza media. Flexibilidad en la concepción y desarrollo de los programas e incorporación de las técnicas de evaluación que en cada caso se presenten como más adecuadas para apreciar el rendimiento de los alumnos a lo largo del proceso académico. Es deseable que la programación se materialice, al comienzo de cada curso académico, en una guía orientadora para el estudiante*[19]

19. "Active participation in the task of programming by all the teaching staff in the Department... Clear epistemological approaches to the discipline... In relation with the above, a clear expression of the specific aims and objectives pursued in the area of knowledge in question, in our case Medieval History, considering these in the widest framework of the general objectives of the teaching process in which this knowledge is included. Adapting the contents of teaching to the level where they are taught, the limitations of time in the academic year and the availability of qualified teaching staff and auxiliary means of work in the Department. A clear perception of the aspects that university teaching offers, as this offer is not aimed exclusively at future specialists, but rather at students who, to a great extent, straighten up their professional trajectory through the teaching they receive. Flexibility in the conception and development of the programmes and incorporation of evaluation techniques which, in each case are presented as most adequate for measuring the performance of students over the academic process. It is desirable that the programme appears in a guide for the student at the beginning of each academic course". (Ruiz de la Peña, José Ignacio. *Introducción al estudio de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1984: 148-149).

Anything colder, further from a passionate, living, participative, critical and inspiring conception of history teaching seems difficult.

History must be explained for what it is: life.[20] And as such, it will be accepted by the majority when it is passionate and transmits passion for life.[21]

That is why, if history continues to be taught under the following criteria,

> *La lección magistral… debe trazar una síntesis clara del estado del tema en el momento de la exposición, señalar las ideas clave, la bibliografía más adecuada, sin atiborrar a los alumnos con listas de obras innecesarias, y las fuentes esenciales. De cada tema importante debe indicarse el estado del mismo, señalando los conocimientos más seguros, los problemas, las orientaciones que sigue la investigación, en tanto le sea posible. A esta lección, es necesario interrumpirla a veces con el diálogo de los discípulos, conseguir que ellos hagan su propia exposición, mediante comentarios personales o ampliación de aspectos concretos que se les encomienden; su objeto es acostumbrarlos a hablar en público. Pero su labor será matizada, corregida, ampliada por el propio profesor* [22]

This is not the way forward.

There is still a lack of reflection and we still miss the passion for the historian's trade. The approach to history is still too aseptic, although sometimes it can, as in some interpretation centres, approach the ridiculous. History interests people, but if professional historians forget this and go on with "their thing", they will continue to bemoan that the same people shy away from history. And I hope that this is not what is aimed for.

But it is not only the backdrop that matters. The historian has only one resource for transmitting what he wishes to express: the word. In half the world, the historians found forms of expression some time ago to make access to the historical discipline possible for a good part of the population because this is a decisive factor so that the historian's work is of some use. However, this obviousness is still regarded suspiciously in Spanish homes, although decreasingly so.[23]

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20. Aróstegui, Julio. *La historia vivida. Sobre la historia del presente*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2004.

21. There are many ways of becoming keen on history. Jacques Le Goff did so by reading "narrative texts, full of strength and dramatic expressivity" in Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (Le Goff, Jacques. *En busca de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Paidós Ibérica, 2003: 17); Eric Hobsbawn read Karl Marx, who made him see that "*history is a tool without which we cannot understand anything that happens in the world*" (Hobsbawn, Eric. *Entrevista sobre el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2000: 18).

22. "The lecture … a clear synthesis must be drawn of the state of the subject at the moment of presentation, mark the key ideas, the most adequate bibliography, without stuffing the students with lists of unnecessary works, and the essential sources. The state of each important theme must be indicated, signalling the safest knowledge, the problems, the orientations that the research follows, whenever possible. In this lesson, it is necessary to interrupt at times with the dialogue of the disciples, make them do their own presentation, through personal commentaries or the extension of specific aspects that they are entrusted with; the target is to get them used to public speaking. But this task will be qualified, corrected and extended by the teacher". (Torres Delgado, Cristobal. *Introducción al estudio de la Historia Medieval: guia para estudiantes*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1977: 100).

23. "La historia, con la posible excepción de la literatura, es la más verbal de las materias, en oposición a los contenidos cuantitativos que se enseñan en la escuela. Esto permite que los alumnos desarrollen aptitudes de razonamiento tales como la argumentación ("History, with the possible exception of literature, is the

It is necessary, a duty, to take history to the people. And for this, historians must take care of how they reach the public, how they express themslves in writing. Because you do not appreciate something if you do not understand it, and if the majority do not understand it, this means that it has been badly, very badly, explained. And if they understand it but are bored by it, much worse.

It is about time that historians turn their eyes back to the people, the real protagonist of history, and to whom it should be aimed. Some historians have realised the enormous error committed,

> *Parte del creciente crecimiento explosivo de la historia, que yo empecé por celebrar, ha sido en el gusto y la demanda popular, a los cuales los historiadores profesionales han contribuido poco y apenas han respondido en absoluto*.[24]

This lack of responsibility and neglect by the historians that Gore Vidal had already criticised, who glimpses a return to the important by historians.[25]

New voices have been added to these claims,[26] even with a very constructive self-criticism,

> *La memoria colectiva está directamente imbricada en el presente. Constituye the presupuesto 'natural' que simboliza la cohesión social de los miembros de un grupo, legitima institutions o relations de autoridad e inculca creencias, sistemas de valores o convicciones e conducta… La sociedad reclama del historiador su memoria colectiva*[27]

We will see if the majority follow this example or continue this inanity that presides over us.

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most verbal of subjects, in contrast to the quantitative contents that are taught in school. This allows the student to develop aptitudes of reasoning such as argumentation": Carretero, Mario; Voss, James F. *Aprender y pensar la historia*. Buenos Aires-Madrid: Amorrortu editores, 2004: 14).

24. "Part of the explosive growth in history, which I began by celebrating, has been in the popular taste and demand, to which the professional historians have contributed little and have hardly responded at all". (Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. "Epílogo. ¿Qué es la historia ahora?", *¿Qué es la historia ahora?*, David Cannadine, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada-Almed, 2005: 280).

25. "there are now furtive signs of a revival among younger academics of the realist historians (…) With luck, a golden age of historians may now be at hand, freeing novelist to return to the truly great themes…" (Vidal, Gore. *The Golden Age. A novel*. New York: Doubleday, 2000: 467).

26. Corral, José Luis. *Escribir historia... e imaginarla*. Barcelona: EDHASA, 2001.

27. "The collective memory is directly involved in the present. It constitutes the 'natural' budget that symbolises the social cohesion of the members of a group, legitimate institutions or relations of authority and inculcates beliefs, systems of values or convictions and conduct… Society reclaims its collective memory from the historian". (Mudrovcic, María Inés. *Historia, narración y memoria. Los debates actuales en filosofía de la historia*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2005: 93).

II PART

THE PAST STUDIED AND MEASURED



OBSERVATIONS ABOUT A CONTROVERSIAL HAGIOGRAPHY: *THE VITA VEL GESTA SANCTI ILDEFONSI*

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Abstract

Among the limited hagiographical production of the Hispanic High Middle Ages, there is a story that, despite its brevity, will be truly successful. Success as a text with comes not only from its dissemination but, above all, from the disclosure of the narrative tradition embodied in it. It is the *Vita vel gesta Sancti Ildefonsi Toletanae sedis metropolitani episcopi* —thus named by E. Flórez. In recent years, there have been several discussions about the authorship, date of production and aims of this text, which started a long and productive legend about the saint portrayed in it, Ildefonso de Toledo. The purpose of this paper is to make some comments on this story and, above all, set it in its possible contexts of production and dissemination. This approach may provide some additional evidence to help to identify the controversial author of the hagiography, in particular, to determine the discursive coordinates used to construct his work.

Key words

Hagiography, Spain, Saint Ildefonso de Toledo, Pseudo Cixila.

Capitalia verba

Hagiographia, Hispania, Sanctus Ildephonsus Toletani, Pseudo Cixila.

Within the reduced hagiographical production of the Spanish High Middle Ages, there is a story that was very popular, despite its brevity.[1] This success, in fact, did not only result from the spread of the text, but also through the divulgation of the narrative tradition that it epitomised. The work in question is the *Vita vel gesta Sancti Ildefonsi Toletanae sedis metropolitani episcopi*, a title given to it by E. Flórez, a work that has been defined as "*escasas páginas de lo que pudo haber sido un discurso catequético, sin más valor que el hagiográfico*".[2] The text stands out prominently on the local literary stage, where it constitutes "*la vida latina de Hispania que cuenta con mayor número de manuscritos, veinte*".[3] In recent years, there has been a great deal of discussion regarding the authorship, date of composition and aims of this tale, which initiated of a long and fruitful legend about the saint portrayed in it, Ildephonsus de Toledo. My purpose is to make some observations about this narrative and, in particular, to place it within possible contexts of its production and diffusion. This approach may allow additional clues to be supplied to identify the controversial author of the *vita* and, in particular, determine the discursive coordinates that were employed to produce this work. Similarly, I will attempt to identify the thematic variables used by the narrator, as well as the possible sources he used for this.

1. The author and date of writing

Two names appear in the codices as presumed authors of the tale that concerns us: Cixila and Eladius. The first name figures in two of the manuscripts in which

1. An overview of this work can be found in Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "Passionnaires, légendiers et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Age espagnol", *Hagiographies. Cultures et sociétés, IVe-XIIe siècles*. Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1981: 49-59 (reprinted in the work by the same author: *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l'Espagne du VIIe au Xe siècles*. London: Variorum, 1992). In categorical terms, Díaz y Díaz indicates that "*la producción hagiográfica de España es pobre*" (Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "Passionaires, légendiers...": 53). See Valcárcel, Vitalino. "Hagiografía hispanolatina visigótica y medieval (s. XII-XIII)", *Actas del I Congreso nacional de latín medieval: León, 1-4 de diciembre de 1993*, Maurilio Pérez González, coord. León: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1995: 191-209; Valcárcel, Vitalino. "La historiografía latina medieval de Hispania. Un quehacer de la filología latina hoy". *Historia, instituciones, documentos*, 32 (2005): 329-362.

2. "*...a few pages of what could have been a catchtetic discourse with no greater value than the purely hagiographical*" (Bodelón, Serafín. *Literatura latina de la Edad Media en España*. Madrid: Akal, 1989: 40). The *Vita* was systematically published from 1576 onwards. A detail of these editions can be found in verse in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992 (reprin.): doc. nº 3919. I follow the edition by Gil, Juan. *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: I, 59-66. See also Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Index scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevi hispanorum*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959: 147, doc. nº 595; Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispano-cristiana*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998: IV, 159 and following, with the reservation that he erroneously indicates that Flórez was the first editor of the tale.

3. "*...the Latin life of Hispania that has the largest number of manuscripts, namely twenty*". (Valcárcel, Vitalino. "Las *vitae sanctorum* de la Hispania medieval: sus manuscritos y su historia editorial". *Memoria ecclesiae*, 24 (2004): 145-175, especially 155).

the text is found, the Escurialense D.I.1 (from San Millán de la Cogolla, from 994, although with additions from the mid-11th century) and the one conserved in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, Aemilianesis 47 (also from the 11th century).[4] In contrast, the second name appears in the remaining codices, although there is no indication to whom it alludes, nor the reasons why the authorship of the tale was adjudicated to this individual. We know, at least, that this Eladius (Elladio or Helladio) "*no puede ser el [obispo toledano] del que habla Ildefonso en sus Varones ilustres 6, ya que aquél muere en 633 y éste en enero de 667. Hoy por hoy desconocemos quién pueda ser este Eladio*".[5] Otherwise, this discrepancy regarding the authorship —and the fact that the cited *beatus Eladio episcopo* appears in manuscripts from a wide range of origins, in contrast with the limited number and local concentration of those that allude to Cixila, has led Canal Sánchez to think that "*si la atribución a Cixila fuera anterior, no nos explicamos por qué códices extranjeros contemporáneos, y situados en puntos bien diferentes, como son Cluny y Benevento, están concordes en la atribución a Heladio*".[6] In his opinion, therefore, "*la lección original era esta última [pero] algún copista, consciente que el único Heladio obispo de Toledo había muerto mucho antes de ser Hildefonso obispo* [...] *la cambió en la que aparece en los códices Emilianenses (Cixila)*".[7]

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4. See Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1997: 285-288. As well as the *vita* in question, the manuscript contains the *Vita sancti Martini* by Sulpicio Severo, the *Epistola ad Frunimianum* by Braulio of Saragossa, the *Vita sancti Emiliani* by the same, the canon I of the tenth council of Toledo in 656, the "De celebritate festiuitatis dominice Matris", the *Beati Ildephonsi elogium* by Julián de Toledo, the treatise *De virginitate perpetua beatae Mariae* by Ildephonsus himself and the *Lectiones de nativitate Domini* taken from *De civitate Dei* by Saint Augustine. According to Ruíz García, the sheets reproduced in the hagiography of Saint Ildephonsus were copied by a later hand than the rest, which could be dated to "the end of the 11th century", presenting "evidence of greater artistry in his handwriting". Furthermore, the text begins with an I "held by a Romanesque style angel", different from the others that make up the codex.

5. "*It cannot be the [Toledo bishop] that Ildephonsus mentions in his Varones ilustres 6, as he died in 633 and this in January 667. We still do not know who this Eladius might be*" (Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua…*: 159; Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. "Personalidad y herencia literaria de san Ildefonso de Toledo". *Revista Española de Teología*, 31 (1971): 137-66, 283-334).

6. "*If the attribution to Cixila were earlier, we would not be able to explain why contemporary foreign codices, situated in very different places, such as Cluny and Benevento, agreed on the attribution to Heladio*" (Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso de Toledo. Historia y leyenda". *Ephemerides mariologicae*, 17 (1967): 437-462 (especially 446)). As Bauouin de Gaiffier indicates, the name of Heladius as author of the tale appears in the *Milagros* by Gautier de Coincy, from the early 13th century. (Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse. A propos d'attributions discutés". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 94 [1976]: 235-244, especially 240).

7. "*The original lesson was the latter [but] some copyist, aware that the only Heladio, Bishop of Toledo had died long before Hildefonso was bishop* [...] *changed it to that which appears in the Emilianus codices (Cixila)*", (Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 240).
According to the same author, the list of medieval manuscripts that include this *vita* —as well as the two mentioned above, which he adjudicates to Cixila— are the following: 1) Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, XXII (12th century); 2) Londres, British Museum., add. 11695 (from Silos, 12th century); 3) Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, n.a.l. 1455 (Cluny, 11th century); 4) Paris, Arsenal 272 (Fleury, 11th century); 5) Paris, Arsenal 271 (Fleury?, 11th century); 6) París, B.N., lat. 2833 (Spain?, 12th century); 7) Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 2359 (St.-Martin-des-Champs, s. XII); 8) Dijon Bibliothèque Publique 232 (Cîteaux, s. XII); 9) Parma, Biblioteca. Palatina 1650 (Germany?, 11th-12th century); 10) Rome, Biblioteca. Alessandrina 200 (San Niccolò in Arena, Catania, 13th century); 11) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10087 (Toledo?, 13th century); 12) París, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2332 (second half of the 12th century); 13)

In fact, there is not much information to identify the latter. In line with the tradition inaugurated by Tamayo in the 17th century, it was generally believed that he might be Cixila, archbishop of Toledo between 774 and 783. This was maintained by others, from Flórez to Justo Pérez de Urbel, who (in a biography of this prelate) stated that "*escribió en un latín correcto, que nos delata la conservación de las aficiones literarias del siglo anterior, una vida de S. Ildefonso, no exenta de excrecencias legendarias y sucesos maravillosos*".[8] The tradition alluded to would obviously be that of Visigothic times, without it being entirely clear what type of "*afición literaria*" is referred to.

However, this same "old" tradition, a series of questions of style and certain historical errors (examined in detail below) were those that led Manuel Díaz y Díaz to suppose that the Cixila named could not be the cited archbishop of Toledo but rather some author from the 10th or early 11th century.[9] In this sense, he takes up an earlier suggestion by B. de Gaiffier who, after having adjudicated the text to Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, who died in 1129, then changed his position and estimated that this *Vita* "*data del siglo XI o, a lo sumo, finales del X*".[10] Moreover, in the same expert's opinion, the adjudication of authorship to Cixila could answer to the fact that, in the majority of the manuscripts, this text was accompanied by the *vita* written by Julián de Toledo. Thus, "*los copistas tuvieron cuidado de anotar Hucusque Hildefonsus. Abhinc Iulianus. La c de hinc [...] se junta a Iulianus, obteniendo una forma muy cercana a Cixilianus*".[11] In contrast, Díaz y Díaz rejects this suggestion and, giving Cixila an authentic personality, believes that he may have been the monk, possibly of Mozarabic origins, who was in charge of the monastery of San Cosme y San Damián in Abéllar, 13 kilometres from the city of Léon, around 905.[12]

París, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 16357 (Sorbonne, 13th-14th century); 14) Luxemburg, Université 119 (Münster, between 1220 and 1240) and 15) Toledo, cathedral 15-13 (France, 1388).

8. "*He wrote in correct Latin, that reveals the preservation of the literary interests from the previous century, a life of S. Ildephonsus, not without legendary excrecences and marvellous events*". (Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Cixila". *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España,* Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, José Vives Gatell, dirs. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972: 429).

9. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística española". *Revista Española de Teología*, 17 (1957): 3-46. The reference to Cixila is on pages 44-45.

10. "*dates from the 11th century or, at the most, the end of the 10th*". (Gaiffier, Bauoruim de. "Les vies de s. Ildephonse…": 243). See also the same author's works on this theme that appear in various editions of *Analecta bollandiana*, 56 (1938), 60 (1942), 64 (1946) and 71 (1953). See also Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia...:* 159-60.

11. "the copyists were careful to note *Hucusque Hildefonsus. Abhinc Iulianus*. The *c* of *hinc* [...] is joined to *Iulianus*, obtaining a form very close to *Cixilianus*". (Gaiffier, Bauoruim de. "Les vies de s. Ildephonse…": 242).

12. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística...": 44; Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Cixila II". *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España…:* 429-430. The identification of this Cixila as the second responded to the desire not to confuse him with either the bishop of Toledo mentioned above or the the bishop of León of the same name, who ruled the see between 853 and 857 and who confirmed "dos donaciones de Ordoño I a la iglesia de Oviedo y el discutido privilegio de los obispos Severiano y Ariulfo a la misma iglesia". See also Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos Cosme y Damián de Abéllar. Monacato y sociedad en la época astur-leonesa". *Archivos leoneses*, 81-82 (1987): 7-300, especially 31-34, who believed that this monastery already existed before 905, so that this date only refers to its legal recognition by Alfonso III (page 34). April 904 is the date of foundation suggested (without a very solid base) by Díaz-

If we accept this hypothesis, we must briefly outline this new character, of whom we have some important vestiges, although there are certain difficulties in their chronology. In first place (and as indicated above), he would seem to have been a Mozarab, who some identify with a monk fleeing from Córdoba, although, in this case, we do not know which monastery he came from.[13] Cixila presents himself "*en unión de mis hermanos*" as the founder of the above-mentioned monastery of Abéllar.[14] He was first elected abbot of the monastery and shortly afterwards appointed bishop of León (perhaps succeeding St Froilan), an appointment in which it seems Alfonso III intervened favourably.[15] He appears with this episcopal title on the first diploma that was signed by Alfonso's successor, García I, on 15 February 911,[16] and he must surely have held the post until 914. In fact, his work as a bishop did not imply leaving his old post as abbot, but rather he continued to run the monastery, contributing to its aggrandisement.[17] Cixila ceased to appear as bishop of León in mid-914, being succeeded by Fruminio II, possibly also a Mozarab.[18] It is very likely that the death of King García and the transfer of the capital to León influenced the prelate's retirement to Abéllar, which monastery he continued

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Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe en el reino de León. El monasterio de Abéllar o de los santos mártires Cosme y Damián". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 20 (1892): 123-151, the reference is on page 128.

13. In this respect, see the opinion of Collins, Roger. "Poetry in ninth-century Spain". *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*, IV (1984): 194 (note 39). The article has been reproduced in the same author's work, Collins, Roger. *Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain*. London: Variorum, 1992; Mozarab from Córdoba is what Díaz-Jiménez believes (Díaz Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 128); as does Carbajo Serrano (Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos…: 51-52). In contrast, Díaz y Díaz suggests a possible origin in Toledo (*Códices visigóticos de la monarquía leonesa*. León: Centro de estudios e investigación "San Isidoro", 1983: 236).

14. "*in union with my brothers*" In his famous will dated 5 November 927 (which is mentioned below), the bishop indicated that "cum sociis et fratribus meis, nomini sancto uestro, construxi hac monasterium, in suburbio Legionense, loco uoca ualle de Abeliare, super ripam fluminis Turio situm" –*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*, ed. Emilio Sáez. León: Centro de Estudio e Investigación San Isidoro, 1987: I, 125, doc. nº 75–. Juan Eloy Díaz Jiménez (Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 136) followed by María José Carbajo Serrano (Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos…": 52), mentions a certain Recafredo as Cixila's father, alluding to a document by García I from 12th April 911. In truth, this is a falsification for which Ordoño II named his wife, Elvira, giving Cixila "et pater tuus Rekafredus et fratibus tuis" the town of "Monasteriolo" in Río Seco –*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*…: doc. nº 56–. The reference is thus doubtful.

15. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes del reino de León (Siglo X)". *Archivos leoneses*, 19 (1956): 4-5, 47-54; Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes del reino de León" *Archivos leoneses*, 20 (1957): 5-6, who supposes that there was a third bishop between Froilán and Cixila (page 47).

16. Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*. Madrid: Imprenta de Don Pedro Marin, 1784: XXXIV, 205. The bishops Genadio of Astorga and Atilano of Zamora appear in the same diploma.

17. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio...", 19 (1956): 48-49; Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León. García I (910-914), Ordoño II (914-924), Fruela II (924-925) y Alfonso IV (925-931)*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1997: 27 and following. A detail of the action by Cixila can be seen in Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 140-144.

18. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes…", 20 (1957): 6-22; Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León*…: 54, 80.

to head. In unclear circumstances, Cixila went back to the episcopal see between 924 and 928, when King Fruela II persecuted his successor (the above-mentioned Fruminio), and a struggle broke out for this monarch's dynastic continuity. The reasons behind this persecution are that the latter bishop belonged to the aristocratic Olmúndiz family, opponents of Fruela.[19] Frunimio's exile must have ended around the end of 927, after Fruela's death. However, he did not resume his episcopal position, being succeeded by bishop Oveco. Meanwhile, Cixila returned to his work as abbot, appearing in the documentation from León until 938.[20] His death must have occurred sometime between that date and April 940, when Severus appears for the first time as abbot of Abéllar.[21]

Among the documents that Cixila left, his will is of special importance. In it he bequeathed a series of objects and texts to the monastery of Abéllar, which made its library a reference point for 10th-century Hispanic culture.[22] In fact, the inventory (dated 5 November 927) mentions, among others, such writers as St Augustine, John Cassian, Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Prosper of Aquitaine, Claudius, Isidore of Seville, Eucherius of Lyon, Maurus Servius, Donatus, Avitus of Vienne, Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Pompeius Trogus, Juvenal, Dracontius, Virgil, Prudentius, Eugenius of Toledo, Cato and Ildephonsus of Toledo.[23] Evidently, this is a magnificent repertoire of classic and patristic knowledge, to which a series of liturgical texts are added, these being antiphonaries, the Visigothic *Liber Ordinum* and *Commicum*, psalters, etc., and an exemplar of the Bible. There is also a codex that apparently included the anonymous *Vitas sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* and a work by Gerontius, perhaps the *Vita S. Melaniae*, composed in Greek by this writer around the 5th century. Lastly, it mentions a large collection of chalices, crosses and other liturgical objects, made of gold, silver and precious stones, vestments for liturgical use and other objects.

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19. On this, see Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León*…: 150 and following. Regarding the succession of Fruela II, see Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. "La sucesión al trono en los reinos de León y Castilla". *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, 50 (1945): 35-124, especially 59 and following.

20. The last diploma in which he is mentioned (as a witness) is a sentence by Ramiro II about the use of water in the monastery of Valdevimbre from 25 June 938- signed "Cixila Dei gratia episcopus", Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 144 -. This document was not taken into consideration by Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes…", 20 (1957): 5, who understood that the last participation by Cixila corresponded was as a witness to the donation made to the monastery of Celanova by Ilduara Eriz, the mother of Saint Rosendo, on 27 February the same year.

21. It is probable —as Carbajo Serrano indicates, "El monasterio…": 56— that there was a third abbot, by the name of Provicius, between Cixila and Severo. He must have been in charge of the monastery between 25 June 938 (as we have seen, the last document in which Cixila appears) and 1 April 940 (the first text that mentions Severo). This is suggested by the document from 23 October 941, with which two individuals confirmed for Severo a donation they made to Cixila and had revoked "Provicius abba essente in ipso monasterio" (*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*…: doc. nº147).

22. Pérez de Urbel stated categorically in his time that the mentioned library was the only one "which is known to have a good collection of poetical books, both Christian and pagan" —*Historia de los monjes españoles en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Ancla, s.d.: II, 357—. Undoubtedly, this opinion should be revised in line with the more recent studies (that underline the importance of other similar stores, scattered around the Iberian Peninsula).

23. See *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*…: 124-127.

We are thus facing a character who had access to an extensive common bibliographical stock, a peculiar but not entirely atypical situation in Hispanic society in the second half of the 9th and throughout the 10th centuries. In fact, such a stock has suggested to Díaz y Díaz (as mentioned above) that this Cixila was possibly from Toledo as this set of works "*sólo puede entenderse en manos de un personaje formado en centros más ricos intelectualmente y con bienes adquiridos fuera de tierras de León*".[24] In this sense we should bear in mind that this was in the setting of the "renaissance" of the Latin tradition, largely motivated by the need to counterbalance Islamic culture, which was very active in the centre and south of the peninsula in those times.[25] Nor is the number of works mentioned by Cixila surprising. The desire to own great libraries was a constant feature among both Muslims and Christians from Andalusia in those times. As Herrera Roldán states, the city of Córdoba, for example, must have had a good number of booksellers, given the interest among Mozarabic intellectuals to acquire new books.[26] Clear examples of this were such famous characters as Eulogius and Álvaro of Córdoba, who sought books on their journeys across the peninsula, asked friends from northern lands for those they could not find in the city, patronised the work of the booksellers and placed the books they found at the their own disposal. In fact, many of the titles cited in Cixila's library coincided with those brought back by Eulogius from his journeys to Christian lands.[27]

If we accept his Mozarabic origin, this must have been the intellectual setting in which the monk Cixila moved before emigrating to the north of the peninsula. Nor is this move clear, as mentioned above. If it were true, it probably took place at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century, during the turbulence that affected the Umayyad state and the situation of the Christian communities within this state. The purposeful policy of founding and restoring monasteries promoted by Alfonso III and Fruela II, as part of their work to repopulate the territories conquered from the Muslims, may also have been a factor. We ought to remember that, during the reigns of these sovereigns, such monasteries as Sahagún (872), San Cebrián de Mazote (915), San Martín de Castañeda (916), San Pedro de Eslonza (around the beginning of the 10th century), San Miguel de Escalada (from the same time) and the previously mentioned Saints Cosme and Damián of Abéllar were built.

To summarise, we have a text that was widely read (within the parameters of the epoch), attributed to three possible authors (Eladius, Cixila, bishop of Toledo in the 8th century, or his homonym from Léon from the 10th), which may not be the work

24. "*can only be understood in the hands of a character trained in the richest centres intellectually and with goods acquired outside the lands of León*" (*Códices visigóticos de la monarquia leonesa*...: 236).

25. About this theme, see among others, Herrera Roldán, Pedro. *Cultura y lengua latinas entre los mozárabes cordobeses del siglo IX*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1995: 49 and following; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995: 170-174.

26. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península*…: 50. See also Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique". *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 12 (1969): 219-241, 383-392. The reference to the Mozarab libraries is on 223 and following.

27. See González Muñoz, Fernando. *Latinidad mozárabe. Estudio sobre el latín de Alvaro de Córdoba*. Córdoba-La Coruña: Universidad de Córdoba-Universidade da Coruña, 1996: 19-25.

of any of these but rather of fourth hagiographer and, given all that, might be dated from between the 8th and 11th centuries (the latter date corresponding to the first manuscript manifestations).

2. The work and its possible sources

The same confusion regarding the possible author of this story extends to the text itself. In first place, there is no doubt that it is an entirely legendary piece, which perhaps compiles some ancient traditions or legends. As we shall see, the only known earlier biography of St Ildephonsus (written by Julian, one of his successors in the see of Toledo) has a minimal relation to the one we are considering.[28] Entirely to the contrary, the hagiography composed by our unknown author (whom, for practical question, we shall call Pseudo Cixila) is an extensive catalogue of apparitions, and marvellous and supernatural events. The text begins with a reference to Ildephonsus' high position in Spanish spiritual life, comparing him to St Isidore. Even more, it is explicitly stated that Ildephonsus was a student of Isidore and that his education had been contracted by Bishop Eugenius I of Toledo. Then it states that after returning to the monastery of Agali when he finished his training in Seville, Ildephonsus was appointed abbot of the monastery, dedicated to Saints Cosme and Damián. In their honour, Ildephonsus composed (according to the tale by the Pseudo Cixila) two masses, that "*quas missas infra adnotatas inuenietis*".[29]

The narration then continues with the appointment of Ildephonsus to the see of Toledo, including a reference to his magnificent virtues, an elegy loaded with symbolic expressions. This also serves as a prologue for one of the most important events in the tale: the miraculous appearance of St Leocadia. For the hagiographer, this fact "*fidei eius meritum coram hominibus declararet* [i.e., that of Ildephonsus]".[30] According to the text, during the mass held to celebrate the day of the festivity of the saint, the "*tumulus [of Leocadia] in quo sanctum eius corpusculum usque hodie humatum est exiliret et operculum, quem uix triginta iuuenes mouere non possunt, non humanis manibus, sed angelicis eleuatum...*". Thus, the saint appeared dressed in the clothes in which she had been buried.[31] This appearance gave rise to an outburst of weeping, singing and shouts among the people present, while the saint, "*estrechando y apretando las manos*",

28. Toledo, Julián de. "Beati Hildefonsi Elogium", *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina,* ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: Montrouge, 1850: XCVI, cols. 43-44. See also Jiménez Duque, Baldomero. *La espiritualidad romano-visigoda y mozárabe*. Salamanca-Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca-Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977: 138 and following.

29. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 61. According to Bruyne, Donatien de. "De l´origine de quelques textes liturgiques mozarabes". *Revue bénédictine*, 30 (1915): 421-436, one of these masses could have been the one published by Férotin, Marius in: *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum, ed. Marius Férotin*. Paris: Firmin-Didot. Didot, 1912. See also Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua...*: 273-274 (who also considers that the reference to the Pseudo Cixila could be correct).

30. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 62.

31. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 62.

said "*Deo gratias, uiuit Domina mea per uitam Ildefonsi*", an obvious reference to the latter's well-known treatise about the Virgin Mary.[32] Meanwhile, the clergyman sang the verses of the hymn "*Speciosa facta est, alleluia*", composed (according to the narrative) by St Ildephonsus himself in honour of Leocadia.[33] This reference is used by the author to indicate again that this hymn also "*subter est adnotata*".

The appearance of Leocadia gave rise to a curious happening: kneeling before the Virgin, the saint implored someone to give him "a sharp instrument to cut up" her veil, which she apparently had in her hands. As the frenetic crowd paid no attention to the bishop's plea and Leocadia threatened to leave, the king

> *Clamabat [Ildephonsus] inter uoces populi uelut mugiens tu aliquid incisorium deferrent, unde quod manibus tenebat precideret. Et nemo illi occurrebat, quia populos uastis ictibus rictibusque frendebat, nam et sancta uirgo quod uoluntate submiserat, tu desideria cresceret, uiolenta retrahebat. Sed princeps quondan Recesuintus, qui eius tempore erat, gloria et ferocitate terrena deposita —qui eum ob iniquitates suas increpatus superbo oculo intuebatur—, cultrum modicum quem in teca tenebat cum lacrimis offerebat.*[34]

This monarchic gesture allowed Ildephonsus to obtain the precious relic, which was placed, together with the providential knife, in a silver reliquary.

A short paragraph (which states that "*alia miracula Spiritus Sanctus per eum in ipso Dominico aduentu*") serves as the introduction to the second and last part of the tale, also characterised by a supernatural appearance: that of the Virgin Mary. It seems that the saint had prepared a special mass for the festivity of the Virgin (the seventh of this kind of works, according to the Pseudo Cixila),[35] a work that (once again) was "mentioned below" (*missam superscriptam*). When the moment for the celebration arrived, King Recceswinth, "*supra dictus rex minus de timore Dei sollicitus et de suis iniquitatibus male conscius ad audienda sollemnia regali de more paratus accessit*".[36] This was the setting for perhaps the most famous episode in the life of St Ildephonsus: the appearance of the Virgin. In fact, when the procession entered the church, a celestial light frightened most of the clergy and guardians of the temple, who fled in fear. Meanwhile, the people "*Sollicita omnis congregatio requirens quid Dei seruus ageret cum angelicis choris..*"[37]. As well as this, the saint approached the altar and, kneeling

32. "*taking and holding hands*" (Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 62). See Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 447.

33. This would be the second work that the Pseudo Cixila attributed to Ildephonsus. About this text, see Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua...*: 274.

34. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 62-63.

35. Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua...*: 274, suggests that the mass "Erigamus quaeso, Karissimi, in sublime oculos", that appears in the *Le Liber mozarabicum sacramentorum…*: 50-54 could be the one that Ildephonsus dedicated to the Virgin. The basis for such a claim, otherwise rather weak, is that this text "starts at least from the manuscript tradition directly after the *De virginitate* [by the same author]". The same feeling is shown by Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso de Toledo. Biografía, época y posteridad*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1985: 222.

36. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 63.

37. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 64.

before it, saw Mary sitting in the ivory episcopal seat. This cathedra would from this moment on become the most venerated object, to the point that nobody ever tried to sit in it, with the exception of the bishop "*quam cathedram nullus episcopus adire temtauit nisi postea domnus Sisbertus, qui statim sedem ipsam lapsu perdens exilio religatus est*".[38] Mary was accompanied by a "*una multitud de vírgenes*", who filled the apse of the church, intoning "*cánticos davídicos con suave acompañamiento musical*". Finally, the Virgin turned to the saint with these words,

> *Propera in occursum, serue Dei rectissime, accipe munusculum de manu mea, quod de thesauro Filii mei tibi adtuli; sic enim tibi opus est, ut benedictione tegminis que tibi delata est in meo tantum die utari. Et quia oculis fixis in meo semper seruitio permansisti et in laudem meam diffusa in labiis tuis gratia tam dulcia in cordibus fidelium depinxisti, ex uestimentis glorie iam in hac uita orneris et in futuro in promtuariis meis cum aliis seruis Filii mei leteris*.[39]

After this, the celestial group disappeared and "*Remansit Dei seruus in tantum sollicitus de adipiscenda gloria quantum prespicuus de sibi donata palma uictorie*".[40] The tale ends abruptly at this point without a colophon.

As we can see, this *vita* has an enormous quota of fantastic elements, apparently composed for an explicit purpose: to serve as an introduction to a series of works by the saint (or supposedly belonging to him). The hymns to Saints Cosme and Damián, Leocadia and the Virgin should perhaps be included among these works, as such expressions as "mentioned below", "footnoted" and the like that appear in the text would lead us to understand. Otherwise, this supposed introduction should also link to some earlier tale, given that the expression that opens it (as Canal Sánchez has noted) is strange "*si no supone otro texto precedente*".[41] In fact, the sentence "*Ecce dapes melliflue illius domni Ildefonsi...*"[42] indicates that this *vita* should continue other works by the same bishop of Toledo or the *Elogium* by St Julian.[43] However, the function of concatenation in the tale we are analysing seems to me more specific than the mere "catechetic discourse" suggested by Bodelón.[44] On the other hand, it was undoubtedly this link to the works of Ildephonsus that justified the extraordinary success of this *vita*, a merit that cannot be the result of "*ni a la calidad literaria de la obra, más bien escasa, ni al nombre de su autor*".[45]

The situation with respect to the possible sources of the narrative is different. It seems that a substantial part of this (the two celestial appearances) could not have

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38. Pseudo Cixila, *Vita…*: 64.

39. "*a multitude of virgins*" (…) "*psalms of David with soft musical accompaniment*" (Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 65).

40. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 65.

41. "*if it does not suppose any earlier text*" (Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 447).

42. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 61.

43. The latter is the opinion of Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 447.

44. See note 2.

45. "*neither the literary quality of the work, that is rather poor, nor to the name of its author*" (Valcárcel, Vitalino. "*Las vitae sanctorum...*": 155).

been taken from the hagiography written by Julian of Toledo, mentioned above. In fact, Julian only refers to Ildephonsus as having professed as a monk from an early age, in the monastery of Agali (on the outskirts of Toledo), where he would later return to the post of abbot. Similarly, he notes his building of a nunnery, his promotion to the episcopate during the time of Recceswinth (in 657), and cites the works he composed. Lastly, he indicates that the saint died in the eighteenth year of the reign of the same sovereign (that is, in 667) and that he was buried in the church of St Leocadia in Toledo, at the feet of his predecessor. The tale, as we can see, is succinct and only deviates from the narration of the facts to indicate the exalted virtues of Ildephonsus, the imposition of the bishop's office to which he was subjected (a classic theme in hagiographical literature) and a short indication that the saint's task was marked by "*variis rerum ac molestiarum occupationibus impeditus*".[46]

In contrast, a suggestion about the possible source used by Cixila is in the text itself. In a passage, we read that

> *quia omnia longa sunt recensiri que eius temporibus in Toletana urbe domnus Urbanus et domnus Euantius per eum facta narrabant, uel ex multis pauca progrediamur, quia qui mecum hoc audierunt, cum hec legerint, dolebunt pretermisisse me tam multa et magna que utique mecum sciunt*.[47]

Unfortunately, we know nothing of these two characters or their works. The only existing reference to them is found in the so-called *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, that presents Urbanus as an "*anciano chantre de la catedral de Toledo*" and Evantius as an "*arcediano de la misma sede*", illustrious men, given their "*predicación, sabiduría y santidad*", who died around 737.[48] It seems that Evantius has been identified as the author of a letter against the Jews in Saragossa, included in a manuscript from the Escorial.[49] In contrast, no information has survived about Urbanus. Whatever the case, no evidence remains that either of them composed a hagiographic text about St Ildephonsus or any other saint. Could they have acted as an oral source for the Pseudo Cixila, as López Pereira suggests?[50] If that had been so, they "*deberían ser viejísimos, casi centenarios*" when the tale was written, still supposing that it dates from the 8th century.[51] Apart from that, there is now a basis to support this oral

46. Toledo, Julián de. "Beati Hildefonsi…": col. 44.

47. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 63.

48. "*old cantor in the cathedral of Toledo*" (…) "*archdeacon of the same see*" (…) "*preaching, wisdom and holiness*" (*Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. José Eduardo López Pereira. Saragossa: Anubar, 1980: 84-86). "*Urbanus Toletanae sedis urbis regie katedralis ueteranus melodicus atque eiusdem sedis Euantius archediaconus nimium doctrina et sapientia, sanctitate quoque et in omni secundum scripturas spe fide et karitate ad confortandam eclesiam Dei clari habentur*" [era 756]. In page 106, he states that "*Per idem tempus [era 775] uiri doctores et sanctimonie studio statis pollentes Urbanus et Euantius leti ad Dominum pergentes quiescunt in pace*".

49. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España…*: 887. See also Simonet, Francisco Javier. *Historia de los mozárabes de España*. Madrid: Turner, 1983 (reprint.): I, 468-469.

50. *Crónica mozárabe de…*: 85 (note 9).

51. "*they must have been very old, almost a hundred*" (Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso de…*: 15).

transmission. We should bear in mind that the hagiographer states that these were events "narrated" by Urbanus and Evantius (not that they had been contemporary to the events) and that these were well known to everyone. In other words, we cannot discount the existence of a text that refers to such events. What is more, even if this was an oral tradition, this could well have reached the 10th-11th centuries, adjudicated to two characters who, for some reason, were considered significant within the history of the Iberian church after the Muslim invasion.

On the other hand, this consonance of actors between the *Vita Ildephonsi* and the *Crónica mozárabe* has led Angel Vega to think that perhaps both sources were the product of the same author (or that the hagiographer knew the text of the chronicle). In his opinion, these contacts were

> *numerosos y muy significativos [y] no se pueden explicar nada más que por uno de estos dos modos: o porque el autor de la Vita conoce y maneja la Chronica, o porque el autor de la Chronica es también el mismo de la Vita. La primera solución es más fácil y la más simple*.[52]

This second option should not seem strange to us, given that manuscripts from the 10th century have been conserved in the *Crónica mozárabe*, which demonstrates the antiquity of its transmission.[53]

Together with this, a second antecedent has also been suggested, much more controversial than the previous one and from a source far from the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, in 1957, E. Cerulli suggested that there was a close influence between medieval Ethiopian literature and the work of St Ildephonsus, to the point that "*el relato del milagro de [este santo] inicia la mayor parte de los manuscritos del Libro etíope de milagros de María*".[54] Similarly, he emphasised that the three fundamental elements of the tale by the Pseudo Cixila (the appearance of the Virgin, the present she gives to Ildephonsus and the theme of the episcopal chair) could have been taken from the life of a popular saint in the East: St Nicholas of Myra.[55] In fact, more than the hagiography of the latter saint, these images seem to come from the life of another of God's chosen, homonym of the previous, whose adventures were transferred to the bishop of Myra from the 10th century: Nicholas, Archimandrite of the Monastery of Sion and bishop of Pinara in the 6th century.[56] In this source,

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52. "*numerous and very significant [and] nothing can be explained except in one of these two modes: either because the author of the Vita knew and handled the Chronica, or because the author of the Chronica was the same as that of the Vita. The first solution is easier and simpler*". (Vega, Angel Custodio. "De patrología española. San Ildefonso de Toledo". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 165 [1969]: 55-107).

53. From this century is the codex that was divided and is now shared between London (Egerton, 1934) and Madrid —Real Academia de la Historia, 81—*: Crónica mozárabe*…: 7-8.

54. "*the tale of the miracle of [this saint] begins most of the manuscripts of the Ethiopian book of the Miracles of Mary*" (Cerulli, Enrico. "La littérature éthiopienne dans l'histoire de la culture médiévale". *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 14 (1954-1957): 17-35, especially page 28).

55. Cerulli, Enrico. "La littérature éthiopienne dans l'histoire…": 29.

56. Some authors even sustain that this Nicholes of Myra never existed and that it was the life of this Sionite which created the legend about the first. Others, such as Cerulli, suggested that the Sionite Nicholas was the author of the *life* of the former. Lastly, there are those who separate both characters and

which possibly had earlier origins but which, as it has survived, dates from the 10th century, we read that this Sionite had a vision in which "*Spiritus Sanctus praedicto sancto viro Nicolao in somnis apparet thronum ei demonstrans et gloriosum pulchrumque schema vestii*".[57] Shortly after, it was the Virgin who appeared to Nicholas, showing him "*el lugar y las dimensions de una casa de oración, que llevaría su nombre, para que alzase el templo de Santa María*".[58] Various observations can be made about this. In the first place, there is a clear coincidence of motives between this appearance of the Holy Ghost to Nicholas of Sion and to the one known by St Ildephonsus. In this latter case, although the text by the Pseudo Cixila identifies the Virgin as the celestial protagonist of the portent, he had also explicitly stated that "the Holy Ghost" performed various miracles through the same saint.[59] Alongside this, one can read in another passage "*Sic enim habitator suus Spiritus Sanctus egit, tu quod iste celebrat intrus ille patefaceret foris*".[60] This double allusion to the Holy Ghost has attracted attention given that, according to Canal Sánchez, it is not frequent in the Latin hagiographic literature of the epoch.[61] The same must be said about the reference that Mary makes, in the life of the Sionite, to a building for prayer, which perhaps resembles the "*promtuariis meis*" (in the sense of a room reserved for the chosen ones) that the Virgin Mary promised to the bishop of Toledo.

To sum up, there is a consonance of elements that give the impression that our author knew this History about Nicholas of Sion and adapted it to his tale. Another option (according to Cerulli) is that the Pseudo Cixila had seen some Byzantine icons that represented the scene of Nicholas, a recurrent motive in which "*Jesús y María dándole el libro de los Evangelios, el trono y el omophorion episcopal*" appear,[62] and constructed his narrative from this image. This latter possibility cannot be discarded but does not explain the consonance of themes and literary resources that appear in both texts. It is not impossible that a 9th-10th century Byzantine work had reached and circulated the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, various characters from the Near East arrived in the region in that time. One example is the monk George who, originally from the monastery of St Sabas in Jerusalem, ended up martyred

warn about the confusion, deliberate or chance, that arose about them. The Latin text about Nicholas of Sion was published by Falcone, Niccoló Carminio. *Sancti confessoris pontificis et celeberrimi thaumaturgi Nicolai acta primigenia*. Naples: Josephi de Bonis, 1751. Given that I have not been able to obtain this text, I have used the translation into Spanish included as an appendix in the book by Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. *San Nicolás: De obispo a Santa Claus*. Madrid: Palabra, 2002.

57. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión", *San Nicolás. De obispo a santa Claus*... : 310. The quote is from the article by Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 448. The Latin text states "*Spiritus Sanctus praedicto sancto viro Nicolao in somnis apparet thronum ei demonstrans et gloriosum pulchrumque schema vestii*" —where the Greek *schema* is equivalent to the Latin *veste* latino.

58. "*the place and dimensions of a prayer house, that would have his name, so that they built the temple of Santa María*" (Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión…": 310).

59. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión…": 310.

60. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 62.

61. Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 448.

62. "*Jesus and Mary giving him the book of the Gospels, the episcopal throne and omophorion*" (Cerulli, Enrico. "La littératue éthiopienne dans l'histoire…": 29).

in Córdoba in 852.[63] We need to bear in mind also that in the second third of the 10th century, another manuscript from St. Millán de la Cogolla included, for example, a legend elaborated in the same century from Syrian materials: the life of St Alexius, a hagiographical work that was widely known in the Rioja region in those times.[64] Lastly, we must not forget that, some time later, between the 12th and 13th centuries, in St. Millán, a codex was again copied that contained a *Vita sancti Nicolai*,[65] with which we return to the same field to which some manuscripts of the *vita* of St Ildephonsus correspond. In summary, there is nothing definite that challenges this possible oriental influence as a predecessor for the work by the Pseudo Cixila.

The dependence on another text, which is also presented as a source for our hagiography, namely the life of St Bonitus, or Bonitus of Clermont, is different.[66] Like Ildephonsus, Bonitus receives a visit of the Virgin during mass, and she awards him with a "*celestem vestem*". Similarly, the legend includes the story of a "*procax, praesumptuosus*" meaning that whoever dared to try on these vestments, would die immediately after this sacrilege. If we bear in mind that this work cannot date from before the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th, there is no doubt that this is a version of the story by the Pseudo Cixila and not a possible antecedent to this.[67]

In summary, a study of the presumed sources of the tale again places the text no earlier than the end of the 11th century. This theory therefore discounts the possible authorship by the 8th-century bishop from Toledo and partially questions that of his

63. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "La circulation des manuscrits...": 384.

64. Real Academia de la Historia. manuscript cod. 13, f. 250v-253v. Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección…*: 130; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*. Logroño: Instituto de estudios riojanos, 1979: 133-138. According to Carlos A. Vega, "no se encuentra en Occidente ninguna narración de la vida de san Alejo anterior al siglo X. Tradicionalmente, se ha considerado que la divulgación de esta historia en Europa es debida a la llegada a Roma, el año de 977, del destituido arzobispo de Salamanca, Sergio" ("In the West, there is no narration of the life of Saint Alejo from before the 10th century. Traditionally, it has been considered that the divulgation of this story in Europe was due to the arrival in Rome, in 977, of the displaced archbishop of Salamanca, Sergio"). (*La vida de san Alejo. Versiones castellanas*, ed. Carlos Alberto Vega. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991: 20).

65. This is the codex 10 of the Real Academia de la Historia. f. 110ra-116rb; Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección…*: 107.

66. Manuscript Biblioteca Hagiografica Latina (BHL), 1418-1420. His life can be seen in *Acta Sanctorum*. Antwerp – Brussels: Societé des Bollandistes, 1643: I/I, 1070-1077.

67. According to Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 449 (note 39), the earliest known version of this story is the one that William of Malmesbury (c. 1080-c. 1142) includes in his *De laudibus et miraculis sanctae Mariae*. I do not know why this author suggests in the same note that Cerulli "doubts whether the the narration by St Bonet is posterior to that by St Hildefonso" when said specialist states that "the tale of Saint Ildephonsus in the West had already become one of the components of the story of another bishop, Saint Bonet of Clermont". (Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 29). Moreover, this dependence is what the same author uses to reafirm his hypothesis that the story of Saint Nicholas of Sion "reached Spain in the 11th century, travelled around Western Europe over the following centuries, returned to the East with the Crusades and, translated into Arab, finally reached Ethiopia with an increased function and popularity in the 14th century" (Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 29).

colleague from León in the first half of the 10th century. This is confirmed if we take into account that the manuscripts that contain our *vita*, as we have seen, are no earlier than the 11th century (the one from 994 from St. Millán de la Cogolla includes certain additions from that century). Proof of this, moreover, is that all the codices from before 1000 that copy the work of St Ildephonsus, like the one obtained by Bishop Godescalc of Puy on his visit to the monastery of San Martín de Albelda in 951,[68] also contain the *Elogium* by St Julian. From the 11th century, the *vita* of the Pseudo Cixila was included together with these to make up a trinomial that spread very widely around Western Europe.

3. Function and structure of the legend

Going beyond these conjectures, we must now analyse the legend itself in order to detect the possible intentions within it and, eventually, reinforce some theories about its authorship and date of writing. In the first place, it is necessary to establish which objectives this narrative might have pursued. In this sense, there is no doubt that its main characteristic is its supernatural context, full of marvellous resources. To designate them, the text resorts to the *miraculum* voice, using it in a precise sense: these *miracula* are evident signs of the manifestation of God on Earth. Thus, it indicates that Ildephonsus was not only "*dono superno afflatis tantis talibusque predecessoribus suis equiter clarens, quod illis clausum fuerat, isti reseratum est*".[69] Similarly, and as mentioned above, it states that "*Sic enim habitator suus Spiritus Sanctus egit, tu quod iste celebat intrus ille patefaceret foris [...] illis reuelaret quid aliquid mirum in alletam ostenderet*".[70] Hence the first characteristic of the saint is to act as the earthly spokesman of divine knowledge, thus illustrating God's power over men.

In second place, the miracle acts as a visible guarantee of the saintliness of Ildephonsus, exalting his character as God's chosen one. This occurs with the following appearance narrated in this *Vita*, the one that features the Virgin Mary. Such an apparition, like the first one, was witnessed by many of those present, but only Ildephonsus receives the message from Mary. This message is clear and specific: the saint must wear, in this life, the clothing reserved for celestial beings. After this, Ildephonsus is aware of his rank, thus seeing his future and fully accepting his place as God's chosen one. In this sense, the narrative again coincides with the *vita* of St Nicholas as, after the mentioned visit from the Holy Ghost, he understood that the Lord "*le había anticipado los avatares de su vida futura*".[71]

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68. See Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Libros y librerías...*: 55-62. This is from the manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. lat. 2855, f. 69-160.

69. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 61. For the notion of *miraculum*, see García de la Borbolla, Angeles. "El universo de lo maravilloso en la hagiografía castellana". *Boletín de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 47 (1999-2000): 335-351 (especially page 338).

70. This is the opinion of Canal Sánchez, José María. "*San Hildefonso...*": 447.

71. "*he had anticipated the avatars of his future life*". (Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás…": 310).

In both cases, the author has emphasised that the holiness of Ildephonsus had been recognised during his life. In fact, the two miracles it alludes to are not *post mortem* portents (like the majority of the hagiographies of the time), but rather happen during the life of the person in question.[72] All this exalts the magnificence of the subject of the biography over any earthly powers of the time, particularly the monarchy.

It is precisely this link to royal power that is one of the characteristics of the legend that we ought to analyse. In fact, the text carefully states that the two apparitions that benefit Ildephonsus took place in the sovereign's presence (in this case, Recceswinth) and adds that the latter did not have very good relations with the bishop. In fact, it adds that this hostility was due to the saint having reprimanded the "iniquities" of the monarch. A little later, it mentions that the king then forgot this reprimand and attended the service without any repentance. Only on one occasion is this monarchic attitude attenuated: this is the moment when the sovereign, "*cum lacrimis offerebat [the knife] et collo submisso, supplicibus manibus a trono suo extentis*," demands that the saint be given the knife that will be used to cut a piece of the veil of St Leocadia. In these circumstances, the king appears pleading "*ut eum illi deferrent instantius deprecabatur, postulans tu indignum non iudicaret sua cum lacrimis offerentem*".[73] Beyond that, the sovereign is presented as a clear example of arrogance and foolishness, to the point of not accepting the bishop's supposed recommendations or reproaches. However, what could have been behind this clash and, consequently, behind the negative connotation attributed to the king in this source? We do know that that, from the historical point of view, Ildephonsus' relation with Recceswinth was not very good. Reliable proof of this is the lack of councils during the nine years of the saint's episcopate. This is even more striking if we bear in mind the four similar meetings held during his predecessor's mandate, a fact revealed by the panegyrists of Ildephonsus from all epochs.[74] In contrast, what is totally unknown is the reason behind this enmity. The same can be said about the figure of Recceswinth. In this sense, the sources are not unanimous when judging the sovereign. Whatever may be, we do know about a text that alludes to Recceswinth with the same pejorative overtone that he has in our legend. I am referring again to the *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, which presents the sovereign as "*Reccesuintum licet flagitiosum tamen bonimotum*".[75] Once again, as we can see, this chronicle appears as a possible source of our hagiography or, at least, as coming from a sole ideological tradition, in which both were included.

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72. Dierkens, Alain. "Réflexions sur le miracle au Haut Moyen Age", *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age. XXVe Congrès de la Societé des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur (Orléans, juin 1994)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995: 9-30 —the reference to the insertion of the miracles in the hagiographies on page 19.

73. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 63.

74. See Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso…*: 147-150. Said panegyrists are generally included to show that Ildephonsus' scant leadership skills were ostensibly counterbalanced by his fruitful literary and doctrinal work.

75. *Crónica mozárabe…*: 46. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística...": 45.

Another additional perspective for analysing the text is the one that revolves around the costumes as the axis of the narration. Effectively, the entire *vita* appears structured around dress and clothing. The two supernatural appearances have these as the subject of the tale. In the first of these (about St Leocadia), this relation particularly obvious: Ildephonsus obtained a piece of the veil that covered the saint, a fragment that would be used as proof of the miracle. Armed with the "*módico cuchillo*" which Recceswinth passed to him, the saint "*Quem ille adprehendens quod manu leua iam modicum tenebat dextera precisit et cultrum ipsum una cum eisdem reliquiis in tecis argenteis conlocauit, indignum iudicans ut qui sancta preciderat polluta ultra non tangeret*".[76] Bear in mind that in the biblical tradition, "*las ropas [revelaban] la naturaleza interna de una persona*", leading to innumerable miracles caused by merely brushing against these clothes.[77] In the same way, it is said that God would give the chosen an incorruptible tunic, which would replace the corruptible clothing of humans (2 Cor. 5, 3-4; Ap. 7,14: 22-14).

Clothing again appeared in the second celestial apparition, but much more significantly. This was the famous gift from the Virgin Mary and which gave rise to the no less known history of St Ildephonsus's chasuble. This gift, in truth, was a reward offered to the bishop for the treatise that he had written in favour of the virginity of Mary. Again, the tunic acted as a sacred object and relic, a tangible testimony of the portent. By the way, it should be mentioned that this was an attempt to contrast this divine dress (the text does not call it a "chasuble", as it was later known), with the clothing of King Recceswinth, who witnessed the event "*de more paratus*", and totally alien to his past reverence for the things of the Church. Hence, once again, the person of the sovereign is criticised, appealing in this case to a symbolic differentiation of customs and costumes.

The same must be said about the best-known consequence of this divine gift, widely spread in later versions but which does not appear in the tale analysed here. This is clearly a reference to the impossibility of using this tunic by the bishops who came after Ildephonsus. In the narration, as we have seen, this profanation was not linked to the gift in question but rather to the ivory cathedra in which the Virgin Mary appears seated, the same in which "*ubi solitus erat episcopus sede et populum salutare -quam cathedram nullus episcopus adire temtauit nisi postea domnus Sisibertus, qui statim sedem ipsam lapsu perdens exilio religatus est*".[78] We only know that this Sisbert succeeded Julian as bishop of Toledo (690-693) and was deposed by the XVI council of the city for having taken part in a plot to dethrone Egica and replace him with one of his relatives.[79] Thus we are faced with a new contraposition between the figure of Ildephonsus and a historical figure, as with Recceswinth, but this time in the same ecclesiastical hierarchy as the subject of the biography.

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76. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 63.

77. "*the clothes [revealed] thye internal nature of a person*" (Browning, Wilfrid Robert Francis. *Diccionario de la Biblia*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1998: 398).

78. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 64.

79. Vives, José. *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963: 507-508 (canon 27).

This latter point confirms an aspect that I have emphasised: the entire *Vita* seems to be a clear affirmation of the excellence of the episcopal dignity, beyond any nefarious representatives (like the mentioned Sisbert). In fact, the hagiography revolves around the bishops, linked in a specific fashion. The first of these relations is the one that the author attempts to establish by making Ildephonsus a disciple of Isidore, fulfilling Eugenius I's mandate in Toledo with him. The reference is clearly incorrect as when Eugenius I was appointed archbishop of Toledo (in 636), Isidore was already dead (in 633) and Ildephonsus had been ordained by Eladius, who in turn died in 631.[80] Independently of that, with this elusion, the author manages to link the two most important episcopal sees of Visigothic Spain and the first centuries of the Reconquest. Ildephonsus, according to the tale, would be a perfected continuation of the saint from Seville, when "*adeo ab eo tentus et elimatus est et, tu ferunt, temporali ferro constrictus, tu si quid scientie deerat plenius instructus ad pedagogum suum domnum Eugenium remeans*".[81] In consequence, it is insinuated that the see of Toledo would enjoy a bishop of greater magnitude than Isidore himself.

Secondly, this dignity of the bishop is exalted in the confrontation with the lay hierarchy of Recceswinth. Moreover, said exaltation is equally evident in the two apparitions from which the saint benefits. Lastly, an identical overvaluation can be seen in the contraposition between good and bad churchmen, as exemplified by the binomial Ildephonsus-Sisbert.

Opposition between ecclesiastical and royal power, costumes as argumental resources and exaltation of episcopal dignity are, up to this point, three coordinates that appear to guide the structure of the story. A fourth might be the one that refers to the celestial apparitions in themselves and their ideological implications. Regarding the apparition of the Virgin Mary, we must add to the characteristics already mentioned, the fact that this promoted an authentic sanctification of Ildephonsus in life. Certainly, this type of consecration of the bishops' sector (through recurrent visits from Mary) was a common resource in the literature from the 10th century onwards. In Silvie Barnay's words, "*son cada vez más numerosos los obispos [de ese siglo] que tienen la visión de la Madre de Dios*".[82] They were the privileged protagonists of this type of narration, clear symptoms of the hierarchical exaltation mentioned above.

In second place, we must bear in mind that such exaltation is even more significant given that it affected the metropolitan bishop of Spain, whose seat was, by extension, also distinguished. The glorification of Toledo by different means was a common element in Spanish historiography from the Middle Ages, but es-

80. This last item was indicated by Ildephonsus himself in his *De viris illustribus* when saying: "Me, ad monasterium rediens memoratum [i.e., el de Agali], ultimo vitae suae tempore levitam fecit". *Patrologiae cursus...*: CXVI, col. 202. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso*…: 14.

81. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61.

82. "*there were more and more bishops [in that century] who had visions of the Mother of God*" (Barnay, Silvie. *El cielo en la Tierra. Apariciones de la Virgen en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Encuentro, 1999: 39). Similar examples to that of Ildephonsus (analysed by this author) are those that appear in *Historia de la Iglesia de Reims* by Flodoard and in the *Vita sancti Radbodi* (both from the 10th century).

pecially in the latter years of the 9th century and beginning of the 10th. In fact, the most relevant narrative example from that time, the so-called *Crónica de Alfonso III*, was a clear exercise of this attitude and a "*demostration of [the] antiquity [of the see of Toledo] as the peninsular locus predilectus for the rulers of heaven and the Earth*".[83] In this process, Ildephonsus acted as a key figure as he "*related Toledo with Isidore and associated it with the beyond*".[84] This latter association, in fact, not only takes place through the Virgin Mary but also, and especially, through St Leocadia. We must bear in mind that she was the saint par excellence of Toledo, who died as a "confessor" and not as a "martyr",[85] and her worship dates from the first half of the 7th century. Also, it must be mentioned that the her body was buried in the basilica dedicated to her, which was known to Ildephonsus and even Eulogius of Córdoba and which thus shows the error by the author of our *Vita*, who states that the apparition of Leocadia served to reveal this place, which was unknown until then.[86]

In third place, the relation with Toledo is reinforced by the mention of the monastery in which St Ildephonsus professed: that of Agali. In this case, the indication underlines that this monastery was dedicated to Saints Cosme and Damián, which only appears in this source and has no earlier testimonies. However, if we remember, as we have seen, that the 10th-century bishop Cixila founded a monastery in Abéllar under the same avocation, might we have a resource to link both sees through the figure of Ildephonsus? In this case, it could be thought that the *vita* in question was written or emerged as a tradition in the cultural environment of this monastery. Another possibility, on the other hand, might be that a copyist (knowing the reality of León), when finding the reference to the monastery of Saints Cosme and Damián in the text, assumed that the author of the tale must have been the founder of this congregation in the 10th century, hence the particular attribution to this prelate, which is only found in a few codices.

Another element that might help us with this identification of the context of the production of the tale would be the particular link that appears between Ildephonsus and Recceswinth. We saw above that a certain negative fame around this sovereign must have been common in some erudite media in Spain after the Muslim invasion (as the *Crónica mozárabe de 754* suggests). However, beyond

83. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995: 96. Bear in mind that he assigns the authorship of our hagiography to Cixila from the 8th century, not the one from the 10th.

84. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*…: 97.

85. Fábrega Grau, Ángel. *Pasionario hispánico, siglos VII-XI*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953: I, 67-78.

86. de Toledo, Ildefonso. "De viris illustribus", *Patrologiae curus completus. Series latina*...: XCVI, col. 206: "Eugenius... post lucius mundialis occasum in basilica Sanctae Locadiae tenet... sepulchrum" and Eulogio de Córdoba, *Apologeticum martyrum*, 16, 5 (*Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, ed. Juan Gil. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: II, 483). The XVII council of Toledo in 694 specified that the church is "in suburbio Toletano ubi sanctorum eius corpus requiescit" (Vives, José. *Concilios visigóticos*…: 522); Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso*…: 15; Castillo Maldonado, Pedro. *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad tardía*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999: 333-34.

this, there are really two things that are objected to in the *vita*: in first place, the fact that the sovereign was wary of St Ildephonsus because he had criticised him, and secondly, Recceswinth's lack of humility before the ecclesiastical institution, demonstrated in his will to attend the liturgical ceremonies, showing his arrogance and without having shown remorse for his attitude.[87] In contrast, the tale highlights the sovereign's gesture of submission on the occasion of the celestial visit by St Leocadia. To summarise, what we see here is a critical observation of the monarch's behaviour and his position regarding the Church. Therefore, might it not be possible that, in the last instance, in this recreation the Pseudo Cixila was alluding to much closer circumstances? In this sense, we know that the 10th-century Castilian episcopate, especially in León, was marked by its tense relations with the monarchy. For example, we see that Fruela II had exiled Cixila's successor, Frunimio, for political reasons, which led the former to take up the position of bishop again to replace the exile. During the reign of Fruela's heir, Ramiro II, Cixila himself was detained in "voluntary retreat" (the expression is from Linehan), while his successor, Oveco, "*fue rápidamente enviado a un trabajo misional en la región de Salamanca*".[88] Similar attitudes can be seen in the trajectory of other prelates from various ecclesiastical sees in the kingdom. It should be noted that in this, the monarchs of León and Castile behaved like their Visigoths ancestors, exalting the king's supremacy over the Church. Moreover, normally the hagiographers tried to forget the episcopal times of their subjects, probably owing to the "neutralisation" of monarchic bishops in the court.[89] In this sense, the text about St Ildephonsus could be a sample of that: what stands out most about him is the fact that, despite monarchic opposition, he was recognised as chosen by God through the celestial powers, through the interventions of Leocadia and Mary. Whether or not one accepts this supposition, what is beyond doubt is that the tale used the figure of Recceswinth to question monarchic behaviour, which was seen as unfit, while also warning royalty about this behaviour.

Lastly, an analysis of the language in the text, which Díaz y Díaz qualified as "too ornate" to be from the 8th century,[90] and the possible literary influences that it contains is pending. In this sense, I think a specific philological study of the vocabulary and its morphological variants is needed, a task I reserve for the specialists in these disciplines. For now, the author's tendency to use numerous diminutives such as "*corpusculum*", "*munusculum*" or "*clientulus*" is striking.[91] He

87. I return to the conclusions said some times ago: Guiance, Ariel. "De reyes y santos: la caracterización de la monarquía en la hagiografía castellana (siglos VII-XI)". *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 22 (1999-2001): 9-30.

88. "*was rapidly sent on missionary work in the region of Salamanca*" (Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*…: 199-120).

89. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*…: 199-120.

90. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística...": 44.

91. The first two appear defined, in an Emilianense glossa from 964, as "breue corpus" and "dona modica/ breue munus", respectively, *Fuentes españolas altomedievales. El códice emilianense 46 de la Real Academia de la Historia, primer diccionario enciclopédico de la Península Ibérica*, eds. Claudio García Turza, Javier García Turza. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia-Fundación Caja Rioja, 1997: 292, 432.

also uses some interesting classicisms. Thus, he refers to Spain as "Hesperia" and states that Ildephonsus shone "*in sede Romulea*". These were the usages that, to an extent, suggested to Pérez de Urbel that the author of the *vita* might be the same as the composer of the hymns "*Urbis Romulea jam toga candida*", dedicated to the seven male apostles, and "*Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium*", dedicated to St Thyrsus. In this sense, the same specialist adjudicated both works to the bishop Cixila from the 8th century and, hence, the *Vita Ildefonsi* would correspond to the same prelate.[92] Indeed, the first of these compositions used the ideas of *sede Romulea* and Hesperia on various occasions,[93] a circumstance that approaches the "*sede Romulea*" and the "*totam Hesperiam*" which our hagiographer talks about. However, such a coincidence is not enough to sustain this authorship theory. In fact, this could also be due to direct knowledge by the Pseudo Cixila, of the classical literature, or the transfer of this in the patristic texts. Another (much simpler) possibility would be that our author had access to, or recalled, the hymns in question. This circumstance is perfectly plausible as hymnbooks were part of all medium-sized ecclesiastical libraries.[94]

To conclude, there is another similarity of an argumental, not stylistic, type that I believe deserves to be mentioned. There is a curious narrative approximation between this hagiography by Cixila and a certain passage in a collection of seventh-century tales, the *Vitas sanctorum Patrum emeretensium*, which was well-known in the Peninsula and also found in most ecclesiastical libraries.[95] I refer to the life of Masona, the bishop of Mérida. In fact, both texts begin by stating that their subjects succeeded two relevant figures in their respective sees (Eugenius for St Ildephonsus and Fidelis in the case of Masona).[96] Moreover, both had to face sovereigns who were against them: Recceswinth filled this role for the saint from Toledo, while Leovigild was an opponent of the bishop of Mérida —whose opposition was demonstrated in terms of Arian Catholicism. Similarly, a textile relic intervenes in both cases. While in the case of Ildephonsus this was the piece of St Leocadia's veil and the tunic that the Virgin Mary gave him, Masona was confronted by the king for possession of a fragment of St Eulalia's tunic (about to

92. Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Origen de los himnos mozárabes". *Bulletin hispanique*, 28 (1926): 5-21, 113-129, 209-245, 305-320, especially page 210.

93. *Hymnodia Gotica. Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des alt-spanischen Ritus. Aus handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen* (*Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi, XXVII)*, ed. Clemens Blume. New York-London: Johnson Corp, 1961 [reedition; first edition: Leipzig 1897]: 253-255 (doc nº 176): "Urbis Romulea jam toga candida" (v. 1); "Missos Hesperiae quod ab apostolis" (v. 3); "Per hos Hesperiae finibus edita" (v. 12).

94. For the subject of the classical influences on high medieval Hispanic literature, see the works by Roger Collins: Collins, Roger. "Poetry..."; Collins Roger. "Literacy and the laity in early mediaeval Spain", *Law, Culture...* For the rest, as Díaz y Díaz states, "[en la alta Edad Media] no se da un escritor... si no hay cerca, o al lado, una biblioteca. Libros y composición son del todo inseparables" –Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. "La cultura medieval y los mecanismos de producción literaria", *VII Semana de estudios medievales: Nájera, 29 de julio al 2 de agosto de 1996*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1997: 281-95, especially page 286.

95. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.

96. The tale about Masona appears in chapter V of the *Vitas* (*Vitas Sanctorum Patrum*…: 47-102), to which I refer for the following references.

argue that he had swallowed said relic to stop it from falling into heretical hands). Moreover, this saint fulfilled a similar role to that of Leocadia: while the former represented the excellence of Mérida, the latter did the same for Toledo. Even more, Eulalia appeared before Masona while he was praying in front of his altar, as in the case of Ildephonsus in his time. Even the remains of the saint are alluded to in the same terms as those used by the author of our tale, "*venerabile corpusculum*".[97] It must be mentioned, however, that while Leocadia assumed a fully human form and approached the saint, allowing him to take a piece of her veil, the Mérida saint was much stricter and more elusive: she is presented as "snow white" (alluding to the portent that occurred after her death, as mentioned in the *Pasionario*) and only ordered the bishop to return to the see after the expulsion that he had suffered at the hands of Leovigild. The monarch, in fact, would equally know about the visit of the saint, who beat him for having removed Masona from his post and urged him to reinstate him.

In other words, it would seem that the author of the *life* of St Ildephonsus had attempted to show, with similar criteria to those used by the hagiographer of the tales from Mérida, the excellence of Toledo and its bishop, as the other did with Mérida and *its* bishops. Thus, both intertwined a local saint, a particularly venerated churchman, a confrontation with royal power and a supernatural event, all with the same aim: to demonstrate the magnificence of the subject of the biography and the importance of the see linked to them. Thus, what Eulalia was for Masona, Leocadia was for Ildephonsus. In the same way, the confrontation between them (from the point of view of their use to justify certain ecclesiastical pretensions) is not new. A similar criterion was analysed by Collins in relation with the abovementioned *Vidas de los Padres de Mérida*, where the rights of Mérida were defended against the power of Toledo.[98] However, this similarity in the argument is not limited to the factors indicated: wishing to adjudicate even more relevance to his saint, the supposed author of the *Vita* from Toledo (whoever it was) incorporated a second portent, related to a supernatural being of a higher rank than a simple saint: the Virgin Mary. The justification for this was simple: if Ildephonsus had written a treatise defending the Virgin Mary, it was natural that the latter would be grateful.[99] Toledo's honour was saved and the glory of the see could be transferred (through different ways) to whoever needed it.

In conclusion, we are faced with a narrative that leaves the aims pursued through it quite clear. Thereby the author's secondary criteria also become plainly visible. Initially, it does not seem to be a text used as instrument of propaganda for an ecclesiastical centre (either because it held the remains of the saint in question or because it was linked to his life). Nor does it attempt to emphasise the thaumaturgical capacity of one chosen by God (Ildephonsus was the passive

97. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum*…: 204 (Chapter V).

98. Collins, Roger. "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585", *Law, Culture...*: 213-214.

99. See Rucquoi, Adeline. "Ildefonse de Tolède et son traité sur la virginité de Marie", *La virginité de Marie*. Paris: Médiaspaul, 1998: 105-125, especially page 116 and following.

receptor of such miracles, not their executor). Similarly, he did not promote a pilgrimage route (for the same reasons as in the first point) nor was he linked to a specific transfer of relics. In contrast, it is a work that, first of all, underlines the importance of episcopal dignity, its pre-eminence over any other earthly power and its link with a specific ecclesiastical see.

This argumental clarity contrasts with the uncertainty regarding the authorship and dating of the tale, as mentioned above. In line with the different hypotheses arising (and our observations about the possible discursive traditions and historical factors that influenced the text), I believe it is necessary to discard a date as early as the 8th century for this *vita*. I am inclined to believe, like other specialists, that it should be dated around the mid-10th century or, at the latest, the early 11th. An additional piece of information in this regard is the fact that only the Mozarabic calendars from León after the 11th century attribute to Ildephonsus the status of saint, something ignored in earlier calendars from other regions.[100] Together with this, it must be remembered, as Gaiffier states, that the famous catalogue of the relics in the Holy Ark of Oviedo (one of whose copies dates from the 11th century) mentions the "*pallium quod dedit ipsa regina celi Ildefonso toletane sedis archiepiscopo*", a clear indication that the tradition had already spread by that time.[101]

If we accept this dating, the most probable hagiographer among the possible candidates that have appeared until date, according to my hypothesis (and in line with Díaz y Díaz), is the bishop of León, Cixila, who would have lived in the first half of the 10th century, and who would have had the valid ideological and material resources to promote or write a hagiography of this kind. However, there is nothing in our current state of knowledge to back this latter suggestion. If we add the manuscript tradition that assigns this tale to one Heladio, and other elements that could have had an effect on the construction of this work, I believe it would be much more reasonable to identify its author as the Pseudo Cixila and place it, as mentioned above, in the mid or late-tenth century. The fact that a character from these times (perhaps an educated Mozarabic equipped with good reading material) should wish to exalt Ildephonsus and, in passing, the glory of Toledo, was not at all unusual in this context.[102] It has been suggested, with a degree of reason, that I should perhaps search for our author not in León (as Díaz y Díaz wished) but in Zamora.[103] In fact, we know that the seat was restored in the times of Alfonso III, its first bishop being Attilanus, Attila or Adtila. This appears to have been in the monastery

100. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística...": 44. The Vigilanus and Emilianus calendars from the late 10th century note the 23 of January as "ildefonsi epi" –Vives, José; Fábrega, Ángel. "Calendarios hispanos anteriores al siglo XII". *Hispania Sacra*, 2 (1949): 141. The same occurs with the 1039 version from Silos, the 1055 from Compostela and the two from Silos in Paris (all transcribed by Marius Férotin, as an appendix to *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Eglise wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du Ve au XIe siècle*. Paris: Fermin Didot, 1904: 452-453).

101. Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 243. The text can be seen in Bruyne, Donatien de. "Le plus ancien catalogue des reliques d'Oviedo". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45 (1927): 94.

102. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians…*: 97-100.

103. My thanks to Adeline Rucquoi for this suggestion, which I should go into in greater depth in the future.

of Sahagún, "*donde escribió el tratado De Virginitate Sanctae Mariae de san Ildefonso*".[104] Moreover, Attilanus himself took charge of founding the famous monastery of San Salvador de Tábara, "*centro de una notable escuela de copistas y miniaturistas*" in the 10th century.[105] We should also remember that the city was repopulated with Christians from Toledo at the end of the previous century, that from this date on, it had a church dedicated to St Leocadia and that it was there, much later, that the remains of St Ildephonsus were discovered during the episcopate of Suero (13th century). Whatever it was, from an early date Zamora, claimed a certain inheritance from Toledo, the city that our unknown author took care to exalt through Ildephonsus. With that, he managed to construct a tale that would become the most successful Spanish hagiographical legend throughout the Middle Ages, and that would soon spread to the rest of western Christianity. Thus, as happened with the subject of his biography, his work spread through "*omnem Spaniam*", shining "*por su doctrina como el sol y la luna*".[106]

104. "*where he wrote the treatise De Virginitate Sanctae Mariae of Saint Ildefonso*" (Sánchez Herrero, José. "Historia de la Iglesia de Zamora. Siglos V a XV", *Historia de Zamora. T. I.- De los orígenes al final de Medievo*. Zamora: Diputación-Instituto de estudios zamoranos "Florián de Ocampo", 1995: 692-93); Pérez de Urbel, Justo. *Historia de los monjes*…: II, 298-99, who understands that this presumed copy by Atilano refers to Ambrosio de Morales.

105. "*centre of a notable school of copyists and miniaturists*". (Sánchez Herrero, José. "Historia de la Iglesia de Zamora…": 696).

106. "*through his doctrine like the sun and the moon*" (Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61).

ON THE TERM *ALBIGENSIANS* IN 13TH CENTURY HISPANIC SOURCES

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Abstract

This study analyses the terms used in 13th-century Hispanic sources for the Cathar heretics in Medieval France against whom the Papacy, in alliance with the French monarchy, led the so-called "Albigensian Crusade" between 1208 and 1229. This will enable verification of the thesis of professor Jean-Louis Biget with regard to whether the application to the Occitan Cathars of the local southern French name of "Albigeois" (from Albi and the surrounding territory of the Albigeois) owes its origin to the ideological construction of a discourse on religious dissidence by the theocratic Church that arose from the Gregorian Reform, given that it was only used from the beginning of the anti-Cathar Crusade (1209) and only by northern writers far from Occitan lands. A consequence of this was the appearance of a generic designation for heretics in the religious, geographic and political sense, with the result that "Albigensian" would end up being applied not only to the Cathars, but also to all the Occitan nobility and populations, most of whom were Catholics, who offered resistance to the French crusades from 1209 on and the French royal troops after 1226. Given this approach, the analysis of sources not previously used historiographically for this purpose, such as the 13th-century Hispanic narrative sources, allows our perspective to be widened and the variety of denominations used to be considered more fully.

Key words

Religion, Dissidence, Thought, Language, Mentality.

Capitalia verba

Religio, Dissensio, Opinio, Lingua, Idiosincrasia.

In 1998, the French professor Jean-Louis Biget published "Les *Albigeois*, remarques sur une dénomination", a brilliant article that revolutionised modern historiography concerning the struggle between the Catholic Church and Catharism during the 12th and 13th centuries.[1] Biget's starting point was the preponderance in the medieval sources of the local name of *Albigensians* (from the city of Albi and its territory the Albigés, in French "Albigeois") as a generic denomination applicable to the Provencal and Occitan heretics whom we know as *Cathars* and, by extension, to all the lands and populations of the Occitan political-cultural area.[2] Two facts were especially revealing. Firstly, this term only spread as a result of what we know as the "Albigensian Crusade" or "Crusade against the Albigensians" (1209-1229), the military venture organised by the Papacy, and carried out under the aegis of the French monarchy, with the aim of destroying heretics and subdung the Occitan nobility that allowed or sheltered these; and secondly, its use only appeared among authors from outside the Occitan ambit, especially *French* authors (from the regions north of the Loire) and never among those who were born or lived in the southern area, not even among the inquisitors.[3]

Based on this evidence, Biget considered the use of the word *Albigensians* to be result of an "arbitrary ideological construction" inserted into the "discourse of religious dissidence" drawn up in the 12th century by the theocratic Church that arose from the Gregorian Reform with the aim of consolidating its authority over all the institutions and powers in Christendom. In the case of Catharism, it was Cistercian ideologists, the leading promoters of pontifical theocracy, who, to a large degree, "invented" the heresy. Thus they recreated in an "almost paranoiac" way

1. Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*, remarques sur une dénomination", *Inventer l´hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l´Inquisition*, Monique Zerner, dir. Nice: Collection du Centre d´Études Médiévales de Nice, 1998: 219-255.

2. Jean-Louis Biget affirms that "les hérétiques méridionaux n´ont jamais pris, ni reçu, au cours du Moyen Age, le nom de *cathares*" (Biget, Jean-louis. "Les *Albigeois*...": 219). On this question, see: Dévic, Claude; Vaissète, Joseph. "Sur l´origine du nom d´*Albigeois*, donné aux hérétiques de la Province aux douzième et treizième siècles", *Histoire Générale du Languedoc*. Toulouse: Privat, 1879: VII, 33-37; Thouzellier, Christine. "Albigensians, Hérésie et Hérétiques. Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois." *Storia e Letteratura*, 116 (1969): 223-262; Duvernoy, Jean. "L´acceptation: 'haereticus (Iretge) = parfait cathare' en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle", *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th C.)*. Leuven: Leuven University Press-The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1976: 198-210; Brenon, Anne. *La verdadera historia de los cátaros. Vida y muerte de una Iglesia ejemplar*. Barcelona: Martínez Roca, 1997: 15-16, 45, 61-65.

3. As a paradigmatic example, Biget mentions the Toulouse clergyman Guilhem de Puèglaurenç, a clear enemy of heresy, who began his famous chronicle with these words: *Incipit prologus super hystoria negocii a Francis Albiensis vulgariter appelati, quod olim constat actum esse in Provincia Narbonensi, et Albiensi, Rutenensi, Caturcensi et Agenensi diocesibus, pro tuenda fide catholica et pravitate heretica exstirpanda* (Puèglaurenç, Guilhem de. *Chronica*, ed. and French trans. Jean Duvernoy. Toulouse: Le Pérégrinateur, 1976: 28; Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*...": 224 (English trans. William A. Sibly, Michael D. Sibly: *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and Its Aftermath*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003). On the Albigensian Crusade in English, see Smith, Damian J. *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004; Graham-Leigh, Elaine. *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade.* Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005; Pegg, Mark G. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle of Christendom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Marvin, Lawrence W. *The Occitan War. A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

the imaginary idea (from the religious, territorial and political points of view) of a homogenous set of Occitan heretics prepared to destroy Christianity: the *Albigensians*. Biget does not deny the existence of the Cathars —they did exist and there were many of them— but this ideological discourse is less closely linked to the reality of the Cathars in the 12th century than the ecclesiastical and political necessity, felt by both the papal theocracy and the expansive feudal monarchies with ambitions in the county of Toulouse (Crown of Aragon, Plantagenet monarchy, Capetian monarchy), to control a rich, fragile and traditionally autonomous Occitan area. As a consequence of this ideological discourse, the mainly Catholic Occitan nobility and population, who fought against the crusades (1209-1224) and the French royal troops (1226-1229) were lumped together under the name of *Albigensians* and, thus were religious enemies susceptible to be justifiably fought, repressed and dominated in the name of the struggle against heresy.[4]

When compiling his survey of the use of the name *Albigensians*, Biget used French and Provençal authors, as well as some English and Central European writers, but left aside the Spanish sources.[5] Bearing in mind the importance of this conflict in Hispanic medieval history, and the leading role of Spaniards in many of the key events of the Albigensian Crusade, it is interesting to investigate whether the ideological connotations of the term *Albigensians* were reflected in the narrative sources in the 13th-century Iberian kingdoms. This is the objective of the following pages. [6]

1. The heretics who did not exist

A good part of the Hispanic writers who reported the events in the south of France during the first half of the 13th century did not mention unaware of the existence of heresy. This conscious silence was because of the assistance given by the king of Aragon, Peter the Catholic, to his Occitan vassals against the troops

4. To fight the Occitan heretics and their accomplices was to take the cross *in Albigenses, contra Albigenses* or *in terra Albigensium*... Bériou, Nicole. "La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d´Eudes de Châteauroux in 1226", *La prédication en Pays d´Oc (XIIe-début XVe siècle)*. Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1997 (*Cahiers of Fanjeaux*, 32 [1997]): 85-109, especially 101; le Breton, Guillaume. «*Gesta Philippi Augusti, Francorum regis* (1220)», *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Léopold Deslile, dir. Paris: Victor Palmé, 1878: XVII, 62-116, especially 92.

5. Biget used the documentation of Simon and Amaury de Montfort, the *Hystoria Albigensis* by Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay (1218), the *Chronica* of Robert d´Auxerre (1211), the *Chronica* by Albéric de Trois-Fontaines (1241), the *Otia imperialia* by Gervase of Tilbury (1214), the *Chronica* by Guillame de Nangis (1300), the royal documentation of the French seneschals of Beaucaire and Carcassonne (1259), the *Chronica majora* of the English benedictine Matthew Paris (1251) and the *Chronica* of the Czech Dominican, Martin of Troppau (1277), as well as the Occitan sources.

6. The initial version of this text was presented at the *II Congreso de Historia de la Iglesia en España y el mundo hispánico: "Religión, Etnia y Nación" (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Madrid, 18-20 de octubre de 2001)*. Internal problems in the *Centre d´Études Cathares* delayed the publication of the text until now. We consider that the time that has passed does not affect the validity of its contents while it has also allowed some specific references to be updated.

of the Albigensian Crusade, an initiative that ended brusquely and unexpectedly with the defeat and death of the monarch in the battle of Muret (12th September 1213).[7] The complicity of the king of Aragon with the heretics, so clearly punished by God, meant this had to be deliberately ignored to avoid encouraging the enemies of the Crown of Aragon. The omission of all mention of the heretics, identical to that by the majority of Occitan authors,[8] is seen in the sources throughout Hispanic historiography, although more so in those of Catalan-Aragonese origin.[9] This is the

7. About this monarch and the battle of Muret see: Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret. 12 de Septiembre de 1213*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2002; Alvira, Martín. *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196-1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica*. Saragossa-Toulouse: Institución Fernando el Católico-Laboratoire FRA.M.ESPA, forthcoming. Also Alvira, Martín. *Muret 1213. La batalla decisiva de la Cruzada contra los Cátaros*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2008.

8. Among the Occitan sources that adopt this posture are the second part of the *Cansó de la Crozada* (1219-1228) (*La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. and French trans. Eugène Martin-Chabot. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957-1961: II-III); the *Vida de Raimon de Miraval* by Uc de Sant Circ (1229-1242) (Sant Circ de, Uc. "Vida de Raimon de Miraval", *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, eds. Jean Boutière, Alexander H. Schutz. Toulouse-Paris: Edouard Privat - M. Didier, 1950: 285-287); the *Chronicle of Sainte Colombe de Bordeaux*(1176-1250) ("Chronico Burdegalensi Sanctae-Columbae", *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Michel Jean-Joseph Brial. Paris: Palmé, 1879: XVIII, 245); the *Annals of Saint-Victor of Marseille* (539-1265) ("Ex chronico Sancti-Victoris Massiliensis ab anno 809 ad 1563 (anni 1181-1226)", *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*… 1880: XIX, 238-239); the *Languedocien Chronicle extrait of Count Raimond VII of Toulouse's Cartulary* (1099-1275) (ed. Patrice Cabau, "Deux chroniques composées à Toulouse dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle". *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 56 (1996): 75-120, especially 83-119); the *Cronicle of Montpellier* (814-1284) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà, segle XII: estudi filològic i lingüístic,* ed. Josep Moran. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998: 29-38); and the *Chronicle of Toulouse* (c. 1289) (ed. Patrice Cabau. "Deux Chroniques...": 83-119).

9. In the kingdoms of Castile and León: *Chronicon Complutense* (1226) (*Colección de Crónicas Latinas de la Reconquista*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda. Valencia: 1913: I, 76); *Anales Compostelanos (0-1248)* (*España sagrada: Theatro geographico-historico de la Iglesia en España: origen, divisiones, y límites de todas sus provincias, antigüedad*, ed. Enrique Flórez de Setién Huidrobo. Madrid: Oficina de la viuda e hijo de Marin, 1799: XXIII, 318-325, especially 324); *Anales Toledanos I (c. 1219)* (*España Sagrada*…: XXIII, 382-401, especially 399); *Anales Toledanos III (c. 1244)* (*España Sagrada*…: XXIII, 410-424, especially 412); and *Chronicon Rerum Hispanicarum* (1265) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 5689C, f. 144-156, specially 155v; Wagner, Kay. "'Debellare Albigenses'. Darstellung und Deutung des Albigenserkreuzzuges in der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung von 1209 bis 1328", *Politik im Mittelalter*. Neuried: Ars A, 2000: Bd 4, E3. I wish to thank Dr. Wagner for the chance to consult the text of this source). In the kingdom of Navarre: El *Libro de las Generaciones* (1260-1270) (ed. Josefa Ferrandis Martínez. Valencia: Anubar, 1968: 63). In the Crown of Aragon: *Status Yspanie a principio usque nunc (1628) (*ed. Pere Quer. *La Història i Genealogies d'Espanya. Una adaptació catalana medieval de la història hispànica.* Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2006: 97-123, especially 117); *Annals de Barcelona de 1270* (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ms. 1G-8, f. 20v-22r); *Cròniqua de Spanya* (c. 1268-1277) (ed. Pere Quer. *La Història...:* 140-163, especially 161); *Annals de Barcelona de 1278* (Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 943, f. 1-3, especially 2v); *Chronicon Ulianense* (1113-1285) (*España Sagrada,* eds. Henrique Flórez, Manuel Risco. Madrid: Impremta de Antonio de Sancha, 1774: XXVIII, 342-344, especially 342); *Cronicó de Perpinyà* (1282-1289) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà*...: 10-16, especially 14); *Cronicó Barceloní I or Annals de Barcelona de 1291* (ed. Sebastià Riera. "El Cronicó Barceloní I". *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia,* 22 (1999-2001): II, 257-262, especially 259-262); *Chronicon Barcinonense I-II* or *Anales de Barcelona de 1311* (*España Sagrada*...: XXVIII, 331-341, especially 332, 336-338); *Chronicon Dertusense I* or *Annals de Tortosa I* (1323) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà*...: 25-27, especially 26); *Annals de Catalunya* or *Annals del món i de Espanya desde Carlomany hasta el any 1437* (Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms. D-III-2, f. 131r-138r, especially 131); *Crónicas de los Jueces de Teruel (1176-1532)* (eds. Fernando López Rajadel. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1994: 83); *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et*

case with such important sources as the *Llibre dels fets* (circa 1270) by King James the Conqueror, and the *Crònica* by Bernat Desclot (c. 1288).[10]

2. Manichaeans, Cathars, Arians, mad people, unbelievers, mad traitors, Sabatatz…

Other Hispanic authors did mention the Occitan heretics. One of the important terms adopted is Manichaeans. Of ancient origins, it was widely used from the 11th century by ecclesiastical writers to designate heretics with dualistic tendencies.[11] It appears in the title of one of the best-known anti-Cathar treatises, the *Liber contra Manicheos* by Durán de Huesca (circa 1223), an old repentant Waldensian of Occitan origin who had studied in Aragon.[12] It is also one of the terms used by the bishop of Leon and chronicler Lucas de Tuy (who died in 1249) in his important anti-heretical

Reges Aragonensium I (ed. Lucien Barrahu-Dihigo, Jaume Massó Torrents. Barcelona: Fundació Concepció Rabell i Cibils, Viuda Romaguera, 1925: II, chapter X, 3-20, especially 17-18). On this subject, see also Bautista, Francisco. "Breve historiografía: listas regias y anales en la Península Ibérica (Siglos VII-XII)". *Talia Dixit*, 4 (2009): 113-190.

10. Jaume I. *Libre dels Feyts* or *Llibre dels fets del Rei En Jaume* (1244-1276), ed. Jordi Bruguera. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1991: II, 12-15; Desclot, Bernat. *Crònica* or *Llibre del Rei en Pere* (1288), ed. Ferran Soldevila, *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: 405-664, especially 414-415 (chapter VI). See Cingolani, Stefano M. *La memòria dels reis. Les Quatres Grans Cròniques*. Barcelona: Base, 2006: 31-74, 97-135; and Cingolani, Stefano M. *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2006.

11. In the context of the Albigensian Crusade, the expresion *Manichei dogma* can be found in a Latin poem written by a member of the retinue of the crusading leader Simon de Montfort, probably the French Cistercian Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay, about the victory in the battle of Muret, *Versus de Victoria Comitis Montisfortis* (November 1215-July 1216) (Molinier, Auguste. "12 Septembre 1213. Récit en vers de la bataille de Muret". *Notices et Documents publiés pour le Société de l´Histoire de France à l´occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation*. Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1884): 129-139, especially 133 [v. 7]; Meschini, Marco. *Innocenzo III e il negotium pacis et fidei en Linguadoca tra il 1198 e il 1215*. Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore [PhD. Dissertation], 2002: 382-386 [section 2]; Alvira, Martín. *Pedro el Católico*...: II, doc nº 177.

12. *Un traité inédit du début du XIIIe siècle d´après le "Liber contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca*, ed. Christine Thouzellier. Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1961; Spanish translation in *El legado secreto de los cátaros*, ed. Francesco Zambon. Madrid: Siruela, 1997: 143-160; about Durán of Huesca, see Dondaine, Antoine. "Durand de Huesca controversiste", *Xº Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma 4-11 septembre 1955*. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1956: VII, 218-222; Dondaine, Antoine. "Durand de Huesca et le polémique anticathare". *Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum*, 29 (1959): 228-276; Thouzellier, Christine. "La profession trinitaire du vaudois Durand de Huesca". *Recherches de Théologie et Médiévale*, 27 (1960): 267-289 (reed. Thouzellier, Christine. *Hérésie et Hérétique: Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1969: 53-79); Thouzellier, Christine. "Le 'Liber Antiheresis' de Durand de Huesca et le 'Contra hereticos' d´Ermengaud de Béziers". *Revue d´Histoire Éclesiastique*, 55 (1960): 130-141 (ed. lat. Thouzellier, Christine. *Hérésie et Hérétique*…: 39-52); Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Durán de Huesca, un heterodoxo aragonés en la Edad Media", *Miscelánea de estudios en honor de D. Antonio Durán Gudiol*. Sabiñánigo: Asociación de Amigos del Serrablo, 1981: 225-238; and more recently, Grau, Sergi. "Durand de Huesca y la lucha contra el catarismo en la Corona de Aragón". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/1 (2009): 3-25; Smith, Damian J. "Duran of Huesca: Networking to Orthodoxy", *International Religious Networks: Second Anglo-Scandinavian Colloquium on the History of Christianity (Lund, Septiembre 2005)*, forthcoming.

treatise *De altera vita* (circa 1233-1235), written to combat a dissident group from Leon traditionally identified with the Cathars (*Cum manichearum haeresis en Galliarum partibus nostris temporibus pullullaret*).[13] Another person from Leon, the canon and intellectual Martino de León (who died in 1203), who was very close to Lucas of Tuy, also included it in his *Sermon IV*, a treatise by Christian heresies directly inspired by the *Etymologies* of Saint Isidore.[14]

In Durán de Huesca we find the name wich is best-known and most widely-used today: *manichei id est moderni Kathari*.[15] The name of *Cathars* was given to the heretics in the Rhineland in 1163 by the German canon, Eckbert of Schönau, from the patristic term (Augustinian) that designated the old novices. At first, this name was used generically in the Empire to designate heretics. From the mid 12th century, *Cathar* (Greek "pure", "just") began to come into use to designate the "dualist heretics", identified in the 13th century as dangerous "new Manichaeans". Given their current popularity, it should be remembered that this term was limited among the 12th-century anti-heretic polemicists and medieval sources in general. They were also called *false prophets*, *apostles of Satan*, *pseudo-apostles*, *piphles* in Flanders, *weavers* in France, *publicans* in the north of France, *patarinos* in Italy and also *bougres* ("Bulgars"), *bogomilos* or *phundagiagitas*.[16] As is known, moreover, they never called themselves "Cathars", "pure" or "perfect", but rather *poor of Christ*, *friends of God*, *apostles*, *Christians*, *true/good Christians*, *good men* and *good women*, *good believers*...[17] In

13. Tuy, Lucas de. *De altera vita fideique controversiis adversus Albigensium errores libri III*, ed. Juan de Mariana. Ingolstadt: Andreas Angermarius - Ioannis Hertsroy, 1612: 94. About the presence of Cathars in some towns on the Santiago Trail, see Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "Albigenses en León y Castilla a comienzos del siglo XIII", *León Medieval. Doce estudios. Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al Coloquio "El reino de León en la Edad Media": XXXII Congreso de la Asociación Luso-Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias (León, 28 marzo- 1 abril 1977)*. León: Colegio Universitario de León, 1978: 97-114; Roth, Norman. "Jews and Albigensians in the Middle Ages: Lucas de Tuy on heretics in Leon". *Sefarad*, 41/1 (1981): 71-93; Palacios Martín, Bonifacio. "La circulacion de los cátaros por el Camino de Santiago y sus implicaciones socioculturales. Una fuente para su conocimiento". *En la España Medieval*, 3 (1982): 219-229; Martínez Casado, Ángel. "Cátaros en León. Testimonio de Lucas de Tuy". *Archivos Leoneses*, 74 (1983): 263-311; Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "El biógrafo contemporáneo de San Martino: Lucas de Tuy", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria (1185-1985)*. León: Isidoriana Editorial, 1985: 303-335; Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "A noyau actif d´Albigeois en Leon au commencement du XIIIe siècle ? Approche critique d´une oeuvre de Luc de Tuy écrite entre 1230-1240". *Heresis*, 17 (1991): 35-50.

14. It designates the heretics who believed in two natures and substances (good and evil), in the emanation of the souls of divine nature and in a part of the New Testament, while they rejected the rest and the Old Testament, León, Martino de. "Sermo IV: En natale Domini", *Patrologiae cursus completus. Patres latini*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: 1878-1889: 208, cols. 83-550, especially 543-550; Robles Carcedo, Laureano. "Fuentes del pensamiento teológico de Santo Martino. Estudio de los cuatro primeros 'Sermones'", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias*…: 597-622, especially 619.

15. *El legado secreto de los cátaros*, ed. Francesco Zambon...: 141.

16. We follow here the reflections of Jiménez Sánchez, Pilar. *Les catharismes. Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008: 22-25, 127-141, 249, 271, and others.

17. The term *Cathar* began to appear from the publication of the *Historie et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* by the Lutheran historian Charles Schmidt in 1848, and its popularisation is a phenomenon of the second half of the 20th century. About this question, see Duvernoy, Jean. *Le catharisme. La Religion*

the Hispanic sources it is an equally infrequent word. The variant *Catharoae* appears in the above-mentioned *Sermon IV* by Saint Martino of León, although, owing to the Isidorian inspiration of this text, it conserves its old sense, describing the Novatian heretics rather than the medieval Cathars.[18]

Arians is equally a name patristic origin.[19] It appears in the aesthetic work *Planeta* (*c.* 1218) by Diego García de Campos, chancellor to the kings of Castile, Alfonso VIII (1154-1214) and Henry I (1214-1217), when referring in his prologue to the conflict that affected the Provençal lands because of heresy (*Quando misera nec miseranda Provincia miserabiliter arriana contra ecclesiam minus recalcitrat quam rebellat*).[20]

The expressive terms used by Guillermo or Guilhem de Tudela, the most important Spanish writer with regard to the history of the Albigensian Crusade must also be mentioned.[21] In the first part of the *Cansó de la Crozada* (*c.* 1212-1213), this Navarrese living in Occitanian lands defined the heretics as *mescrezuda jant* ("unbelievers"), *fola gent* ("mad people") or *fols traïdors* ("mad traitors"), formulas that, at the end of the 13th century, the king of Castile and Leon, Alfonso X the Wise (1252-1284) included in his famous definition of the *Partidas*:

> *Ereges son a manera de gente loca que se trabajan de escatimar las palabras de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, e les dan otro entendimiento contra aquel que los Santos Padres les dieron, e que la Iglesia de Roma cree e manda guardar*.[22]

Guillermo de Tudela also used the term *sabatatz* ("shoed ones"), although to designate the Waldenses, while the Cathars were called *eretges* (heretics).[23] The term

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des Cathares. Toulouse: Privat, 1976: I, 297-311; and the studies in Bozóky, Edina. "Le 'livre secret' des cathares: un lien entre l'Orient et l'Occident". *Slavica Occitania*, 16 (2003).

18. In the works of Saint Augustine the heretics, who did not believe in pardon for sins and rejected remarriage were called Novatians, León, Martino de. "Sermo IV: In natale Domini"…: cols. 494-509; Robles Carcedo, Laureano. "Fuentes del pensamiento teológico de Santo Martino…": 619.

19. Duvernoy, Jean. *Le catharisme. La Religion des Cathares*…: I, 301-302; Jiménez Sánchez, Pilar. *Les Catharismes*…: 264.

20. García de Campos, Diego. *Planeta*, ed. Manuel Alonso. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943: 196.

21. His Hispanic filiation was shown by Milà i Fontanals, Manuel. "De los trovadores en España", *Obras Completas del doctor D. Manuel Milá i Fontanals*, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, ed. Barcelona: Librería de Alvaro Verdaguer, 1889: II, 360. For Guillermo de Tudela and his work, see Higounet, Charles. "À propos de Guillaume de Tudèle". *Annales du Midi*, 50 (1938): 377-379; Ghil, Eliza M. *L´Age de Parage. Essai sur le poétique et le politique en Occitanie au XIIIe siècle*. New York-Berne-Frankfurt am Main-Paris: Peter Lang, 1989: 12, 91-149, 203; Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret* …: 119-120; and especially, Macé, Laurent. "De Bruniquel à Lolmie: la singulière fortune de Baudoin de France et de Guillem de Tudèle au début de la croisade albigeoise". *Bulletin da la Société Archéologique et Historique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 126 (2001): 13-23.

22. Tudèla, Guilhèm de. *Cansó de la Crozada* (Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise. 1, La Chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle*, ed. and French trans. Eugène Martin-Chabot. Paris: H. Champion, 1931 (reprinted 1960), laisses 1-130, especially laisses 3, 47, 84, (English translation by Janet Shirley: Tudèla, Guillaume de. *The Song of the Cathar Wars. A History of the Albigensian Crusade*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); and Alfonso X El Sabio. *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Gregorio López. Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1555: Partida VIII, tit. xxvi, "Introducción".

23. Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la Croisade*…: laisse 8, v. 15.

is especially interesting for two reasons- first, because it is uttered by Arnau Amalric, the Catalan-Occitan monk who was abbot of Cîteaux, legate of Pope Innocent III and, because of this, spiritual leader of the Crusade during its decisive early years (1209-1213);[24] and second, because the same term had been used earlier in the anti-heretical edicts promulgated by the kings of Aragon, Alfonso the Troubadour (1194) and Peter the Catholic (1198) against the Waldenses, *qui vulgariter dicuntur Sabatati*.[25]

3. Heretics

Having said all that, if there is one name that appeared more than any other in the Hispanic texts related to the Cathar problem, it is *heretics*. Guillermo de Tudela cited it repeatedly in his famous historical poem (*eretges*).[26] A passage related to the Albigensian Crusade appears in the kingdom of Portugal in the *Cronica romana* by the canonist Joâo de Deus (*c.* 1227 or *c.* 1242): *et hereses et hereticos destruxit cum Hugone abbate Castrense* [Arnau Amalric, abbot of the Cîteaux] *et hominibus cruce signatis cum auxilio regis Francie et comitis Montis-fortis*.[27]

The hagiography by the Dominicans about their founder, Domingo de Guzmán, also offers innumerable examples, such as the case of the *Leyenda de Santo Domingo* by Pedro Ferrando (*c.* 1235-1239).[28]

Among the chroniclers, *heretic* is also the most frequent term. In Castile and Leon, it was used by the three great Latin authors of the first half of the 13th century: Juan de Osma in his *Chronica Regum Castellae* (*c.* 1230- *c.* 1236-1239)[29]; the archbishop of

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24. For this character, see also Alvira, Martín. "Le *vénérable* Arnaud Amaury. Image et réalité d´un cistercien entre deux croisades". *Heresis*, 32 (2000): 3-35.

25. *Antiheretical edict by Alfonso the Troubadour, King of Aragon, against the Waldensians, the poors of Lyon and anothers heretics (Lleida, October 1194)* (Marqués-Casanova, Jaume. "Alfonso el Trovador y la Seo de Gerona", *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón: 1-6 octubre 1962, Barcelona*. Barcelona: Talleres de Viuda de Fidel Rodríguez Ferrán, 1964: II, 207-222, especially section 5: 218-219; *Alfonso II, Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón. Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1995: 797-798 [doc. 621]; and Baraut, Cebrià. "Els inicis de la inquisició a Catalunya i les seves actuacions al bisbat d´Urgell (segles XII-XIII)". *Urgellia*, 13 (1996-97): 407-438, especially 419-420 [doc. 1]; and *Antiheretical edict by Peter the Catholic, King of Aragon, against the Waldenenses and anothers heretics (Girona, February 1194)* (Cebrià Baraut, Cebrià. "Els inicis de la inquisició a Catalunya…": 420-422 [doc. 2]; Alvira, Martín. *Pedro el Católico*…: I, doc. nº 128). Another name which is as interesting as it is rare is *Begginos*, mentioned in the *Annals of Cologne* (*Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*, Georg Heinrich Petz, ed. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Aulici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 729-847, especially 827).

26. Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la Croisade* …: laisse 3 (among other mentions).

27. Deus, João de. "Cronica romana", *Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 304-324, especially 324.

28. Ferrando, Pedro. "Leyenda de Santo Domingo", *Santo Domingo de Guzmán visto por sus contemporáneos*, eds. Miguel Gelabert, José María Milagro, José María de Garganta. Madrid: Católica, 1966: 293-332.

29. *Chronica Regum Castellae* or *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. and trans. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1984: 73-75; *Chronica hispana saeculi XIII*, eds. Luis Charlo Brea, Juan Antonio Estévez Sola, Rocío Carande Herrero. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997: 7-118, especially 66-67.

Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in his *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae* (1243-1247);[30] and the above-mentioned Lucas de Tuy in his *Chronicon mundi* (*c.* 1230-1236).[31] The latter also used this term in his hagiographic work, entitled *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Isidori* (wich included a *Vita Sancti Martini Legionensis*) (*c.* 1221-1224 and after 1236)[32], and, what is much more significant, in his anti-heretic treatise *De altera vita*.[33] In this sense, two pieces of data should be remembered: first, in relation to the *De altera vita*, it was Father John of Mariana who added the phrase *fideique controversiis adversus Albigensium errores libri III* to the original title that appears in the edition printed in 1612,[34] and second, regarding Lucas de Tuy, all of whose works, as Patrick Henriet affirms, were part of a same project, that is, the defence of the dogma and the struggle against heresy.[35] Given his purpose the absence of the terms *Cathar* and *Albigensian* in the works by "El Tudense" is made all the more interesting.

In the second half of the 13th century, king Alfonso X the Wise mentioned in his unfinished *Estoria de Espanna* (*c.* 1270-1289)

> *los hereges que eran muchos en…* [el] *arçobispado de Narbona* and *los hereges que yvan contra los cristianos con envidia de los bienes de Jhesu Cristo et de la su ley, tantos en Nar-*

30. Jiménez de la Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: book VI, chapter IIII; book VIII, chapter II.

31. The version in old Castilian states: [Fernando III, king of Castile and León] *encendido con fuego de la verdad catholica,* [*en tanto*] *noblemente rigio el reyno a ssí subjecto, que los enemigos de la fee christiana perseguía con todas* [*sus*] *fuerças, e cualesquiera hereges que hallaua, quemaua con fuego, y el fuego y las brasas y la llama aparejaua para los quemar* (Tuy, Lucas de. *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio Puyol. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926: book IV, 418 [chapter LXXXV]).

32. Referring to Cathars or lay non-believers, Lucas de Tuy, *Vita Sancti Martini Legionensis* (included at the end of the *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Isidori*): 208, cols. 9-24, especially chap. VII, col. 14; Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara. De Martín de León a Alfonso X", *Le Catharisme: nouvelles recherches, nouvelles perspectives. Colloque International en hommage à Jean Duvernoy (Carcassonne, Centre d'Études Cathares René Nelli, 20-22 août 1998)*, unpublished; Viñayo González, Antonio. "Santo Martino de León y su noticia histórica: biografía, santidad, culto", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias…*: 337-360, especially 347. My thanks to Patrick Henriet for his valuable guidance in relation to these works.

33. See the essential studies about Lucas de Tuy and his work in: Henriet, Patrick, coord. "Luc de Tuy. Chroniqueur, hagiographe, théologien". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 24 (2001): 199-309; and *Lucae Tudensis Chronicon mundi*, ed. Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: "Introducción".

34. "…sólo en el trasfondo [de *De altera vita*], como supremo analogado del error, aparecen los albigenses, de quienes [Lucas de Tuy] resalta frecuentemente sus doctrinas dualistas o maniqueas (nunca los llama albigenses ni cátaros, ni les da el nombre de cristianos)" (Martínez Casado, Ángel. "Cátaros en León. Testimonio de Lucas de Tuy". *Archivos Leoneses: revista de estudios y documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales*, 74 (1983): 272, 274). On this question, see also: Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Católicos, 1956 (ed. 1882 and 1910): I, book III, chapter II, point V: 528-536; Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara", *Iglesia y religiosidad en España: historia y archivos. Actas de las V Jornadas de Castilla-La Mancha sobre investigación en archivos (Guadalajara, 8-11 mayo 2001)*. Guadalajara: Confederación de Asociaciones de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios, Museólogos y Documentalistas ANABAD Castilla-La Mancha-Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Guadalajara, 2002: II, 11-13 (doc. nº 11).

35. Henriet, Patrick. "'Sanctissima patria'. Point et thèmes communs aux trois œuvres de Lucas de Tuy". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 24 (2001): 249-277, especially 270.

bona et en Beders et en Carcaxona que dalli adelant nunqa fue ninguno osado de tener razon de la creençia de la eregia.[36]

The same name was used taken up by the post-Alfonsine chroniclers at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th, both in Castile, Leon and Portugal.[37]

In the Crown of Aragon, in contrast, the official chronicles took a long time to admit the existence of the Occitan *eretges*. This is clear proof of the serious consequences of the disaster at Muret. The first mentions, taken from the "History of Spain" by Archbishop Rodrigo de Toledo, are in versions II and III of the *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et Reges Aragonensium*, the official history of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy written in the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll (*c.* 1268-1269 and *c.* 1303-1314).[38] We have, however, two contemporary sources that do mention what was happening on the other side of the Pyrenees. One is the *Chronicon Rotense*, whose penultimate chapter gives detailed information about the operations of the Albigensian Crusade between 1209 and 1211. Its author, a canon of San Vicente de Roda, openly recognised the existence of *gentem hereticorum et coadiutores eorum*, but still censored the violence of the crusades. The chronicle allows us to perceive how the Crown of Aragon regarded the consequences of the Occitan-Cathar conflict:

ANNO MºCCºVIIIº. Cruciferi ex precepto domini Pape ad destruendam gentem hereticorum et coadiutores eorum, venerunt in Bederres et in Carcassona et ceperunt eas cum omnibus terminis earum et interfecerunt vicecomitem dominum illius predicte terre, et deddit cruciferis dominus Papa ducem et principem abbatem Cistellentium, et ceperunt Benerba et Termens, et Pamias, et Albi, et Caparetum, et Zabaurum, et obsederunt Tolosam, et interfecerunt in omnibus predictis civitatibus, et castellis, et villis et terris amplius quam centum milia virorum et mulierum cum parvulis suis, et pregnantes mulieres interficiebant, et quosdam

36. "... there were many heretics in… [the] archbishopric of Narbonne and the heretics that went against the Christians with envy of the goods of Jesus Christ and that of his law, both in Narbonne and in Béziers and in Carcassonne that from then on never dared to be right about the belief in heresy" (Alfonso X El Sabio. *Primera Crónica General de España. Estoria de Espanna*, ed. Ramon Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán. Madrid: 1977: 479, 690). About this theme, see the many references in: Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "Hérésie et culture dirigeante dans la Castille de la fin du XIIIe siècle. Le modèle de Alphonso X". *Hérésis*, 9 (1987): 33-47; and, especially, Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara"…: 4-11. Among the generic expressions from the 13th century we can signal that of *ierro de eresia*, extracted from Berceo, Gonzalo de. *Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Madrid: Alba, 1998: 37.

37. *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* (fin. s. XIII-princ. s. XIV), ed. César Hernández Alonso et alii. Burgos: Ayuntamiento de Burgos, 1991: 156-157 (book VII, chapter 13); and in the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344 que ordenó el conde barcelonés Don Pedro Alfonso (1317-1320),* ed. Luis F. Lindley Cintra. Lisbon: 1951-1990: III, 266-268 (chapters CDXXXV-CDXXXVI).

38. *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et Reges Aragonensium II* (1268-1269), *Monuments d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (MHCA). 1: Gestes dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 125-131 (chapter XXII); and *Gesta Comitum Barcionensium et Reges Aragonensium III* (1303-1314), ed. Lucien Barrahu-Dihigo, Jaume Massó Torrents. Barcelona: Fundació Concepció Rabell i Cibils, vidua Romaguera, 1925: 21-116, especially 53-54, 56-57. About these sources, see Cingolani, Stefano M. *La memòria*...: 17-30, 77-78.

> *excoriabant, et nullus a manibus eorum evadere poterat, et multa alia that ab eis facta sunt, non possunt enumerari.* [39]

The second was the *Chronicon Dertusense II* or Annals of Tortosa (1097-1210), an analytical work initiated in Ripoll, taken around 1115 to the monastery of Saint John near Ripoll (nowadays Sant Joan de les Abadesses) and finished in 1176 in the city of Tortosa, probably by Ponç de Mulnells, abbot of Saint John and bishop of Tortosa between 1165 and 1193. It offers a brief notice of the conquests of Béziers and Carcassonne (1209) that clearly admits the massive presence of heretics beyond the Pyrenees, which places the author in the clearly anti-heretical position that was shared by all the Spanish Church:

> *Era M.CC.XL.VII. anno M.CC.VIIII. gens catholica venit contra haereticos in partibus Biteris et Carcassonae, et in mense julio capta est Biteris, in qua interfecti sunt plusquam. XXV. millia haereticorum; continuo ab eisdem mense augusto capta est Carcassona et quamplurima oppida haereticorum.*[40]

4. Blasphemers

This is an infrequent, but interesting term. It should be kept in mind because the author who first used it archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, who must be considered the true creator of the "Hispanic historical memory" of the Albigensian Crusade.[41] His version of the origins of the *negotium pacis et fidei* (1208-1209) state the following:

> *Hic [abbot and legate Arnau Amalric] pauco ante emulatione legis catholice prouocatus contra quosdam, qui in Narbonense et uicinis prouinciis blasphemare nomen Domini et Ecclesiam ore nephario presumpserunt, corda fidelium excitauit ut signo crucis contra hereticorum uersucias armarentur. Et sic factum set per Dei graciam, quod ubi contempta predicatio non profecit, falce crucis putatis heresibus fides catholica die in diem feliciter coalescit; et destructis Biterris et Carcasona blasphemancium sanguis flama uorace et ultrici gladio est consumptus era MCCXLVI.*[42]

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39. *Chronicon Rotense,* Archiu Capitular de Lleida, Fons de Roda, Codex nº 11, *Breviario de la Iglesia de Roda*, f. 202v-203v, especially 203v. On this question, see Alvira, Martín. "La Couronne d´Aragon, entre hérétiques et croisés: La Croisade albigeoise (1209-1211) selon le 'Chronicon Rotense'". *Heresis*, 38, 2003: 71-87.

40. *Chronicon Dertunense II* or *Annals of Tortosa,* Arxiu Capitular de Tortosa, Cartulari 8, f. 157v-159v. On these sources, see Salrach, Josep Maria. "Contribució dels monjos de Ripoll als orígens de la historiografia catalana; els primers cronicons", *Art i Cultura als monestirs del Ripollés. Santa Maria de Ripoll-Sant Joan de les Abadesses-Sant Pere de Camprodon". Ponencias de la 1ª. Setmana de Estudis (Sessions del 16 al 18 de setembre de 1992)*. Barcelona: Associació Amics dels Monestirs del Ripollés-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1995: 28-32.

41. Alvira, Martín. "La Cruzada Albigense y la intervención de la Corona de Aragón en Occitania. El recuerdo de las crónicas hispánicas del siglo XIII". Hispania, 60/3, 206 (2000): 947-976, especially 962-968.

42. Jiménez de Roda, Rodrigo. *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae*…: book VIII, chapter II. About this author and his chronicle, see the studies in Martín, George, coord. "Rodrigue Jiménez de Rada (Castille, première

There are no doubts about the position adopted here in the face of the heresy. However, Rodrigo de Toledo did not interpret the political consequences of the conflict in the same way. In a previous chapter, he explained the death of King Peter, the Catholic, in Muret with a formula that would be assumed almost systematically by the later official Hispanic historiography:

> *Nec rex Petrus, cum esset plene catholicus, in fauorem venerat blasphemorum, set, ut diximus, affinitatis debito prouocatus.*[43]

5. *Albigensians*

Having reached this point, it is important to bear in mind that we have still made no reference to the term *Albigenses*. In truth, we have only found this term in the above-cited *Chronica Regum Castellae*. This original chronicle tale is attributed to Juan, chancellor of King Fernando III of Castile (1217-1252), who was also abbot of Santa María la Mayor in Valladolid (1219-1231), then bishop of Burgos and finally bishop of Osma (who died in 1246).[44] His version of the early years of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1213) is so original, interesting and important that it is worth repeating it in full:

> *Papa siquidem Romanus Innocencius tercius dederat remissionem generalem peccatorum omnibus illis qui venirent super Albigenses et alios hereticos qui erant in partibus illis. Pululaverant namque hereses diverse, facies quidem habentes diversas et caudas colligatas, et multiplicabantur cotidie adeo quod periculosum erat universali eclesie amplius talia dissimulare. Catholici ergo diversis partibus et precipue of regno Francie venientes, fere totam terram illam in modico tempore Christi fidei subiugaverunt, castra multa et civitates munitissimas, quasi inexpugnabiles, in momento temporis subvertentes, hereticos ipsos diversis penis affligentes et variis mortibus interimentes. Operabatur siquidem manifeste et miraculose virtus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est rex regum et dominus dominancium, per ministerium illustrissimi et fidelissimi comitis Simonis Montis Fortis, qui velud alter Iudas Macabeus, legem Dei zelans, viriliter et potenter bella Domini preliabatur.*

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moitié du XIII[e] siècle): Histoire, historiographie". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 26 (2003): 11-307.

43. In this same chapter (book VI, chapter IIII) he used the terms *heretic* and *blasphemer* together: *Demum cum uenerabilis Arnaldus Narbonensis antistes contra hereticos, qui en prouincia Narbonensi nomen Domini blasphemabant, de Galliis crucis signatorum multitudinem aduocasset, aduenit Petrus rex Aragonum in auxilium comitis Tolosani.* Rodrigo de Toledo. *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae…*: book VI, chapter IIII.

44. On Juan de Osma and his chronicle, see the introductions by Charlo Brea and its editions (Osma, Juan de. *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. and Spanish trans. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1984; Osma, Juan de. *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997) and its another Spanish translation (Osma, Juan de. *Chronica latina Regum Castellae*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Madrid: Akal, 1999), as well as the recent studies in Martín, George, coord. "Chronica Regum Castellae". *e-Spania. Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*. December 2006. Université Paris-Sorbonne Paris IV. 22th of December 2006 <http://e-spania.revues.org/index31.html>.

> *Predictum comitem Symonem Montis Fortis, cum quo erant fere quingenti milites, obsedit rex Aragonum memoratus et comes Tolosanus et alii comites cum eis et bar[or]nes et nobiles terre et populi multi in quodam castro, fiduciam habentes firmam quod possent ipsum capere. Erat autem comes vir strenuus et bellicosus et cor eius habens fiduciam firmam in Domino Iesu Christo, pro quo cotidie laborabat. Videns igitur periculum sibi et suis inminere, in virtute Domini Iesu Christi exeuntes of castro obsesso irruerunt in castra et eos per virtutem Crucis verterunt in fugam, et ipsum regem Aragonum cum multis militibus interfecerunt. Felix fuisset rex ille, si vitam finisset statim post nobile triumphum belli commissi in Navas of Tolosa contra regem Marroquitanum.*[45]

We thus finally have an interpretation that fits the "discourse of religious dissidence" analysed by Jean-Louis Biget. However, it is, as far as we know, the only one from the whole of the 13th century.

6. The denomination *Albigensians* as an expression of an ideological discourse

Why is there this almost total absence of the term *Albigensians* in the 13th-century Hispanic sources? What is behind the exceptionality of the *Chronica Regum Castellae*.

There are at least two important reasons that could answer these questions. The first is related to the argument that Biget used to justify the absence of the name *Albigensians* in the works by Occitan authors or those who wrote their works in Occitan lands: this was a name for the local inhabitants that could not be converted into a term for the heretics by those who knew "the realities of the Midi" well.[46] In the Iberian case, the geographic, historical and cultural proximity of the Hispanic and Occitan societies during these centuries allows a high enough degree of knowledge about the Occitan reality to be attributed to the peninsular authors (at least the majority and the most important of them) so that that the same argumentation is also valid for them.[47] The second reason is ideological-political, and has a direct relation with the posture adopted by the Hispanic historiography in the face of the Albigensian Crusade. Most Hispanic authors reduced a twenty-year war, with decisive consequences for the historical evolution of all of southern Europe, to the battle of Muret and, in the most extreme cases, to the great campaign of 1209 that ended with the conquest of Béziers and Carcassonne. Almost all hid the existence of

45. Osma, Juan de. *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*…1997: 66-67 (chapter 27).

46. Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*…": 224 (author's translation).

47. Examples are the references to the *Gallia Gothica* by Alfonso X, The Wise in his *General Estoria* (Alfonso X el Sabio. *Prosa histórica*, ed. Benito Brancaforte. Madrid: Cátedra, 1990: 95 [chapter 558]) or, later, by Don Juan Manuel in his: Manuel, Don Juan. *Crónica abreviada* (Juan Manuel, infante de Castilla. *Obras Completas de Don Juan Manuel*, ed. José Manuel Blecua. Madrid: Gredos, 1982-1983: II, 790 [chapter CCXXX]). On this subject, see Alvira, Martín. "Le Jeudi de Muret: Aspects idéologiques et mentaux de la bataille de 1213", *'La Croisade albigeoise'. Colloque de Carcassonne (Centre d'Études Cathares, Carcassonne - octobre 2002)*. Balma: CEC, 2004: 197-207.

heresy. And more than a few (and not minor) writers justified, one way or another, the military intervention that had led the king of Aragon to his death among the heretics.[48]

Were there any 13th-century Hispanic authors who broke with this interpretative scheme? In fact, there was one- precisely the Castilian chancellor and bishop who wrote the *Chronica Regum Castellae*. His clear vision of the Occitan-Cathar conflict, his opposition to the intervention of the king of Aragon in 1213, his eulogies to the figure of Simon de Montfort, military leader of the crusades, and the "hagiographic" form of these eulogies (the identification with *alter Iudas Macabeus* is very significant) are all exceptional in the Hispanic interpretation of the Albigensian Crusade[49]. What is more important, these are elements that are part of the ideological discourse maintained by the pro-crusade party of Montfort and the Franco-Occitan prelates through their spokesman, the French Cistercian Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, author of the *Hystoria Albigensis* (*c.* 1213-1218), a work considered the "official history" of the Crusade.[50] It was this same discourse, in short, that converted the name *Albigensians* into the global denomination applied to the Occitan heretics and their accomplices.

Thus, it could be proposed that it was the identification with the "Cistercian discourse of dissidence" that led the author of the *Chronica Regum Castellae* to use the denomination *Albigensians*. Identification with the ideas would logically have led to identification with the expressions. And it is just the same argument switched round, the non-identification with the ideological discourse of the outright defenders of the Albigensian Crusade, which could explain, to a large extent, the absence of this denomination in the other 13th-century Hispanic authors. The fact that the name *Albigensians* did not even appear among those, such as the bishop Lucas de Tuy, whose main worry was the danger of the heresy, gives even more consistency to Biget's thesis: that is, to the existence of an ideological discourse of dissidence, closely linked to the Cistercian world that sustained the Albigensian Crusade and differentiated from the natural opposition to heresy that all the ecclesiastical writers of the time shared.

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48. Analysis in Alvira, Martín. "La Cruzada Albigense"…: 947-976; Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret*...: 370-407; and Alvira, Martín. *Muret 1213*...: 210-220.

49. His story of the last years of the Crusade (1226-1229) is exceptional in 13th-century peninsular historiography. Osma, Juan de. *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea…1984: 73-75.

50. Vaux-de-Cernay, Pierre des. *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin, Ernest Lyon. Paris: H. Champion, 1926-1930; Vaux-de-Cernay, Pierre des. *Hystoria Albigensis*, eds. and French trans. Paul Guébin, Henri Maisonneuve. Paris: J. Vrin, 1951 (English trans. William A. Sibly, Michael D. Sibly: The History of the Albigensian Crusade. Woodbridge-Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998). X. Pierre, monk in the Cistercian abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay, was Guy des Vaux-de-Cernay's nephew, who was abbot of this monastery (1184-1212), relative of count Simon de Montfort and later bishop of Carcassone (1212). About this author and his work, see the introductions to the Latin and French editions; Dossat, Yves. "La Croisade vue par les chroniqueurs". *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 4 (1969): 221-259, especially 221-233; Martel, Philippe. "Les cathares et leur historiens", *Les cathares en Occitanie*. Paris: Fayard, 1982: 409-483, especially 413-415; Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret*...: 121-123; Meschini, Marco. "Innocenzo III e il *negotium pacis* et fidei in Linguadoca tra il 1198 e il 1215". *Atti della Academia Nazionale dei Licei*, 20/2 (2007): 365-906, especially 730-761.

From the beginning of the 13th century, reasons of political and ideological order, as well as the geographical-historical-cultural proximity already mentioned, explain the absence of the name *Albigensians* in works from the Crown of Aragon. In the western kingdoms, in contrast, it could be due to a question of the historiographical tradition more than one of ideological identification. The inheritance of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, maximum *auctoritas* of the 13th century in historical material, would have played a decisive role here.[51] Thus, while in other regions of southern Europe the dominant anti-heretical discourse was fully assumed -for example in the *Liber de Temporibus et Aetatibus* by Alberto Milioli di Reggio (*c.* 1286) or in the *Chronica* by Salimbene de Adam (*c.* 1287)[52], the members of the historiographical workshop of Alfonso X the Wise continued to use the expression *hereges* inherited from Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo. As the *Chronica Regum Castellae* was not used by any compiler or chronicler after its writing, the Hispanic version of the "ideological discourse of religious dissidence" was relegated from the official history of the 13th century... and, with it, also the use of the word *Albigensians*.

51. Rodrigo de Toledo's work is of enormous historical importance. It could be said that "the Toledan text constitutes the main base for the historical tale" elaborated in Castile and Leon from the mid 13th century, Fernández Ordóñez, Isabel. "Variación en el modelo historiográfico alfonsí en el siglo XIII. Las versiones de la *Estoria de España*", *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)*, George Martin, coord. Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2000: 41-74, especially 47. This influence of Rodrigo de Toledo is, in many cases, projected into the 15th century. As Jean-Pierre Jardin affirms, "It could be said without exaggerating that Jiménez de Rada is the director of conscience for the authors of 15th-century summaries. He was the highest authority they knew" (Jardin, Jean Pierre. "El modelo alfonsí ante la revolución trastámara. Los sumarios de crónicas generales del siglo XV", *La historia alfonsí*…: 141-156, especially 145; Jardin, Jean-Pierre. "Rodrigue Jiménez de Rada comme "auctoritas": les sommes de chroniques générales du XVe siècle". *Cahiers d'études hispaniques medievales*, 26 (2003): 295-307). For the influence of Catalan-Aragonese historiography, see Coll i Alentorn, Miquel. "Roderic Ximènez de Rada i la nostra historiografia", *Historiografía*. Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991: 114-117; Cingolani, Stefano M. *La memòria*...: 28-30, 35, 77-80; and Quer, Pere. *La Història*... In the Navarrese chronicles, Orcástegui, Carmen. "La memoria histórica de Navarra a fines de la Edad Media: la historiografía nacional". *Príncipe de Viana*, 2-3 (1986): 596-599; and in the Portuguese chronicles, Barcelos, Pedro Afonso, Conde de. *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Luís Felipe Lindley Cintra. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1951-1990; and Barcelos, Pedro Afonso, Conde de. *Edicion crítica del texto español de la Crónica de 1344*, eds. Diego Catalán, María Soledad de Andrés. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

52. *...de combustione hereticorum, quam fieri fecif Francie in terra Albigensium*... (Milioli Di Reggio, Alberto. "Liber of Temporibus et Aetatibus", *Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 353-572, especially 362 (chapter CXCVI), 453 (chapter CLXXXXVI)); and... *ut terram Albigensium*... (Salimbene Di Adamo or Da Parma. "Chronica", *Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1905-1913: XXXII, 1-95, especially 22).

VIOLENCE BETWEEN FACTIONS IN MEDIEVAL SALAMANCA. SOME PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explain the famous fights between factions in Salamanca in the 14th and 15th centuries, moving away from the most common interpretations. Historians, especially early ones, emphasized certain bloody events such as the revenge of María de Monroy. The fights between factions have also frequently been treated as something unitary. Our position, on the contrary, is that the phenomenon was the result of an empirical combination of different situations: personal rivalries, power struggles, and destabilizing interference on the part of the high nobility of the city, among other factors. There were thus different conflicts that nonetheless were presented as one same situation by the discourse and the languages of the time.

Key words

Faction, Lineage, Revenge, Conflicts, Cities, Urban nobility.

Capitalia Verba

Factio, Genus, Ultio, Discordiae, Ciuitates, Urbes, Urbana nobilitas.

1. From the erudite and legendary tradition to current Social History

All children in Salamanca has heard of the famous medieval "*bandos*" or factions of the city on the Tormes. A central square is named after them and it contains a house from the second half of the 15th century that belonged to the leading character of this story, María "*la Brava*", María "the Wild". On the other hand, among his two or three most famous miracles by the patron saint of the city, Saint John of Sahagún, who lived in Salamanca during the reign of the Catholic Kings, he is attributed with having appeased the famous factions. In the city's collective imagination, to these well established and popular traditions is added another that brings a specific place into the legend, the so-called "*Corrillo*", a little square just next to the *Plaza Mayor*, that used to be part of *Plaza de San Martín* and that was given, it is not known exactly when, the name of "*Corrillo de la Yerba*". The reason behind this name is linked to the tradition of the factions. The place served to mark the boundary between the two halves the city was divided into —San Benito to the south, San Martín or Santo Tomé to the north. It was said that tension was so high at that time that nobody dared cross this little square and so, despite being the geographic centre of the city, it was overgrown with grass.

It is odd that such a deeply-rooted tradition as the Salamancan factions and one which has been reproduced and studied, still presents significant problems of interpretation. It is certain that historians nowadays disregard prejudices that have been passed on down the generations and try to apply well-reasoned conceptualisations, according to their own logic, that do not necessarily coincide with traditional explanations. However, these explanations still carry a lot of weight; they are supported by quite a few fundamentals and are, in all likelihood, largely based in historical truth, which is difficult to prove academically.

We will analyse accounts and documents that correspond to the period 1390-1493, a time that can be researched with the most professional rigour, and we will also try to explain the situation just prior to, and following this period. Apart from that, historians say that the contemporary sources, which tell us about the conflict, indicate no specific origins for the factions. It is significant that the most popular and convincing explanation for the roots of the tensions between the factions, at least at their peak or seminal moment, was conceived later, in the same way as the official tradition of the History of the Factions, from an account written at the beginning of the 16th century.

This account was written by one Alonso Maldonado in a family chronicle relating to the Monroys, in which he explains an episode referring to the ancestors of the chronicle's main character, even though the episode was not the central theme of the work. Barely one or two generations would have passed between the events that we are interested in and the work being written. The chronicle in question is known as "*Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara*".

Briefly, almost in the opening passages of the work,[1] it refers to certain events, and to María de Monroy. She was member of one of the leading families in the city, the Monroys, recently widowed from the knight Enrique Enríquez, another of the city's patrician lineages, and responsible for the following events. After finding out that her two sons had died at the hands of two other young men, the Manzano brothers, following an initially trivial dispute, she avenged their death, pursuing those responsible as far as Portugal where they had fled, and bringing their severed heads back to Salamanca where she placed them on the tombs of her sons.

It is now worth emphasizing that this event, told by Alonso Maldonado, the details and significance of which we will return to later,[2] was not linked by the chronicler to the origins of the factions. In the early years of the 16th century, the memory of the revenge against the Manzanos was talked about in the city. This is confirmed by the brief work called *Triunfo Raimundino* that Villar y Macías dates to the first decade of that century and that is attributed to Juan Ramón de Trasmiera. It is an enigmatic poem focused on praising the city, resettled by Raimundo de Borgoña, and an exploration of the Salamancan lineages. It is very much in the Renaissance style, recalling the glories of the city's leading families, the exploits of their illustrious members on the battlefield or elsewhere. The work describes in simple rhymes certain genealogical and pseudo-historical fantasies of the great men as well as the coat of arms of each house, making a sort of jumble of surnames, from some of the high nobility (not even Salamancan but Castilian) to others from very modest backgrounds. And thus, grouping the aristocratic families of Salamanca into two factions, as we will show below, has been used as a "documentary" value to back the theory of a clear-cut division of the city into the two famous aristocratic groups. The poem,[3] whose original manuscript is also a jewel of heraldic illustrations, is complex and difficult to interpret and should be read as a work of literature. What is certain is that, on its tour of illustrious surnames, and by referring particularly to the Manzanos, it is a lyrical evocation of the tragic fate of this family.[4] However, it does not bestow greater importance on the event than the shadow the Manzano brothers' crime cast on their family, which, on the other hand, is one more among

1. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara", *Memorial Histórico Español.* Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110. The events we are interested in are described specifically on pages 17-19.

2. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy …: 1-110.

3. From the Colegio Mayor San Bartolomé or Anaya. It was published as an appendix by Villar y Macías, Manuel, *Historia de Salamanca.* Salamanca: Graficesa, 1973-1975 (1st ed.: 1887): V, ap. doc. XIX, 165-180. The manuscript ended up in the National Library; quoted by Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina. Historia de la ciudad en el arte de sus blasones.* Salamanca: Ayuntamiento de Salamanca-Colegio de España, 1997: 301 (1st ed., Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1966).

4. It says about the lineage that it had connections with France and was integrated into the Santo Tomé faction. It adds: "*La sangre de los Manzano/ purpúreo al bando volvió/ cuando la muerte segó/ con guadaña los hermanos./ por las maternales manos/ Fueron sus muertes vengadas,/ De las sangrientas espadas/ negras de en sangre cercanos.*" ("The blood of the Manzanos/purple-red returned to the faction /when death reached /the brothers with a scythe/by maternal hands/their deaths by bloody sword avenged/black with loved-ones' blood").

the numerous houses mentioned, one by one, in the poem.[5] It does not suggest that the bloody act sparked or gave rise to the enmity between the city's two factions. There is nothing about this. In fact, the poem suggests that the Manzanos and Monroys were part of the same Santo Tomé faction.

It is likely that the *Triunfo Raimundino* produced but a faint echo at the time. The fact of falling into obscurity has meant that it has not been part of the city's literary and cultural tradition. Conversely, this work was finally given recognition when the first historian to study the city methodically, Gil González Dávila, author of the famous *Theatro Eclesiástico*, wrote his *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*.[6] The factions only fill a few pages in his 500-page exploration of the city. González Dávila reproduces Maldonado's passage almost literally. However, after telling the story, he writes about the subsequent death of María de Monroy, "*a quien dieron los de aquel siglo renombre de Brava, por el hecho notable que auía emprendido*". And he adds, "*Tal fue el origen de los bandos de Salamanca, que como fueron creciendo en años, fueron también creciendo en daños, y dissensiones, heredando los odios y rencores*". This would be his particular *inventio* on the theme. Later the author writes that "*no tomaron estos bandos nombre de sus auctores y dueños, sino de dos parroquias principales de Salamanca, Santo Tomé y San Benito*".[7] This means that, for González Dávila, the bloody act of vengeance by María de Monroy and the existence of the Santo Tomé and San Benito factions were already one and the same phenomenon and moreover the origin of the factions.

This identification would carry weight for centuries in Salamancan historiography. In another passage, González Dávila gave the distinguished role of peacemaker between the factions, at the time of the Catholic Kings, to Juan de Sahagún, an Augustinian preacher in the city, who died in 1479,[8] and whose feast day is celebrated

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5. Surnames included in the San Benito faction: Fonseca, Acevedo, Maldonado, Enríquez, Anaya —several branches—, Cerda, Arias, Guzmán, Nieto, Figueroa, Pereira, Bonal, Dávila, Arias Maldonado, Zúñiga, Vacas, Palomeque, Godínez, Maldonado de Monleón, Paz, Sotomayor, Porras, Fontiveros, Tejeda —some branchyli—, Yáñez de Ovalle, Suárez, Mejias, Osorio, González and "Casa de Alba". And in the Santo Tomé faction: Guzmán —another branch—, Manrique, Lara, Villafuerte, Rodríguez, Miranda, Fonseca —one branch—, Ferrera, Araúzo, Solís —several branches—, Ordóñez, Tejeda —another branch—, Villafuerte, Monroy, Aldana, Díaz, Viedma, Ovalle, Urrea, Rodríguez, Manzano, Maldonado —a minor branch—, Paz —some branches—, Brochero, Corvelle, Luna and Cornejo.

6. It was published in 1606. There is a recent facsimile edition by Baltasar Cuart Moner (with a detailed and thorough critical introduction): González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades de la Ciudad de Salamanca,* ed. Baltasar Cuart. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca-Ediciones Diputación de Salamanca, 1994.

7. "*who those of that century gave the nickname Brava (Wild), for the notable deed that she had done*" (…) "*Thus was the origin of the bands in Salamanca, which, as they grew in years, also grew in damage, and dissensions, inheriting the hatreds and rancours*" (…) "*these bands did not take their names from their authors and owners, but rather from the main parishes of Salamanca, Santo Tomé and San Benito*". (González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades...:* book III, chapter XII, 316-317).

8. It seems that even the first biographer of San Juan de Sahagún, father John of Seville, around 1488 —transcribed by Tomás de Herrera— already mentioned this role of peacemaker "*Estando él en Salamanca en tiempos de los bandos estorbó muchas muertes de hombres y muchos males, que se causaran si él no lo estorbara*". ("By being in Salamanca at the time of the factions he prevented the killing of many men and much wrong-doing, which would have happened if he had not got in the way.") References in Juan de Sevilla

every June. Later historians refer to his work as an authority on the subject. This is the case of Bernardo Dorado's work, *Compendio Histórico*, written at the end of the 18th century,[9] and José María Quadrado's, in 1884, which summarises the events very succinctly,[10] along very similar lines to the brief contemporary description that F. Araújo gives in *La Reina del Tormes*.[11]

At that time, a book by Manuel Villar y Macías, called *Bandos de Salamanca* had appeared in 1883, the data from which was revised and incorporated into his monu-

(c. 1488), *Vida de San Juan de Sahagún, prior del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca"*, by father Tomás Herrera, Madrid, 1652; likewise, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 80. But it was González Dávila who popularised the figure. His *Historia* seems to have coincided with a time when there was a lot of enthusiasm surrounding the figure of San Juan de Sahagún, and what is certain is that since then this Grecian figure has been associated with the history of the Salamancan factions. González Dávila describes a miracle carried out by the Saint, namely that of pacifying the bellicose Duke of Alba, making the runaway horses of some of the Duke's men that were about to attack him, suddenly stop, González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades*…: book III, chapter XVII, 379, 385-387. Apart from this, other miracles are attributed to San Juan de Sahagún, like saving the life of a child who had fallen down a well, or holding off the brutal charge of a crazed bull running uncontrollably through the streets of the city, which is another of the zoological miracles attributed to the saint. But it was the supposed pacification of the factions that was the most valued tradition in relation to this figure, beatified in 1601 and canonized in 1691. A biography of the Saint that sheds no light on the topic we are looking at, can be found in García Abad, Albano. *San Juan de Sahagún. Fenómeno social del siglo XV.* León: Lancia, 1994.

9. Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca.* Salamanca: Juan Antonio de Lasanta, 1776 (facsimile ed., Salamanca: Europa, 1985). It summarises the episode of the young sons of Enríquez and Monroy and their confrontation with the Manzanos, which started, it says, with a quarrel while playing ball, and later succinctly describes the revenge of María. "*Tal fue el origen de estos enardecidos y sangrientos vandos, de los que, aunque sus principales cabezas eran Monroyes y Manzanos, por odios particulares todos tenían sus sequaces*" ("*Such was the origin of these angry and bloody factions, who, although their main leaders were the Monroys and Manzanos, because of personal hatreds, all had their sequaces*") (Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca*…: chapter XLVI, IV, 310-311).

10. Quadrado, José María. *Salamanca, Ávila y Segovia.* Barcelona: El Albir, 1979: 29-30 (1st ed., Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo, 1884). It mentions the episode of María la Brava, the names of Santo Tomé and San Benito, the intervention of San Juan de Sahagún —without specifics— and the division of the Salamancan knights in half "*ligados con una o con otra familia, a los cuales se dice servía de línea divisoria rara vez hollada el Corrillo de la Yerba*" ("*linked to one family or other, to whom, it is said, the rarely set foot on Corillo de la Yerba served as a dividing line*"). The name of de Yerba (literally translated as "of grass"), which has been associated with this factional motive, is certainly ancient since it appears in documents from the 15th century, next to the San Martín church and square, or rather, exactly in the place where it was assumed the dividing line between factions was.

11. Araujo, Fernando. *La reina del Tormes. Guía histórico-descriptiva de la ciudad de Salamanca.* Salamanca: Caja Salamanca, 1984: chapter I, XI, 75-76. (1st ed., Salamanca: Jacinto Hidalgo, 1884). He places importance on the famous event and legend of the Yerba del Corrillo, creating an image of the city as being in a state of war "*temerosa línea divisoria por ninguno franqueada sin exposición de muerte, convirtiendo las casas en atrincheramientos y en campos de batalla las calles, no ya un día y otro día, sino un año y otro año, hasta dejar que la yerba en el Corrillo, el Rubicón de aquellos Césares, se levantase como padrón de ignominia...*" ("*frightening dividing line, that no one crossed without putting their life in danger, converting houses into trenches and the streets into battle fields, day after day, year after year, until the grass in the Corillo was left, Rubicon to those Caesars, to grow like the master of ignominy…*"), but considered that, this episode did not occur after the fight during the ball game and the "*venganza de la terrible madre*" ("*revenge of the terrible mother*"), the spark of discord set it alight, "*seguros estamos de que no hubiera faltado otra ocasión, más pronto o más tarde, para encender la rivalidad*" ("*we are certain that sooner or later another occasion would have arisen to spark the rivalry*"), even suggesting that at the end of the 15th century division and discord in the city were already insinuated, (Araujo, Fernando. *La reina del Tormes*…: chapter I, XI, 75-76).

mental *Historia de Salamanca,* published in 1887. For its very magnitude, this work[12] constitutes a milestone in Salamancan historiography. The factions play a prominent role in the treatment of Salamanca in medieval times, a period that receives special attention. Villar y Macías does not conform with the famous revenge as an explanation for the factions. The author dedicated more than 20 years to writing the aforementioned *Historia de Salamanca*, he consulted books and archives, all the sources that he had at his disposal, many nowadays impossible to find. He wrote more than 1,500 pages filled with dates, names and comments. This empirical obsession (which the romantic legend would have us believe led him to commit suicide in 1891 when a trivial fact was refuted) allowed the author to fix the date of María de Monroy's revenge at around 1464 or, at the latest, the beginning of 1465, since there are testimonies regarding the confiscation of the Manzanos' goods, carried out by Henry IV in the latter year, precisely as a consequence of the murder of the Enríquez boys. Villar y Macías places a lot of importance on the episode, but refutes its status as a seminal event in the factional conflict. Villar y Macías had many other references that led him to think that he had to look for other origins.

The author, in fact, suggests other additional causes. Villar y Macías thought that the references made in the *Fuero* (Charter) of Salamanca to the peoples, "*sesmos*" or "linajes", which he calls "repopulating nations", would be one of the causes of the factions.[13] However, Villar y Macías goes even further, seeing the factions almost as a constant in the city's history.

Since Villar y Macías, no discoveries of any note were made until the late twentieth century. Perhaps an article of particular interest about the explanation for the Salamancan factions is the one by N. Cabrillana, which referred to the seizure of lands in Salamanca in the middle of the 15th century. Too close to a unilateral explanation based on the economic self-interest of the Salamancan nobility, he suggested that the greed of the Salamancan aristocracy to possess and occupy (legally and, above all, illegally) lands and privileges triggered the enmity between them.[14]

M. González García, in his book published in 1982, does not deal with the factions in particular, but, in a very linear exploration of the history of Salamanca, he brings to the fore an idea that I consider quite suggestive, even though it does not get to the bottom of the complexity of the faction phenomenon, as I will demonstrate below. He refers to the struggles between those Salamancans who supported Peter I and those backing Henry II during the civil war as the

12. Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…

13. As each one, coming from different geographic origins, (see note 24) had their own mayors and judges, their own area, it was a source of constant tension, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: II, 14-19; Villar y Macias, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 43-44.

14. Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos". *Cuadernos de Historia, Anexos de Hispania,* 3 (1969): 255-295. It specifically emphasizes "*la influencia que la lucha por la posesión de la tierra tuvo en el recrudecimiento del odio entre linajes*" ("*the influence that the struggle for possession of the land had in intensifying hatred between lineages*") (Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos"…: 256).

motive and origin of the factions.[15] Perhaps the explanation is questionable, on the premise that it connects phenomena that were perhaps not linked. However, what is clear is that the question of "*parcialidades*" or factional allegiances, a type of alignment usually connected to the dynastic struggles in which the nobility found themselves involved in the 13th – 15th centuries, was undoubtedly one of the most inflammatory expressions in the political struggles in early medieval Salamanca, and one which made the greatest contribution to making the city's factions famous throughout the kingdom.

The book by Clara Isabel López Benito, published in 1983 and based on her degree thesis completed the previous year, constitutes the basic reference text for the question of factions in Salamanca, specifically during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.[16] The author respectfully considered the opinions of Villar y Macías and those of Cabrillana, but focused, as had not been done previously, on identifying the protagonists, the names and surnames of those who intervened in the struggles during those years, above all between the ceasefires of 1476 (which were famous) and the new tensions that arose around 1493, or even up until 1507, a time of renewed violence analysed in López Benito's book. For this late stage, there is a good deal of information in archives from the cathedral, town council, and Simancas, allowing the profile of the conflict to be discovered, as the author found. The book was also, and this was the reason for its conception, a demographic, economic and social study of the city in the decades leading up to and following the year 1500. As regards the explanation, she eclectically accepts various motives, among them the distant birth of repopulation (although, logically, she does not analyse this context), she tiptoes around the vengeful act of 1464 against the Manzanos, to which she barely allocates any importance, and instead places the main emphasis on the power struggle for the town council and the struggle for control of the land, both factors in the disputes and fights between the Salamancan knights.[17] Indeed, she considers the seizures of lands by the town council and the struggles between

15. It specifically states, "*este enfrentamiento entre Tejedas y Maldonados está en el origen de la división del patriciado salmantino en dos bandos*" ("*this confrontation between the Tejedas and Maldonados is the origin of the division of the Salamancan patricians into two factions*") (González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1982: 103).

16. López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios en Salamanca al iniciarse la Edad Moderna*. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1983.

17. To be precise, the author refers to the motives of the conflict. She states that events such as María de Monroy's revenge "*pueden surgir, a corto plazo, por un deseo de venganza, por un ajuste de cuentas. Pero bajo móviles de tales características subyacen razones de carácter perdurable y, por ello, mucho más importantes para el historiador*". ("*can occur, in the short term, through a desire for revenge, by the settling of accounts. But underneath the motives of this character are underlying reasons of a more lasting nature, which, for this reason, are much more important to the historian*"). He later adds that "*dos son, a nuestro entender, los motivos de tipo estructural que enfrentaron a la oligarquía salmantina: la posesión de la tierra y la consecución del poder municipal, con la capacidad de actuación y la influencia que ambos llevan inherente*" ("*as we see it, there are two structural motives that confronted the Salamancan oligarchy: possession of the land and the securing of power in the town council, with the capacity to act and the influence that both inherently held*") (López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios* …: 127).

the factions to be a simultaneous conflict. The "structural"[18] focus and that of the "struggle to protect their own interests", or class struggle between the members of the Salamancan oligarchy, dominate the author's viewpoint, which corresponds to certain historiographical schools that were in vogue when it was written in 1982; but the author goes further, with great care and precision she analyses the problems of the city in the late medieval period, and contributes the best documentary information known to date.

After this book, it is worth highlighting the publication of various sources in the following years, with or without introductions or previous studies,[19] including the historiographical revision of the subject in the *Nueva Historia de Salamanca*, a joint work published in 1997, in the *Historia Medieval* volume. It fell to me personally to research the question of Salamancan lineages and factions. My contribution to this *Historia de Salamanca* was to interpret the issue[20] according to certain premises and points of view that we had been able to establish in previous studies.[21] We supposed that, beneath the apparently unitary conflict between the factions, there lay several completely different lines of conflict. We even ended up suggesting that some of the most emblematic topics or events from the story of the Salamancan factions had been either alien to the struggles between the

18. With this kind of approach, aspects like that of the crisis of the 14th century or the antagonistic social struggles between members of the nobility —whether rural or urban— were given great importance. Clara Isabel López Benito, mentioned above for other motives (see previous note), also highlights the crisis of the 14th century as a cause of unease among the nobility, which translated into violence and put the behaviour of the Salamancan nobles on a par with the "feudal wrong-doers", López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: 162. The issue can also be confirmed in a brief article by A. Vaca. This is a collection of documents, but the explanation that opens the collection emphasises these questions of antagonistic confrontations between the city's aristocratic classes, Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio", *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos*, José Antonio Bonilla Hernández, coord. Salamanca: Centros de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: 433-458.

19. Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio"…: 433-458; Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "La oligarquía urbana salmantina en la Baja Edad Media. Caballeros y escuderos en pugna por los cargos del Concejo (1390-1408)". *Anales de Historia Antigua, Medieval y Moderna*, 31(1998): 63-93; Vaca, Ángel; Bonilla, José Antonio, eds. *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Salamanca, 1989; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis. "Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa", *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos*…: 459-475.

20. Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros (en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo)", *Historia de Salamanca. Tomo II. Edad Media*, José María Mínguez, coord. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1997: 389-478; the question of factions and lineages is tackled specifically on pages 427-468 of this chapter.

21. The references come from previous approaches, with a generally Castilian viewpoint, to the monograph treating the far from convincing case of Alba de Tormes, Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorìo medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad política en los concejos castellanos de la Meseta durante la época del Regimiento medieval. La distribución social del poder", *Concejos y ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica*: *II Congreso de Estudios Medievales*. *León, del 25 al 29 de Setiembre de 1989*. Madrid: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1990: 359-413; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

lineages of the knights in the city, or completely random within the characteristic alignments. Among these are, as we will see, the topographic spatial division of the city into two halves, the first ordinances relating to the sharing out of positions in public office between the two parties- the ordinances of 1390- and even of María La Brava's revenge, no less. However, along with this decoding, as it were, of the factional problem, we were trying to investigate the motives behind each type of known confrontation. It is always difficult to decipher the motives or causes of conflicts. But we observed that, practically in unison, historiography had always explained the struggles between the factions as an "effect" of something, be it economic interests, the consequences of a particular period of repopulation of the city, the struggle for public office, etc., forgetting perhaps that the actual representation and awareness, pseudo-relationships and alliances acted as their own cause and not as an effect of other factors. On the other hand, we saw no significant connection between the phenomenon of the factions and the crisis of the 14th century or the conduct of the "feudal wrongdoers", neither because of its morphology, nor its scope, nor the historical moment, nor in any case as an effect or result of the nobility's problems of social reproduction.[22] Thus we strip the conflict between the factions of Salamanca of its supplementary role which it had acquired, especially in the most recent historiography, in comparison with the greater importance given to the economic crises, class interests, the regime of the town council, and other factors that have been considered something like "authentic" causes.

2. Uniform discourses, different conflicts

However strong the desire to find the motives and the basis for the conflict in the repopulating "*naturas*" or "peoples" of the 11th and 12th centuries, or some references from the 13th century, which we will now examine, what is clear is that there is no single piece of evidence of alliances that we can interpret as struggles between factions from those centuries. However, historians have interpreted some places in the *Fuero de Salamanca* (Salamanca charter) where *bandos* are mentioned in this

22. This does not mean that the urban aristocracy did not use force and coercion against the peasants in the sphere of Salamancan crown land. On the contrary, we have suggested that the violent and aggressive behaviour that this social sector exerted on the humble peasants in the villages was a characteristic norm of behaviour, though on the scale of the "*pequeñas violencias sistemáticas*" ("minor systematic acts of violence") in the rural environment. Note our work, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas de los caballeros y los pecheros en Salamanca y Ciudad Rodrigo a mediados del siglo XV. Violencias rurales y debates sobre el poder en los concejos", *Lucha política. Condena y legitimación en la España Medieval,* Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, coords. Lyon: ENS Editions, 2004 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales,* 16, [2004]): 237-296. But we describe these kinds of attitudes from a different perspective and they cannot be identified with the rivalry and violence between the factions, with which, in most cases, they could have slight circumstantial connections.

way.[23] These include the references to the repopulating "*naturas*",[24] called "*linajes*"[25] in some versions of the text, which has made it easy to believe in the existence of noble or knightly lineages from the initial age of the council organisation. We can equally believe that the mention of the word factions, called *bandos*, facilitated the creation of an equivalence, in the sense that the early medieval factions could be understood as a continuation of those mentioned in the *Fuero*. Indeed, *bandos*, with the meaning of alliances and disorder, are mentioned in one of its epigraphs, which could be related to the so-called repopulating peoples, as well as to any other motive of discord, something understandable, nevertheless, in a pioneering and incipient society like the Salamancan in the 12th century.[26]

It seems logical to think that, in the context of groups that had recently arrived to repopulate the city, or that maintained a degree of idiosyncrasy for a certain period, assuming that the identity could last until the 13th century, disputes arose as a result of that type of solidarity, which we might consider "archaic" within the history of

23. We have already mentioned that Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*... But others did, too, among them, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliario*…: 66, 161.

24. *Fuero de Salamanca*, titles 290, 311, 353, 355. We used the recent edition of this text by José Luís Martín Rodríguez and Javier Coca: *Fuero de Salamanca*, eds. José Luis Martín, Javier Coca. Salamanca: Diputación Provincial de Salamanca, 1987, from a copy of the manuscript in the city of Salamanca. Likewise in the classic edition by Américo Castro and Federico Onís, in this case taken from two manuscripts from El Escorial and Salamanca, in *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes,* eds. Américo Castro, Federico de Onís. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1916. Also a Salamancan copy had previously been published by J. Sánchez Ruano: *Fuero de Salamanca publicado ahora por primera vez con notas, apéndice y un discurso preliminar,* ed. J. Sánchez Ruano. Salamanca: Salamanca: Imp. de D. Sebastián Cerezo, 1870. But we used José Luis Martín Rodríguez's edition. The *naturas* (peoples), to be precise, are those of the *serranos, castellanos toreses portugaleses, bregancianos, francos* and *mozárabes*. Judges, juries and mayors rotated between these communities, according to rules explained in the Fuero, *F. Salamanca*, titles. 297, 311, 312, 355. (*Fuero de Salamanca*…: 297, 311, 312, 355). See our work: "La organización concejil en Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes (siglo XII- mediados del siglo XIII)", *I Congreso de Historia de Salamanca* (*Salamanca, 1989*). Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: I, 365-395.

25. Specifically, one of the two versions kept in El Escorial, see previous note.

26. The *bandos* are mentioned in some of the epigraphs in the context of violence between groups of people, as collective ill will, incitement to commit a crime between neighbours: *Fuero de Salamanca,* ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez…: titles 53, 153, 273. The most explicit references are to some conflicts during the reign of Ferdinand II, while they also mention other *iuras* (pacts) in Salamanca for as long as people had been living there. Another reason for the tensions had to do with the confrontation that arose between the Salamancans and Ferdinand II after the segregation of the Land of Salamanca into the two territories of Ledesma and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1161-1162, which the chroniclers mentioned (Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica,* ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1987: vol. 72, book. VII, chapter XX, 242; Tuy, Lucas de. *Chronicon Mundi,* ed. Emma Falque, Turnhout: Brepols 2003: vol. 74, Book IV, 79, 317). The *Fuero* says, "*la iura que fue fecha en Sancta María de la Vega e todas las otras sean desfechas e mays non fagan otras iuras nin otras conpannas nin bandos nin corral mays seamos unos con buena fe e sin engano a honor de nuestro sennor el Rey don Ferrando e de todo el conceio de Salamanca*" (the pact that was made in Sancta Maria de la Vega and all the others are broken and let no more laws, or other companies, or factions or quarrels be made, but let us be men of good faith and without deception honour our master, King Fernando and the entire Salamancan council") later adding that "*si alcalles o iusticias pesquirieren que algunas naturas se levantaren por fazer bandos o iuras viédenlo los alcalles e las justicias*" ("if the mayors or judges discover that certain peoples rise up to form factions or pacts the mayors and the judges will punish them") (*Fuero de Salamanca,* ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez…: title 273).

the Councils.[27] However, the formation of family and supra-family structures in the noble court and such like, and lineage-related structures, presumably happened much later than the period when these town councils were autonomous. The impression given is that the lineage structures were rebuilt in this way in the period 1250-1350, and with them, the subsequent solidarity between their members.[28]

In any case, taking this interpretive framework as a starting point, the problem is that in practice we do not know the origin of the Salamancan noble lineages. The best-known Salamancan noble families do not appear in the cathedral documentation from the central medieval period. At the height of the 14th century, the names of Salamancan nobles began to emerge, for example in the chronicles during the time of Alfonso XI,[29] which constitute the earliest surviving heraldic expressions of the city's noble lineages. However, this is a late date, considering that the urban knightly classes had long been supported by the monarchy. Salamancan heraldists, faced with numerous examples of coats of arms scattered over palaces and corners all over the city in a manner unique in Castile, have tended to place the origin of the city's urban nobility in the first period of repopulation, in line with the present argument. However, such evidence, and other information, such as documents and chronicles,[30] enables us to think that the lineages of this later period dated back to the 11th or 12th centuries.[31] While we cannot rule out awareness of family connections in the early medieval lineages fuelling the glorification of repopulating ancestors, going back *ex post facto* to nothing less than the origins of the urban nobility, those who

27. See our work: Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Frontera pionera, monarquía en expansión y formación de los concejos de villa y tierra. Relaciones de poder en el realengo concejil entre el Duero y el Tajo (c. 1072-c. 1222)". *Arqueología y territorio medieval,* 10 (2003): II, 45-126, specially 69-72, about this issue.

28. In a recent work, we attempted to explain the birth of the lineage structures, the nature of the supra-family alignments and the role of kinship in the council system. In that work we refer to, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

29. Several of the Salamancan knights went to the solemn coronation of Alfonso XI in Burgos in 1331: Juan Alfonso de Benavides, Diego Alvarez de Sotomayor and Juan Arias Maldonado. They were probably already prominent and ennobled by that time. Some of them, like Juan Alfonso de Benavides, as well as Alfonso López de Tejeda, Diego Alvarez Maldonado or Juan Rodríguez de las Varillas participated in the wars with Alfonso XI, in Algeciras and in other wars. They also appear in the middle of the 14th century among the main magistrates in the city, among them important figures like the aforementioned Juan Arias Maldonado, Domingo Benito, Diego Álvarez de Sotomayor and Domingo Juan de Santo Tomé who were probably some of the first members of the Regiment. References in "Crónica de Alfonso XI", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde D. Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, chapter C, 235; chapter CI, 235-236; chapter CII, 237; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: II, 57, IV, 11; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*…: 103.

30. See previous note.

31. In his monograph about the coats of arms on the Salamancan buildings, J. Álvarez Villar believes that the noble lineages come from the repopulation of the city, suggesting that the noble population came from Castilla la Vieja and Galicia, Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina*…: 13. However, when describing the shields of the main families decorating the walls of the city, I have observed that the references are always very late, no earlier than the 14th century, and very few even from that century, therefore moving the date back a few centuries is implausible having such an ancient providence.

arrived with Raimond of Burgundy or shortly afterwards (something that was not recorded in Salamanca in any case),[32] it certainly seems implausible to discover patterns of continuity between the most socially distinguished sectors from the 11th and 12th centuries and those of the 14th and 15th centuries, i.e. those which were specifically involved in the factional struggles.

With this in mind, how should we interpret the first mention of "*la parte de San Benito*", *or* the San Benito party, that appears in a town council document from 1290? It is a brief letter from the council of Salamanca, regulating certain aspects of the *hueste*, or militia, establishing that the council would answer the King's call. The council's commitment seems to be supported by both *partes*, one of which had no specific name.[33] So, are these *partes*, one being that of San Benito, the noble *bandos* as they were later known? One must be cautious in this matter. It is possible that for those dates there may have been names for two clearly divided areas of the city's population, associated with their topographic boundaries, and that the area or special demarcation of the city around the parish or district of San Benito was one of these *partes*, obviously with a certain obligatory role in the council's decision making, at least on issues such as the city's service in the royal army. However, it is not certain that these possible zones or districts corresponded to the noble factions, meaning that these *partes* were genuinely already groups of urban knights with their supporters and that these areas already set the scene for the rivalry between them. This is not something that emerges from this concise document. It is very possible that the demarcation of the San Benito and San Martín areas came before and above all autonomously with regard to the struggles between the city's families and lineages, although these ultimately ended up overlapping due to this topographic division of the city.

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32. In fact, in this city we have no indication of the weight given to the idea that the aristocratic families, who were at their height during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, emphasized their noble origins specifically among people involved in the repopulation. This does not mean that there were no nobles to begin with, obviously, but we cannot find the roots of the later lineages in those possible pioneers. Even a genealogical memoir like the aforementioned *Triunfo Raimundino* (Villar y Macías, Manuel, ed. *Historia de Salamanca*...: V, appendix XIX, 165-180), from the first decade of the 16th century, as argued above, takes the imaginary and alleged ancestry of families like the Monroy, Maldonado, Solís, Enríquez, Páez, Nieto, Anaya, Acevedo, etc., back to French origins, or to the bloodline of their own Castilian kings or their descendants, with connections to people from Santiago de Compostela, among others, or it simply links the families with the regiments in the city which had members related to these families or to military deeds or primogeniture, later on of course. The genealogical poem is interesting as a discourse, but does not even venture to make a connection between such lineages of its time and the people involved in the repopulation, as would be expected if there had been a strong and secular feeling of continuity among those pioneering noble settlers, even though it had been about a feeling based on a fictitious connection.

33. After establishing the obligation of responding to being called up by the army and second lieutenant, the document says, "*Et nos, la parte de Sant Beneyto, otorgamos que este ordenamiento otorgamos que la fagamos otorgar a don Pelay?, quando venier. Et Otrosí, nos, la otra parte, otorgamos este mismo ordenamiento que lo fagamos otorgar a Fernánt Pérez, quando venier.*" ("*And we, the part of San Benito, are we to grant this ordinance that we grant to be granted to Pelay? And likewise we, the other part grant this same ordinance that will be granted to Fernant Perez when he comes*"), (Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos...": 443).

Anyway, until the very late 14th century, we find no mention of the two parties referred to as *linajes*, those that would become the "*bando-linaje*", ("lineage-faction") or factions,[34] which took the names of San Benito and San Martín. Attempts have been made to link family factionalism with certain confrontations, like those that arose at the time of the civil war between Peter I and Henry of Trastámara, specifically between the supporters of one side or the other.[35]

In reality, we find no explicit mention until the letter from John I dated 1390, with the *ordenamiento* or "*Ordenanzas*" (Ordinances) of Sotosalbos,[36] so-called because of where they were drawn up. The first thing that emerges from an analysis of these regulations is that there were already two *linajes*, to be exact, two "lineage-factions". It seems that the "*caballeros, escuderos é omes Buenos*" ("knights, squires

34. We believe that a "lineage-faction" was the convergence of various families and lineages in a sort of big faction or local party, although contemporary sources talk of *linajes* to refer to these large groupings of noble families or lineages, understanding these family lineages in their strictest sense. That is, the sources call *linajes*, as well as the grouping of family lineages that appear to be urban parties. On the other hand, in the vocabulary of the factional age "*bando*", "*bandería*" and other synonyms mean conflict, disorder, etc. In some previous works cited (Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil"…: 947-948), we have made distinctions on this subject. When we refer to *"bandos"*, in this work, we understand it to mean "lineage-faction", that is the maximum grouping of noble lineages, like the conflict itself, allegiance, faction in the lexis of the time.

35. Nevertheless, there is no proof that there were tensions attached to the San Benito/ San Martín polarity. Without doubt, this did exist in those days, but it does not seem to have channelled or defined violent alliances between the city's main families. There were, however, political alignments on a national level between the Tejeda and Maldonado families. It all started in 1360 because Peter I had sent Diego Arias Maldonado to Burgos to kill the Archdeacon de Toro. This prominent figure was initially linked to Peter and his father. This story is true, and in fact it could be verified that in 1350 Peter I made him master of various members of the nobility that had belonged to the family of Alfonso XI, such as Ledesma, Granadilla, Salvatierra de Tormes, Galisteo, Miranda del Castañar and Montemayor, see *Documentación medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, eds. Alberto Martín Expósito, José María Monsalvo. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Diputación de Salamanca, 1986: docs. nº 39, 40, 41. It is not known how, but he later abandoned Peter's cause, joining his enemies. So Peter I sought other support and particularly in the case of Salamanca leaned on the man he had placed in the city's palace, Juan Alfonso de Tejeda. But neither he nor Alfonso López de Tejeda, his brother, could stop Salamanca from being chosen for the *enriquista* cause around 1366-1367, relying on the bishop's support in the city —recruiting 500 crossbowmen for the Trastámara— and on families like the Maldonado. During the civil war of 1366-1369 the sons of Diego Arias Maldonado, namely Arias Diez Maldonado and Juan Arias Maldonado, supported Enrique, while the Tejeda —Juan Alfonso de Tejeda and his brother Alfonso López de Tejeda— supported Peter I. Villar y Macías assumed that Salamanca remained divided between the Tejedas and Maldonados, "*que tan sangriento agravio tenía que vengar*" ("such a bloody event had to be avenged"), according to the author, referring to the affront of the political assassination of Diego Arias Maldonado, ordered by Peter I. On these events, see the López de Ayala, Pedro. "Crónica del rey don Pedro", ed. Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, chapter V, 202; chapter XXXVI, 579; "Crónica de Enrique II", ed. Cayetano Rosell *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla...:* II, chapter I, 2; Villar y Macias, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 13-14, 17-19. Villar y Macías shows that the alliances continued after the death of King Peter. Juan Alfonso de Tejeda defended Ciudad Rodrigo and his brother Alfonso López was mayor of Zamora (Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: 20); González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*…: 27. González Dávila refers to the punishment of the Tejeda, who tried to stop Henry II coming to power, the latter ordering that their throats be cut, Gonzalez Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades*…: book III, chapter XI, 278- 279.

36. Published in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 113-115 (doc. nº XII).

and gentlemen") of the city, or at least some them, already owed allegiances to one of the two factions the city was divided into. Anyway, the letter did not unveil them, as has sometimes been said, but it did recognise the prior existence of these *partes*, presumably led, or mainly made up of, the leading knights. The royal letter recognised and regulated the two *linajes*, but it was not written with that intention.

The Ordinances of Sotosalbos came about through a completely peaceful and legal claim, for the union of the two noble factions, with the support of the *pecheros* (commoners) to correct a tendency of the *regidores* (aldermen) to keep the minor offices for themselves. The ordinances established that the stewardships and other minor council offices were not to be monopolised by the *regidores*, but instead given to the knights and squires, in equal measure to both parties or factions. Distributing or recruiting soldiers without taking into account the representatives of the commoners was to be prohibited. It is important that this aspect is understood because the letter did not try to resolve the conflict between the factions. Despite what has been said,[37] specifically that John I's letter constituted the institutionalisation of the factions and resolved the disagreements between them, we have interpreted the text in another way. It was the pretension of a powerless class, in this chaos that the *linajes* represented, allied in this with the commoners, who felt excluded from some matters which they considered to be of their concern and which, in their view, the *regidores* kept for themselves. It is clear that upon establishing the royal ordinances for appointing minor offices (stewardships, loyal men, etc.), the division between the San Benito and San Martín *linajes* was respected, and indeed manipulated, to keep a balance, but it was not this polarity that was at play. The *regidores* were also members of the *linajes*, as part of the noble class to which they belonged, but when they attempted to keep positions in public office for themselves and monopolise the power in the council, the very conduct that the Ordinances of 1390 was designed to eradicate, the ruling elite, which tended to withdraw itself, did so independently of their memberships as knights of the lineage-factions.[38]

However, the fact that they were already allied leads us to believe the city's knights would find a channel for the internal struggles through this membership. Such alliances are known to have existed in cities throughout the medieval western world in the later Middle Ages. The same was true in other Castilian cities.[39] The

37. Starting with Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 25.

38. I refer to my work, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo", *Historia de Salamanca*…: 442-443.

39. It is almost impossible to give a thorough account of all the works that have discussed the factions and lineages in the cities of medieval Europe. It has been the object of research not only with respect to the Spanish kingdoms but in many regions and areas. It has been discussed in many extensive monograph works about cities that have given a lot of importance to the subject area, such as José Ramón Díaz de Durana on Vitoria, Soledad Tena on San Sebastián, Adeline Rucquoi on Valladolid, Rafael Sánchez Saus for Sevilla, Jesús Ángel Solórzano on Santander, Martínez Carrillo or Menjot on Murcia, among others. Moreover, apart from these monographs, this can be seen in works by Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. "Linajes, bandos y parcialidades en la vida política de las ciudades castellanas (siglos XIV y XV)", *Bandos y querellas dinásticas en España al final de la Edad Media: actas del Coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca Española de París los días 15 y 16 de mayo de 1987.* París: Biblioteca Española de París, 1991: 105-134; Quintanilla

organisational structure provided by factions allowed a certain amount of leverage and control in the struggles. However, in the case of Salamanca, the question is how these struggles were manifested and what fuelled them.

The chronological table below summarises some of the main events and vident situations for the factions that took place in the city. What were these violent acts and what caused them?

If the question of positions in the town councils was connected to the divisions between the factions, it does not seem to have acted as a catalyst for the violent events. The aforementioned Ordinances of 1390 were regulatory and fair between the parties. The agreement was ratified in 1394 and 1397, and again in the following century on more occasions. In these years and in 1401, a commission of the two factions was initiated, with the participation of aldermen and non-aldermen knights, to organise the distribution of minor offices between them in accordance with the Ordinances. Another document from 1408 shows that the agreement was working. To appoint a steward, they went to the registry of squires for that *parte*, meaning that the appointment of non-aldermen knights was

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Raso, María Concepción. "Estructuras sociales y familiares y papel político de la nobleza cordobesa (siglos XIV y XV)". *En la España Medieval,* 3 (1982): 381-352; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Política ciudadana y jerarquización del poder. Bandos y parcialidades en Cuenca". *En la España Medieval,* 20 (1997): 219-250; Fernández-Daza Alvear, Carmen "Linajes trujillanos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV", *La ciudad hispánica durante los siglos XIII al XVI, Coloquio sobre la ciudad hispánica, La Rábida y Sevilla, 14 al 19 de septiembre de 1981*, Emilio Sáez, Cristina Segura Graiño, Margarita Cantera Montenegro, coords. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985 (*En la España medieval*, 6 [1985]): I, 419-431; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Estructuras familiares de la nobleza urbana en la Castilla bajomedieval: los doce linajes de Soria". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 10 (1992): 47-71; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "El papel de los linajes en las estructuras de gobierno urbano en Castilla y en el Imperio alemán durante los siglos bajomedievales". *En la España Medieval,* 20 (1997): 143-177; Solórzano Telechea, Jesús Ángel. "La organización interna de la oligarquía urbana y el ejercicio de poder en Santander durante la Baja Edad Media: familia, linaje y poder", *I Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria: actas del encuentro celebrado en Santander los días 16 a 19 de diciembre de 1996*. Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria-Gobierno de Cantabria-Consejería de Cultura y Deporte, 1999: 575-597; Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. "Linajes y bandos en el País Vasco durante los siglos XIV y XV", *La familia en la Edad Media. XI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 31 de Julio al 4 de agosto de 2000,* José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2001: 253-284; the Basque Country is one of the regions that has attracted most attention in relation to the "*banderizos*" or members of the factions (although they were not always urban "*banderizos*"), and this is shown in other works like those in *La Lucha de Bandos en el País Vasco: de los Parientes Mayores a la Hidalguía Universal. Guipúzcoa, de los bandos a la Provincia (siglos XIV a XVI),* José Ramón Díaz de Durana, ed. Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del Pais Vasco-Argitalpen Zerbitzua Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 1998; Achon Insausti, José Ángel. *A voz de concejo. Linaje y corporación urbana en la constitución de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa: Los Báñez y Mondragón, siglos XIII a XVI*. Bilbao: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto (microforma), 1995; Tena García, María Soledad. "Los Mans-Engómez: el linaje rector de la villa de San Sebastián en la Edad Media". *Hispania,* 53/185 (1993): 987-1008. Beyond the Crown of Castile, interest in the theme has also been significant. As an example, it can be seen in the Catalan situation. The well known classic by Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Institución Milà y Fontanals-Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 1973. It's a study of the political parties in 15th-century Barcelona. However, factionalism in Catalan cities can be considered as a deep-rooted constant in political life, as shown in the work of Sabaté, Flocel."Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV siecle", *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995: 339-365.

respected when appointing someone to that minor office,[40] just as the Ordinances of 1390 prescribed. Undoubtedly there is a norm here that we should highlight: during the greater part of the 15th century, but not all of it, tensions between the *linajes* owing to the distribution of offices generated tensions and were a cause of distrust. However, we find no violent events directly arising from these circumstances, nor are there repeated acts of force specifically connected to these struggles for positions in public office. Throughout most of the 15th century, there are examples of solutions to the problem of distributing public offices through royal intervention or by agreements, so that the basic consensus worked smoothly and even peacefully.[41]

However, conflicts undoubtedly existed. A reference from Alba de Tormes in 1423 shows that there was infighting among the Salamancan knights and that they were responsible for the *ruidos* (fights).[42] The motive is unknown, but the confrontation was real. In the following decades, the only evidence of a connection between the factions and violence is found by observing that the alignments came into play because of general factional allegiances, in other words, political commitments by the inhabitants of the city to political or dynastic parties or causes that went beyond local problems. This was going to be a constant feature which reveals that the allegiances (the "*bando-parcialidad*" or "allegiance faction", as it was also known) were essential for generating factional violence. Thus, the royal chronicles from the reign of John II show rivalries related to disputes between Salamancan families linked to a factional allegiance between the princes of Aragón and Álvaro de Luna. Do they mention violent events in the city? The *Crónica de Juan II* states that around 1439, the Archdeacon Juan Gómez de Anaya, an important figure from the San Benito faction, "*estaba apoderado ý en la torre de la Iglesia, donde tenía asaz gente de armas, y no consintió que el rey allí se aposentase*". The king ordered him to leave the tower, "*pero él*

40. See above all in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 8; Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros"…: 442, 447; the 1408 document in Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "La oligarquía urbana salmantina"…

41. This was the case also with the issue of stewards alluded to in the Ordinances of Sotosalbos. For example, agreements about the Cortes' notary's or lawyer's offices, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 14-15; about the agreement relating to the notaries, Ordinances of 1440 and confirmation by Juan II in July 1441, see Archivo Municipal de Salamanca (AMS), R/ 2985, nº 12. See the next note on the significance of the agreement in 1493.

42. Members of the council of Alba de Tormes, a town just 20 km from Salamanca, were distrustful because some Salamancan knights who had had problems or been temporarily expelled from the city on royal command- it is not clear which- wanted to settle in Alba. The *regidores* of this town viewed this possibility as a threat, "*que se querían venir aquí a la dicha villa e que, así venidos, que se podrían rrecresçer en ella grand peligro e dapño, por quanto los unos son contrarios de los otros e podrían rrebolver roydo*" ("*they tried to come to this town and once here, that great danger and damage could be caused, insofar as one lot is opposed to the other and might cause fights*") in the town of Tormes, but also because they appeared "*feo e non onesto*" ("*nasty and dishonest*") and it coincided with a time when the town's knights were not there —they were in the service of the lord, to be precise— and men came to the town, "*estraños* (a) *estar en la dicha villa e la rrebolver·*", ("*strangers to be in the town and turn it upside down*") (Monsalvo, José María *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorìo medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra.* Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 178).

no lo quiso hacer".[43] The chronicle about the Constable Álvaro states that the struggles between the factions were very much talked about in Salamanca and, referring to around the fourth decade of the 15th century, it mentions "*muertes de hombres*" in the city for this reason, but without specifying or quantifying those killings.[44]

The reference to the social atmosphere generated by the struggles between factions is an argument that was used for example in the middle of the century in relation to the violence or rural misconduct, which then consisted of violent attempts to seize customs.

Although, as we have highlighted on other occasions, this violence and rural misdemeanour had other causes,[45] this does not prevent us from detecting that the climate of factional violence was interfering with social relations and, above all, with the application of justice, in both cases in a destabilising manner. Significant testimony to this fact is offered by a witness in a customs dispute of 1453 against the knight Fernando de Tejeda: he said that "*algunos labradores del dicho lugar*"[46] came "*a se quexar al conçejo de la dicha çibdad para que les provea de muchas synrrazones e agravios que les faze el dicho Fernando de Texeda,* [pero] *quel dicho conçejo non les provee por rrazón de los muchos parientes que tiene en el dicho conçejo, que lo favorecen, e por las divysiones de los vandos de dicha çibdad*".[47]

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43. "*had taken power and was in the church tower, where he had many armed men, and did not consent to the king accommodating himself there*" (…) "*but he refused to*" (Crónica de Juan II", ed. Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*...: II, chapter XVI, 558).

44. "*the killing of men*". The chronicle says that the king, being in Madrigal, "*vinieron ende nuevas del grand trabajo e muertes de honbres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recresçido; de guissa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruyr e perder sin reparo alguno, si el rey personalmente non yva a proveer en tanto daño como estaba aparejado, allende del ya passado, e a lo remediar e apaçiguar*" ("in the end there came news of the great work and the killing of men and other quite serious and great wrong-doings, that due to the new factions in Salamanca had come about; in such a way that the city was frightened of being destroyed and losing without any reservations if the king did not come in person in such danger on his horse, after what had already happened, to remedy and make peace"). In another passage, this chronicle says that "*Dos vandos eran a la sazón en la çibdad de Salamanca, en que avía muy buenos caballeros, que tenían casas de asaz gente darmas: el un vando se dezía de San Benito, e el otro de Santo Tomé. Así los unos caballeros como los otros de estos dos vandos, e todos los otros caballeros de la çibdad, eran en su casa e vivían con él [el maestre don Enrique*]" ("There were two factions at the time in the city of Salamanca, in which there were very good knights who belonged to houses containing several military men: one faction was called San Benito and the other Santo Tomé. And so some knights like others from both factions, and all the other knights in the city, were part of the house and lived with him [the master Enrique]") (*Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna: condestable de Castilla, Maestre de Santiago*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940: 253, 44). See references in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de* Salamanca…: V, 44; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis "Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa"…: 467; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*...: 34, 106-107.

45. Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas"…, "about the inquiries into the terms of 1453 and others; Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV"...

46. "*some peasants from the said place*". He was referring specifically to a place called Navarredonda, usurped by Fernando de Tejeda, one of the grandees implicated in the inquiry into usurpations in those years.

47. "to complain to the council of said town so that it tried Fernando de Texeda for the many injustices and assaults that he did, which the said council did not try because of the many relatives that he had in the council, who favoured him, and because of factional divisions in the said city". *Pesquisa sobre términos de la Tierra de Salamanca 1433-1453* (Biblioteca Nacional, Sección Manuscritos. Res 233), f. 55v. The tes-

Towards the middle of the century, the rivalries between the factions in Salamanca were undoubtedly known throughout the whole kingdom. This was so obvious that even the Cortes, specifically the Cortes in Toledo in 1462, ordered that such rivalries should not disturb something so sensitive to the crown as the internal order in its own *Studium Generale* of Salamanca. In these courts, it was said "*los estudiantes e personas que tienen cargo de lo administrar e rregir las cátredas salariadas que son en el dicho Estudio, por se fazer parçiales con los vandos de la dicha çibdad e se entremeter en ellos e dar fauor e ayuda por sus personas e con los suyos e con armas e con dineros para en las cosas tocantes a los dichos vandos*", because of which "*se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*" consequently, teachers and students were prohibited from having links with the city's factions; the punishment was expulsion from the "*gremio del dicho estudio*" and being "*desterrado de la dicha çibdad e de çinco leguas aderredor*". It ordered the members of the University to "*todos juren e ayan de jurar en el comienço de cada un año de no ser de vando e de guardar e conplir todo lo susodicho e cada cosa dello*".[48]

The impact of the factional struggles only increased throughout the reign of Henry IV, as we will see. But this period is also distinct on account of the century's bloodiest event, and as mentioned at the beginning of these pages, this was considered by the older generation of historians to be the origin of these factions. I am referring to the deed of "*María la Brava*", which took place around 1464: the bloody act of vengeance of a mother, María de Monroy, widow of the alderman Enrique Enríquez. Along with her husband, she belonged to the city's two leading families. María de Monroy became famous for travelling in person to Portugal, accompanied by a handful of her own men —recruited in a small

timony only actually refers to two situations. One is the impunity of the usurper, because of his power and relations in the city. However, it also reveals that the quarrels and struggles between the factions were harmful to judicial effectiveness, and in a way presented it as "*la mengua de justicia*" (the decline of justice). In fact, the factional struggles were recognised, or rather perceived, as one of the reasons why nobody stopped the violence of the powerful men.

48. "*the students and people who are in charge of administrating and governing the paid professors that are in the said* Studium, *because they hold an allegiance with the factions of said city and get involved in them and favour them and give help to their members and with their relatives and with weapons and with money for things concerning the said factions*" (…) "*many and diverse fights and conflicts arose, enforcing the said favours and allegiances that they had in the said factions and with their knights*" (…) "guild of the said Studium" (…) "*guild of the said Studium*" (…) "all swear and have sworn at the beginning of each year to not be part of a faction and to keep to and fulfil all of the aforementioned and every part of it". Courts of Toledo in 1462, pet. nº 8, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 707-708. The text is outstanding because not only does it show the impact that the Salamancan confrontations had in the Castilian Cortes, but also the very strength of some of the alliances that drew teachers and students of the University, disrupting such a moderate institution, as it was in those days, which was largely used to living with its back to the city and its problems. These questions are addressed in Monsalvo, José María. "El *Estudio* y la ciudad en el período medieval", *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. I. Trayectoria y vinculaciones,* Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002: 435-465. We need to bear in mind that the university in Salamanca was the main university for the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, among the scant few that there were in those days, and that, moreover, in the case of Castile, in practice it was the Crown's official university.

country house that she owned— to take the lives of the Manzano brothers. The Manzano brothers had killed two of her sons in a juvenile fight. The "staging" was spectacular: the month-long search for the assassins in Portuguese inns, where the murderers, terrified, had sought refuge, the avenging slaughter of the assassins, the tough one and a half-day non-stop horse ride by Maria and her men from the neighbouring kingdom to Salamanca, the heart-wrenching act of placing the Manzano brothers' severed heads on the tombs of her dead sons, to the horror of the whole city. As mentioned above, the story was told by Alonso Maldonado as a secondary episode within a family chronicle written a few decades later, around 1504,[49] perhaps by someone who, if not a witness, was clearly close to the events recorded. However, only the later historiographical tradition, subsequent to this princely tale, directly links this bloody act with the city's factions, which today counts as one of the Salamancan legends, when in actual fact the killing of the Manzanos at the hand of "*La Brava*" could well be explained as a "private revenge", with no direct connection to the tensions among the Salamancan factions.[50] On the other hand, the account by Alonso Maldonado included many literary stereotypes, those typical of a moralising and emphatic Renaissance chronicler, and one must presume that the author exaggerated the psychological and sentimental aspects.[51]

The everyday life, or real life, of the factions in Salamanca took a much less dramatic course. The royal chronicles and some documents mention the align-

49. See note 1. It seems that the graduate Alonso Maldonado wrote the chronicle around this year. The author was related to the Monroys. It is possible to find a succinct genealogy of this writer and knight in Cooper, Edward. *Castillos señoriales en la Corona de Castilla*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1991: I, 18.

50. As we have demonstrated above, the *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca,* by Gil González Dávila, is where this opinion began, see notes 5 and 6. We have also mentioned its importance for Villar y Macías, despite the fact that it does not focus on the entire question of the factions involved in the episode, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, chapter VII, 67-74. Some objections relating to the connection of the events with the disputes between the lineages and factions are addressed in Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros"…: 449-450, 461.

51. Even rhetorical literature notes "*Quiero contar un hecho romano que hizo una destas señoras que se llamaba Doña Maria de Monrroy*", to begin the story it says: ("I want to tell you of a Roman deed by one of these women called Maria de Monroy"); a widow who "*supo dar tan buena cuenta de sí que fué exemplo marauilloso su vida*" ("knew how to give such a good account of herself that her life was a shining example"); an authentic heroine of ancient drama, who on learning of the death of her sons, "*les ponia los ojos sin echar lagrima ni hazer ningun acto mugeril, mas estaua con el corazon tan fuerte que ningun varon romano se le ygualaua: asaz se paresçia en su gesto la ferocidad de su animo, y todos tomauan espanto de vella con tanto sossiego*" (" not a tear fell from her eyes nor did she make any female act; she was so strong of heart that no roman male equalled her: in her gestures the ferocity of her drive was very visible, and all were frightened to see her so calm") resolved on revenging her sons' deaths with such haste that she gave the Portuguese allies and the Manzanos no time to stop her: "*porque las cabeças de los Mançanos quando ellos llegaron estauan ya en la mano yzquierda de Doña Maria de Monrroy*"; ("because the head of the Manzanos when they arrived were already in the left hand of Maria de Monroy") and that she managed to take the heads to the tombs of her sons had an incomparable dramatic effect: "*Gran espanto puso este hecho en toda la tierra*", ("This event put great fear into the whole land") is how the account of this episode ends, Maldonado, Alonso de. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy…": 17-19.

ment of the lineages with certain parties. When a dynastic split took place between the supporters of Henry IV and those of his half-brother Alfonso (who never became Alfonso XII), it seems that some Salamancan knights from the San Benito party formed an alliance with him. In 1464, the Count of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo, appeared on the scene. At one point in the dynastic conflict, the Count of Alba switched allegiance to the party of Henry IV, with the promise to hand Salamanca over to him in 1465, and it is possible that he drew the Salamancan knights with him. The *Chronicle* of Alfonso de Palencia mentions that in May 1465, following Alba's newly found loyalty to the king, which immediately proved to be very useful to him, sides were taken in favour of two great houses, after the "Farce of Ávila", in the city of Salamanca: "*marchó el rey a Salamanca, dividida por largas discordias and sediciosas facciones en dos bandos, uno de los cuales seguía la voz del conde de Plasencia y otro la del de Alba*".[52] From 1469, it is possible that García Álvarez de Toledo had many supporters in the city "*en la qual, como de grandes tiempos acá oviese bandos de la mayor parte de los cavalleros della, algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos, le servían y acataban*" as the "*Memorial de diversas hazañas*" states with regard to the situation in 1469. The Count of Alba's failed attempt to make Salamanca his own, albeit with his own men and by force of arms, would have provoked an uprising against him in the city, with the knights involved on one side or the other.[53]

It is not clear which of the two factions in Salamanca supported who and at what point, both at that time and in the following years —by then already affected by the confrontation between the supporters of Isabel and those of Juana and Portugal. They probably changed sides. As will be shown below, certain letters are known to exist from the *linaje e bando* of Santo Tomé, written to the Count of Alba between 1470-1472, pledging their allegiance to him[54]. However, in the last

52. "the king went to Salamanca, divided by great disagreement and seditious factions into two sections, one of which was in the service of the Count of Plasencia and the other in that of de Alba". Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV,* ed. Antonio Paz Melia. Madrid: Atlas, 1973: LXX/ I Decade I, book VII, chapter VI, 164; "*Crónicas de los reyes. Crónica del rey don Enrique IV"*, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*...: 133, 142, 145; Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas*…: 34; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV,* ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: chapter LXII, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474: Crónica castellana*, ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: chapter LXIIII, 156; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de* Salamanca…: V, 16-18.

53. "*in which, like in times of old, most of the knights there were divided into factions, some for money, others being helped by the factions, they served and obeyed him*", (Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas*…: 55; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla*…: II, chapter XVII, 290; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: chapter CXVII, 271-272; Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: I, Decade II, book II, chapter VI, 298).

54. On 5th January 1470, the knights of Santo Tomé pledged their allegiance to the Count of Alba, *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*, eds. Ángel Vaca, José Antonio Bonilla. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1989: doc. nº 53. On 28th September 1472 the members of this faction showed their ill will because the Count had not influenced the appointment of an regíoles they wanted him to appoint, *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 56; and on the same day, nine signatories from the Santo Tomé faction asked him to make it possible for them to revoke

letters, written in September of 1472, there was an explicit complaint directed at the Count of Alba, for which reason it is not surprising that from this time forth the privileged relationship ended. This faction of Santo Tomé, or some of its members, subsequently seems to have leaned towards the Portuguese cause against Isabel, around 1474 or 1475, and this would have damaged the relations with the Count of Alba even more, as he supported the cause of Isabel I at that time.[55] It is not known with certainty how this affected the relationship between the then Duke of Alba and the Santo Tomé faction. In documents from 1473 or 1474,[56] the Duke of Alba appears to have been more an arbitrator in the city, being trusted by knights from both sides, rather than clearly committed to one. Nevertheless, it is possible that he later leaned more towards the San Benito side, sharing Isabelline alliances with them. It was precisely the decline in supporters of the Portuguese cause in the city, well reflected in the triumphant entrance of Fernando the Catholic on the 27th or 28th of May 1475,[57] which seemed to reinforce the situation of the San Benito faction. For their part, the Santo Tomé faction, who had been distancing themselves from the Duke of Alba, would have been close to Antón Núñez, a distinguished figure at that time. This man, who had been Henry IV's bookkeeper, built himself a splendid palace in Salamanca and supported the cause of the Portuguese and Álvaro de Estúñiga in the spring of 1475. According to the tradition of the *Décadas* (Decades) by Alonso de Palencia, "*muchos de los principales caballeros eran sospechosos de parcialidad por el conde de Plasencia o de obediencia*", to Antón Núñez, who held "*el favor del bando de los tomasinos*", while the Duke of Alba —despite being fickle in his alliances— had the support of the city's other "*caballeros más principales*"[58] and, between them, they did further the cause of the San Benito faction.

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the granting of an act in favour of Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera, which they found very disadvantageous: the faction did not want him wanted and moreover he was from the other faction, *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 57.

55. *Documentos escogidos de la Casa de Alba,* ed. la duquesa de Berwick y Alba. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1891: 9-10, 10-11; Pulgar, Fernando del. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos: versión inédita,* ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943: 253.

56. On 29th December "*año de setenta e quarto*" (*the year of seventy four*) (perhaps 1473) the Duke was elected as a judge and a type of arbitrator to resolve disputes between knights from San Benito and San Adrián (*Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*...: doc. nº 72); and in January 1474, both factions chose him as arbitrator: "*los cavalleros e escuderos de anbos linajes de la çibdad de Salamanca, que estamos en una amistad, besamos vuestras manos e nos encomendamos en vuestra merçed*" ("*we, the knights and squires of both of the lineages of the city of Salamanca, are friends, we kiss your hands and commend ourselves to your mercy*") (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 73).

57. Received solemnly at the gates of his "*muy leal e muy noble*" ("*very loyal and very noble*") city by the 18 *regidores*, AMS, 2985, nº 23.

58. "*in which, like in times of old, most of the knights there were divided into factions, some for money, others being helped by the factions, they served and obeyed him*" (…) "*favour with the Santo Tomé faction*" (…) "*most important knights*" (Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: III, Decade III, Book II, chapter VIII, 195). When the goods of Antón Núñez were confiscated due to his support for the Portuguese, the beneficiary was no other than the Duke of Alba, to whom the Catholic Monarchs granted these goods, according to a letter of April 1476. (*Salamanca en la documentación de la Casa de Alba*…: doc. nº 79).

As well as these fluctuations mentioned above, it is important that during those years, the last of Henry IV's reign and the first of Isabel I's, the enormous influence of these external forces, that is the families of the highest nobility, became apparent in the alignment of the urban factions, as much, firstly, for the Estúñigas against the house of Álvarez of Toledo or the house of Alba, as for the Antón Núñez and the Portuguese against Isabel and the Duke of Alba later. We believe that this type of alliance was one of the reasons that more violence occurred in the city, which was more harmful and destabilising than the tension over the positions in public office, for example. It is symptomatic that some of the news of factional violence in Salamanca and some of the tensest times in terms of this kind of rivalry took place in 1469-1477, when the influence of García Álvarez de Toledo (count, and from 1472 duke, of Alba) in the city was at a peak.[59]

What is certain is that for the period from 1469, date of the above-mentioned armed episode against the Count of Alba, to 1493, when the struggles between the factions in the city seem to have subsided, substantial evidence testifies to the existence of factional violence in Salamanca. The information survives in some twenty-five well-known documents from the Archives of the Casa de Alba,[60] the

59. The relationship between the *linajes* and the house of Alba is typical of the urban patricians with the high nobility to whom service is given in exchange for money —*acostamientos*— and support on behalf of these great nobles. The chronicles mention this relationship (see notes 52 and 53), but it can also be found in documents: "*A vuestro serviçio, besando vuestras nobles manos, nos encomendamos a vuestra merçed*" ("*At your service, kissing your noble hands, we commend ourselves to your mercy*"), according to the letter dated January 1470 (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 53). A couple of years later the members of Santo Tomé wrote to the Count: "*en este rreyno es mucho notorio quánto este nuestro linage de Santo Tomé e todos nosotros syenpre fuemos e somos servidores de vuestra casa e avemos servido e servimos al muy noble e vertuoso señor, que aya santa gloria, vuestro padre*", ("*in this kingdom it is well known that this our lineage of Santo Tomé and all of us have always been and are the servants of your house and have served and serve the very noble and virtuous master, God bless him, your father*"). (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 57).

60. Documents mentioned from 5-1-1470, two from 28th December c. 1472, another from 29-12-"1474" (or 1473, if the date of 29th of Dec. "*año de setenta e quarto*" [*year of seventy-four*] refers to his "*año del nacimiento*" [*year of birth*]); and another in January of the following year, previously mentioned. (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: docs. nº 53, 56, 57, 72 and 73). Also another on 20-5-1475: a promise by members of the Santo Tomé faction to help an agent of the King make peace; 13-1-1477: ceasefire lasting 12 days between the city's factions of San Benito and San Tomé. (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: docs. nº 75, 88).

City Council[61] or Simancas,[62] as well as other additional documentation.[63] Analysing these allows the dimensions and meaning of the factional violence to be assessed.

The first thing that stands out is the small number of deaths recorded, three, to be exact, in 1477, 1484, 1485, even though there must have been several more, and some injuries. Even so, it is known that there were deep-rooted enmities in these cases, the direct motives behind which are unknown, although it may be assumed that the backdrop of the factions was an important factor here. Although there may have been, and probably were, a considerable number of minor assaults which left no documentary trace, and one or two crimes in those twenty years or more, the inquiry of February 1475 says that "*se han seguido entre ellos muertes de onbres*", and the case of a death of a university teacher's servant is also known,[64] overall it

61. From documents relating to the factions in the town council's archives, the one that stands out and is the most famous is the ceasefire signed on 30th September 1476, published in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*...: V, ap. doc. XIV, 146-152, as well as (accompanied by the facsimile) in the booklet called *Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros de los bandos de San Benito y Santo Thomé*, ed. Florencio Marcos Rodríguez. Salamanca: Ayuntamiento, 1969 (reed.: 1983).

62. From the *Registro General del Sello* (RGS) they are directly interested in the question of the factions —leaving aside issues concerning the University, patrimonial claims and about crimes that only very tangentially could have had a bearing on the tension between the factions— various documents in this period: inquiry into the situation of the confrontations in the city, RGS, 3-2-1475, f. 148; regal letter lifting the existing banishment orders on some women from the city's lineages, RGS, 26-10-1475, f. 665; another inquiry, of less importance than the one in February, on the same issue, RGS. 13-XI-1475, f. 759; report stating that Alfonso Maldonado, from the San Benito lineage, was injured by two members of the Santo Tomé faction, despite the ceasefire at the time, RGS, 26-6-1478, f. 132; a claim in 1478 for the granting of a tax called the *"del marco de plata"* ("of the silver frame"), which was paid by the prostitutes of clerics, equivalent to almost 2,500 marvedis and was granted to Diego de Anaya by the monarchs, causing the beneficiary's opposing faction (he belonged to the San Benito faction) and on behalf of singular people, to decline it *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS), Cámara de Castilla, Pueblos, Salamanca, Leg. 16, note book; report in 1479 of the killing two years earlier, in 1477, of a one Alonso de Solís by one Gonzalo Maldonado, 9-7-1479, RGS, f. 60; insurance letter granted to some people fearful of being attacked, RGS, 10-2-1480, f. 169 and 6-6-1480, f. 207; order by the Queen to carry out an investigation on the leagues and factions in the city, RGS, 26-4-1484, f. 11; a challenge between Juan de Tejeda and Gonzalo de Monroy in the outskirts of the city, penalising them and those who acted as their witnesses, RGS, 14-8-1484, f. 64; disturbances in the first months of 1485, with one death and one injury, RGS, 14-2-1485, f. 103; murder in 1484 of a Salamancan knight called Pedro de Miranda, premeditated murder by Diego de Villafuerte and Suero Alonso, who later took refuge in various fortresses, RGS, 15-3-1485, f. 114; two inquiries in 1485 into the previous events, RGS, 31-7-1485, f. 66 and 23-9-1485, f. 240; order for the seizure of Rodrigo de Acevedo, RGS, 13-4-1491; the sentencing of the servants of Doctor Maldonado de Talavera's son, RGS, 16-5-1492, f. 493; letter of agreement between the San Benito and San Tomé factions, 30-11-1493, AGS, Several from Castile, Leg. 10, nº 36. This last document was published in López Benito,Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*...: ap. doc. 182-187. Asimismo, López Benito,Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*...: 66-78.

63. Of general interest are the documents from the AMS, those from the cathedral -indirectly- as well as the legal documents, even if it is not very decisive. For example, in the 1480s there were claims made about quarrels between members of the lineages of San Martín and San Benito, which had been expelled from the registry of the same lineages. The executor letters are found in *Archivo de Valladolid*, Reales Ejecutorias, Box 10, nº 28; C.11, nº 23; C. 16, nº 4 and nº 50; C. 17, nº 5, nº 6, nº 10, nº 33; C. 22, nº 21.

64. "*between them they have caused the deaths of many men*". It is known that a servant of Martín Dávila was killed by Doctor Antonio de los Ríos. It is possible that it was faction related, due to the fact that, according to the books of the cloister, in 1474 Doctor Martín Dávila admitted that he did not dare read his lectures because of the factional enmities, because his relatives in the San Benito faction were not in

is remarkable that a big city, already famous in Castile for its factions, had such a low rate of murders or violent deaths. Indeed, the city of Salamanca was home to some 15,000-20,000 inhabitants during this period and, according to the register of knights and squires in 1484, both *linajes* counted 272 registered members.[65]

What characterised the city was an atmosphere of constant confrontation, a very strained climate. None of the twenty-five documents examined show anything trivial or extraordinary, but rather the opposite: more than ten reports of violent attacks; a challenge between two knights; news of five royal inquiries (two in 1475, one in 1479, two in 1485) and another request along these lines for the Duke of Alba; mention of the banishment of several wives of knights from the city; at least three important ceasefires —one between 1474 and 1475, another in 1476 and another in 1477—, add to this the agreement of 1493, which was endorsed by many knights... This evidence gives the impression that the city was constantly under pressure during these years. Many of the documents use the classic language of confrontation: *ruidos, peleas, escándalos alborotos, bandos, questiones,* (quarrels, fights, scandalous disturbances, factions, questions), risk of *muertes y heridas, fuerças* (death and injury, forces), and other common expressions. The mention of *ligas e confederaçiones* (leagues and confederations) is justified by the organised and deliberate acts of pressure groups and violent groups. The employment of armed men (*escuderos e omes allegados* - squires and related men) is another of the elements that links this factional violence and other forms of "vertical" violence, like violence against commoners. The 1476 agreement mentions the type of weapons and protection that the knights and their men used in these *ruidos* (fights): armour, paveses, spears, crossbows and gunpowder shot. The agreement of this year and the ceasefires of 1477 distinguish between the *principales*,[66] who were knights with an income of 30,000 marvedis, as well as their sons, who were squires, and *escuderos,* and finally *omes de pie*. Only the "principal" knights were the true protagonists in the action. And they were involved as much as instigators of assaults as they were as signatories of agreements and ceasefires, which they later either did or did not comply with. Nevertheless, it is clear that this solidarity worked on a largely individual basis, or rather, strictly implicating the knight and his closest circle.

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the city at that time and he was in danger, Marcos Rodríguez, Florencio. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964: nº 799.

65. Of those 140 were from the San Martín lineage and 132 from the San Benito lineage. Data in Villar y Macias, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 27. The large part of this high number of registered members of the lineages had little to do with the more conspicuous minority amongst them, a few families of principal knights, the *"principales"*. In the San Benito faction a few surnames stood out: Acevedo, Maldonado, Arias Maldonado, Enríquez, Paz, Anaya, Pereira or Suárez. In the Santo Tomé faction several surnames stood out: Solís, Tejeda, Varilla, Villafuerte, Vázquez Coronado, Almaraz, Monroy and Ovalle. About the total population of the city, a Simancas document from 1504 (López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: docs. nº 191-210), reveals that there were about 18.000 inhabitants in all of the city's parishes; likewise, Martín Martín, José Luis. "Estructura demográfica y profesional de Salamanca a finales de la Edad Media". *Provincia de Salamanca Revista de Estudios,* 1 (1982): 15-33, who consulted and analysed the same document.

66. See previous note.

This aspect must be emphasised since not everything grouped under the lexical protocol of "*bando de San Benito*" or "*bando de Santo Tomé*" involved confrontations and violence between the divided noble parties. Only a minority (around a quarter) in the registry of lineages took a leading role in the *ruidos*.[67] In the case of ceasefires and agreements, for example, each knight would sign his agreement individually and answer for himself. It was the individual and their tight family group —close relatives and their retainers— who were committed and validated the agreement, which consisted of helping to avoid conflicts or fights, collaborating with the law to maintain order, or even defending the signatories who signed the pact, if necessary.[68] Even the famous agreement of September 1476, in which the factions of San Benito and Santo Tomé promised to "*quitar escándalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males e dapnos de entre nosotros*",[69] was signed by 26 knights from both parties, 16 of whom belonged to San Benito, amongst whom seven were Maldonados. The objective was ambitious and for this reason solemn —"*prometemos e fazemos pleito e omenaje como omes fijosdalgo*", since the agreement tried to superimpose itself on any other particular confederation or friendship that was already in existence, obliging all signatories to act as a single clan, disregarding any type of relation, even of a "*fijo, si fiziere su bivienda apartadamente*". In the pact we get a sense of the smallest units that were formed, and the solidarities which emerged: alliances between knights who were relatives and friends —"*confederaçiones e amistades particulares y promesas que* (...) *entre sí unos con otros tienen fechas*", signifying that it was autonomous individuals who made up the lineage-factions. But the independence of the knights who did not sign the agreement was respected, safeguarding their neutrality despite being

67. López Benito counted 72 individuals among those who were responsible for the struggles and conflicts, more or less connected with the factions, between 1476 and 1505. Among them there were 19 Maldonado, 8 Enríquez, 9 Monroy, 6 Nieto, 8 Paz, 7 Solís, among others. They are the same principal families that were powerful in the city, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios* ...: 103-112.

68. And there were very differently graded pacts. In the letter of 5th January 1470 11 horses, all outstanding creatures, were granted to the Count of Alba by the Santo Tomé faction, which was agreed on that occasion. In some partial ceasefires towards the end of 1473, between some knight from San Benito and others "*ansý de Sant Adrián conmo de Santo Tomé, con que están aliados o en parentela*" ("From San Adrián as well as Santo Tomé, with whom they are allied or of the clan"), after experiencing some differences, submitted to the tutelage of the Duke of Alba, the document confirms that the 8 signatory knights vowed not to break the ceasefire against a surety of goods to a value of up to 500,000 marvedis, being obliged to pay a surety to their adversaries if they did. But it was an agreement between them that did not affect other members of their respective lineage-factions. While the ceasefire in question, put into effect because of the mutual differences between the signatories, which implies that they, and only they, offered their goods as security, "*cada uno por lo que fiziere él e los suyos e non de mancomún*" ("*each man on his own, and not the group, answered for what he had done*"), as the agreement states. And one of the signatories, Alfonso Mandonado, even seemed to want to make it clear that only he was responsible for the breakdown of the ceasefire if he or another family member was the offender, not the other signatories on his behalf: "*que la obligaçión que fazía de sus bienes, que se entendiese quebrando él los dichos capítulos o persona de su casa*" ("*the obligation that he made with his goods included said chapters or person from their house, if broken*"). There was general solidarity within the lineage-factions, but lower down there were also familiar solidarities with blood relations, individuals and alliances (*Salamanca en la documentación*...: doc. nº 72). Similarly, the ceasefire for which some knights committed themselves to collaborate in the pacification with Rodrigo de Ulloa, from the Royal Council, was signed by 23 knights from Santo Tomé (*Salamanca en la documentación*...: doc. nº 75).

69. "*stop scandals, quarrels and fights and other wrong-doing and harm between us*". *Ajustamiento de Paz*...

subject to the superior solidarity of the agreement. The result was that the *concordia*, as a voluntary pact made by the signatories, was given greater importance than the solidarity of *bando e linaje*. Perhaps it failed because few people signed it and important figures from the Santo Tomé faction had been purposefully excluded. However, it may also have been because of the lack of realism of a maximalist ideal that tried not only to eradicate the disturbances and put a stop to the factional struggles, but also to replace the *linaje e bando* solidarities with this idyllic contractual alliance between the signatories of the two lineage factions, creating a solidarity without tradition between members of both factions, that was almost *contra natura*, "*ser todos en una parentela*".

The same can be said of the truces signed on 13th January 1477.[70] The agreement of 1493, on the other hand, was more successful. However, this was not simply because it was ratified by a greater number of individuals (over 40, who expressly stated that they had more support), but because it was something different. The document of 1493 in my opinion was a pact between the knightly *estado* and the *regidores*, therefore in the tradition not of the ceasefires or truces between the factions, it seems, but of the agreements for the distribution of power, and therefore in line with Sotosalbos in 1390.[71]

To summarise the relationship between the Salamancan factions and violence, the impression given is that this violence, above all the serious incidents, occurred no more than intermittently. Nevertheless, during the entire 15th century, the city of Salamanca seems to have been a hotbed of struggles, quarrels, fights or minor assaults, threats, and attacks in narrow streets and small squares. It is the image of a city with a few tense and concentrated elites in an atmosphere of latent tension, or rather an underlying violence of almost anthropological potential, that formed part of the mentality of the urban knights, and that turned into deliberate crimes only at very specific times. I further suggest that a large part of this violence, including María de Monroy's revenge, was due to private and individual concerns and cannot be categorised as a typical struggle between lineages and "lineage-factions". In addition to this, other rivalries arose through the import of external problems into the city, specifically those of the noble *parcialidades*. In this context, the interference of the Duke of Alba in the city was emphasised above.

Thus, the confrontations could be linked to any of the different solidarities. The problem is that all of this —personal rivalry, relations, conflicts in the council, noble factions or parcialidades— created frankly complex empirical webs,[72] but these

70. *Salamanca en la Documentación*…: doc. nº 88.

71. Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV…": 454-456. We recently discussed the issue of factions as accords and political commitments: Monsalvo, José María. "En torno a la cultura contractual de las élites urbanas: pactos y compromisos políticos (linajes y bandas de Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo y Alba de Tormes)", *El contrato político en la Corona de Castilla. Cultura y sociedad política entre los siglos X al XVI*, François Foronda, Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, dirs. Madrid: Dykinson, 2008: 159-209.

72. Even those responsible saw themselves surrounded by the mystification, that was affecting its very structure of solidarity and naturally the very struggles. For this reason, in the confrontation in 1478 —about the granting of the "*marco de plata*"— between Diego de Anaya and Alfonso de Almaraz, who belonged to different factions —San Benito and Santo Tomé respectively—, that insisted that the fac-

were different problems that cannot be explained by one single conflict labelled conventionally as "factional struggles". The early fame of the local factions or bands of Salamanca in the city, and in the whole of Castile, arguably had the effect that many of the struggles were interpreted at the time as though they really were "factional struggles", even more so on account of tradition and previous legends.

In the end it all comes down to a question of social conscience. The people of the time were informed about the constant disturbances that were going on in Salamanca, even small-scale ones, and many of their actions and motives ended up *a fortiori* finding cultural protection in the city's extremely flexible factions or bands. On one hand, these were fuelled by the unknown sources of the tension and the reasons behind it, on the other, and this should be kept in mind, because the interlinked struggles stimulated a dangerously unstable scenario. Any violence would seem for this reason more feasible considering the sensation that anarchy could erupt in the city at any time, "*por las divisiones de los bandos*" ("due to divisions between the factions"), as mentioned in a document from the middle of the 15th century.[73] This was another notable effect of the factions on Salamancans and others, that by helping to generate an atmosphere of chronic insecurity, it at the some time provided an alibi for almost any problem. The unitary discourse of the factions obscured its true polyvalence and went back to a single vision of conduct that had very different origins and codes, and indeed responded to different sources of conflict.

3. Events and tensions that have been linked to the Salmancan *linajes* and *bandos*

1366-1369. Conflicts between supporters of Enrique (Maldonado family) and Peter I (Tejeda family) in Salamanca.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*...: IV, 18-20.

1390, August 17th. "Ordenanzas de Sotosalbos", issued by John I, considered an instrument of pacification between bands.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*...: IV, part XII, 113-115. Confirmed in 1394, 1437, 1440, 1483, 1496.

1401, May 31st. Henry III entrusts two aldermen from each band (the aldermen Pedro Rodríguez de las Varillas and Fernán Rodríguez de Monroy from the *linaje*

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tional rivalry joined with personal or family rivalry, that is, what was affecting the smallest unit. But he saw it necessary to say, "*como enemigo capitál mío e de mis parientes, no solamente de bando a bando como se acostunbrava hacer en la dicha çibdad, mas de su persona e casa a la persona e casa de mi padre han tenido e tienen grandes enemistades*" ("*as an enemy my captain and of my relations, not only faction to faction as is the custom in this city, more the person and the house of the person and the house of my father, which have had and have great enmity*"), AGS, CC-Pueblos (Salamanca), Leg. 16, fols. 11v-13v. See López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*...: 73.

73. See note 47 and reference text.

of San Martín, and Juan Alvarez Maldonado and Gómez González de Anaya from San Benito) with organising the distribution of positions, as a response to the disputes that were occurring for the sharing of municipal posts.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*...: V, 8, 44.

1423, May 7th. Concern in Alba de Tormes about the possibility that the tensions between the Salamancan bands could spread there.

Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes, Libros de Acuerdos (LAC), f. 20v-21.

1439. Juan Gómez de Anaya, backer of the Princes de Aragon, seizes control of the place (some houses and towers belonging to the Church of Salamanca) where the king was going to stay in Salamanca, preventing the kings emissaries, among whom was the Falconer Mayor, Pedro Carrillo, from staying there.

"Crónica de Juan II", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*: *desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernándo y doña Isabel,* ed. Cayetano Rossell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, 558; *Crónica del Halconero,* ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1946: 309.

1440. The royal power, through Queen Mary, reaches an agreement with Salamanca council for the latter to designate two commissioners from each band-lineage, so they could select the twenty scribes who should be in the city.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 14.

1449, February 20th. Letter from John II ordering the magistrate of Salamanca to stop Alfonso de Solís from making a strong house next to the church of Santo Tomé, because there could be skirmishes between the bands in the city.

M. Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 45.

c. 1445-1450. The *Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna* mentions serious problems in Salamanca provoked by dissension between the Santo Tomé and San Benito bands: "*grand trabajo e muertes de honbres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recresçido; de guissa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruyr e perder sin reparo alguno*" (great work and death of men, and other serious and great badness, that because the bands once gain had grown in Salamanca, so that the city was in fear of being destroyed and losing without any protection). The *Crónica* specified the leaders of each band and how each of them served the cause of Henry of Aragon, Álvaro de Luna's rival.

Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...: 253, 447.

1452, April, 17th. Letter from Pedro de Estúñiga, high justice of Castile, to the knights of the band of Santo Tomé about the appeasement of the discords with those of San Benito.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 45.

1455. Discord between the bands about the designation of procurators for the courts of 1455.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 15.

1458. News that men have been recruited —the Count of Alba or his son García Álvarez de Toledo— in the estate of Valdecorneja to intervene in Salamanca: "*quando mandaron yr la gente a los vandos de Salamanca*" (when they ordered the people and bands from Salamanca to go).

Archivo Municipal de Piedrahíta, Libro de Cuentas 1453-1466, f. 71.

1462. The Courts of Toledo prohibit the teachers and students of the University from getting involved in the bands in the city: "*de cada día se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*" (on every day there grow many varied quarrels and scuffles, making an effort in the said favours and partialities that they thus have in said bands and with the knights in these).

Cortes de Toledo de 1462, (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 708 (question nº 8).

1463-1464. Knights from the San Benito band help the nobles who have risen for Alfonso and against Henry IV, among them Pedro González de Hontiveros. There are deaths and fires in the city.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 16.

1464-beginning of 1465. Revenge by María de Monroy, wife of the alderman Enrique Enríquez: she takes vengeance for the death of her sons at the hands of the Manzano brothers. María de Monroy cuts their heads off in Portugal, where the murderers had fled to and places these on her sons' graves.

Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Claveroy Maestre de la Orden Alcántara", Memorial Histórico Español. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110, especially 17-19; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 47, 68, 75.

1465, March 28th. Royal warrant for the confiscation of the goods belonging to Gómez and Alfonso Manzano for having killed the Enríquez brothers.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 47, 75.

1465, spring. Alignment of the city's knights around the Count of Alba, a supporter of Henry IV, on one hand, and their enemies, personified in the city by the supporters of the Count of Plasencia, on the other. All the chronicles (Galíndez, *Anónima*, Palencia) mention this polarisation but without specifying the support of either count.

Palencia, Alonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*...: I, Década I, book VII, chapter VI, 164; "*Crónica de Enrique IV atribuida a Galíndez de Carvajal*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Estudio sobre la "Crónica de Enrique IV" del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal, la Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Jerónimo Zurita-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: chapter 62, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474*, ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: II, chapter LXIIII, 156.

1465, June. After the Farce of Ávila, the Count of Alba, with several hundred armed men, takes control of Salamanca, supported by the knights from the city who sided with him.

Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. "Cronica del rey D. Enrique el Quarto de este nombre". *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla*...: III, 145.

1469. Taking advantage of the adhesions to the bands in the city -"*algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos le servian y acataban*" (Some for money, others for being helped in their bands they served and obeyed him), García Ál-

varez de Toledo, Count of Alba, tries to take the city by force, alleging that Henry IV had conceded it to him. However, the knights reacted and supported by many people in arms, stopped him, "*los del un bando y del otro se juntaron en gran número de gente y tomaron las armas contra el conde. Pelearon con él de tal manera que hubo de salir de la ciudad, con gran perdida y daño suyo y de sus gentes*" (Those of one band and the other came together with a large number of people and took up arms against the count. They fought against him in such a way that he had to flee the city with great damage and losses for him and his people).

Valera, Diego de. "Memorial de diversas hazañas", *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*…: III, 55; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: chapter 117, 271-272; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla*…: II, chapter XVII, 290; Palencia, Alonso de, *Crónica de Enrique IV*...: vol. I, Decade II, book II, chapter VI, p. 298.

1470, January 5th. Letter from the knights of the Santo Tomé band in Salamanca to the Count of Alba reaffirming their commitment to him.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba..: 139-140 (doc. nº 53).

c. 1470-1472. The members of the Santo Tomé band reproach the Count of Alba for not having favoured —supposedly through exerting influence in the king's circle— the concession of a regiment to one who they proposed. In contrast, García Álvarez de Toledo had enabled doctor Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera to be appointed as the alderman of Salamanca, who was moreover from the San Benito band, meaning that those from Santo Tomé thought that the Count aim was to trying to "*fazer menos a nuestro linaje e bando para lo dar e acreçentar al bando contrario*" (favour our lineage and band less to give and increase the opposing band).

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba…: 142-145 (docs. nº 56, 57).

1473, December 29th. Truce agreed between various knights from San Benito with their rivals, committing goods from both parties. Commissioners were chosen to resolve other possible disputes: "*todas las otras cosas de diferençias, de daños, e debates e otras cosas que son entre los dichos cavalleros e bandos, que los vean dos cavalleros, uno de cada linaje, e los determinen*" (all the other things of difference, of damage, and debates and other things that there are between said knights and bands, that be seen by two knights, one from each lineage, and they decide). In the case where they did not agree, it was agreed that the Duke of Alba should intervene.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba…: 158-161 (doc. nº 72).

1474, January 14th. Letter from the Santo Tomé band to the Duke of Alba asking him to initiate an investigation regarding the disputes between lineages and bands.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba…: 161-162 (doc. nº 73).

1474, November. Doctor Martín Dávila, teacher in the University, stated that he was very fearful of going to teach his classes as he had enmities with Pedro Suárez de Solís and, his relatives from the San Benito band being away from the city, so "*sus enemigos tienen libertad de andar por este barrio e por do quieren, dende se le sigue gand peligro de su persona*" (his enemies have freedom to walk around this neighbourhood or wherever they want, where they are a great danger for his person).

Marcos Rodríguez, Florencia. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964: doc. nº 799.

1475, February 3rd. Dispatch of an investigator to Salamanca to find out who was guilty of the commotions and rioting that there was in the city, that had included "*peleas e ruidos e otros debates e questiones de que se han seguido entre ellos muertes de hombres e otros inconvenientes*" (fights and rows and other debates and questions that have led to the death of men and other difficulties).

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 148.

1475, spring. At the beginning of the war against Portugal it was suspected that the city's bands would align themselves behind some leading members, specifically that the Santo Tomé band would follow the Count of Plasencia or Antón Núñez from Ciudad Rodrigo, in support for Portugal, although the Count of Alba enjoyed backing from the San Benito band.

Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: II, Década III, book II, chapter VIII, 195.

1475, May 20th. Scripture taken out between Rodrigo de Ulloa, the king's head bookkeeper, and the knights of the lineage and band of Santo Torné in Salamanca.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba…: 163-164.

1475, October 26th. Lifting of the banishment of some women from Salamanca for their involvement in the disorder of the bands.

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 665.

1475, November 13th. Letter sent to the magistrate Diego Osorio telling him to investigate the disorders in the city.

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 759.

1476, September 30th. Truce or agreement between the knights of the bands of Santo Tomé and San Benito in Salamanca, made for "*el bien y pas y sosyego desta çibdad, e por quitar escandalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males y dapnos de entre nosotros*" (for the good and peace of this city, and to stop scandals, quarrels and fights and other bad things and damage between us).

Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros...; *Historia de Salamanca* (1887), ed. Manuel Villar y Macías. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 147-151 (doc. nº 14).

1477, January 13th. Truce agreed by the knights of the bands of Santo Tomé and San Benito in the city of Salamanca.

Ed. *Ref. Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*…: 192-196 (doc. 88).

1484, April 26th. Commission of the magistrate of Salamanca to report about the leagues of knights and squires in the city, that, despite being banned, have continued to exist.

AGS, RGS, 1484, f. 11.

1493, November 30th – December 2nd. Letter of agreement between the San Benito and Santo Tomé bands in Salamanca.

AGS, Diversos de Castilla, L. 10, 36. López Benito, Clara Isabel; *Bandos nobiliarios*...: 182-187.



Main places of residence of the Salamanca urban aristocracy

Parishes of the faction of Santo Tomé (of early 16th century)

Parishes of the faction of San Benito (of early 16th century)

1. Square of San Benito 2. Square of San Martín 3. Square of Santo Tomé

5 Some houses and palaces of the urban nobility at the end of the 15th

1. Palace of the Álvarez Abarca (or Abarca-Alcaraz. 2. "Tower of Abrantes" (Anaya-Bazán-Pereira). 3. Houses at Anayas. 4. Housespalace of Pedro Maldonado, in front of San Benito. 5. Houses at Acevedo-Fonseca. 6. Houses at Acevedo in San Benito. 7. Houses at Maldonado in San Benito. 8. Housespalace of Dr. Maldonado de Talavera (House of the Conchas). 9. Housespalace of the Tejeda, in Prior. 10. House and tower of Rodríguez Villafuerte. 11. Tower of Clavero (Anaya-Sotomayor). 12. Palace and tower of Antón Núñez of Ciudad Rodrigo, in Herreros. 13. Tower of Aire (Castle) and attached palace. 14. Palace of the Arias Corvelle, in San Boal. 15. House of Rodríguez del Manzano. 16. Palace of the Solís. in the square of Santo Tomé. 17. House of Maria la Brava (Enrique-Monroy), in Santo Tomé. 18. Tour of Villona.

AREAS OF THE URBAN ARISTOCRACY IN SALAMANCA, END OF THE 15TH CENTURY

THREE CASTILIAN MANUSCRIPTS ON MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC AND THEIR PROBLEMS OF ALLOYS

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Abstract

The aim of this work is to throw light on the existence of three Castilian manuscripts on mercantile arithmetic, all from the fourteenth century. The first, which is moreover the most general and most complete of the three, is a manuscript entitled *Libro de Arismética*, which is kept in the Royal Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León (MS.46). It can be considered as the first book on mercantile arithmetic written in Castilian and it takes back, by some 100 years, the date which had been used up until then when speaking of treatises on mercantile arithmetic in the Peninsula. It contains an ample collection of practical examples, 192 in all. Of these, 23 (12%) are on alloys.

A second manuscript is kept in the National Library in Madrid, in the Rare Manuscripts section. It is incomplete and does not have a title and it offers us a total of 76 problems. 13 (16%) of these are about alloys.

The third example analysed, *De Arismetica*, is preserved in The Spanish Academy, Ss.155, bound in a miscellaneous work entitled *Escritos Diversos*. We believe that it is incomplete, although it forms a coherent and perfectly intelligible whole. It omits all general aspects and, after advising us that its aim is to illustrate how to work with fractions, it begins directly with a collection of problems —48— of which only two (4%) are on alloys.

Key words

Arithmetic for merchants, Development of trade, Learning mercantile techniques, Manual from the lower Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Capitalia Verba

Mercatorum arithmetica, Rerum incrementum, De re mercatoria, Enchiridion ad Medium Aeuum inferius ac Humanitatum studium tractati.

For the purpose of this study, we have concentrated on three Castilian manuscripts concerning commercial arithmetic[1]. All three of them were written in the XIV century. This early date and the language in which they are written —Castilian — mean that they are valuable and also reliable. Thus we can discard the idea that in the late Middle Ages there was no technical literature in the Spanish kingdoms about applying the new arithmetic (algorithm) to the field of commerce; it had spread through Europe from the beginnings of the thirteenth century as a consequence of the contact with the Moslem world and Latin Europe; it spread across the extensive southern European frontier, via the Mediterranean[2], that impressive pathway of communication. These manuscripts also demonstrate how technical activity was put to the service of commercial activity under the Castilian crown.

The first manuscript, considered to be the most important, is the *Libro de Arismética*, which is kept amongst the manuscripts in the Royal Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León (MS 46). A study of this manuscript, published in the year 2000[3], allowed us to move back, by over a hundred years, the date which, up until then, had been used in the context of treatises on mercantile arithmetic in the Peninsula[4]; this study meant that we could begin to cover a considerable historiographic void. The sample conserved and analysed is a manuscript copy from the sixteenth century of a written work dated 1393; its content includes explanations from previous manuscripts, now lost, which date from the beginnings of the fourteenth century.

Knowledge of the existence of this manuscript, and its study has also obliged us to seriously wonder whether there might not in fact be more of this type of study buried in oblivion in the different Castilian archives, to which the historian has not yet paid sufficient attention, because he is resigned to the idea that the first commercial arithmetic found in the Spanish kingdoms was that of Francesc Santcliment, a publication from the first Catalan printing house (1482)[5]. After studying MS 46, we can more clearly reiterate the classical question of how it had been possible that the intense commercial activity detected in the Hispanic kingdoms did not have its own technical literature, and/or translated literature, when contact with the Italian world and the existence of a rich Andalusian tradition lead to the

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1. This work has been elaborated within the framework of the investigation project HUM 2007- 63856, *La transmisión del saber técnico y profesional: literatura técnica en la España Medieval*, subsidized by the Ministry of Science and Technology.

2. None of the monographs in existence at the time of the publication of the work, *El Arte del Alguarismo: un libro de aritmética commercial y de ensayo de moneda del siglo XIV*, eds. Betsabé Caunedo del Potro, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave. Salamanca: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, Junta de Castilla y León-Caja Duero, 2000, included the existence of this technical literature in the Hispanic kingdoms in the late Middle Ages —or under the crowns of Castile or Aragon.

3. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El Arte del Alguarismo. Un libro castellano de aritmética comercial y ensayo de moneda del siglo XIV. Estudio, edición, glosario e índices.* Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000.

4. Supremacy, up until then, belonged to the *Summa de l'árt d'Aritmètica* by Francesc Santcliment, written in Catalan in 1482, and this is still the first printed text on this discipline. See a critical edition of this in Santcliment, Francesc. *Summa de l'art d'aritmètica*, ed. Antoni Malet. Vic: Eumo, 1998.

5. See previous note.

belief in the existence and circulation of this type of literature. This same question encouraged us to search for a document of this nature and our work has not been fruitless. In scarcely three years we have located another two manuscripts on this discipline, which we believe to have originated in the fourteenth century. This means that the *Libro de Arismética* is not only a magnificent copy, but is also rare, curious and therefore exceptional[6]. These three essays are proof of an authentic technical literature and of the existence of didactic activity in Castile at the service of the active, flourishing commerce typical of late medieval Castile.

The two other manuscripts which we intend to present are located in Madrid. The first of these, entitled *De Arismetica*, is preserved in very good condition in the *Real Academia Española*, MS.155. It is bound in a miscellaneous work entitled *Escritos Diversos: Dichos de sabios y filósofos; Libro del regimiento de la salud; Regimiento para conservar la salud de los omes; Coplas de Mingo Revulgo...* amongst these are some brief insertions: *notas sobre las estaciones, recetas médicas, Sentencias de Salomón, notas sobre el componente de oro y plata en diferentes monedas y sobre algunos signos del zodíaco y sus características*[7]. The third manuscript, which is untitled, is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, in the section dedicated to Rare Manuscripts, MS.10,106[8]. The work of José María Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca catedral de Toledo*[9]), refers to it, explaining that it is bound together with a *Libro de Agricultura*, which title figures on its binding.

These three manuscripts fulfilled the obvious purpose of providing Castilian merchants with suitable arithmetical training, urgently demanded by the commercial techniques which were becoming richer, more sophisticated and also more complicated. Moreover, as participants in the so-called "commercial revolution" promoted by the Italians, they stimulated and urged for a specific technical development,

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6. We made reference to this in our work: Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé. "Usos y prácticas mercantiles a fines de la Edad Media", *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico, siglos XIII-XV. Jornadas celebradas en Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003,* Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero Camacho, eds. Sevilla – Cádiz: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales – Diputación de Cádiz, 2006: 35-55.

7. Real Academia Española, Ms. 155. The treatise *De Arismetica*, like all other writings, is numbered with modern Arabic numerals in the top right-hand margin. It occupies folios 144r – 164r We also offer the pagination of the other writings: pages 1 – 86v, *Dichos de sabios y filósofos*; pages 92r – 119r, *Regimiento para conservar la salud de los omes*, written, as mentioned in the work itself on page 109, by the Sevillian doctor Estéfano de Sevilla; pages. 121r- 143r *Glosas sobre el tratado de Domingo con las respuestas dirigidas al muy magnifico señor D. Diego Furtado de Mendoça, marqués de Santillana, conde del Real, acabado por metro y prosa.* This is followed by the treatise *De Arismética*. The middle, page 86v, is occupied by *Apuntes sobre los nacimientos de Pedro (1947) y Diego de Molina (1451) hechos por su padre*; pages 87r – 88r *Notas sobre estaciones*; pages. 88r – 89v *Regimiento de salud*; pages. 89v – 90r *Varias recetas médicas*; pages. 90v – 91r *Sentencias de Salomón*; page 91v *notas sobre el componente de oro y plata de diferentes monedas*; and pages. 120r-v *notas sobre los signos del zodiaco.* It was Bartolomé José Gallardo in his *Ensayos de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* who first informed of the existence of this interesting document. Gallardo, Bartolomé José. *Ensayos de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*. Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1863: I, doc. nº 758. I have done a short study on the same subject, Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé. "'De Arismética'. Un manual de aritmética para mercaderes". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 78 (2003-2004): 35-46.

8. Biblioteca Nacional (BN), Raros, Ms. 10,106.

9. Millás Vallicrosa, José María. *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Toledo.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942: 91.

because the smooth running of business evidently came to require improved preparation and training. The new businessmen needed an efficient, rapid apprenticeship and, for this purpose, they began to elaborate an authentic "mercantile and financial culture"; this surpassed the elementary level of oral tradition or empirical practices —which they were never to do away with— and this financial culture was set out in writing. The *Manuales de Mercaduria* and the *Aritmética Mercantil* are the best exponent of these new requirements for education, and they were put to the service of a marketing technique which grew in refinement. With them, future merchants learned the theoretical rudiments of their profession, which they were later to perfect in practice in the shop, the workshop or the factory. A good combination of both ingredients, i.e. theory and practice in their training, could provide them with the professional success they desired. Solid teaching was a guarantee for this, because in accordance with the beliefs of the era, there were three essential conditions for anyone wishing to become a merchant: money or inheritance, aptitude in mercantile calculation and knowledge of accounting[10]. The two latter clearly allude to training. The Arithmetic Manuals offered this training or, at least, helped to achieve it. And so the merchants were the principal users, yet they were not the only ones; there were also many others in the city with an ever-pressing need for accurate reckoning in order to be able to carry out their activities[11]. For example, tax collectors, bankers, craftsmen... and particularly those who worked in jobs related to the minting of coinage, as they were obliged to be familiar with metals, with methods of alloying them and also with precise calculations for obtaining the suitable proportions established in the prevailing rules. These people also made a specific demand on the mathematics of the era and they developed certain themes of a practical nature. In almost all of what were known as manuals of mercantile arithmetic, and even in some of the so-called "marketing manuals"[12], amongst their exercises we find what are referred to as "problems of alloys"; the objective of which was to teach such concepts. This occurs in the three Castilian manuscripts on which we are going to concentrate. One of them, *El arte del alguarismo*, even goes a step further, because, by including most of the practical exercises on alloys, it offers a technical manual, the *Libro que enseña ensayar qualquier moneda*, concerning the refining of silver and the manufacture of coins. In the opinion of Ricardo Córdoba, this treatise constitutes an authentic *Manual de ensayadores y maestros de moneda*[13].

10. These are presented by Luca Paccioli in his *Summa Aritmética geometria proportioni et proportionalità*, published in Venice in 1494, which caused a sensation in Italian intellectual circles. See Hernández Esteve, Esteban. *De las Cuentas y las escrituras*. Madrid: AECA e Ilustre Colegio Oficial de Titulados Mercantiles y Empresariales de Madrid, 1994: 172.

11. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, 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. In this study we deal with how late medieval urban society, with its particular economic requirements, demanded and propitiated new technical challenges.

12. Ricardo Córdoba takes a look at some of the best known in: Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda", *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 86-88.

13. This manual is extremely interesting because it is rare that we find manuals from medieval times which "teach" how to do a job; it was more normal to transmit knowledge by word of mouth. Ricardo

1. First steps

Where should we look for the origins of these good examples of technical literature put to the service of commercial activity and, in general, of urban expansion? A first answer, which is straightforward and easy, and not too open to error, points to the Moslem domination in the Peninsula and to the cultural prosperity of *Andalusí*. Nobody doubts the immense contribution of Arab erudition and its significant influence in the West, due to its vast flow of knowledge, some of which was classical, and which was certainly far richer than what had been preserved here, and consequently completely overshadowed the foundations of Western knowledge. The term "*alguarismo*", the numbering system, and the style of the essays —the treatise of mercantile arithmetic, *Al-Muawalat*, all demonstrate this. Neither is there any doubt about the Jewish contribution, at least about the outstanding role of the Jews as good disseminators of culture and of the discipline which concerns us here. However, we present these manuscripts as the product of a prolific, double-sided tradition: the Latin tradition and the Arabic tradition, both elaborated within an insuperable framework for that purpose —the Iberian Peninsula. There, two cultures —Latin and Arab— as well as the participation of Christians (Mozarabs) and Jews —intermingled, developed and were of mutual enrichment. We would also like to place emphasis on the humblest link in the chain of transmission, which was influenced by priceless Arab science. This link was the Latin-Christian element, visible at least in the first of the texts in question here. Two names are of exceptional significance: Boethius and the Venerable Bede. With Boethius (435-480) a first classical tradition arrived on the scene of mathematics. Using Greek sources, he compiled Latin selections of elemental studies on arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. He wrote the *Institutio Aritmética*[14], a translation/summary of the *Introductio Aritmética* by Nicómaco. His low level in mathematics was lowered even further in later compilations by Casiodoro (475-570)[15] and Isidoro of Seville (560-636), whom we have a particular interest in mentioning because his work *Las Etimologías*, dedicates Book III to the study of the four mathematical sciences. After a brief definition of these, he mentions the "investigators" of mathematics and goes on to focus on the definition of the number, on its importance and its types. He concludes with different geometrical annotations. He adopts the position of the

Córdoba has studied this in: Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda", *El arte del Alguarismo* ...: 86-88.

14. Boethius, Anicio Maulio Torcuato Severino. *Institutio Arithmetica*, ed. Jean Yves Guillaumin. Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1995, in the introduction of which the value of the number for Boethius and Nicómaco is analysed, and the consideration of the study of arithmetic as a phase which should precede other higher studies.

15. Boethius, Anicio Maulio Torcuato Severino. *Institutio Arithmetica*... Jean Yves Guillaumin also offers us a first edition of the text, converted into a manual for the monks of Vivarium and later for the Bobbio monks. Its presence in these libraries and in the Lateran Library would have been of significance for its circulation throughout Europe.

ancient philosophers in his explanation of the doctrine of numbers studied as a manifestation of the Creator's plan[16].

This work spread quickly and widely prior to the ninth century and it was to be found in almost all medieval monasteries[17]. This significant distribution ensured that the inheritance which was included, conserved and explained in the work was widely transmitted. Moreover, in many of these monasteries, they did not only keep such works, but they also studied them conscientiously, although for different purposes to those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One of these, which encouraged the culture of arithmetic, was the determination of the liturgical calendar, as most of these religious feasts which were moveable, were to be established according to the celebration of Easter, as had been decided by the Council of Nicea[18]. Once the religious-dogmatic controversy had been overcome, it only required a certain arithmetical knowledge to bring it into being. Some monks concentrated on acquiring and transmitting this knowledge. This was the case of the Venerable Bede (673-735), known as the historian monk of Jarrow[19], who wrote six studies on chronology. In one of them, *De Temporum ratione*, written in the year 725, he calculated the Easter calendar for the period between the years 532 and 1063 and also tried, for the first time, to prepare a world chronology up to the reign of the Byzantine Emperor of his era, Leo the Isaurian[20]. Yet we are not going to concentrate on these aspects, which are already familiar, nor on how the calculations, the *Computus*, which meant that the liturgical year could be firmly established, continued to be cultivated in the West. But we wish to highlight a small work of arithmetical from Bede, *De Arithmeticis Propositionibus*[21], in which he attempts to solve real issues which could be found in daily life or in the work of

16. Sevilla, Isidoro de. *Las Etimologias*, eds. José Oroz Reta, Manuel Marcos Casquero. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982, with a general introduction by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz. Apart from this, Book III of *Las Etimologias, Acerca de las Matemáticas, Libro de los Números* has also been attributed to Saint Isidoro; this is a treatise in which he returns to the study of the Bible to apply mystical interpretations to all the numerical mentions in the sacred books (Sevilla, Isidoro de. *Las Etimologías*…: 129-130.

17. De Sevilla, Isidoro. *Las Etimologias*…: 200-222 offers us a complete schema of the circulation of the work prior to the ninth century.

18. Muñoz Box, Fernando. "El tiempo y la medida del tiempo", *Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Corona de Castilla, II. Edad Media,* Luis García Ballester. dir. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002: 539-550, once again insists that it was the monks who were responsible for the progress in the sciences of chronology and horology.

19. Bede's seminal work is perhaps his *Historia Eclesiástica gentis anglorum,* the principal source of the history of the church in that country and the one which has given the author the name of the historian Monk, Bede. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, eds. John Allen Giles, John Stevens, Vida Dutton Scudder. London: Denton, 1935.

20. Whitrow, Gerald James. *El tiempo en la historia. La evolución de nuestro sentido del tiempo y de la perspectiva temporal*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990: 102.

21. Menso Folkerts stresses the mathematical value of this volume in his comprehensive work: Folkerts, Menso. " *De Arithmeticis Propositionibus*. A Mathematical Treatise Ascribed to the Venerable Beda", *Essays on Early Medieval Mathematics. The Latin Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003: 12-30.

Alcuin of York, *Prepositiones ad acuendos juvenes*[22]. This volume includes an exercise which might be the starting point for those considered here. It contains a small collection of arithmetical and geometrical problems preceded by some notes on the numbers, and it intends, according to the author, to "develop the talent of the young"[23]. It should be noted that several of its exercises are repeated with the same text or with minor modifications —adaptations of time and location— in subsequent works of arithmetics, specifically in many of those lumped together under the appellative of "recreational arithmetics" integrated in turn in the medieval and Renaissance commercial arithmetics. Possibly those exercises were already traditional in Alcuin´s time, given the Greek, Indian and Chinese origins of some of them[24], and it is conceivable that Alcuin, his contacts with the Moslem world aside, was directly inspired by Bede, whose work was quite familiar to him. Besides the potential connections and setting, brilliantly examined by Menso Folkers[25], we wish to highlight, as mentioned, one of the exercises of the collection, which we can considerer the model in the West of the "problems of alloys". At least the ties are clear. Alcuin presents it as follows:

> *A metal disc weighs 30 pounds and is worth 600* solidi. *The disc is made of a mixture of gold, silver, copper and tin. For each part of gold there are three of silver. For each part of silver, there are three of copper. For each part of copper there are three of tin. Let he who can, say: How much is there of each metal?*[26].

22. Folkerts, Menso."*The Prepositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* Ascribed to Alcuin", *Essays on Early Medieval Mathematics*...: 31–76.

23. Alcuin stated 55 problems, solved 32 and thus left 23 unsolved. These were those to develop the talent: "the other solutions are desirable, however anyone can solve these propositions by using arithmetics, so that the non-solved are good to put talent into practice".

24. Singmaster, David. "Some early sources in recreational mathematics", *Mathematics from Manuscript to Print, (1300-1600)*, Cynthia Hay, dir. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988: 95-208, points to certain Indo and Chinese origins for many of these problems. Some of them appear in collections of Mohavira (850) and Abu Kamil (900) and he insists on the fact that there must have been previous Arab studies which introduced them.
The amusing problem of a hare which fled chased by a dog which appears in Bede's collection, had already been done in what can be considered as one of the most ancient mathematical texts in the world (the early years of our era) and the most influential of all Chinese mathematical texts, the *Chin Chang Suan Shu or los Nueve Capítulos sobre las artes matemáticas*. In this work, composed of 246 problems distributed throughout nine sections or chapters, he incorporates into Chapter 6, "*Justos impuestos*", where there are exercises dealing with the distribution of taxation between different sectors of the population and others on the time needed for transporting grain (tax) from different villages to the capital. Here he includes those of the "persecution type" which we can prove reached Europe before the reiterated Arabic influence. The problem reads: "*una liebre lleva a un galgo 50 pu (pasos) de ventaja. El perro persigue a la liebre 150 pu, pero la liebre aún está 30 pu por delante. ¿Al cabo de cuántos pu el perro alcanzará a la liebre?"* (Joseph, George. *La cresta del pavo real. Las matemáticas y sus raíces no europeas*. Madrid: Pirámide, 1996: 236).

25. In his works referred in notes 20-21, Menso Folkerts provides a superb account of the various copies still existing, their analogies and their differences.

26. Note our translation of Folkerts, Menso."*The Prepositiones*…": 48-9. (7) PROPOSITIO DE DISCO PENSANTE LIBRAS XXX.

The solution which Alcuin offers us is as follows:

Metal	In weight	In coins
Gold	9 ounces	15 *solidi*
Silver	2 pounds, 3 ounces	45 *solidi*
Copper	6 pounds, 9 ounces	135 *solidi*
Tin	20 pounds, 3 ounces	405 *solidi*
Total	30 pounds	600 *solidi*

2. The characteristics of the Castilian texts

The most complete text of those which we are going to discuss is, as we have already said, the one entitled *El Arte del Alguarismo*, manuscript 46 in the archives of the Royal Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León. In its general layout it follows a line common to all the arithmetical literature of the era. After an index or summary, setting out the most general, basic aspects of the different operations, there follows a description and brief explanation of each one, and a fairly long collection of practical examples. Its layout corresponds to the practical nature of this type of work, and this is evident from its brevity and apparent simplicity. Quotes and any digressions are eliminated, to concentrate on what is really believed to be of interest to the merchant, to the businessman and to anyone who wishes to learn the noble art of arithmetic.

Our text actually begins with a doctrinal prayer and, after an allusion to the mystery of the Trinity and the greatness of the Creator who gave us the *understanding* to be able to learn the sciences, it comments on the seven liberal arts and praises the value of arithmetic. It then goes on to describe the Indo-Arabic numbering system, and afterwards details, one by one, the seven arithmetical operations which were considered fundamental: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, pro-

Est discus qui pensat libras XXX, sive solidus DC, habens in se aurum, argentum, auricalcum et stagnum. Quantum habet auri, ter tantum, habet argenti; quantum habet argenti, ter tantum auricalci; quantum auricalci, ter tantum stagni. Dicat, qui potest, quantum unaquaeque species penset.
SOLUTIO DE DISCO
Aurum pensat uncias novem. Argentum pensat ter VIIII uncias, id est libras duas et tres uncias. Auricalcum pensat ter libras duas et ter III uncias, id est libras VI et uncias VIIII. Stagnum pensat ter librasVI et ter VIIII uncias, hoc est libras XX et III uncias. VIIII unciae et II librae cum III unciis, et VI librae cum VIIII unciis, et XX librae cum III unciis adunatae XXX libras efficiunt.
Item aliter ad solidos. Aurum pensat solidos argenteos XV. Argentum ter XV, id est XLV. Auriaclcum ter XLV, id est CXXXV. Stannum ter CXXXV, hoc est CCCCV. Iunge CCCCV et CXXXV et XLV et XV, et iuvenies solidos DC, qui sunt librae XXX.

portional distribution, the rule of three and fractions, which the author denominates *espeçias*. The numbering system used in the manuscript is, as we have already mentioned, the Indo-Arabic, denominating the symbols used as *letters of the algorism* —today, the figures 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9. This is not the case with the 0, which receives the category of *figure*. The value of each one of the figures themselves, which depends on their position, is referred to in the manuscript as *presçio* of the value of the *letras del alguarismo*.

The text also includes an ample collection of problems, 192 in total, which make up the lion's share of the manuscript[27]; they are correctly solved, both in their mathematical procedure and in their results[28]. There is a great variety of problems in such a wide collection: calculation, mental arithmetic, solving situations with associated numbers, the prices of products, the time elapsed between the occurrence of events, the distribution of money or products, interest rates, simple geometry... and alloys, which are what particularly interests us here. There are 23 alloys, 12% of the whole collection, and they are all solved using basic operations[29]. These 23, which are categorised from minor to major difficulty, might be classified in the following types. It should be emphasised that they refer exclusively to silver, and not to gold:

- calculations to debase the legal standard, to obtain an inferior quality silver, with a higher copper content.
- calculations to obtain silver of an intermediate standard, from two silvers of different standards.
- calculations to determine the standard which results from the mixture of three or more silvers of different standards.

These 23 problems concerning alloys are all correctly solved[30], using, as we have already pointed out, elemental operations. It seems curious that the author

27. They are set out from folio 22r. where the explanation of the *espeçias* finishes, to the end of the work, with no other interruption apart from three short cuts. The author takes advantage of the first one to show us how fractions are simplified (f. 59v–61r), the second how roots are calculated (f. 106v–107r), and the third, the longest, teaches us how to melt metals (f.118v–137r) Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…

28. However, there are errors, logical in a copy, which can mostly be obviated, because simply by extracting the mathematical operations done by the author, the correct data can be obtained. See Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…: 76.

29. If we summarise the classification of problems according to the mathematical procedure used to solve them, we find: elemental operations: 52 (27%); rule of three: 28 (14%); proportions: 16 (8%); fractions 67 (35%); alloys: 2 (12%); square root: 5 (3%) and mental arithmetic 1 (1%). See Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…: 76.

30. Certain elements which have not been corrected on the copy may appear at first sight as errors, but they are not; they are merely out of order. The problems of alloys are described on folios 112r–118v and 137v–141v, whilst folios 119v, 120r-v, show two problems of alloys which connect with those presented earlier on. Therefore the problem on folio 119v, in which the procedure is explained for debasing the legal standard of an alloy, which appears to have neither beginning nor end, actually joins on to the one on folio 116 which is interrupted, and offers the solution to this one. Something similar occurs with the problem on folios 120r and v, a way to make an alloy taking silver of two different standards, one of more value and the other of less value than that required. It does not seem to have any conclusion, but this is included in the problem set out on folio 118r., Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda"…: 191.

has systematised his solution with specific procedures, subtly explained in two of them[31]; this is completed by a graphic which easily and immediately informs us of how to go about obtaining an alloy of the standard we require. A drawing clarifies the text and offers a rule for its solution.

> *si te dixeren, el rey manda labrar a 7 dineros de ley e tenemos aquí dos platas, que es la una de ley de 11 dineros e la otra de ley de 2 dineros, ¿qué tomaremos de cada una destas platas para que nos venga aleado a ley de 7 dineros?. Primeramente faz tu fegura segund aquí está e di, de 7 sacando 2, quedan estos 5, ponlos de yuso del 11 y estos 5 marcos as de tomar de la plata que es a ley de 11 dineros e di otra vez, de 11 sacar 7 quedan 4, los quales 4 se an de poner de yuso del 2 y estos 4 marcos as de tomar de la plata que es a ley de 2 dineros, asy que de la una tomaríamos 5 marcos de la que es a ley de 11 dineros e de la que es a ley de 2 dineros tomaríamos 4 marcos, asy que 4 y 5 son 9 marcos, estos 9 marcos son aleados a ley de 7 dineros e para fazer la prueva, multiplica el 7, que estáençima del 9 con el mismo e serán 63 e multiplica agora el 2, que estáençima del 4 con el mismo e son 8 e multiplica agora eso mismo, el 5 con el 11 que estáençima e son 55 e añádeles los 8 e serán 63, que es tanto lo uno como lo otro, asý que esta cuenta es bien fecha e provada*[32]

If we subtract 2 from 7 (the order of the alloy), 5 remain, which he places beneath 11 (which is one of the silvers available); on the other hand, if we subtract 7 from 11, we are left with 4 which we place beneath 2. As 5 + 4 = 9 the answer is, that to manufacture 9 marks of standard silver from 7 coins, we have to take 5 standard marks of 11 coins and 4 standard marks of 2 coins.

There is a list on the last pages of the manuscript which contains the different coins: *real, tornés, barcelonés*...; it concludes with some definitions referring to musical notions and staves with notes.[33]

We believe that the treatise entitled *De Arismetica* is incomplete, even though it forms a coherent whole and is perfectly intelligible. It does not begin, as is usual, with a prayer. Neither is there an introduction to the work, nor are its usage, value and utility specified. It should have a brief index or summary and another section, most important in these manuals, namely a general explanation of the Indo-Arabic numbering system (which is, of course, the one which is used in the work), of the value of position, and a brief explanation on each one of the basic operations. It thus omits all these general aspects and starts straightaway with a collection of problems. Although there are not many problems —only 48— we can, however, affirm that the book is extraordinarily valuable in as far as content and solution of the problems presented. At the start of the book, we are told: *Este libro es muy*

31. Problems number 160 and 164, f. 112 r. v. and f. 114-115r.; Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…: 209-10.

32. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…: 210.

33. The definition *mutança es mandamiento de dos bozes* is included on f. 159v, after an allusion that musical notes are familiar *después que señor supisteis los signos aveys señor de saber e venir a las mutanzas e saber qué cosa es mutança.* There are some staves with notes on f. 160-161v and 173v are missing and there are more staves with notes on f. 174r and 175v Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*…: 78.

bueno y muy provechoso para saber partir e multiplicar enteros e rotos.[34]..., leaving us in no doubt that its aim is to provide the reader with suitable knowledge of problems with fractions, for their immediate use in exchange and marketing operations, insisting on their benefit for merchants.

The aim of the work to concisely transmit knowledge of operations with fractions, is obviously fulfilled. Of the 48 problems in the collection, two (4%), are solved using basic operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication and division), four (8%) by proportions, and 42 (88%) with fractions. The author shows considerable mastery also in these, presenting the problems with short, direct, appropriate procedures, which allow him to arrive rapidly at the solutions. He also assists the reader by adding the "proof", or verification, including this in the more complex problems where there might otherwise be doubt about the accuracy of the result.

Thus, we find two problems of alloys in the collection, which reflect one of the most typical applications of operations with fractions. Although he does not enter in depth into any complex problems of alloys, which require specific knowledge to determine the purity of metals, the author encourages us to investigate the difficulties surrounding them by presenting us with cases of simple alloys which can be easily solved with a knowledge of fractions. A correct approach and results, such as we are already accustomed to with this author.

> *E si te dixeren, yo tengo de tres suertes plata, la una suerte es de 1 marco, 7 onças 1/3 de onça de plata fina e la otra suerte de 6 onças e ¼ de plata fina e la otra de 7 onças ½ de plata fina, e de todas estas 3 suertes tengo 348 marcos tanto de uno como de otro, quiero yo afinar esta plata para saber quanto ha en ella de plata fina, primeramente farás en esta manera, ayuntarás las 3 suertes que dichas son que tienen de plata fina la 1 7 1/3 e la otra 6 1/4, la otra 7 1/2 que fasen por todos ayuntados los 21 /// 1/12, estos 21 1/12 partirás por 3 por quanto son 3 suertes de plata e salen a la parte 7 1/36 de marco por 348, que es todo*[35].

In the second exercise, which is very similar to the one we have described, as it also deals with determining the standard resulting from the mixture of three silvers of different standards, data are missing, precisely the data concerning the types of silver; however, he also solves the problem[36].

The manuscript concludes with some multiplication tables. The purpose of these is to facilitate their learning and memorisation. The author differentiates between

34. Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, f. 145r.

35. Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, f. 151r-v.

36. Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, f. 150v-151r. *Regla para saber allegar la plata. Pongamos que tengas de tres suertes de plata, la primera plata que sea de 15 marcos, 7 onças, de ley /// de 11 dineros, 8 granos e la segunda (blanco en el doc.), e la terçera (blanco en el doc.) e quieres fundir toda esta plata en uno e saber de qué ley será. Primeramente ayuntarás los marcos e las honças de la dicha plata en uno quel ??? 49 marcos e 1 onça, que son 49 1/8 por quanto 8 onças fasen el marco, estos 49 1/8 es el tu partidor, después tomarás la ley de la primera plata que es 11 dineros,8 granos, que son 11 ¼, e este 11 ¼ marcarás por el peso de los marcos que pesava la dicha plata, que son 12 marcos, 4 onças, que es 12 marcos e ½, por quanto 8 onças es un marco como dicho es, agora multiplica 11 ¼ por 12 ½ e salen 140 5/8 la plata e sálente 2448 4/9, éstas son onças, agora pártelos por 8 e lo que saliere serán marcos e fallarás que estos 2448 4/9 partidos por 8, como dicho es, que salen 306 1/8 e tantos marcos de plata fina serán en toda esta plata.*

the *Minor table and major tables*[37]. The *minor table* consists of a simple list of the tables from 1 to 9; whilst the *major tables*, apart from including the previous ones, present us with the higher numbers: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 41, 43, 47, 51, 53, 57, 59, 61 where there are also results of multiplying numbers over 10, likewise for memorisation.

The third of the manuscripts is preserved in good condition in the National Library of Madrid, in the Rare Manuscripts section[38]. We know about it from the work of José María Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*; from this, it is evident that it is bound together with a *Libro de Agricultura*, the title of which can be seen on its binding. It is therefore in book format (275 x 207 mm) and consists of 81 unnumbered folios and 65 with Arabic numbering in pencil in the upper right-hand margin. It is written on paper in black ink, except for the initial letters in red and purple, and the initials of the chapters, some of the epigraphs and the paragraph signs in red. Bound in wood and leather-lined, it fastens with two small clasps.

Throughout all 81 folios certain alterations have obviously been made and other folios are missing; the beginning of the text is incomplete and other pages are out of place, in their current order. Thus, for example, folio 13v. is written the wrong way round and, at the end of folio 16v., two lines are also written the wrong way round —the first problem in the collection. From folio 17r. onwards according to Millás, there is what ought to be another treatise, written in different handwriting to the previous one. It is fairly evident that there are two different handwritings —the copy we are working on is written in processed courtesan script— but we cannot affirm with any certainty whether they are two different treatises, or whether the first one simply continues with a new problem after a blank space.

This third text is incomplete —we have already pointed out that the beginning is incomplete— which means that it does not wholly respect the schema typical of this type of manuscript, although, in its original format, it must have done so, judging by what has been preserved. It begins with a very superficial explanation of the Indo-Arabic numbering system and the value of position, explaining how the new characters, *fegueras,* should be read. It makes no comment on the value of 0, but when indicating the value of the position of the *feguras*, it shows the equivalence with Roman numbering, distinguishing the ease and operative advantages of the new system[39]. These clarifications are extremely brief and succinct, as the author refers to having made them before[40].

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37. Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, f. 161r–164r.

38. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10.106. We know of it from the work of Millás Vallicrosa, José María. *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas- Instituto Arias Montano, 1942: 91.

39. The beginning of the arithmetical text is *" segunt que ya avemos dicho una figura sola sinifica unidat, así como 1 senefica uno, e dos feguras en uno así puestas sinifica veynte e uno"*...From one hundred onwards, the quantities are noted in Roman numbering: *"tres figuras asy puestas sinifican 321,III XXI, otrosí quatro feguras asy fechas 4321 sinifican IIII M CCC XXI, otrosi çinco figuras así puestas 54321 sinifican L IIII M CCC XXI..., otrosí nueve feguras e tales 987654321 sinifican IX LXXX VII MM DC IIII M XXI...* (B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106).

40. The beginning of the arithmetical text is: *" segunt que ya avemos dicho…*

Immediately afterwards, he introduces a *fourth rule*, which is operating with fractions[41]; this is a clear example that the first pages of the manuscript have been lost. He then sets out different divisions of fractions: fractions between fractions or with whole numbers, and also mixed. After 27 exercises of this type, he includes two which could be assigned to what we know today as arithmetical progressions. In them, perfectly valid mathematical procedures are indicated, to calculate the sum of the terms of the arithmetical progressions formed by even numbers in one exercise and by odd numbers in the other[42].

At the end, as is usually the case, he incorporates different statements of problems, to make up the total of the 76 in the collection, with exercises where he generally uses the rule of three and proportions. His presentations of the problems reflect the obvious mercantile slant of the document more noticeably than in the case of the two previous manuscripts. It is also meant for use by other sectors of urban society, interested in the practice of arithmetic, which useful manuals, written in clear, colloquial language, could provide them with. If we concentrate on the presentation and content of its 76 problems, we see that none of them can be qualified with the common label of recreational arithmetic. Not one of them enters into the category of the so-called "bird problems", or "reservoir problems" or the distribution of wills. Neither is there any simple geometry or calculation of ages... nor any which can be classified as mental arithmetic because they do not use any type of operation for their solution. However, the manuscript concentrates on problems of a commercial nature and solves them; problems involving the conversion of coins, the purchase and sale of merchandise using units of weight and a variety of measures valid in the different markets frequented, the distribution of profits... The presentation of the problems is typically Mediterranean, and clearer than in the two previous manuscripts. The cities mentioned are Mediterranean, as well as the coins and the merchandise. Venice, Acre, Pisa, Marseille and Valencia are the cities which are most frequently repeated; most of the merchandise mentioned was transported from Acre to Venice and from Sicily to Venice: silks, Pisa cloth, Marseille cloth, oil, pepper and cloves... all paid for with numerous coins, amongst which, together

41. *Capitulo de la quarta de la postrimera regla abba, eso es partir por rotos e por enteros segunt que luego se sigue...* (B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106).

42. We might say that they are arithmetical progressions of ratio 2, which means that each number of the progression is obtained by adding two units to the previous one. "*Otrosi sy quisieres asumar todos los nombres pares de 1 fasta en 20 asy como 2 junto con 4 et 6 et con 8, asi por esta via fasta en 2/ que non metas y ningun dispar, aquesta es la regla, toma la meytad de 20 que es 10 et /// por1 mas de 10 eso es por 11, agora multiplica 10 por 11 fasen 110 tantos son los nonbres pares de 1 fasta en 20 et si el nonbre mayor era de 1 fasta 23 et quisieres asumar todas las partes que son de 1 fasta en 23 toma la mayor meytad entrega que es 11, multiplicala por 1 mas eso es por 12, ende multiplica 11 con 12 fasen 132 tantos son los pares que son de 1 fasta, 23 et por aquesta regla faras de quantas tu quieras".*
Otrosi si quisieres asumar todos los nonbres dispares que son de 1 fasta en 20 asi como 1 junto con 3 e con 7 e con 9, que noy metas ningun nonbre par, aquesta es la regla, toma la meytad de 20 que es 10 e multiplícala en sy mesma, ende dy 10 con 10 fasen 100 e a tantos son los dispares de 1 fasta en 20 et sy el nonbre mayor era dispar, asi como 23, et quisieres asumar todos los dispares, toma la mayor parte eso es la mayor parte entrega ques 12 e multiplícalo ensy mesmo,12 con 12 fasen 144 et a tantos son ayuntados todos los dispares que son de 1 fasta en 23, e por esta regla lo puedes faser de tantos como tu quieres", (B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 4 r-v).

with the normal ones in the Castilian markets of the era, we should not omit the *besantes, quirates, tarines, torneses* or *barceloneses.*

This third manuscript with its new, rather special collection of problems, also offers us some very interesting information about problems of alloys; it is, in fact, one of the clearest and most concise repertories known, at least as far as gold alloys are concerned. Despite the fact that there are not many of them —10 problems out of a total of 76— we should emphasise that the author has been extremely careful to avoid repeating the statements presented, by offering a high quality, didactic selection. Apart from solving all the problems of alloys perfectly[43], he does the mathematical operations apparently with great ease, describing his calculations in minute detail; this is typical only of authors who dominate the material they deal with. He was probably also aware of the difficulties which the pupil or reader could have in understanding this type of problem —let us not forget that this is arithmetic for merchants— and for this reason he takes great care to facilitate their understanding and learning, avoiding numerous useless, tedious repetitions which, in many cases, would render them less beneficial. His selection truly amazes us, given that it is not easy to summarise problems of alloys so exhaustively and so clearly, and particularly difficult for merchants.

We could classify this interesting collection, bearing in mind the problem posed in each one of them, as follows:

- In three problems the necessary calculations are made to refine gold or to debase its purity. In two of them, with a piece of 17 carat gold, the idea is to refine it to obtain gold of 22 carats in one case and of 24 in another. In the third, the aim is to debase the purity of 24 carat gold to 17 carats, working out the corresponding calculation of ounces to be added [44].
- In two problems, five and three types of gold are mixed and the resultant carats are calculated, whilst in another two, two types of gold or silver are mixed with a third of unknown quantity and it is calculated how to obtain gold of a determined price[45].
- One problem solves how to mix three types of gold to obtain gold of a certain price[46], whilst another one mixes two types of gold, calculating the necessary quantities of each one of them to obtain gold of a specific purity[47]. Lastly, we would point out that, in one case, the problem of finding the proportion of each metal in a three-metal alloy has also been solved.[48]

With regards to the operations carried out, we can conclude that fractions are widely used, as well as the basic operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.

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43. The very few errors found in them can be attributed to the copy.
44. We have numbered them with Arabic numbering in brackets. Numbers (1), (2), (3).
45. Problem nums. (4), (5), (6) and (7).
46. Problem num. (8).
47. Problem num.(9).
48. Problem num. (10).

(1) *Un ome a oro de 17 quilates et quierélo meter en çemitre, eso es al fuego, et quiérelo afinar fasta que sea de 24 quilates et es a saber ¿quánto se querrá aminuar el marco que es 8 onças?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar a los quilates postrimeros, eso es a saber, aquellos que querras tornar el oro, el qual es 24, et dirás si 24 quilates valen 8 onças, eso es, 1 marco, ¿ quánto valdran 17 quilates?, multiplica 8 onças con 17, parte por 24, et viénele 5 2/3 de 1 onça 2 tornará el marco a 5 onças 2/3 de 1 onça et será aminuado 2 honças 1/3 de honça*[49].

(2) *Otrosí, 1 ome a 10 marcos, 5 honças ½ de oro, que es de liga de 17 quilates 1 grano ½ et quiérelo meter en çemitre para afinar, a tanto que sea de liga de 22 quilates 1 grano ½, di ¿quánto le aminuará todo el sobre dicho?. Aquesta es la regla, tu pornás 10 marcos 51/82, otrosy pornás 17 quilates 3/8, otrosy pornás 22 3/8 et pues guarda a los quilates a que quieres tornar el oro, eso es 22 quilates 3/8 et dirás, si 22 3/8 valen 10 marcos 51/82 ¿qué valdrán 17 3/8? et por tal que partirás por entrego 8, redresa 22 3/8 con 10 51/82 et multiplica 22 quilates por 8, junta 3 et la suma por la segunda verga, et eso es por 8 et la suma por 2 fasen 2864 quilates, otrosí multiplica 10 marcos por 8, junta 5 e la suma por 2, junta 1 e la suma por la primera verga eso es por 8 et fasen 1368 marcos et así as que 2684 quilates valen 1368 marcos, aminúa eso que podrás amos a dos los nombres et fallarás finalmente que 358 quilates valdrán 171 marcos, ende que valdrán los 17 quilates 3/8 con los 171 marcos et fasen 2907 marcos, ponlos aparte pues los 3/8 de 171 marcos que son 64 et 1 onça, júntalo con 2907 et será 2971 marcos et 1 onça, pártelos por los 358 et viénele 8 marcos 2 onças 140/358 de honça e tanto tornarán los 10 marcos e 5 onças ½ et así será aminuado todo 2 marcos, 3 onças, 38/358 de onça*[50].

(3) *Otrosí sy quisieres desir que oro que sea de 24 quilates ¿quánto querrás meter que torne a 17 quilates?, tu dirás sy 17 valen 8 onças ¿quánto valdrán 24?, multiplica 8 con 24, son 192, parte por 17 et viénelen 11 5/17 de onça et así sería çrecido el marco 3 onças 5/17 de honça et tanto querrás ayuntar al marco et es fecha la rasón*[51].

(4) *Otrosí un ome a oro de 5 maneras, primeramente ha 7 marcos de 22 quilates, otrosí 6 marcos de 20 quilates, otrosí 9 marcos de 18 quilates, otrosy 7 marcos de 15 quilates, otrosy 5 marcos de 13 quilates et quiere todo este oro meter en un troçel et fundir en uno, di ¿quándo todo este oro fuere mesclado de quántos quilates saldrá?, aquesta es la regla, por la qual /// regla lo podrás faser de quantas maneras de oro como tu quieras, tu deves multiplicar todos los marcos por los sus quilates cada uno e ayuntar la suma de todos en uno e partirlos as por la suma de los marcos, que es 34 marcos, et verná la rasón fecha, ende tu deves multiplicar 7 con 22 quilates que fasen 254, otrosí multiplica 6 con 20 quilates e fasen 120, otrosy multiplica 9 por 18 quilates que fasen 162, otrosy multiplica 7 por 15 et fasen 105 quilates, otrosí multiplica 5 marcos con 13 e fasen 65 quilates, agora ayunta en uno todas las sumas de los quilates, eso es 154 et 120 e 162 e 105 et 65 et fasen 606 quilates, agora toma la suma de los marcos, eso es 7, e 6 e 9 e 7,5 marcos que son 34, et parte la suma de los quilates por los marcos et viénele 17 quilates e 3 granos et 5/17 de 1 grano et de tantos quilates saldrá todo el dicho oro mezclado. Por aquesta regla farás todas las semejantes rasones de quantas maneras de leyes de oro fuese.*

7 marcos de 22 quilates 154 quilates
6 marcos de 20 quilates 120 quilates
9 marcos de 18 quilates 162 quilates
7 marcos de 15 quilates 105 quilates

49. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 14r.-v.
50. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 13v.
51. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 13v.

5 marcos de 13 quilates 65 quilates

mayor 606 quilates

parte 606 quilates por 34

et viénele 17 quilates 3 granos 5/17 de grano[52].

(5) *Otrosí un ome ha 3 maneras de oro, primeramente a 3 marcos 3 onças ½ de oro de 21 quilates, 1 grano ½, otrosí 5 marcos 1 onça de oro de 17 quilates 2 granos, otrosí 7 marcos 5 onças de ley de 17 quilates ½ et quiere todo aqueste oro fondir e mesclar en uno, dy ¿de quántos quilates saldrá aqueste oro quando sea mesclado en uno?. Aquesta es la regla semejante a la sobre dicha, tu pornás 7 marcos 5/8 de 17 quilates ½ et multiplica los marcos con sus quilates, eso es, a saber, 3 31/82 con 21 quilates 11/42 et fasen 73 quilates 61/128 de quilate /// et ponlo aparte, otrosí multiplica 5 1/8 con 19 quilates ½ et fasen 89 quilates 11/16, ponlos con la otra suma de los quilates, otrosí multiplica 7 quilates 5/8 con 17 quilates ½ e fasen 133 quilates 7/16 et ponlo con las otras sumas de los quilates, agora ayunta en uno las 3 sumas de los quilates, fasen 296 445/428, pues ayunta todos los marcos en uno, eso es 3 7/16 e 5 marcos 1/8 et 7 marcos 5/8 et fasen 16 3/16, agora parte los 296 quilates por la suma de los marcos, eso es por 16 3/16 et faslo por la regla de partir sanos por sanos e rotos et venirle a 17 quilates 45/67 de quilate, o si quieres puedes desir que le viene 17 quilates et 2 granos et 46/67 de 1 grano de tantos quilates será el oro todo quando fuese mesclado.*

3 marcos 7/16 de 21 quilates 3/8 73 61/128

5 marcos 1/8 de 17 quilates ½ 89 11/16

7 marcos 5/8 de 17 quilates ½ 133 7/16

mayor 296

parte 296 por 16 3/16, viénele 17 quilates

2 granos 46/67 de 1 grano[53].

(6) *Otrosí un ome a oro o plata de 3 maneras, a 10 marcos ½ que vale el marco 10 libras, otrosí a 6 marcos que vale el marco 8 libras, otrosí de otro que non digo quánto es de que vale el marco, 3 libras, e de aqueste que no vale sino 3 libras el marco, quiere mesclar con todo el oro de los 2 preçios sobre dichos, que quando sea mesclado no venga a costar el marco sino 7 libras uno con otro. Agora demando ¿quánto querra de aquel de 3 libras el marco, en guisa que todo lo otro de los otros preçios non cueste con aqueste en uno sino 7 libras el marco?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar la deferençia que es de 7 fasta en 10 et es la deferençia 3 et aqueste 3 multiplícalo con 10 marcos ½, fasen 31 marcos ½, otrosí toma la deferençia que es de 7 fasta e 8, que es 1, et multiplica 1 por 6 et fasen 6 marcos, ayunta en uno los marcos, eso es 31 ½ 6 marcos, et serán 37 marcos ½, aquestos 37 marcos ½ se quieren partir por la deferencia, que es de 7 fasta en 3, el qual es 4, agora parte 31 marcos ½ por 4 et viénele 9 marcos et 3/8 de 1 marco, que son 9 marcos e 3 onças et tantos marcos et tantas honças de aquel oro de 3 libras el marco querrá mesclar con todo el oro de los 2 preçios et verná mesclado et costará 7 libras el marco apunto. E por aquesta regla puedes faser las semejantes rasones de quantos preçios como tu quieras*[54].

(7) *Otrosí es un ome que a plata de 3 preçios, a 5 marcos que cuestan a rasón de 12 libras el marco, otrosí a 8 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 3 libras el marco, otrosí a de otra plata e no digo quántos marcos, que le cuesta a rasón de 2 libras el marco. Agora demando ¿quánta plata de aquesta de 2 libras quieres mesclar con todo lo otro sobre dicho de los 2 preçios en guisa quel marco no le venga a costar sino 5 libras?. Aquesta es la regla, toma la deferençia que es de 5 libras a que lo quieres tornar fasta en 12, e es 7, multiplícalos por los marcos del*

52. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 13v-14r.

53. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 14v-15r.

54. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 15r.

preçio de 12 libras, eso es por 5, fasen 35 marcos, otrosy toma la deferençia que es de 5 a 3, que es 2 e multiplica 2 con 8, fasen 16 marcos, et por eso como 5 libras aquel quieres tornar en mayor preçio 93 libras que es preçio del primero, tu deves abatir aquestos 16 marcos de 35 marcos que avias puesto et fincaran 19 marcos, aquestos 19 marcos se deven partir por la deferençia que es de 5 a 2, que es 3, onde parte 19 marcos por 3 et viénele 6 marcos et 1/3 et tantos marcos del preçio de 2 libras querrás mesclar con todo lo otro. Et por esta regla podrás faser las semejantes rasones de tantos preçios como tu quieras.

5 marcos a rasón de 12 libras

8 marcos a rasón de 3 libras

otra plata a rasón de 2 libras

et quierese tornar a rasón de libras

e deferençia de 5 a 12, es 7

e multiplica 7 por 5, fasen 35

e deferençia de 5 a 3, es 2

e multiplica 2 con 8, fasen 16

abate 16 de 35, fincan 19

e quiérese partir por deferençia de 5 a 2, que es 3

et viénele 6 marcos 1/3 de marco[55].

(8) *Otrosí un ome ha oro de 3 preçios, a 5 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 50 libras el marco, otrosí a 7 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 47 libras el marco, otrosy ha 9 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 43 libras el marco, et aqueste ome quiere fondir todo aqueste oro en uno e quiérele faser tanta mescla o sea de cobre o de plata quel marco no le venga a costar syno a rason de 35 libras el marco, dime ¿quánta mescla se querrá faser en todo aqueste oro?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves asumar todos los marcos, eso es, 5 e 7 e 9 et son 21 marcos et guarda quanto costaron todos los marcos de la primera compra et multiplica cada uno por el su preçio, eso es, 5 por 50, fasen 250 et ponlo aparte. Otrosí, multiplica 7 con 47, fasen 329, ponlo la otra suma. Otrosí, multiplica 9 por 43 et fasen 387 et ponlo con las otras sumas, agora ayunta en uno 250 et 329 e 387 et fasen todos 966 libras, así as que 21 marcos costaron 966 /// libras, agora guarda 21 marcos a rasón de 35 libras el marco montaran et multiplica 21 con 35 libras, fasen 735 onde (…)*[56] *el señor del oro quiere que et (…) son que le costava 966 libras que le tornen a 735 libras por que guarda la deferencia, que es de 735 fasta en 966 libras et ay 231 libras porque tomarás (…) otros tantos marcos como es la deferençia dellos, eso es 231 marcos et parte por el preçio a que quieres tornar el 1 marco, eso es por 35 e viénele 6 marcos, 4 onças 4/7 de onça et tanto querrán juntar omes con lo (…) en todos los 21 marcos. Et por aquesta regla lo podrás faser de a tantos preçios et de a tantos marcos como tu quieras*[57].

(9) *Otrosí, un ome a 2 maneras de oro, eso es, de 22 quilates et de 13 quilates et quiere tomar de aquestas 2 maneras de oro 1 marco que sea de 16 quilates quando sea mesclado, dy ¿quánto quieres tomar del 1 oro e quánto del otro?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar la deferençia que es de 16 a 22 et es 6 et pues /// toma la deferençia que es de 13 a 16 que es 3, pues ayunta en uno las deferencias, eso es, 6 e 3 son 9, aqueste 9 será colonia, pues toma la deferençia de los 22 quilates, que es 6, et dirás si 9 es venido de 6 ¿onde verná 1 marco?. Multiplica 6 con 1 marco, fasen 6 marcos, et parte por 9, viénele 5 honças 1/3 de 1 onça et tanto quiere del oro de 13 quilates, et pues tomarás la otra deferençia que es de 3 e dyrás sy 9 es venido de 3 ¿ende verná 1 marco?. Multiplica 3 por 1 marco e fasen 3 marcos et pártelos por 9 et viénele 2 honças 2/3 de 1 onça et tanto quieres del oro de 22 quilates, et así quiere*

55. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 16r.

56. It was impossible to read the word.

57. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 16r.

del oro de 13 quilates 5 onças 1/3 et del oro de 22 quilates 2 onças 2/3 et sy quisieres di si 8 honças, eso es, 1 marco tienen 22 quilates a 2 onças 2/3, multiplica 2 2/3 con 22 quilates e la suma pártela por 8, viénele 7 1/3 e tantos quilates las 2 onças 2/3. Otrosy 8 honças tienen 13 quilates ¿quánto tienen las 5 onças 1/3? multiplica 5 1/3 con 13 quilates e la suma parte por 8, viénele 8 2/3 et tantos quilates tienen las 5 onças 1/3 et asy las honças son bien 8 et los quilates son 16 et asy podras faser las semejantes rasones[58].

(10) *Es una copa que es de 3 metales e pesa toda 14 onças, de que son de plata 4 honças et 3 onças de cobre et 7 onças de oro fino et de aquesta copa se quebró 1 pieça que pesó 6 honças, dy ¿quánta plata e quánto cobre e quaáto oro avrá en la pieça quebrada?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves tomar la suma deso que pesa toda la copa, que son 14 onças et aquestos 14 serán colonia et pues guarda quanta era toda la plata que era en la copa, que era 4 onças, et multiplícalo con el pedaço quebrado, eso es por 6, et fasen 24, parte por 14, viénele 1 5/7 e tanta plata avra en la pieça quebrada. Otrosí toma el peso del cobre, que son 3 honças, multiplica por 6 fasen 18, parte por 14 e viénele 1 2/7 et tanto cobre avrá. Otrosí, toma el preçio del oro que son 7 onças e multiplica por 6, fasen 42, parte por 14 et viénele 3 onças et tanto oro avrá et así avía de plata 1 onça 5/7 et de cobre 1 2/7 et de oro 3 onças*[59].

The practical purpose of the medieval manuals on mercantile arithmetic is obvious. The challenge of the significant development of trade had been extraordinary; the response would be extraordinary too: medieval society and the men of commerce did develop a complete set of procedures and resources which helped them to carry out their activity successfully. A basic training in arithmetic was essential. The manuals of mercantile arithmetic were produced for that purpose, and the merchants were their main but not their only users. Many other urban activities required them. Various craftsmen, money-changers, tax collectors etc. likewise needed further training in arithmetic to perform their tasks. We should mention especially the men involved in minting and money-change, as the "problems of alloys" which we present here were devoted mainly to them. These texts explain clearly the calculations to obtain the adequate proportion of silver-copper or gold-silver in the alloys for minting coins, and those necessary to prepare the artefacts with which to control their weight and size. These calculations were as important in "their" jobs as in commerce. Therefore they were a necessary part of their extensive and specialized training.

58. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 16r-v.

59. B. N., Raros, Ms. 10106, f. 16v–17r.

THE PUNISHMENT OF BIGAMY IN LATE-MEDIEVAL TROYES

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Abstract

This article examines the punishment of bigamy in the late-medieval diocese of Troyes. By studying this punishment in the context of all punishments handed down by the episcopal court, this article seeks out the meaning of the punishment of bigamy, and the meaning of bigamy itself in this time and place. The ecclesiastical judges of Troyes perceived the crime of bigamy as an attack on the very nature of sacramental marriage. The punishment for bigamy resembled that of heresy, or an offence on the level of a priest who committed homicide. Bigamy was also considered a "public crime" committed not only against the abandoned spouse and the new, deceived, spouse, but also against the Church and the body public.

Key words

Bigamy, Punishment, Marriage, Fifteenth-century, France.

Capitalia verba

Digamia, Punitio, Matrimonium, Nuptiae, Quindecium saeculum, Gallia.

According to canon law, for a Christian to contract marriage to more than one living spouse at once is illegal, a crime we would call bigamy.[1] This article addresses the punishment of that crime in the fifteenth-century diocese of Troyes, in Northeastern France. As I will argue, the bishop's court in Troyes regarded multiple marriage as a particularly serious crime, an offence committed not only against the sacrament of marriage, but against Christianity itself, a crime comparable in some respects to heresy. The use of public punishment and imprisonment against those found guilty of this violation of marriage law aligned the crime of bigamy with offences such as heresy and the worst crimes committed by clerics against their avowed commitment to religious life.

To make my argument, I will examine and interpret punishments handed down by the bishop's court of Troyes. By treating these punishments as a kind of official language, I will ask what the crime of bigamy meant in the context of ecclesiastical justice.

Punishment sends messages, and can indeed constitute a kind of official language. By choosing to inflict a particular punishment, a court makes a statement about the nature and severity of a given crime. The goal of this article is to reconstruct the statements the ecclesiastical court of Troyes aimed to make through its punishment of bigamy.

The idea that punishment conveys meaning is of course familiar to readers of Michel Foucault.[2] However, admirers of Foucault may be tempted to ascribe a coarse and brute meaning to punishment, as a blunt tool of state power. The meanings of punishment are far richer and more refined, communicating important distinctions in the perceived significance and severity of crimes. The task of the historian is to try to understand the language used by the court, and to parse the message a punishment was intended to convey.

Before we can examine the punishment of bigamy, some explanation of bigamy itself is required. I must first explain what I mean by the term "bigamy." Those readers familiar with medieval canon law might reasonably take issue with my use of this word to describe multiple concurrent marriages.

There was such a thing as bigamy, *bigamia*, in medieval canonical writings, but *bigamia* was no crime. Instead, bigamy was a term used to define the status of clerics. Those clerics who had married more than once in succession, or had married a widow or non-virgin, could not subsequently become priests. These clerics were called bigamous, not because they had committed a crime, but because their multiple, successive marriages rendered them ineligible to advance in clerical orders.

In the Middle Ages there was no word for men and women who had contracted multiple concurrent marriages. Indeed, such a thing, as the canonist Raymond of

1. 433-420 of the "Code pénal" of France. See also Carbasse, Jean-Marie. *Histoire du droit pénal et de la justice criminelle*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006: 343-344.

2. Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.

Peñaforte explained, was impossible, a legal impossibility.[3] Christian marriage was defined by its monogamy and indissolubility. No Christian could ever be validly married to more than one living spouse at a time.

Nonetheless, it may not come as a surprise to learn that many men and women did indeed contract two concurrent marriages to two living spouses, in fact, if not in law. Now such an action, if done willfully, was a crime. This crime, at least, had a name: *binae nuptiae*. Those who contracted two concurrent engagements were similarly guilty of a lesser offence, *bina sponsalia*.

This crime was defined by the making of two concurrent marriage vows. It was a crime for which sexual and domiciliary arrangements had limited bearing. Those readers familiar with bigamy or polygamy in the context of Muslim or Latter Day Saints Sects in Texas and elsewhere in the United States, and nineteenth-century Mormon or sixteenth-century Anabaptists, may have certain expectations for medieval, Christian bigamy and polygamy. One might assume that medieval, Christian bigamy was equally about maintaining multiple spouses concurrently, both contractually and physically.

However, this is not what we find in medieval western Christian sources. The bigamists studied here did not want, as far as we can tell, to be married to more than one spouse at a time. What they wanted, and could not have, was a new marriage regardless of their current marital status. Their desires, however, carried no weight with the episcopal court of Troyes. The point, from the perspective of the court, was that a Christian could not be married to more than one person at once. Acting as if one could do so was a crime, and a deeply important one. The point in these prosecutions of bigamists was not sexual and domestic arrangements, but the kinds of vows one could lawfully make, and the kind of vows that were fraudulent.

The court's attitude towards bigamy thus had a different emphasis than what we might expect. Modern readers tend to think of bigamy as a sexual arrangement or a domestic arrangement. One might think, for example, of tabloid stories of plural sexual partners or the household complexities of multiple wives cohabiting with one man, or a man traveling constantly back and forth between the households of a number of wives. The court of Troyes would not have approved of such behavior to be sure. The prosecutions, however, reveal a focus on something other than sex. Instead, we find the court aggressively pursuing a number of men and women who remarried despite being already married to a living spouse, a living spouse perhaps absent or missing, but presumed to be alive. The making of fraudulent, bigamous marriage vows was the crime that met with strict punishment.

This point deserves some emphasis, since modern scholars have produced such a large literature focusing on sex and sexual offences in the Middle Ages.[4] Readers

3. *Large vero et improprie dicitur bigamus, qui eodem tempore duas habet uxores, licet cum altera non possit matrimonium, nisi de facto* (Pennafort, Raymundi de. *Summa ad manuscriptorum fidem recognita et emendata, sacrorumque canonum*. Liber III, Titulo III [De Bigamis]. D 34 c.5; C 31q.1c.10; X 4.19.4 [Verona: Ex Typographia Seminarii, Apud Augustinum Carattonium, 1744: 240]).

4. Classen, Albrecht, ed. *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008;

familiar with that literature might be tempted to suppose that these prosecutions focused on the crime of illicit sex, or on taking multiple sexual partners. However, these prosecutions were concerned above all not with sex but with marriage vows. Consummation of a marriage was important, and the adultery of sexual relations in a so-called illegal marriage was a crime, but the crime that resulted in the imprisonment and public punishment which we will examine in what follows, was the crime of making concurrent marriage vows.

How, then, was this crime prosecuted or punished? Prior to the Later Middle Ages, we have almost no evidence for the prosecution and punishment of bigamy. We do not even have much evidence of legislation ordering such court action. One exception is found in Canon 8 of the Council of Tours of 1236. Drawing on a decision from the *Digest* repeated in the decretal "Nuper" of Innocent III, this canon condemned those who knowingly contracted two concurrent engagements or marriages. The condemned bigamist was to be punished by flogging and exposure on the *scala*.[5]

This *scala*, or *échelle*, was the ladder on a scaffold; usually located in front of a cathedral or in a market square. As a tool of punishment and symbol of authority, the "ladder" was used by ecclesiastical as well as secular courts with powers of *haute justice*.[6]

We arrive with some difficulty, however, at an idea of exactly what this edifice looked like or how precisely it worked. It seems most likely that the man or woman subject to the punishment was placed, it seems, on or in between the rungs of the ladder.[7] This, at least, is how medieval illuminators and sculptors would depict the *scala* as found by Barbara Morel in her survey of depictions of punishment from

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Harper, April; Proctor, Caroline. *Medieval Sexuality: a casebook*. New York: Routledge, 2008; Ribémont, Bernard. *Sexe et amour au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Klincksieck, 2007; Hancke, Gwendoline. *L'amour la sexualité et l'Inquisition: les expressions de l'amour dans les registres d'Inquisition* (XIIIe-XIVe siècles). Cahors: Louve, 2007; *Comportamenti e immaginario della sessualità nell'alto Medioevo: 31 marzo-5 aprile 2005*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2006; Karras, Ruth. *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

5. *Les Conciles de la province de Tours = Concilia provinciae Turonensis, saec. 13-15*, ed. Joseph Avril. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1987: 162: *10. De hiis qui binas nuptias contrahunt. Statuimus quod singulis diebus dominicis in parrochialibus ecclesiis inhibeatur per sacerdotes, ne quis binas nuptias vel bina sponsalia eodem tempore presumat contrahere et expressim adjiciant quod si contra aliqui fecerint, infames ipso facto effecti, a testimoniis et aliis legitimis actibus excludantur, firmiter injunentes quod si contra aliqui fecerint, infames ipso facto effecti, a testimoniis et aliis legitimis actibus excludantur, firmiter injungentes quod si qui reperiantur talia perpetrasse, nominatum denuntientur infames et in scala ponantur; postea publice fustigentur, nisi pecunialiter penam illam redimant arbitrio et judicio judicantis, que pena fabrice majoris ecclesie publice conferatur, parentibus et consanguineis et aliis eidem pene subdendis, quorum consilio talia fuerint perpetrata, cui pene subjacere censemus eum qui scienter duxerit alterius conjugatam*.

6. Tanon, Célestin Louis. *Histoire des justices des anciennes églises et communautés monastiques de Paris*. Paris: L. Larose et Forcel, 1883: 41-43; Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. *Les Officialités à la veille du Trente*. Paris: Librarie Generale de Droit et Jurisprudence, 1973: 85.

7. Morel, Barbara. *Une Iconographie de la répression judiciaire*. Paris: Éditions du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2007: 101-102, 105-106, 108.

medieval France.[8] A related tool of public punishment, the pillory: *pilori* or *carcan*, was also a symbol of justice, located in front of a cathedral or in a market square.[9] To be placed upon any of these structures was a deeply humiliating and shameful punishment for a culprit and for his or her family.[10]

We find mention of these *échelles* in use by officialities across Northern France and in Cambrai, usually to punish bigamy, but also for a variety of other offences such as brigandage and perjury. Indeed, the *Établissements de Saint Louis* features the *scala* as a classic punishment for false testimony.[11] Examining hundreds of judicial manuscripts and other related texts, Barbara Morel has found several images of men and women punished for false testimony by exposure on these ladders.[12]

How much evidence can we find of the application of this punishment as practiced in ecclesiastical courts against bigamists? Scattered bigamy prosecutions have been identified in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century case records from officialities in England, Italy, Northern France, Germany, and the Low Countries. Bigamy cases from England, late medieval Portugal, and Geneva have each been the subject of an article.[13] These articles, however, focus on matters other than the prosecution or punishment of bigamy.[14] However widespread, the judicial consequences of such

8. Morel's images of *échelles* are consistently this ladder up to a raised platform. We find, however, other descriptions of *échelles* from the eighteenth century that also included a stocks or pillory. Tanon, in his *Histoire des justices des anciennes églises*, citing one Abbé Lebeuf, offers an idea of what the échelle of the Abbey of Chelles consisted of, page 42: "Elle était détachée de tout édifice, et très élevée, et les échelons étaient en forme d'escaliers. Dans le haut, se trouvait une plate forme, au-dessus de laquelle étaient dressées deux planches, maintenues, sans doute, dans les rainures de deux montants en bois. Ces deux planches, disposées verticalement entre les montants, et mobiles à la façon d'une trappe, étaient échancrées dans le milieu et sur les côtés. On plaçait la tête et les mains du condamné dans les échancrures de la planche inférieure, et on rabattait la planche supérieure, dans les ouvertures. Certaines échelles avaient un double système de planches, pour exposer à la fois, la tête, les mains et les pieds du condamné."

9. Morel, Barbara. *Une Iconographie*…: 106.

10. Morel, Barbara. *Une Iconographie*…: 101-102.

11. *Établissements de Saint Louis,* ed. Paul Viollet. Paris: Renouard, 1881-1886: Book 1, Chapter 8.

12. Morel, Barbara. *Une Iconographie*…: 102-105. The first of Morel's images of the "echélle" is taken from an edition of the *Établissements de Saint Louis* from Paris, 1273: Montpellier, BIU ms 395, f.5. The second example is also from an *Établissements* from the same time period: Paris, BnF ms nouv. Acq. Fr. 4578, f.41. Her final example is from the transept of the south portal St. Etienne of Notre-Dame de Paris.

13. Maddern, Philippa. "Moving Households: Geographical Mobility and Serial Monogamy in England, 1350-1500." *Parergon*, 24/2 (2007): 69-92; Tricarico Valazza, Marie-Ange. "L'officialité de Genève et quelques cas de bigamie à la fin du moyen âge: l'empêchement de lien." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 89 (1995): 99-118; Braga, Isabel Maria Ribeiro Mendes, Drumond. "Para o estudo da bigamia em Portugal no século XV," *Os Reinos ibéricos na Idade Média: Livro de homenagem ao professor doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno,* Luís Adão da Fonseca, Luís Carlos Amaral, Maria Fernanda Ferreira Santos, eds. Porto: Civilização, 2003: II, 519-527.

14. For example Philippa Maddern's article on England seeks out behavior, and does not examine punishment. Maddern studies "serial monogamy" as practiced by large number of men and women who abandoned their spouses, moved to a new place, and married a second time. Maddern argues that "self-divorce" followed by remarriage must have been a widespread consequence of marital breakdown in late medieval English society. Helmholz, Richard. *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974 (Holmes Beach: Wm.W. Gaunt, 1986): 59; Maddern, Philippa. "Moving Households"…: 69-70. Maddern's focus on marital breakdown offers a different emphasis than

behavior, however, beyond fines and nullification of the illegal second marriages, are not made known to us.

The punishment of bigamous offenders emerges from other studies, notably the work of Léon Pommeray, Anne Lefebvre-Teillard, Charles Donahue, and Monique Vleeschouwers Van Melkebeek. Punishments, where noted by these scholars, generally included payment of a fine, public exposure on the ladder of the scaffold, or imprisonment. Indeed, the sources these scholars examined in addressing this question, mainly the records of the Paris archidiaconal court and a few other Northern French and Burgundian dioceses, offer important examples of these punishments.

Among these scholars, Anne Lefebvre-Teillard has given her attention to the significance of the punishments inflicted for bigamy. She identifies exposure on the ladder of the scaffold as the typical punishment for bigamy.[15] Bigamy, she suggested, was punished in this way as a species of perjury. This, indeed, is the only previous attempt to my knowledge to explain why bigamists were so punished.

Lefebvre-Teillard's description of bigamy is certainly suggestive, but much more remains to be said. To develop a fuller understanding, the surviving records of the fifteenth-century diocese of Troyes offer an invaluable resource. The records from Paris and the Burgundian Low Countries recount a number of bigamy prosecutions and punishments. The records from Paris are more numerous on this subject than those from the Low Countries, and may contain at least as many bigamy cases as Troyes. The Parisian cases, however, are not usually as rich or detailed as those from Troyes.[16] Additionally, the Troyes records contain the punishments of many non-bigamous serious offenders, such as clerical murderers and thieves, arsonists, and heretics. Neither the courts of the Low Countries nor the archidiaconal officialities in Paris seem to have prosecuted these non-bigamous serious offenders, as found in Troyes. The records of Troyes thus permit us to address this topic in newfound detail and in context. By parsing out the different punishments inflicted on various forms of bigamy, we can glean important insight into how the court perceived the crime.

In the course of the fifteenth century, the officiality of Troyes prosecuted eighty men and women on suspicion of bigamous engagements and marriages. Sixty percent of these offenders were accused and convicted of minor infractions of marriage law. Meanwhile, twenty of those men and women were convicted of bigamy, of

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the larger trend in scholarship on officialities of the last thirty years, which presents officialities as a site for marriage formation, rather than its dissolution. See, for example, the work of Charles Donahue, Richard Helmholz, L. R. Poos, Shannon McSheffrey, and Andrew Finch. On nullity cases, see Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. "Règle et réalité: Les nullités de mariage à la fin du Moyen Âge,". *Revue de droit canonique*, 32 (1982): 145–55; and Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, Monique. "Marital Breakdown Before the Consistory Courts of Brussels, Cambrai and Tournai: Judicial Separation *a mensa et thoro*." *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 72 (2004): 81-89; Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, Monique. "Self-Divorce in Fifteenth-Century Flanders: The Consistory Court Accounts of the Diocese of Tournai." *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 68 (2000): 83-98.

15. Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. *Les Officialités*…: 82.

16. Ruth Karras has found roughly twenty allegations of bigamy in the fifteenth and sixteenth century records of the Paris archdeacon's officiality. My thanks to Professor Karras for sharing her digital images of the cases with me.

willfully contracting two concurrent marriages. Not all acts of bigamy were equal in the eyes of judicial officials, who made significant distinctions in punishing different types of plural marriage and engagement. Only those found to have willfully contracted a second marriage while a first spouse lived were given the full punishment. Nor were men and women equal: officials punished men more often and more harshly than women.

To understand the significance of these punishments, we must first briefly review the full range of penalties a medieval officiality could have imposed. Punishment is a kind of language, though admittedly one with a limited vocabulary. We must familiarize ourselves with this vocabulary if we hope to understand its meaning.

Ecclesiastical officials could not spill blood, and thus could not directly punish by mutilation or execution, as practiced in secular courts.[17] Barred from these forms of punishment, the Troyes officiality made use of fines, imprisonment, and public exposure, and also, if extremely rarely, banishment, and penitential pilgrimages.

Ordering an offender to pay a fine was the most frequent punishment imposed by the officiality of Troyes, as with all officialities in late-medieval Europe.[18] Such, indeed, was the punishment allotted to those men and women found guilty of fornication, adultery, concubinage, non-lethal violence, defamation, and a wide variety of other offences. Far less often, men and women convicted of serious crimes were sentenced to other forms of punishment.[19]

The punishment of execution was carried out not directly by ecclesiastical courts, but indirectly by "the secular arm." Such was the fate of one women burned at the stake for persisting in idolatry.[20] This woman, one Jeanne, claimed to worship a god she called "Rex Paradisi", a deity living in her hip who would save humanity. She also claimed that despite twenty years of marriage and seven children, she was still a virgin. Her refusal to recant these beliefs resulted in her remission to the secular arm, and burning at the stake. While an inquisitor of heretical depravity was delegated to the city and diocese of Troyes, and oversaw alongside the official a number of heresy cases, this woman was the only suspected heretic to be burned by the court.[21] Other accused heretics did not share her fate.

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17. Havet, Julien. "L'Hérésie et le bras seculier au moyen âge jusqu'au XIII siècle". *Bibliotheque de l'École des Chartres*, 41 (1880): 488-517, 570-670.

18. Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. *Les Officialités*…: 84. See also on the Savoy region: Lehmann, Prisca. *La répression des délits sexuels dans les Etats savoyards*. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 2006.

19. Public penance usually consisted of a procession into church on a Sunday or feast day. The offender stood in the procession bareheaded and carrying a lit candle, which he or she would later offer the priest. As for imprisonment, terms of confinement in the bishop's prison ranged from one month to perpetual.

20. G4171f143, See also Walravens, Christelle. *L'officialité épiscopale de Troyes à la fin du Moyen Âge (1390-1500)* : École des Chartes (Positions des theses soutenues par les élèves pour obtenir le diplôme d'archive-palégraphe), 1995: 110, and a transcription of the case in her appendix, nº 47.

21. Torture, applied not as a form of punishment but to extract information, was threatened and used extremely rarely by the Troyes court. We find mention of torture in a case of a cleric accused of homicide, and the threat of torture used against an accused rapist. In the vast majority of cases, however, torture played no role at all. See Walravens, Christelle. *L'officialité épiscopale de Troyes*…: 98; Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. *Les Officialités*…: 83.

The officiality of Troyes applied the punishment of banishment infrequently. We know of only two examples, both priests.[22] In 1426, the first priest gave out unconsecrated hosts to his parishioners while celebrating mass. This priest was suspended from the priesthood and banished in perpetuity from the diocese, on penalty of excommunication and suspicion of heresy. At around the same time, another priest was banished from the diocese for a year on penalty of two years imprisonment and 40 *livres tournois*. The punishment of pilgrimage was equally rare. In one example, Etienne Moreau, a deacon of Bray-sur-Seine in the diocese of Sens, was initially sentenced to two years in prison for repeated theft from churches. His sentence was commuted to a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella.[23]

Leaving aside these more exceptional punishments, the three most important types of punishment made use of by the officiality of Troyes were fines, imprisonment, and exposure on the ladder of the scaffold. It is these latter two punishments that the officiality imposed upon convicted bigamists, among other serious offenders.

In the Middle Ages, prisons were generally made use of not so much to punish as to detain, or as a preventative measure.[24] Indeed, following Roman Law tradition, imprisonment for the purpose of punishment was technically illegal.[25] Practice, however, above all in ecclesiastical justice, deviated from this theoretical position. On the whole, custodial imprisonment, the detention of a suspect while awaiting a trial, was a far more common usage than punitive imprisonment, punishment after a conviction. Even so, ecclesiastical prisons were used both to detain and to punish.

Ecclesiastical officials punished some offenders with public humiliation as well.

A few words about public punishment in general are required to introduce the subject. At its origins in Late Antiquity, public penance was a ritualized exclusion from the Church and from Christian society. Scholars once described a transformation in penitential practice in the twelfth century from public to private, from the external, public forum to the internal forum, the soul, conscience, and confession.[26] However, as Mary Mansfield has shown, public humiliation in various forms remained an extremely important mode of punishment for religious offences in the thirteenth

22. Archives Départamentales de l'Aube (ADA) G-4171, f. 24v; G-4172, f. 20v, see also Walravens, Christelle. *L'officialité épiscopale de Troyes*…: 111.

23. ADA G-4171, f. 35v, 36v.

24. Grand, Roger. "La prison et la notion d'emprisonnement dans l'ancien droit". *Revue Historique de droit français et étranger*, 19–20 (1940–1941): 58–87; Pugh, Ralph B. *Imprisonment in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968; Vincent-Cassy, Mireille. "Prison et châtiments à la fin du moyen âge", *Les Marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire*. Paris: Université Paris 7, 1979: 262–274; Gonthier, Nicole. "Prisons et prisonniers à Lyon aux XIVe et XVe siècles". *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du Droit et des Institutions anciens pays bourguignons, comtois, et romands*, 39 (1982): 15–30.

25. Geltner, Guy. "Medieval Prisons: Marginality at the City Center, 1250-1400". Princeton: Princeton University (PhD dissertation), 2006: 76. See also Geltner, Guy. *The Medieval Prison: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

26. See for example Vogel, Cyrille. *Le Pécheur et la pénitence au* moyen âge. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969.

century and long afterwards.[27] At the hands of ecclesiastical judges, public penance and public punishment intertwined. Public sins, causing public offence, such as adultery or incest, required public punishment.

When a crime was considered serious enough by the ecclesiastical officials in Troyes, or when it fell into the corresponding categories of offence, criminals were punished by a combination of both confinement and public punishment.[28] The convicted bigamists of Troyes fall within this category.

What, then, was the significance of the use of the combined punishments of exposure on the ladder of the scaffold and imprisonment? What does the application of these forms of punishment say about how the court perceived the crime of bigamy? If we take together all of the offences punished by imprisonment and the *scala*, and examine the context and meaning of these punishments, can we learn what it meant for bigamy to be so punished?

Let us turn to a register of sentences from Troyes covering the period 1423-1472, a register encompassing some 1,600 entries. Read quantitatively, the register is concerned mainly with violence or sexual offences. Qualitatively, we find a handful of major concerns, which stand out because of the severity of punishments and the stringent language of the sentences. Indeed, these cases stand out in every way, taking up from one side of a page to a handful of folios, as opposed to the thousands of brief entries of only a few lines. This register recounts the judgments passed by a number of officials, named by three bishops in turn. Dividing the cases up by these episcopates, we find three main waves of prosecution.

Cases from A. D. de l'Aube G4171 resulting in exposure on the ladder and imprisonment:

Bishop: Etienne de Giverny (d. 1426). Year and folio crime/status time on scala and in prison

1423 f6r	Vagabond friar, performed mass	1 day, 1 year
1423 f6v	Bigamist	1 day, 6 months
1423 f7r	Bigamist	1 day, 6 months
1424 f11r	Bigamist	2 days, 6 months
1425 f17v	Bigamist	1 day, 3 months

27. Mansfield, Mary. *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*. Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, 1995.

28. Given, James. *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*. Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1997: 70.

Bishop: Jean Leguise (1426 d. 1450)

1442 f35v	Deacon, theft from churches, repeat offender	2 years
1443 f38v	Bigamist	1 day, 1 month
1445 f46v	2 priests, libelous heresies	2 years
1445 f51v	Marshal, blasphemy	3&1/2 months
1446 f54r	Cleric, violent attack on officiality notary	1 year
1447 f59v	Midwife, baptized a stillborn baby	1 month
1447 f60r	Bigamist	1 day, 3 months
1448 f63r	Bigamist	1 day, 6 months
Same	Bigamist (female)	1 year
1448 f64v	Cleric, brigandage	1 day, 6 months
1448 f65v	Cleric, theft	1 year
1448 f66r	Cleric, homicide	3 days, perpetual
1448 f66v	Layman, blasphemy	1 day
1448 f66v	Cleric, theft	6 months
1449 f68	Bigamist	1 day, 6 months

Bishop: Louis Raguier (1450-1483)

1453 f82v	Bigamist	2 days, 6 months
1453 f83v	Cleric, perjury and theft	3 days, 6 months
Same	Accomplice, perjury and theft	3 days, 6 months
1454 f85r	Bigamist	3 days, 6 months
1457 f95r	Cleric, perjury, forgery, and theft	3 days, perpetual
1457 f96v	Cleric, brigandage	3 days, 7 years
1457 f98v	Bigamist	2 days, 6 months
1457 f99r	Priest, theft	3 years
1458 f106	Bigamist	2 days, 6 months

1460 f113	Cleric, brigandage, theft	3 days, perpetual
1462 f120	Bigamist	3 days, 1 year
1462 f122	Sorcery	Perpetual
1463 f124v	Bigamy	2 days, 1 year
1463 f125	Bigamy	2 days, 6 months
1462 f127	Cleric, arson	Perpetual
1463 f130	Cleric, homicide	3 days, perpetual
1464 f133	Bigamist	3 days, 1 year
1464 f134	Cleric, violence, theft, perjury	3 days, 3 years
1464 f135	Cleric, homicide	3 days, 7 years
1465 f136v	Cleric, homicide (1466 f142v laywoman burned for heresy)	3 days, 10 years
1467 f147	Cleric, words against the faith	3 days, 7 years
1468 f149	Bigamist	3 days, 1 year
1468 f150	Perjurer, testified a woman's husband had died	1 day, 6 months
	Accomplice	1 day 6 months

The first group of punishments was passed down in the final years of the episcopate of Etienne de Giverny. His official punished five men with a combination of imprisonment and exposure on the ladder. Four of these men were accused of bigamy, of having married despite being already married to a living spouse. The fifth was a renegade friar who had abandoned his monastery without permission and performed mass despite not being ordained a priest. These prosecutions all took place in 1424 and 1425.

The next wave of heavy-handed judgments came in the 1440s, during the episcopate of Jean Leguise, from 1442-1449. Sixteen people, that is; fourteen men and two women, or eight male clerics and eight men and women of the laity, were sentenced to the ladder or prison or both. The crime in five of these cases was bigamy. As for the remaining eleven men and women, their crimes included heresy, blasphemy, perjury, brigandage, homicide, and theft. Clerics were responsible for the perjury, brigandage, homicide, and theft, as well as some of the heresy and blasphemy.

Finally, from 1453-1468, twenty-four men, thirteen of them members of the clergy, were punished on the ladder, in prison, or both. It was also at this time that one woman was burned at the stake for heresy. To return to the twenty-four men,

nine were bigamists. Two men, convicted of giving false testimony, were punished with imprisonment and the *scala* for falsely swearing that they had witnessed a man's death, so that his so-called widow could marry one of them. That is to say, these two men were so punished for helping a woman to commit bigamy. They are the only laymen punished with both imprisonment and the *scala* for anything other than bigamy, and even their crime is to have facilitated bigamy by their false testimony. Interestingly, and this is a point I will return to, we have no record of this woman herself ever facing prosecution. As for the remaining thirteen men, they were punished for brigandage, murder, theft, and sorcery. All but the "sorcerer" were clerics.

Out of all of these forty-five sentences in this register, only one man was sentenced to the *scala* with no accompanying imprisonment. Convicted for blasphemy in 1448, he was sentenced to one day on the *scala*. His case may be exceptional in another regard; he seems to be the same man as one who was punished in 1443 for bigamy.[29]

With all these sentences taken as a whole, out of forty-five total cases we have eighteen cases of bigamy, equaling 40 %. The remaining twenty-seven included clergymen and laymen and -women. All of these men and women were sentenced to either imprisonment or the *scala* or both. The crimes included murder, brigandage, theft, blasphemy, heresy, bigamy, and false testimony in abetting bigamy. With these findings we see that the punishment of imprisonment and the *scala* was applied to serious crimes committed by clergy and the laity alike.

We see as well three critical points that I want to emphasize: first, that the laity were generally only punished with either imprisonment or the ladder or both for crimes related to bigamy, blasphemy, and heresy. If we examine only those cases involving both imprisonment and the ladder, the results are still more significant. Turning to the thirty-two cases in which offenders, all male, were sentenced to both prison and the *scala*, seventeen (53%) were bigamists. Two of the remaining offenders, as already noted, were so punished because they had testified on the behalf of a woman wishing to be considered a widow, given testimony that a living man, her husband, had died. The remaining thirteen men so punished were members of the clergy.

All this leads to a significant conclusion: the combined punishment of imprisonment and the *scala* was a tool of punishment used by the officiality specifically to punish lay bigamists and the more felonious of clergymen. Looking only to the laity, prison was used against bigamists, blasphemers, and heretics; the *scala* was used against bigamists, perjurers, and one blasphemer. The combination of both was used only against bigamists, perjurers, and felonious clerics.

Second, and most importantly, we should also note what is missing. Other marital and sexual crimes do not appear. Bigamy is clearly in another category of behavior; it is the only offence involving sex or marriage that was punished so severely. The

29. His sentence that time was one day on the *scala* and six months imprisonment. See ADA G-4171, f. 38v.

few mentions of incestuous relationships prosecuted by the officiality of Troyes did not result in these kinds of punishments, nor did adultery.[30]

Be that as it may, what also stands out in these findings is how few women were so punished. Only two women were sentenced to a term of imprisonment. One was a midwife who had baptized a stillborn baby. She was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a penitential procession. For the other, a year's imprisonment was her punishment for bigamy. Like the first woman, she is not sentenced to public exposure on the ladder. No woman was, for any crime. I do not know if we can attribute this to some sort of delicacy on the part of the court. Certainly they allowed an unrepentant and unfortunate female heretic to be exposed and burned.

However, a real gender bias that excused women may be evident. A number of women suspected of bigamy appeared before the court. We know only that they were fined. With the exception of one woman, they do not seem to have ended up in prison or ever on the *scala*. Female bigamists in Troyes had a far easier time of it than their male counterparts. While it is possible that women committed bigamy less often than men, we know they committed bigamy sometimes, and we know they were not punished as these men were. Why this was so is indeed a difficult question to answer, a question I address in my dissertation.[31]

Let us return to the punishments. What is most revealing is the finding that members of the laity were sent to both the prison and to the *scala* for bigamy, and almost exclusively for bigamy. Beginning with the use of imprisonment alone, these sentences constitute an important exception to a general rule on whom one finds punished with ecclesiastical imprisonment. On the whole, one finds only clerics or heretics serving terms in the bishop's prison. That bigamists in Troyes, and perhaps in other places as well, were being treated like clergy, or like heretics, may well be indicative of what the crime of bigamy meant in this time and place.

Moreover, if we can risk so strict a translation of the language of punishment, the two-part *scala* and imprisonment punishment for bigamists matches most closely and consistently not the punishment for heretics or blasphemers, but the punishment of clergy who had seriously violated their orders.

In addition to murder, these delinquent clergy had committed a number of serious crimes. One had fought hard on the side of the Burgundians, and stole, raped, and killed when not otherwise employed. Another, a priest, had given out unconsecrated hosts to his parishioners. This kind of behavior may well be what the officiality considered most similar to bigamy in its categorizations of crimes.

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30. Not all courts, however, stuck to the same vocabulary in punishment. In the interest of full disclosure, I should mention that two cases of incest from the officiality of Brussels involved punishment on the *scala*: one involved a man accused of incest with his daughter, the other involved a woman accused of sleeping with a number of men all related to each other. Neither the man nor the woman, however, was also punished by imprisonment, and nothing like this appears in the registers for Troyes.

31. McDougall, Sara. *Bigamy in Late-Medieval France*. New Haven: Yale University (PhD. Dissertation), 2009: 206-212.

Certainly it is only these clergy and bigamists in Troyes who we find most often both on the *scala* and in prison. Their crimes were offences against the sacraments of clerical orders and of matrimony. They were also crimes against the Church and the community. These crimes fell under the category of "public" offences. For these kinds of crimes, imprisonment was insufficient punishment.

As Bronislaw Geremek explained, imprisonment did not fully meet medieval requirements for vengeance. "Nor did it satisfy the demand for an ostentatious punishment; prison was too discreet."[32] Such crimes seemed to call for public punishment, to set an example to others and to humiliate the culprit and their families. As we have seen, when dealing with certain egregious offences and offenders, the court of Troyes met this evident need by use of the *scala*.

Moreover, when administering public punishment in fifteenth-century Troyes, the officiality invoked a centrally important concept in medieval legal thought on crime, the idea of public crimes. Such concepts are found in the sentences passed against bigamists by the Troyes officiality. To quote a stock phrase from these records: "Since therefore these crimes have been committed before the body public, and so that such crimes do not remain unpunished, indeed, they are to be punished by public censure so that an example is made for others and the punishment for one will instill fear into many people".[33]

As Richard Fraher argues, public interest was a central principle for regulation of crime in the Middle Ages.[34] When first invoked in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Innocent III and other reforming ecclesiastics, the concept of public crimes was intended for use in the prosecution of clerics suspected of concubinage, heretics, and usurers. At least by the later Middle Ages, however, bigamists would also come to be prosecuted as notorious, and with public punishment.[35] Indeed, the sentences passed by the Troyes officiality against bigamists include the phrase: *Ne crimina remaneant impunita*. With the use of such terminology, we see the legal context in which the Troyes officiality considered bigamy cases, and their conscious-

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32. Gemerek, Bronislaw. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987: 17.

33. ADA G4171f68r. [*28 June 1449*]:...cum igitur rei publice intersit ne talia delicta remaneat impunita quinymo publica sunt animadversione punienda ut aliis cedat in exemplum et pena unius sit metus multorum...

34. Fraher, Richard. "The Theoretical Justification for the New Criminal Law of the High Middle Ages: 'Rei Publicae Interest, Ne Crimina Remaneant Impunita'". *University of Illinois Law Review*, 577 (1984): 587. In the early years of Innocent III's papacy, the papal chancery produced an important decretal, "*Inauditum*," arguing that it was in the public interest that crimes not go unpunished. The application of this legal terminology to canonical treatment of crimes and punishments was further established in 1210 with Tancred of Bologna's treatise on criminal law. Fraher, Richard M. "The Theoretical Justification for the New Criminal Law of the High Middle Ages"…: 577-595; Pennington, Ken. "Innocent III and the Ius commune," *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau zum 65. Geburtstag (Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, NF 91)*, Richard Helmholz, Paul Mikat, Jörg Müller, Michael Stolleis, eds. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000: 349-366. Hostiensis would also write at length on this principle in his *Summa aurea* (Fraher, Richard. "The Theoretical Justification"…: 582-584).

35. For more on public punishment of heretics see especially Arnold, Joh. *Inquisition and Power*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001: 58-63.

ness of a mandate to combat activity that violated Church laws and morals in their diocese. Public crimes, an offence to the body public, merited public punishment. Bigamy fell under this umbrella of public crime.

As mentioned in introducing this topic, Anne Lefebvre-Teillard has argued that bigamists were punished with the *scala* because of their perjury.[36] However, as this article has shown, we can push our reading of the meaning behind this punishment further. Bigamy was perceived as a fraud, one often facilitated by perjury, but it was also a fraud that threatened the sacrament of marriage, and Christian identity itself. To be sure, the way in which the officiality of Troyes punished bigamy is not sufficient justification for this claim. Further evidence is needed, evidence which I offer in my dissertation.[37]

To conclude, as we have seen, in ecclesiastical hands, the *scala* was used not only to punish false testimony, but also blasphemy, heresy, and serious violations of the sacrament of orders by clerics. Not only perjury was so punished. Bigamists were punished in ways similar to perjurers, but also to heretics, to blaspheming or felonious clergy. Exposure on the ladder by an officiality, then, symbolically linked bigamy to three crimes: perjury, heresy, and violation of a sacrament.[38]

Bigamists in the late-medieval diocese of Troyes were not banished, sent on penitential pilgrimage, or executed. Instead, punishment for bigamy arrived in the form of imprisonment and exposure on the public *scala* in front of the cathedral in Troyes.

This was a form of punishment rich with meaning. To be punished in this way implied that a layperson had committed a kind of heresy, or committed an offence on the level of a priest who deserved to be defrocked. Such a person had also com-

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36. Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. *Les Officialité* …: 82.

37. McDougall, Sara. *Bigamy in Late-Medieval France…*

38. Public punishment for bigamy on a ladder of a scaffold, or on the scaffold itself, would remain a common feature of bigamy punishments throughout the premodern period in Western Europe. In the Middle Ages bigamy was mostly left to ecclesiastics to punish. Louandre, François Cesar. *Histoire d'Abbeville et du comte de Ponthieu jusqu'en 1789*. Abbeville: Chez Aug. Alexandre, Libraire-Éditeur, 1884: II, 268: La bigamie fut consideree, la plupart du temps, comme un cas de conscience plutot que comme un delit social, et les magistrats municipaux laisserent aux ecclesiastiques le soin de la punir; cependant on trouve au XVe siecle un individu condamne pour ce crime a etre mitre, mis au Pilori, et banni a toujours sous peine detre battu au cul d'une charrette. *Comtes des Argentiers*, annee 1498.
In the sixteenth century, with the increasing severity of punishment generally, we find sentences of galley service, executions, and banishment passed against bigamists. In later centuries the punishment became less severe once more, with bigamists publicly humiliated and whipped on the scaffold: d'Albiousse, Lionel. "De la suppression du crime de bigamie." *Annales de la Société littéraire, scientifique et artistique d'Apt*, 1 (1863-1864 [1865]): 234-239; 235: "Bigamie était aussi puni du dernier supplice, ainsi que le constatent plusieurs arrêts de Parlements rendues dans le 16 et 17 siècle. Plus tard on se montra moins sévère. La peine de ce crime fut pour les hommes les galères, et pour les femmes le bannissement a temps ou a perpétuité,les uns et les autres étaient préalablement exposes au carcan ou au pilori un jour de marche, les hommes avec deux quenouilles, et les femmes avec deux chapeaux, portant chacun devant et derrière des écriteaux qui marquaient le titre de leur condamnation. (Damhouderius, Iodocus. *Practica rerum criminalium*: Antverpiae, Apud loannem Bellerum: Farinacius quest. 141 n 39, cap. 89 n. 123; Muyart de Vouglans, Pierre-François. *Les lois criminelles de France dans leur ordre naturel.* Paris: Mérigot le jeune, 1783: 225).

mitted a "public crime" not only against the abandoned spouse and the new, deceived, spouse, but also against the Church and the body public. The sources are not free of ambiguity, and their meanings are by no means always clear. Nevertheless, understanding what we can of these punishments is essential for forming an understanding of the meaning of bigamy as perceived, prosecuted and punished by late-medieval Church officials.

BETWEEN HUSBAND AND FATHER: QUEEN ISABEL OF LANCASTER'S CROSSED LOYALTIES

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Abstract

Isabel of Lancaster became engaged to Afonso V of Portugal when they were both seven years old. Her father was Pedro, the uncle of the infant king and regent of the realm after the forcing out of the queen mother Leonor of Aragon. The regency allowed Pedro to favour his own lineage. However, when Afonso V took over the government, other branches of the royal family and the high nobility who felt endangered by Pedro's policy started to turn the king against him. We will show how Isabel negotiated her loyalty both to her husband and to her father during the conflict that arose between them, and how she managed to keep her status and power while honouring her father's memory and protecting the other women of her lineage after the ignominious death of Pedro in a battle against the king.

Key words

Endogamy, Princely marriage, Queenship, Regency, Royal family.

Capitalia Verba

Endogamia, Nuptiae principum, Manus reginae, Regentis dignitas, Regia domus.

It has been argued that a crucial point in medieval noble women's understanding of themselves was that a man's place in the medieval world was defined primarily by his membership of a single patrilineal family while a woman's place was defined by double and potentially contradictory family allegiances.[1] Royal women who married abroad in order to consolidate peace treaties or to establish new alliances among two monarchies, and who had to cross cultural, geographical, and linguistic boundaries in addition to familial ones, experienced this duality in an exaggerated form; this might give them a strong sense of self and enhance their personal power.[2] Yet it was not without danger: foreign queens could be criticized, physically abused or even murdered for favouring their kin and countrymen or introducing new and "depraved" customs in the realm.[3]

János Bak has nevertheless alerted to the fact that royal marriages made within the boundaries of one kingdom could also meet strong criticism as they would get a magnate's family too close to the throne.[4] "Native" queens were also suspected of benefiting their relatives and protégés, thus disturbing the existing balance among the aristocracy and giving rise to antagonisms and conflicts. What, then, if the marriage was made within the royal family itself, defying the canonical impediments? Would it strengthen or enfeeble the king's role as arbitrator of the nobility and sovereign of the realm's subjects? Would it reinforce love and solidarity or sow discord among the family's different branches? And the status of the queen, would it be enhanced or curtailed by her previous position as a member of the royals? We will try to answer these and other related questions by analysing the case of Queen Isabel of Lancaster.[5]

The idea of marrying Isabel to her first cousin Afonso of Portugal first arose in dramatic conditions: on September 9, 1438, King Duarte died suddenly from plague, leaving as heir a boy aged 6. In his will, Duarte entrusted his wife Leonor of Aragon with the guardianship of their children and the regency of the realm. However, the deceased king had four brothers who saw in this situation an opportunity to increase their influence and riches, and possibly even exercise supreme power: Pedro, duke

1. Wood, Charles T. "The First Two Queens Elizabeth, 1464-1503", *Women and Sovereignty*, Louise Olga Fradenburg, ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992: 127.

2. Parsons, John Carmi. "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500", *Medieval Queenship*, John Carmi Parsons, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993: 77-78.

3. Bak, János M. "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpádian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.)", *Medieval Queenship*, John Carmi Parsons, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993: 14-16; Bak, János M. "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary", *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Anne Duggan, ed. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997: 223-233. Though concerning the later period, it will also be illuminating to read: Crawford, Catherine. "Constructing Evil Foreign Queens". *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 37/2 (2007): 393-418.

4. Bak, János M. "Queens as scapegoats in Medieval Hungary"…: 228.

5. Isabel was the grand-daughter of Philippa of Lancaster, queen of Portugal by her marriage to King João I (1385-1433). Philippa was very fond of her Plantagenet origins and transmitted this pride —and her family name, "*Lencastre*" in Portuguese— to her progeny. Silva, Manuela Santos. "Filipa de Lencastre e o ambiente cultural na corte de seu pai (1360-1387)". *Clio. Nova série*, 16/17 (2007): 253-254.

of Coimbra;[6] Henrique, duke of Viseu and master of the military order of Christ;[7] João, master of the military order of Santiago,[8] and Afonso, count of Barcelos,[9] an elder but illegitimate half-brother.[10]

The queen's counsellors warned her especially against Pedro, who was "a powerful Prince, beloved by the People, who ha[d] children and in whom might enter the desire of reigning, which overpowers all the others".[11] But Leonor had other reasons not to trust him completely: her father, Fernando of Antequera, had gained the throne of Aragon in competition with other applicants, among which stood Jaume of Urgell, Pedro's father-in-law.[12] As a result of Jaume's refusal to accept this outcome, his estates were confiscated and he died in captivity; his wife and daughters thus became dependent on the new king for their living.[13] Chroniclers such as Gomes Eanes de Zurara assert that there was always ill will among Leonor and Pedro because of this old familiar antagonism[14] though some modern historians do not think that was the main reason for their disagreement.[15]

Apparently, Leonor started to govern alone without any open opposition shortly after the proclamation of her son as King Afonso V and the reading of the will of the deceased.[16] Nevertheless, to secure Pedro's loyalty to the infant king, she proposed

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6. There is no recent biography of Pedro but an entire scholarly journal has been dedicated to several aspects of his life and works on his 500th birthday: *Biblos*, LXIX, 1993. On the period of his life that made him famous both in his homeland and abroad, see Rogers, Francis M. *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1961; Correia, Margarida Sérvulo. *As Viagens do Infante D. Pedro*. Lisbon: Gradiva, 2000.

7. On Henrique, see Russel, Peter E. *Prince Henry «The Navigator»: A Life*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2000; Sousa, João Silva de. *A Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1991.

8. On João, see Medeiros, Maria Dulcina Vieira Coelho de. *O Infante D. João (1400-1442). Subsídios para uma biografia*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (Master thesis), 1999.

9. On him there is only an old biography: Machado, José Timóteo Montalvão. *Dom Afonso Primeiro Duque de Bragança. Sua vida e sua obra*. Lisbon: Livraria Portugal, 1964.

10. There existed a fifth legitimate brother, Fernando but he was imprisoned in Morocco since the defeat of Tangier in 1438. He was never to be liberated until his death in 1443 and therefore could play no role in the political scene in his homeland. On his life and the construction of his memory, see Fontes, João Luis Inglês. *Percursos e Memória: do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 2000.

11. These are the words that the chronicler of the realm assume they have used. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V. Crónicas de Rui de Pina*, M. Lopes de Almeida, ed. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1977: 591.

12. Pedro married Jaume's oldest daughter, Isabel. On the circumstances of the elevation of Fernando of Antequera to the throne of Aragon, see Vicens Vives, Jaime. "Los Trastámaras y Cataluña", *Historia de España*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, dir. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: XV, 669-681; Sabaté, Flocel. "El Compromís de Casp", *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, Ernest Belenguer, dir. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2007: 287-304.

13. Vendrell, Francesca; Massià, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat, darrer comte d'Urgell*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1956: 113-120.

14. Zurara, Gomes Eanes de. *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses*, Larry King, ed. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisbon, 1978: 110.

15. Fonseca, Luis Adão da. *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigaçao Científica - Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 1982: 22-23.

16. The first charters issued by her in the name of her son date from September 29 and October 6, 1438. Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e significado histórico*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1979: I, 8.

the marriage of Afonso V to the duke's daughter Isabel, stating that it had been King Duarte's last will as declared by his confessor. This suggestion was gladly accepted and the queen issued a charter declaring the arrangements made.[17]

Though the reference to King Duarte's intention was to be used again later on by Pedro to justify his insistence on this matrimonial project, we have reasons to believe that it was Leonor's idea, not Duarte's. It is true that the deceased king was very fond of his brother and liked to please him. But when choosing a bride for his first-born child he would probably look beyond the borders of the kingdom, as his predecessors had done, to establish new alliances or strengthen old ones while avoiding at the same time to disarrange the existing balance among the aristocracy by distinguishing a member of one of its lineages.[18]

Leonor did not have much of a choice. She faced urgent problems: she knew that the Portuguese people mistrusted her for being the sister of the "*infantes de Aragón*" who were persistently trying to gain control of all the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.[19] To secure the independence of the realm, her subjects wanted one of the Portuguese "*príncipes de Avis*" to be Regent instead of her.[20] So, to be sure that she would be able to keep royal authority and to hand it over to her son when he would have the proper age, she needed to be on good terms with her in-laws, and especially with Pedro. Promising that his daughter would be queen and his future grand-son would be king was a way of securing that he would never attempt to drive Afonso V from the throne, nor allow others to do so. In the immediate present, however, Leonor also made an approach to Pedro, agreeing to share the government with him: she would keep the tutorship of her children and the management of the royal finances while he would be in charge of the administration of justice and the defence of the realm.[21]

These two settlements were nevertheless strongly opposed by the queen's counsellors, and above all by the count of Barcelos, who had also wished to play a role in the government and to have the king married to his grand-daughter Isabel.[22] He and the archbishop of Lisbon Pedro de Noronha, whom the queen trusted more

17. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 594-596.

18. There were other possible options, especially in England or Burgundy as suggested by Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*. Rio de Mouro: Círculo de Leitores, 2006: 62.

19. On this family, see Benito Ruano, Eloy. *Los Infantes de Aragón*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2002.

20. Just like their Aragonese counterparts, the Portuguese princes were actively promoted by the political propaganda of their time and mythicized by later poets and historians. See Fonseca, Luis Adão da. "Ínclita geração. Altos Infantes: Lusíadas, IV-50. Algumas considerações sobre a importância das circunstâncias históricas na formação de um tema literário", *IV Reunião Internacional de Camonistas – Actas*. Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1984: 295-302; Fonseca, Luis Adão da. "Una elegía inédita sobre la familia de Avis. Un aspecto de la propaganda política en la Península Ibérica a mediados del siglo XV". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 16 (1986): 449-463.

21. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 599.

22. This lady was later to marry Juan II of Castile and to give birth to Isabel, the future Catholic Queen. On her, see Carsotti, Marsilio. "Dona Isabel (1428-1496)", *Infantas de Portugal Rainhas em Espanha*. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2007: 149-179.

than anyone else, managed to make her step back in both decisions, raising the anger of her brother-in-law, who tore with his own hands the matrimonial agreement she had asked him to return to her.[23]

Though Leonor and Pedro eventually signed another agreement at the *Cortes* of Torres Novas, in November 1438, and actually began sharing the government, there was no way to restore trust among them and no further mention was made about the marriage of their children. As difficulties accumulated, the urban population started to show signs of unrest and to accuse the queen of being the cause of all wrongs. A year later, new *Cortes* gathered in Lisbon and the representatives of the *concelhos* (mainly the largest urban centres), led by the capital, elected Pedro sole Regent of the realm; the other two states agreed, except for a few supporters of the queen who left the assembly or refused to sign the record of the proceedings. Leonor was also deprived of the guardianship of two of her children: King Afonso V and Fernando, the second in the line of succession.[24]

The queen tried to overcome this situation with the military support of the order of the Hospitallers whose prior was faithful to her. But she received no immediate help either from the count of Barcelos or from her cousin the king of Castile and her brothers, the kings of Aragon and Navarre. She was consequently forced to leave the country with her retinue and try to gather more support in Castile.[25]

After besieging the fortress of Crato with the help of his brother João, Pedro went to Viseu to join forces with his other brother Henrique in order to have a strong army to subdue the queen's supporters who had gathered in the north of the country, and especially the count of Barcelos. Before starting the fight, though, Pedro sent him messengers offering him peace and forgiveness in exchange for his leaving the queen's faction. It took some time but eventually Count Afonso accepted the terms of the pact. The reconciliation between the two estranged brothers allowed the progression of the matrimonial project between Afonso V and Isabel of Lancaster: the count of Barcelos who had been one of its strongest opponents, agreed to its immediate conclusion in return for Pedro's restitution of the Archbishop of Lisbon, who was in exile in Castile, to his dignity and belongings.[26]

At this point, no more impediments stood in the way: both children were of age to commit themselves for the future[27] and the papal dispensation for consanguinity had arrived two months earlier. Alas, it had been given secretly to the Portuguese ambassadors "*vivae voces oraculo*", in order not to displease the kings of Castile, Aragon and Navarre who had intervened against the marriage at the request of

23. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 595-596, 600, 604.

24. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 624-645; The same events are reported, with recourse to other sources, by Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*…: 9-65.

25. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 664-677; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*...: 69-92.

26. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 674-679.

27. The king had turned nine and Isabel was only a few months younger. Canon law established that children could be engaged to marry after turning seven. Debris, Cyrille. *'Tu, felix Austria, nube'. La dynastie de Habsbourg et sa politique matrimoniale à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005: 39.

Queen Leonor.[28] But it was considered satisfactory to carry on with the plan. Pedro summoned the *Cortes* to gather in Torres Vedras in May 1441 and obtained their consent to the ceremony together with a substantial donation (presented as a "rich present") to constitute Isabel's household. The betrothal finally took place later that month, in Ascension Day in the town of Óbidos.[29] A proper bull came a year later to ratify the oral dispensation and the vows made by the children, and to remember that these vows had to be confirmed when they would reach the legal majority.[30]

Having made his nine-year-old daughter the future queen, Pedro continued to elevate his family by making his first-born son Pedro Constable in 1443 and master of the military order of Avis in 1444.[31] This infuriated the count of Ourém,[32] who believed that the position of Constable belonged hereditarily to his family.[33] The Regent also rewarded those who had stood by him, giving them the personal belongings and estates seized from the defeated.[34] But he did not forget to please as well those who had joined his party at a later stage: indeed, the count of Barcelos was made duke of Braganza in 1442 and Sancho de Noronha count of Odemira in 1446.[35]

Exiled in Castile, Leonor kept asking her cousin and her brothers to demand from Pedro her return to her dignity and to the tutorship of her children. Several embassies were sent by them to Portugal with this purpose but obtained no favourable answer from the Regent. Eventually she left the Castilian court and its intrigues to seek refuge in a convent. Deprived of the dower and the dowry she was entitled to receive to support her through her widowhood[36] and having spent all her jewels and silver to help her brothers recover their supremacy in Castile,[37] she lived in poverty and died under suspicious conditions in February 1445.[38]

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28. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 673-674.

29. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 680.

30. *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. António Joaquim Dias Dinis. Coimbra: Comissão executiva das comemorações do V centenário da morte do infante D. Henrique, 1962: VII, 319-321 (doc. nº 217).

31. Fonseca, Luis Adão da. *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*...: 31.

32. The first-born of the two sons of the count of Barcelos; the other one was the count of Arraiolos.

33. It had belonged to his grandfather Nuno Álvares Pereira, his brother-in-law João and his nephew Diogo, who had died without progeny; the count of Ourém claimed that he was next in the line of succession, although he later failed to prove that there was any clause concerning heredity in the original concession. Cunha, Mafalda Soares da. *Linhagem, Parentesco e Poder. A Casa de Bragança (1384-1483)*. Lisbon: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1990: 75-76.

34. Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*...: 97-133.

35. Cunha, Mafalda Soares da. *Linhagem, Parentesco e Poder*...: 154.

36. Her matrimonial contract stipulated that, after the death of her husband, she would have two years to choose either to stay in Portugal and keep her estates, rents and maintenance, or to leave the country and receive both the dower and the dowry. The special conditions under which she left explain why she was unable to receive any of these sums. Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A. "For the honor of her lineage and body. The Dowers and Dowries of Some Late Medieval Queens of Portugal". *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, 5-1 (2007): 5-7.

37. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 681.

38. The chronicler Rui de Pina states that she and her sister Maria, queen of Castile, were poisoned by a woman sent by their common enemy Álvaro de Luna. However, the symptoms of their illness may

No more that a month later, Queen Isabel received from her father (in the name of the King) the towns of Alenquer, Sintra, Óbidos, Torres Vedras, Torres Novas, Alvaiázere, and Aldeia Galega for her to hold "as Queen Philippa had held them".[39] It is quite meaningful that in this charter Pedro should prefer to mention his mother Philippa of Lancaster rather than his sister-in-law Leonor, who was the previous holder of these estates but had been deprived of them by the *Cortes* of Évora of 1442.[40] In fact, during three years, the queenly holdings had been vacant; however, the Regent had not dared to donate them to his daughter while the expatriated queen-mother was still alive.

But was Isabel of Lancaster really a queen in 1445? Was she truly entitled to receive the queen's endowment?[41] Not quite so because the two teenagers were not properly married yet. Isabel had already passed the age of twelve which, for girls, was considered the minimum for making the vows and consummating the matrimony; but her supposed husband was only to reach the legal majority for boys, the age of fourteen,[42] on January 15, 1446. Only then new *Cortes* gathered in Lisbon to witness the solemn passing of the government from the hands of Regent Pedro into the king's hands. The three states also once more gave their consent to the marriage of Afonso V and Isabel.[43]

Royal matrimonial agreements had to be approved at *Cortes* because they were very serious matters that engaged not only the royal family but the entire nation. They were usually embedded in political, military and commercial alliances with other kingdoms and generated expenses not only at short notice with the arrival of the bride, the liturgical ceremony, and the corresponding feasts, but also at long term with the maintenance of the queen during her lifetime and the payment of the dower if she was to become a widow. The consent of the three states of the realm was therefore necessary for the signing of the international treaties and the imposing of the taxes that would meet the costs.[44]

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indicate meningitis. Álvarez Palenzuela, Vicente Ángel. "María, infanta de Aragón y reina de Castilla", *Estudos de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006: IV, 370.

39. *Fontes Medievais da História Torreana*, ed. José Maria Cordeiro de Sousa. Torres Vedras: Câmara Municipal, 1958: 71-72 (doc. nº 64).

40. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 682.

41. The queen's endowment and supplementary grants made by the king were the two categories of revenue that supported the queens of Portugal and their household; in England, there was also the queen-gold (Johnstone, Hilda. "The Queen's Household", *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336. Vol. 1 – Central and Prerogative Administration*, James F. Willard, William A. Morris, eds. Cambridge (Mass.): Mediaeval Academy of America Publications, 1940: 250-299). Only the queen-gold did not exist in Portugal as well.

42. Debris, Cyrille. *'Tu, felix Austria, nube'*...: 39.

43. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 696-697.

44. We know that the kingdom contributed two and a half *pedidos* (taxes) to the marriage of Afonso V and Isabel; one and a half was collected in 1447 and the remaining one in 1448. Gonçalves, Iria. *Pedidos e empréstimos públicos em Portugal durante a Idade Média*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Fiscais da Direcção-Geral das Contribuições e Impostos, 1964: 162.

In the case of this particular marriage, there were no external implications but a delicate internal situation remained where an ambitious father was profiting from his transitory position of power to force his daughter into the king's bed in spite of other magnate's opposition. This is probably the reason why Pedro cared to obtain the approval of the *Cortes* at each step of the process: he needed the decision to be irrevocable, no matter what his final destiny might be. The future proved him right to be so cautious.

Though having attained legal majority, Afonso V decided to let his uncle rule for some more time, until he himself would feel prepared to do it on his own. It was only in 1447 that he asked Pedro to hand over the government to him and the Regent agreed, provided the king actually took Isabel as his wife at church as well.[45] The liturgical ceremony took place in May in Santarém and, as no matrimonial contract had been signed before, a royal charter was issued stating the arrangements made concerning the wellbeing of the queen.

This charter reveals that Isabel's father did not endow her with a dowry.[46] This might have left her in a very unpleasant financial situation if it weren't for the good disposition of her husband on her behalf.[47] Though his beloved wife, as he said, brought no dowry, Afonso V granted her a dower of twenty thousand golden *escudos* that she was allowed to leave to her heirs after her death. He also appointed as her annual maintenance the same sum of 1.165.000 *reais* that his mother had enjoyed. In addition, to constitute Isabel's *câmara* (the administrative unit that managed the queen's endowment[48]) the king donated to her all the lands and urban centres that had belonged to the previous queens of Portugal —in fact, those that had already been transferred to her possession three years earlier— including the corresponding royal rights and rents, the whole jurisdiction, the patronage of the local churches and the appointment of the appropriate officials.[49]

45. This is how the chronicler puts it. In fact, the last document signed by Pedro as Regent dates from July 8, but the wedding had already taken place two months earlier. Pina, Rui de. "Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V"...: 698-699; Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*...: 259.

46. An uncommon situation among the queens of Portugal but not totally unknown: Leonor Teles and Philippa of Lancaster in the 14th century did not bring dowries either. Rodrigues, Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida, "For the honor of her lineage and body"...: 4.

47. If the wife brought no dowry, the husband was not forced by law to entrust her with a dower; she would therefore have no financial independence and need to rely on him for all her expenses. For instance, when Juan of Castile married Margaret of Austria and his sister Juana married Philip of Burgundy, the two girls sacrificed their dowries in exchange for a rent of 20.000 *escudos* paid by their husbands. But while Margaret got her share Juana did not receive hers and never managed to control her own finances. This prevented her from granting the fidelity of the members of her household by showing the generosity that was expected from a queen, Aram, Bethany. *La Reina Juana. Gobierno, piedad y dinastía*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001: 86-93.

48. As defined by Córdova Miralles, Álvaro Fernández de. *La Corte de Isabel I. Ritos e ceremonias de una reina (1474-1504)*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2002: 52.

49. *Monumenta Henricina*..., 1968: IX, 243-247 (doc. nº 159).

During the course of her life, the King made other concessions to his wife:[50] in 1450, he donated to her the tenth of the commodities dealt with in the customs of Lisbon, Oporto, Viana, Aveiro, Buarcos, Setúbal, Faro and Tavira, and the fifth of the goods belonging to burgled ships; in 1452, he transferred to her possession an estate that had belonged to her brother Pedro, and in 1453 he conceded to her the administration of a majorat and a few houses in Lisbon.[51] With all this cash, estates, and rents, she had no difficulty in maintaining her status and a sizable household.[52]

Thus Isabel of Lancaster truly became a Queen when her father's fortune initiated a decline. Soon she would have to start negotiating her loyalty both to her progenitor and her husband. It was not an easy matter for a girl aged sixteen, but she had been educated to be the queen of Portugal and she knew exactly what was expected from her.

Though Isabel and Afonso V had been brought up together since the age of eight, as the Regent was also the tutor of the King,[53] they only began to cohabit as husband and wife after their wedding in 1447. Unfortunately for Isabel, she bore no child until January 1451, when she gave birth to a first prince, João, who died shortly afterwards.[54] Not having provided the throne with an heir in the first three years of her marriage, the Queen's position was fragile in the face of the ill will that grew in the court against her father.

As the chronicler Rui de Pina puts it, it were the Regent's enemies —the count of Barcelos, now also duke of Braganza; his son the count of Ourém; the archbishop of Lisbon and his brother Count Sancho de Noronha, and a few others who were all former partisans of Queen Leonor— that convinced the King to govern alone because they reckoned they would be able to manipulate him on their behalf. They were not content with driving Pedro out of government, though, and not only did they accuse the Regent of treason and made him leave the court, but they also tried to bring his brother Henrique into discredit in the King's eyes, so that he would not be able to help him.[55] Afonso V is thus presented by the chronicler as an inexperienced young man, susceptible of being influenced by vicious counsellors.

Yet we do not believe the King to be immature and naïve. He actually acted against Pedro and his friends as their enemies suggested because it was his true will

50. Supplementary grants were often made by the Portuguese kings to their daughters-in-law or their wives in order to allow them to maintain their status and to fulfil their duties; see, for instance, Sousa, Ivo Carneiro de. *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia, religiosidade e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2002: 147-148.

51. Moreno, Humberto Baquero; Freitas, Isabel Vaz de. *A Corte de Afonso V o Tempo e os Homens*. Gijón: Trea, 2006: 307-308.

52. On the composition of her household, see Moreno, Humberto Baquero; Freitas, Isabel Vaz de. *A Corte de Afonso V*...: 303-307.

53. It has been demonstrated that the King had his own household, different from the Regent's, Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*...: 52. But they were often together and it may be presumed that Pedro's wife and children also stayed with them.

54. There are doubts about the exact date of birth of this prince and the date of his death is unknown. Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*...: 90.

55. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 698-703.

as well. Thus he removed from office all of his uncle's faithful servants who had been nominated at court and all around the kingdom, including his cousin Pedro, whom he discharged as Constable; he returned to Queen Leonor's friends and servants the positions and estates that had been confiscated and given to Pedro's partisans; he forbade his uncle to ever come back to court and asked him to return to the Royal Army the weapons he had in his possession.[56] In fact, he held Pedro responsible for the misery and death of his mother in Castile and wanted him to pay for it. But he did not want his wife to be dragged into that revenge as well and did not pay attention to the advice of the counsellors who wanted him to part with her. When these courtiers sent his chamberlain Álvaro de Castro to prison, accusing him of making love to the Queen, the King did not listen to their calumnies and freed him; later he made him count of Monsanto.[57] Young as he was, Afonso V had his own opinions and was not blindly driven by some magnate's deceits and flatteries.

Isabel had by then become a target for Pedro's enemies because she had assumed the role of mediator between her husband and her father.[58] At first, she was very discreet and only tried to keep the former Regent informed of the things that were said and done in court against him, in order for him to counteract.[59] When she understood that all was set for a final confrontation, she resorted to the traditional gesture of the beggar, falling on her knees in tears and imploring her husband to have mercy for her progenitor. Afonso V could not refuse this request and promised that he would forgive Pedro if only he assumed his guilt and asked for his forgiveness. The queen sent a letter to her father explaining how this could be done and he wrote to the king in the agreed form. But Pedro did not feel guilty of anything at all and said so in another letter that he sent to his daughter at the same time. The king read this one as well and proclaimed that since his uncle had no true regrets, no concord could be established among them.[60] Shortly afterwards, Pedro's army was crushed by the Royal Army at Alfarrobeira and the duke of Coimbra died along with many of his companions.[61]

His dead body lay a whole day on the battlefield and three more days in a nearby house where it had been thrown along with other corpses with neither honour nor prayers.[62] It was then taken to the nearest church, in Alverca, where it was buried without any ceremonial.[63] The queen was notified of her father's death at short

56. Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*...: 327-344.

57. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 736.

58. Intercession was an important queenly function. Strohm, Paul. "Queens as intercessors", *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992: 99-105; Parsons, John Carmi. "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England", *Power of the Weak: studies on Medieval Women*, Jennifer Carpenter, Sally-Beth Maclean, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995: 147-177.

59. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 728-729.

60. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 734-736.

61. These events were analysed in detail by Moreno, Humberto Baquero. *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*...: 401-428.

62. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 749.

63. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 752.

notice and showed "public signs of mortal pain", but did not act and waited for a sign from her husband as she was well aware of the fragility of her situation.[64] In fact, those who had intrigued against her father were trying once again to convince Afonso V that he should leave her and take another wife. Instead of doing so, the king sent messengers to comfort Isabel and asked her to join him at court. The queen "dressed herself on an honest temperance of sorrow" and was welcomed by the sovereign as if nothing had happened.[65]

Throughout the whole duration of the crisis, the chronicler praises Isabel's prudence and discretion, considering them rare virtues in such a young woman. He also insists in the love the King felt for her because of her kindness and beauty. It appears that Afonso V felt great affection for his wife because he was strongly pressured to repudiate her, yet he did not comply with it, though we have a reason to believe that he considered the possibility. On January 11, 1451 the king confirmed the matrimonial contract that had been signed four years earlier and granted Isabel her dower, maintenance and chamber not only for the duration of their marriage, but also if they were to be separated by death or by any other cause, and whether they had children in common or not. Probably because he was aware of the general animosity felt in court against his wife and because he wanted to protect her from what his mother had endured, he was careful to secure her maintenance in the tax levied in Lisbon on fabric (*sisa dos panos*), and also determined that, if he himself or his successor or the next Queen would want to take from her any of her estates, they would have to compensate her with the double of the annual income of that estate, secured by the taxes levied in Lisbon upon bread, landed property and circulation of goods. Finally, he raised the amount she could dispose of in her will for the sake of her soul from twenty thousand to twenty-eight thousand golden *escudos*, which her heirs would not be able to claim as their heritage.[66]

It is true that with her serene attitude Isabel made it easier for Afonso V to keep her by his side. She did not wander from monastery to monastery and from manor to manor mourning like her mother, who feared for her life and the lives of her other children.[67] Nor did she flee to Castile, as her older brother Pedro had done.[68] She stayed in her post and waited for the right time to obtain from her husband the redressing of her father's memory and the restitution of her lineage's property.

The fact that Pedro's dead body did not have a proper funeral was a main concern for her as well as for the rest of the family. The first person to demand the duke of Coimbra to be buried in the royal pantheon that had been built by their father —the Monastery of Santa Maria da Vitória, also known as the Monastery of Batalha[69]— was the duchess Isabel of Burgundy, Pedro's sister, who had been notified of his

64. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 754-755.

65. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 756-757.

66. *Monumenta Henricina*... 1969: X, 348-352 (doc. nº 255).

67. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 755.

68. Fonseca, Luis Adão da. *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*...: 62-63.

69. The name (Batalha = battle) refers to the battle of Aljubarrota that took place nearby in July 14, 1385. King João I of Portugal's victory over Juan I of Castile secured the independence of the realm and

death by a letter sent by Afonso V to the Pope and the other Christian monarchs to justify his attitude. As the king refused, she beseeched him to give her her brother's bones in order to provide him with an honourable resting place in Burgundy.[70] Afonso V refused again and, fearing that the coffin could be stolen from the church where it lay unguarded, had it moved to the castle of Abrantes.[71]

The duchess also worried about Pedro's wife and children, who had been deprived of their offices and possessions. By her action, Jaime, who had been captured during the battle of Alfarrobeira, was liberated and sent to Burgundy; from there he was later sent to Rome where he was eventually made cardinal of Saint Eustachio. João and Beatriz were also received at the Burgundian court and their marriages were arranged to two important princes, respectively to Charlotte of Lusignan, heiress to the throne of Cyprus and Adolph of Clèves, lord of Ravenstein, a close relative of the duke himself.[72]

Queen Isabel already had her sister Filipa with her at court and took charge of both her immediate and more distant future. In her first will, dated 5 February, 1452 —the day before the birth of Princess Joana[73]—, she proclaimed her sister to be her heiress to what she had inherited from her father, mentioning specifically the money that the former Regent had deposited at the Exchange of Florence.[74] In the same document, Isabel beseeched her husband "to remember [her] mother in such abandonment and need, so that he would protect her and help her to support her state, and the same for her sister Catherine". Moreover, she asked Afonso V to allow her father's bones to be buried in the monastery of Saint Elói, to which she was leaving a considerable amount of money or in any other place of the king's preference "where he could be placed secretly, and that would be honest and suitable for him".[75] Indeed the queen did not forget her duties as a daughter both to her dead father and to her living and suffering mother; she was wise enough to do so in such a way that her husband's authority would not be challenged and he would never have to disown her.

Isabel's second will, unfinished but which we can date to the late spring of 1455,[76] shows that the matter of her father's burial had seen some development in the three

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was celebrated with the construction of a monastery in whose church the new dynasty had a chapel built with the purpose of burying its members.

70. She made this through her agent Dean Jean Jouffroy of Vergy, who addressed the king in four formal speeches in her name between December 1449 and January 1450. On these, see Ramos, Manuel Francisco. *Orationes de Jean Jouffroy em favor do Infante D. Pedro (1449-1450) – retórica e humanismo cívico*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (PhD thesis), 2007.

71. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 757-758.

72. Sommé, Monique. *Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XV^e siècle.* Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998: 78-88.

73. The pregnancy had been very difficult and the queen probably feared for her life. Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*...: 90.

74. It was one of the few possessions of Peter the king had not been able to confiscate.

75. Sousa, António Caetano de. *Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. eds. M. Lopes de Almeida, Cesar Pegado. Coimbra: Atlântida, 1947: II/I, 62-63.

76. See note 74.

years that had since passed. Pedro's bones rested in the monastery of Saint Elói and the queen had obtained from the king a charter authorizing their transfer to Batalha. She therefore charges the executors of her testament with the ceremony, stating that the deceased's burial retinue should be appointed by the king.[77]

In fact, Isabel lived long enough to attend to her father's burial in the royal pantheon. It was after she gave birth to another Prince João —the one that was to reach adulthood and become King João II— in May 3, 1455, that Afonso V finally acquiesced to her request. A solemn ceremony was organized to take the bones first to Lisbon, to the Monasteries of the Holy Trinity and Saint Elói, where they were exposed to be honoured by his lineage and friends.[78] They were later taken with great splendour by Pedro's only surviving brother, Henrique, to the Monastery of Batalha,[79] where the king and the queen received them together with the most important clerics and noblemen of the kingdom.[80]

Thus the women of the family were the ones to take it upon themselves to ensure that Pedro would have a proper burial and to protect his widow and children. The men were either hostile —as the duke of Braganza, the count of Ourém, the king's brother Fernando— or apparently indifferent, as Henrique, whom Rui de Pina accuses of not having helped his brother when there was still time to prevent the king's anger from falling upon him,[81] and who only cared about his bones' last resting place when Afonso V had already agreed to holding a ceremony.

Isabel died shortly afterwards, on December 2, 1455, of bleeding that was probably still a consequence of the delivery of Prince João.[82] She was buried at Batalha as well. Her brother Pedro then returned to the realm; he was restored as master of Avis and received back most of the estates that had belonged to his father.[83] He celebrated her death in a work dedicated to their brother James, the cardinal.[84] In the first days of January of the following year, the royal pantheon received further eminent bones: those of Queen Leonor, which were brought from the Monastery of

77. Sousa, António Caetano de. *Provas da História Genealógica*...: 65.

78. Hence we date the queen's second will, written while her father's bones were resting at Saint Elói, from the late spring of 1455.

79. This happened between November 7 and 28 according to Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*...: 94.

80. We know nevertheless that the duke of Braganza, his son the count of Ourém and the king's brother Fernando were opposed to this rehabilitation of Pedro's memory and obtained from the king that his eldest son, who was still in Castile, would not be allowed to come to the funeral. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 770-771.

81. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 703.

82. But some people attributed the death to poisoning by the enemies of her father. Pina, Rui de. *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*...: 771.

83. He did not stay in Portugal for long, though. In October 1463, he was invited by the Catalans to become their leader as grandson of Jaume of Urgell, and he died in Catalonia three years later, still fighting the king of Aragon, Juan II. Fonseca, Luis Adão da. *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal*...: 125-319.

84. Portugal, Condestável D. Pedro de. "Tragedia de la Insigne Reina Doña Isabel". *Obras Completas do condestável Dom Pedro de Portugal*, ed. Luís Adão da Fonseca. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975: 305-348.

Santo Domingo el Real of Toledo.[85] The old enemies lay on the same resting place,[86] reforming after death the harmonious family they were not able to compose during their lifetime.

Endogamy thus caused a momentous conflict among the royal family that eventually led to the violent elimination of the branch that had been exalted by the pressure of those who had been passed over. The Queen was devastated and only escaped the fate that fell upon her kin because of the affection her husband felt for her and her own mastery in honouring her father's memory and protecting her mother and her sisters without challenging the King's decisions.

Yet, this terrible experience did not prevent Afonso V from marrying his only son João to his brother's daughter Leonor.[87] Again, a marriage among cousins was preferred to an alliance with a foreign royal family. Its consequences were to become even more dramatic than in the previous generation: after being enthroned, King João II had one of his brothers-in-law, the third duke of Braganza, arrested and sentenced to death because he was leading a conspiracy against him; later, he himself stabbed to death his other brother-in-law, the duke of Viseu, because he had planned to kill him. Apparently, the Queen was not involved in these plots, but the royal couple never recovered from this ordeal.

So the Braganza and the Viseu lineages, closely related to each other through a carefully planned matrimonial policy that also included the Castilian and the Portuguese royal families, had become so close to the throne of Portugal that they dared to conspire with the Castilians to get hold of it.[88] There was no need for it, though. When João II and Leonor's only son died prematurely from a nasty fall, the nearest in line of succession was the king's last surviving brother-in-law. João II still tried to legitimize a bastard son to make him his heir, but the queen fought against it with all her forces.[89] Therefore, her younger brother became King Manuel I at the death of her husband in 1495. Eventually, by pressing the kings into marrying their first cousins, the bastard and younger branches of the royal family had managed to take the place of which they had been deprived by the order of their birth.

85. Gomes, Saul António. *D. Afonso V*...: 95.

86. Leonor is buried with her husband at the so-called "Imperfect Chapels"; Pedro and his wife Isabel of Urgell, as well as Isabel and Afonso V are buried at the Founder's Chapel.

87. The betrothal took place in 1470 and the wedding in 1471. Fonseca, Luís Adão da. *D. João II*. Rio de Mouro: Temas e Debates, 2007: 257-258.

88. Fonseca, Luis Adão da. *D. João II*...: 86-107.

89. Mendonça, Manuela. *D. João II. Um Percurso Humano e Político nas Origens da Modernidade*. Lisbon: Estampa, 1991: 454-466.

THE SEVILLE ABDUCTION OR THE COLLAPSE OF THE ORDER OF RITUAL IN THE PUBLIC AUDIENCE (1455)

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Abstract

In 1455, in Seville, a young virgin was abducted by a Muslin in the King's guard, and his parents went to the palace to reclaim justice. The king heard the case, scolded the parents for their lack of responsibility, and annoyed by the intensity of their screams he ordered them to be flogged in public. This scandal, and obviously this collapse of the order of the ritual in public audience, is used by chroniclers to convert Henry IV into a tyrant. This study analyzes the mechanism of this defamatory system, the ritual and the role of the public audience in the definition of the good King.

Key words

Public Audience, Ritual Order, Political Defamation, Tyranny.

Capitalia verba

Potestas conueniendi publica, Imperium ad ritus attinens, Diffamatio inter partes, Dominatio.

According to the chronicles of the fourteenth century the issue of "Exhibition and Dissimulation" still seems to have a strong link with political propaganda.[1] For example Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid rather insists on the exhibitionist side of Alfonso XI (1312-1350) when he depicts him holding public audience,[2] whereas Pedro López de Ayala describes the deceiving side of Peter the Cruel (1350-1369), when he lures his victims into his bedroom to have them executed.[3] In other words, the good king shows off while the tyrant hides. Set up around the middle of the fourteenth century, this principle became such a stereotype that historians at the end of the fifteenth century converted Henry IV (1454-1474) into a new tyrant and contrasted him with the kind Queen Isabel (1474-1504).[4] Whoever the tyrant, the momentum seems to remain the same: from the hall, the place of good government, to the bedroom, which in the fifteenth century was complemented by a room of retreat, a space of excess where only a few adherents remained with the tyrant.[5] And yet sometimes the tyrant resisted this discourse of confinement, and he insisted in wanting to have a public audience, as a good king would, which he longed to be. Then the chronicler attempted to distort reality, to conceal the hall where the tyrant wandered in order to lock him up in the hell of stereotypes and political libelling. I have chosen to analyse this perspective in order to try and propose additional ideas to the topic launched by Jean-Philippe Genet.

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1. This article contains the talk presented under the title "From the Hall to the Bedroom. Royal Power and Reclusion in Late Medieval Castile" at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, *Power and Authority* (14-17 July 2003), in the session organised by Jean-Philippe Genet, *Exhibition and Dissimulation* (n° 1217). The texts analysed here were previously included in my doctoral thesis: Foronda, François. *La privanza ou le régime de la faveur. Autorité monarchique et puissance aristocratique en Castille (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2003: I, 354-368 (publication underway by the Casa de Velázquez).

2. For more bibliographic and interpretative information about these deaths ordered by Peter the Cruel, see my reflections about aristocratic fear provoked in Castile during the 14th century by the application of policy of arbitrariness aimed at settling the sovereign difference after the end of the 13th century, in Foronda, François. "El miedo al rey. Fuentes y primeras reflexiones acerca de una emoción aristocrática en la Castilla del siglo XIV". *e-Spania*. 1st December 2007. SEMH-Sorbonne; SIREM. 1st July 2008 <http://e-spania.revues.org/document2273.html>.

3. There are various works about Henry IV's reign. See in particular Phillips, William D. *Enrique IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth-Century Castile (1425-1480)*. Cambridge: Medieval Academy of Amer, 1978; Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Enrique IV de Castilla. La difamación como arma política*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2001. See also the communications in *Enrique IV de Castilla y su tiempo. Semana Marañón (1997 Valladolid)*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2000.

4. In relation with this approach, see the perspectives developed in Foronda, François. "Les lieux de rencontre. Espace et pouvoir dans les chroniques castillanes du XV^e siècle", *Aux marches du palais. Qu'est ce qu'un palais médiéval? Actes du VII^e Congrès international d'Archéologie Médiévale (Le Mans-Mayenne 9-11 septembre 1999)*, Annie Renaux, ed. Le Mans: Publications du Laboratoire d'Histoire et d'archéologie Médiévale, Université du Maine, 2001: 123-134. See also the reading of the ceremonial development in Trastámara Castile by Nieto Soria, José Manuel. "Del rey oculto al rey exhibido: un síntoma de las transformaciones políticas en la Castilla bajomedieval". *Medievalismo*, 2 (1992): 5-27; Nieto Soria, José Manuel. *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*. Madrid: Nerea, 1993.

5. About these latter comments, see the lines followed and references proposed, in particular about the fate of the chronistic battle between Alfonso de Palencia and Enríquez del Castillo, in Foronda, François. "Le prince, le palais et la ville. Ségovie ou le visage du tyran dans la Castille du XV^e siècle". *Revue Historique*, 627 (2003): 521-541.

Towards the end of July 1455, in Seville, a young virgin was abducted by the man who loved her. According to Alfonso de Palencia, in charge of revising the mistakes of the royal historian Diego Enríquez del Castillo,[6] the Seville abduction became the ultimate evidence of the tyranny of Henry IV.[7] Several historians recount the

6. Version A: "*Neque Mauris Granatensibus qui ut preferetur prosequebantur regem commoditas hospitiorum defuit, uerumtamen Mofarrae et Reduano Vanegas copia conceditur hospitalitatis aptae, quam efrenis libido fedauit. Hospiti nanque Mopharrae Didaco Sanchez de Orihuela erat filia carissima aetate pulcritudineque florens. Hanc perdite amabat Mofarres; etsi ut leuis est natura puellarum ex assuetudine significati amoris clanculum nutibus parum pudice responderet, est tanem tam exosa conuersatio barbarorum tanque prohibita legibus, quod recusabatur amoris affectus, ita ut Maurus fretus licentia regis, que libidinibus Granatensium fauere solebat, uiolentiam audacem amori uiolento addiderit. Itaque captauit occasionem ubi parentes a domo abessent et filia nihil tale uerita nutibus colloquii consentiret. Nec mora quin Mofarres iam raptui praeparatus cum famulis Granatensibus rapte puelle os obturauit, caput contexit, manus colligauit quoniam unguibus coepisset carpere genas, ubi iam clamoris fuit impos, et confestim ut si esset sarcina dorso muli portatur funibus colligata clitellae; ipsi autem Mauri tanquam ad iter procinti equites circum ibant nullam suspicionem facinoris inferentes illius uiciniae ciuibus. Haud multo post superuenere parentes, et uacuam domum uidentes excitauere clamorem. Omnium in re perturbata et repentina fuit sententia ut confestim uociferantes cum illo clamore atque eiulatu recurrerent implorarentque regiam subuentionem. Ita scissis uestibus mater presertim puellae uociferans carpensque genas regi exeunti flagitium denunciauit. Rex autem subuentionis uice uituperauit stoliditatem insaniamque clamantium, quod filiam negligenter custoditam solam quoque domi dimisissent et leuitati occasionem addidissent. Hoc iniquissimo responso parentes percepto magis magisque clamores extulere iusticiam postulantes. Tunc rex furibundus iussit carnificem, ut uerberibus publice cederet eos qui nec cedere nec silere uolebant. Sed comites Beneuentanus atque Gundisaluus de Guthman incusarunt regem. Cui Gundisaluus 'Operepreciumerit', inquit, 'o rex, ut etiam explices uerba quae praeco per uias publicas urbis prolaturus sit: scilicet, quod ob nefarium scelus uiolentiamque Maurorum intra menia tantae urbis perpetratam parentes raptae ab eis puellae, quoniam subuentionem a tua maiestate clamoribus implorabant, uerberari iubes'. His dictis puduit quodammodo regem incusationis et nutu eius satellites expulere clamantes. Interea Mauri potuerunt rapina gaudere; puellam enim Mofarres in loca sibi tuta regni Granatae deduxit suisque complexibus retinuit concubinam sectae Machometicae obnoxiam filiorumque matrem in contumeliam cruces*" (Palencia, Alfonso de. *Gesta hispaniensia ex annalibvs suorum diervm collecta*, eds. Brian Tate, Jeremy Lawrance, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: I, 117).

7. Version B: "*E acaesçio que Mofarias, un moro de los que alli venian con el rey, fue apossentado en la cassa de un mercador llamado Diego Sanchez de Origuela, el qual tenia una fija muy fermosa, de la qual aquel moro se enamoro, e como a la donzella fuese aborresçible la habla suya e no quisiesse dar lugar a la voluntad del moro, el aguardo tienpo en que el padre e la madre no fuessen casa, e tomo la donzella e atapole la boca de manera que pudiese dar boce, e atole las manos e pusolaençima de vn cavallo e çiertos moros con ella, e asi la llevo de la çbdat. E quando los padres vinieron e fallaron su fija llevada, començaron a dar muy grandes gritos, a que toda la vezindad se junto, e ovieron del caso tan gran turbaçion quanto la razon queria que se oviesse de tan enorme delito, e asi junta una grand multitud de gente se fueron al palaçio real donde la madre y el padre, dando muy grandes bozes e llorando gravemente, demandaron al rey justiçia; y el rey oyda su querella vitupero fuertemente a la madre, diziendo ser loca e aver puesto mal recabdo en su fija dexandola sola en su cassa, diziendo ellos aver dado cabsa al caso acaesçido, con la qual respuesta los padres dieron muy mayores bozes, demandando a Dios justiçia; de lo qual el rey ovo tan grande enojo, que mando llamar un verdugo mandando que los açotassen por la çibdad. E llegandosse a esto don Alonso Pimentel, conde de Benavente, y el conde Gonçalo de Guzman oyendo el mandado del rey, el conde Gonçalo le dixo: señor, dezid ¿como dira el pregonero quando se esecutase esta justiçia que mandays fazer? El rey ovo enojo de lo quel conde Gonçalo le dixo, e metiosse en su palaçio; e los que çerca del rey estavan fizieron yr de alli a los que con esta quexa vinieron. E asy el moro Mofarias llevo la donzella e pusola en salvo en un lugar de Granada, e asy la tovo por mançeba, en ynjuria de nuestra santa fee catolica*",

"And it happened that Mofarias, one of the Moors who had come there with the king, was lodged in the house of a merchant called Diego Sanchez de Origuela, who had a very lovely daughter, with whom that Moor fell in love, and as the maiden abhorred his talk and did not wish to permit the desires of the Moor, he waited until the father and the mother were not at home, and took the maiden and covered her mouth so she could not cry out, and tied her by the hands and put her on a horse and certain Moors with her, and thus took her from the city. And when the parents came and found their daughter taken, they began to cry out loudly, and all the neighbourhood came together, and there was from the case such great consternation the more reason they wanted there to be such a heinous crime, and thus together a great multitude of peo-

event: in the *Crónica castellana* (or *anónima*), written from 1481,[8] in the *Memorial de diversas hazañas*, written by Diego de Valera between 1480 and 1486,[9] and finally

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ple went to the royal palace where the mother and the father, crying out and weeping intensely, demanded justice from the king; and the king having heard their complaint was very scathing to the mother, calling her mad and having put her daughter in danger by leaving her alone at home, telling them that they were to blame for the case that occurred, with which response the parents cried out even louder, demanding justice from God; with which the king became very annoyed, and ordered an executioner called to flog them round the city. And arriving in this, don Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente, and the Count Gonçalo de Guzman hearing what the king ordered, the Count Gonçalo said to him: Lord, say what will the crier say when this justice that you order done is executed? The king was annoyed with what Count Gonçalo told him, and went back into his palace; and those who were close to the king made those who went with this complaint go from that place. And thus the Moor Mofarias took the maiden and placed her safely in a place in Granada, and thus took her as a slave, in insult to our Holy catholic faith" (*Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474 (Crónica castellana)*, ed. Maria Pilar Sánchez Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: 46-47).

8. Version C: "*Y estando el rey en aquella çiudad, acaescieron dos cosas muy estrañas y feas, las quales fueron que Mofarás, vn moro quel rey consigo traya, fué aposentado en la casa de vn mercader llamado Diego Sánchez de Orihuela, el qual tenía vna hija muy hermosa, de que el moro se enamoró; y como a la donzella fuese aborrecible la habla suya y no quisiese dar lugar a su voluntad el moro aguardó tiempo en que el padre y la madre estuviesen fuera de casa, y tapóle la boca de manera que no pudiese dar boçes, y atóle las manos y púsola en vn caballo y con ciertos moros la sacó de la çibdad. Y quando los padres vinieron y hallaron su hija lleuada, dieron muy grandes boçes, a que toda la vezindad se juntó, y así vna gran muchedumbre de gente fueron al palacio real con el padre y la madre, que yban dando muy grandes boçes, muy agramente llorando, demandando justicia. Y llegados al rey, oyda su querella, el rey vituperó muy fuertemente a la madre, diziéndole ser loca, y aver puesto muy mal recado en su casa y fija dexándola sola, y dando el cargo al padre y a ella del caso acaescido, con la qual respuesta ellos començaron muchas mayores boces, demandando justicia a Dios; de que el rey ovo tan grande enojo, que mandó llamar un verdugo para que los açotase por la çiudad. Y en este punto llegaron allí don Alonso Pimentel, conde de Benavente, y el conde don Juan de Guzmán; y viendo el mandamiento, el conde don Juan le dixo: —Señor, ¿cómo dirá el pregón cuando se executare esta justicia que mandáis fazer? Y el rey con enojo se metió en su palacio, y los que cerca dél estaban fizieron yr de allí a los que con esta querella venieron; y así el moro Mofarás llevó la donzella y púsola en saluo en vn lugar de Granada, y ansí la tomó por manceba, en injuria de nuestra sancta Fe*",
"And with the king being in that city, two very strange and ugly events happened, which were that Mofarás, a Moor that the king brought with him, was lodged in the house of a merchant named Diego Sánchez de Orihuela, who had a very lovely daughter, with whom the Moor fell in love; and as the maiden abhorred his speech and did not wish to give way to his desires the Moor waited his time until the father and mother were out of the house, and covering her mouth in such a way that she could not cry out, and tying her hands and put her on a horse and with certain Moors, took her from the city. And when the parents padres came and found their daughter taken, they gave the alarm, and all the neighbourhood came together, and thus a great mob of people went to the royal palace with the father and the mother, who were crying out and very bitterly weeping, demanding justice. And when they reached the king, after hearing their complaint, the king was very strongly scathing with the mother, calling her, and having left her daughter very unprotected in their house leaving her alone, and blaming the case of the father and her for what had happened, with which answer they began to shout louder, demanding justice from God; at which the king became so annoyed that he ordered an executioner to be called to flog them round the city. And at this point there arrived don Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente, and the Count don Juan de Guzmán; and seeing the sentence, the count don Juan said to him: —Lord, what will the crier say when he hears this justice you order done? And the king with annoyance went into his palace, and those who were near him were made those who with the complaint had come leave there; and thus the Moor Mofarás took the maiden and put her safely in a place in Granada, and thus took her as his slave, in insult to our holy faith" (Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas, crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941: 29).

9. Version D: "*Con todo eso la gente del rey fue muy bien aposentada y graziosamente rezivida por los huespedes, pero acaescio que Mofarrax, un moro de los que alli venian con el rey, fue aposentado en la casa de un mercader llamado Diego de Origuela, que tenia una hija muy hermosa, de la qual aquel moro se enamoro, y como la donzella*

in the chronicle by Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal in 1517.[10] The various narratives of the event offer no major transformations. Indeed the pattern of narration set up by Alfonso de Palencia is only translated, simplified and often shortened. From one version to another, the integration of the event confirms the leniency with which the reign of the Catholic Kings accepted the defamation of a king in order to make him politically repulsive.

But what are the facts? A Muslim in the king's guard, who was living with Seville merchant, seized the opportunity of their absence to abduct their daughter, with

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fuese aborrezible su hablar e no quisiese dar lugar a la voluntad del moro, el aguardo tiempo a que el padre y la madre no estuviesen en casa y tomo la donzella y tapole la boca, de manera que no pudiese dar vozes y atole las manos e pusola encima de un cavallo e ciertos moros con el e ansi la llevó e de la ciudad. Y quando los padres vinieron e fallaron su hija llevada, comenzaron a dar muy grandes vozes e gritos, a que toda la vezindad se junto, e vinieron del caso tan grande turbación quanta razon queria que se tuviese de tan enorme delito y ansi junta una gran multitud de gente se fueron al palazio real, donde la madre y el padre dieron muy grandes vozes y llorando, gravemente demandaron al rey justicia, y el rey oida su querella, vituperó mucho a la madre, diziendo ser loca y aver dado la causa al caso acontecido y puesto mal recaudo en su hija dejandola sola en su casa, con las quales respuestas los padres dieron muy mayores vozes demandando a Dios justicia; de lo qual el rey ovo tan grande enojo, que mando llamar un berdugo para que los açotase por la ciudad. Y llegando a esto don Alonso Pimentel, conde de Benavente y conde Gonzalo de Guzman; oyendo el mandado del rey, el conde Gonzalo dixo: "Señor, ¿dezir como dira el pregonero quando se executare esta justicia que mandais hazer?". El rey ovo enojo de lo que el code Gonzalo le dixo, y metiose en su palacio, y los que cerca del estavan hizieron ir de alli a los que con esta queja vinieron, y ansi el moro Mofarrax llevo la donzella y pusola en salvo en un lugar de Granada y la tuvo por manceba en injuria de nuestra sancta fee catolica", "With all these people of the king was very well housed and graciously received by the hosts, but it befell that Mofarrax, one Moor of those who went there with the king, was lodged in the house of a merchant named Diego de Origuela, who had a very lovely daughter, with whom the Moor fell in love, and as the maiden was abhorred by his talk and did not wish to give way to the wishes of the Moor, he waited until the father and mother were not at home and took the maiden and covering her mouth, in a way that she could not raise the alarm and tying her hands and placing her on a horse and certain Moors with him and thus he took her from the city. And when the parents came and found their daughter taken, they began to cry out and shout, and all the neighbourhood came together, and from the case came such great consternation and so important did they feel this heinous crime and thus a great mob of people came together and went to the royal palace, where the mother and the father called out loudly and weeping, solemnly demanded justice from the king, and the king heard their complaint, was very scathing with the mother, calling her mad and having been responsible for the case that had happened and badly protecting to her daughter leaving her alone in the house, with which answers the parents cried out louder demanding justice from God; and when the king heard that he was so annoyed that he called for an executioner who he ordered to flog them around the city. And reaching this don Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente and Count Gonzalo de Guzman; hearing the king's order, the Count Gonzalo said: "Lord, tell me what the crier will say when this justice that you order done is executed?". The king was annoyed with what Count Gonzalo told him, and went into his palace, and those who were close to him were told to leave to those who came with this complaint, and thus the Moor Mofarrax took the maiden and put her out of reach in the place of Granada had her as a slave in insult to our Holy Catholic faith" (Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. "Crónica de Enrique IV", *Estudios sobre la "Crónica de Enrique IV" del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita; Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: 109-110).

10. For the practice of abduction, see especially Gauvard, Claude. "De grace especial", *Crime, État et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1991: II, 573-612; Charageat, Martine. *Mariage, couple et justice en Aragon à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (PhD dissertation), 2001: 201-205; Joye, Sylvie. *La femme ravie: le mariage par rapt dans les sociétés occidentales du haut Moyen Âge (VI^e- X^e siècle)*. Lille: Université Lille 3 Charles de Gaulle, 2006.

whom he was in love.[11] The parents returned home, alerted their neighbours with their screams and went to the palace to demand justice. The king heard the case, scolded the parents for their lack of responsibility. Annoyed by the intensity of their screams and their call for God's justice, he ordered them to be flogged in public. Some influential people reacted indignantly to the king's decision. They gave the king their views about his sense of justice, which annoyed Henry IV even more. He then left and the victim's parents were asked to go. The king's Muslim took shelter in the kingdom of Granada where he married the young Christian girl at the expense of her Catholic faith.

The event caused a double scandal: the abduction on the one hand, and the king's reaction to the parents' request on the other. The case was horrendous, not because of its nature but because it was committed by a Muslim. Thereby it is not the abduction that was at stake, but the transgression of a taboo and a legal prohibition. The argument did not appear in the other versions (B, C, D), which only mention the disgust of the victim for any contact with a Muslim man. Yet Alfonso de Palencia (A), famous as a misogynist, blames the young woman for her initial lightness. She was well aware of the codes of seduction, yet was flirting with the forbidden rules and fell for her guest. In fact, Palencia uses woman's frivolity to excuse the young girl for a corruption whose true core is the court. Its presence in Seville disturbed relations between the different communities and obliged Christian tradesmen to host Muslims in their home against a royal law that promoted segregation.

The presence of Muslims in the royal suite, however, was nothing new. Since the time of John II (1406-1454), Muslim knights had joined the court, and they became protected by the king, like any other young members of the nobility, partly due to the vassalage links between the kingdoms of Granada and Castile. As was the case under his father, Henry IV's court was a meeting place for the young princes and noblemen of Granada. It was also a refuge for them to escape the bloody persecutions provoked by the factional fights in the Nasrid kingdom.[12] The transgression

11. For the Moorish guard of John II and Henry IV, see López de Coca Castañer, José Enrique. "Caballeros moriscos al servicio de Juan II y Enrique IV, reyes de Castilla". *Meridies*, 3 (1996): 119-136; Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana. "Los Elches en la guardia de Juan II y Enrique IV", *IV Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas. (Teruel 16-18 septiembre de 1993)*. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1995: 421-428; Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana. *Caballeros en la Frontera. La guardia morisca de los reyes de Castilla (1410-1467)*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2006.

12. See especially Firpo, Arturo. "Los reyes sexuales (ensayo sobre el discurso sexual durante el reinado de Enrique IV de Trastámara, 1454-1474). 1". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 20 (1984): 217-227; Firpo, Arturo. "Los reyes sexuales (ensayo sobre el discurso sexual durante el reinado de Enrique IV de Trastámara, 1454-1474). 2". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 21 (1985): 145-158; Tate, Robert B. "Políticas sexuales: de Enrique el Impotente a Isabel, maestra de engaños", *Actas del Primer Congreso Anglo-Hispano: Huelva y la Rábida, marzo 1992*, Ralph Penny, ed. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1994: 165-176. To extend perspectives about this, see also Miller, Dean A. "Royauté et ambiguïté sexuelle". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 26/1 (1971): 639-652; Chiffoleau, Jacques. "Dire l'indicible. Remarques sur la catégorie du nefandum du XII^{e} au XV^{e} siècle". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 45/2 (1990): 289-324; Tomás y Valiente, Francisco. "El crimen y pecado contra natura", *Sexo barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas*. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1990: 33-55; Marcello, Luciano. "Società maschile e sodomia. Dal declino della "polis" al Principato". *Archivo storico italiano*, 150 (1992): 115-138; Azoulay, Vincent. "Xénophon, le roi et les eunuques". *Revue française d'histoire des idées politiques*, 11 (2000): 3-26.

was more a result of the king's attitude towards these men than of their presence alone. Already, in early May, near Cordoba some young noblemen became indignant about the king's inability to conduct war against Granada. The reason of these men, who plotted to overthrow the king, was the horrible crimes that Henry IV had committed since he was a child. Thus the Seville abduction contributed to fuelling the stereotype of the *nefandum*. However typical, the defamation by Palencia shows a tendency to make the tyrant's denunciation Islamic.[13]

Thereby the abduction led to the king, to the stereotype of the *nefandum*, to a real defamatory system, also mentioned in the *Crónica castellana* (B) and Galíndez de Carvajal's chronicle (D) "*enorme delito*" that Diego de Valera (C) tackles cautiously "*cosas mus estrañas y feas*" without questioning Palencia's stereotype. As a consequence of the abduction being noticed by the parents, the neighbours' gathering because of the screams, the tears and bereavement, the way to the palace became a compulsory step for seeking justice. The court was in Seville and any crime committed during the king's stay therefore came under his jurisdiction. The community knew that this was the only possible procedure of justice. The event created havoc in the community, publicly displayed by the noisy procession led by the victim's parents through the streets of Seville. This was when the abduction turned into a legal and political scandal. The story of the arrival of the parents and the group to the king varies from one version to another. According to Palencia (A) the encounter took place outside the palace; unexpectedly, as the king was going out. In the other versions of the episode (B, C, D) the parents seem to have taken been to the king for a hearing.

The fortuitous nature of the meeting with the king in Palencia's version was all but a surprise. A parallel has to be drawn between the king leaving Seville's *alcazar* and entering the city, or rather avoiding it. Indeed Henry IV, as a tyrant should, prefered not to submit himself to the rite of entry and entered directly, unseen, into his palace through a postern. The eschewal of the king provoked the surprise and discontent of a city that had not seen a king since the solemn entrance of Henry III in 1395. Thus, the king appearing just as the victim's parents were about to ask for justice gave them an opportunity to appeal directly to his authority. Consequently the royal audience was improvised: a king leaving; parents screaming and crying for compensation; a growing crowd outside the palace gates attending the justice

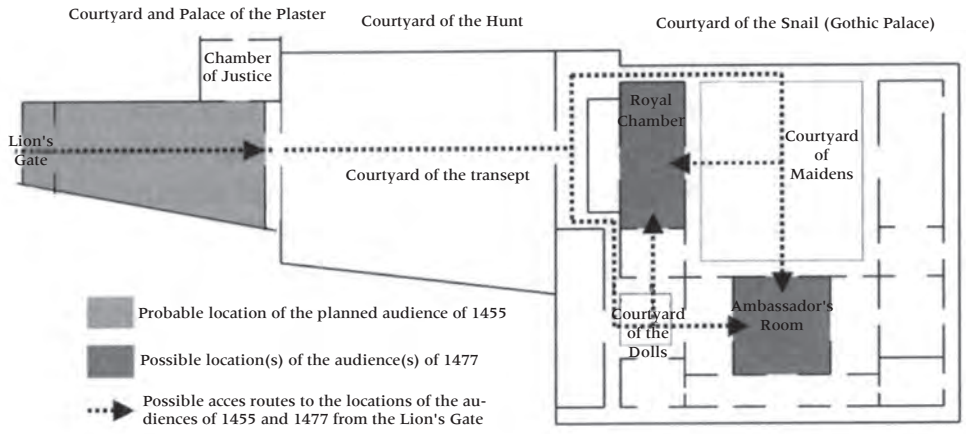
13. "*Andava por su rreyno muy poderoso, todos los suyos rricos, contentos y ganosos de su serviçio; la justicia bien ministrada en su Consejo, donde se oya las cabsas de la corte y en la Chançellería, donde prendía los pleitos, tenía perlados presydentes, letrados famosos de conçiençia, donde se descurría la verdad yor ninguna cosa se torçía la justiçia; para la punición de los malhechores avya prudentes alcaldes que executavan sus delitos*", "He travelled around his kingdom very powerful, all his rich, happy and keen to serve him; the justice well administered in his Council, where the things of court are heard and in the Chancellery, where they took the litigation, had pearled presidents, famous lawyers of conscience, where truth ruled and nothing twisted the justice; for the punishment of miscreants there were prudent mayors who executed their crimes" (*Crónica de Enrique IV de Diego Enríquez del Castillo*, ed. Aureliano Sánchez Martín. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994: 164); and see the letters sent to the king's officers in Murcia between July and August 1455, in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia. XVII. Documentos de Enrique IV*, ed. María Concepción Molina Grande. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X El Sabio, 1988: 44-45 (docs. n° 26, 28).

of a king which they were only just discovering. The other historians confirm to differing degrees the deliberate strategy of a king avoiding the city, but not the fortuitous access to the king described by Palencia.

In the other versions (B, C, D) the parents and the crowd went to the palace and asked the king for justice. The latter listened to the argument "*querella*" which the victims explain with solemnity "*gravemente*" (B, D) or bitterness "*agramente*" (C). Thus in these versions the meeting was not improvised: the king held a speech assisted by those who would subsequently make the parents leave (A, B, C, D), but who were then there to help him do his duty of listening. The arrival of the counts (A, B, C, D), only mentioned in the different versions at the time of the sentence, was consequently hardly believable. The noblemen surrounded the king from the start, as did those auxiliaries of justice whom Enrique asked to call an executioner to carry out his sentence in front of an open and solemn audience. From then onwards, the infamous charge of the Palencia version appears reinforced. In this version the unexpected appearance of the king explains how Enrique IV did away with the laws surrounding public audiences. By depicting this supposedly casual encounter with an angry public waiting to accost him, Palencia manages to create the image of a bad king, a tyrant hidden in his *alcazar*, surrounded by palace cronies. In doing so, Palencia counters the contradictory account of Diego Enríquez del Castillo, who depicts a just king; the letters sent by Henry from Seville to his officers in other cities to ensure that his justice is done confirm this image.[14]

We should therefore not underestimate the strength of his legal standing. Evidence taken from the other accounts suggests a formal public audience, probably the one which took place on Fridays, at which the king, surrounded by his council, sat in direct judgement of his subjects. Other clues, such as those relating to trail location, would tend to confirm this hypothesis. But according to Palencia, the audience occured spontaneously, as the king was leaving his palace, presumably near one of the doors. The other versions confirm that the encounter took place outdoors, but that the king returned to his palace on the advice of his courtiers. However, in these versions the balance between "indoors" and "outdoors" remains contradictory to the account of Palencia. Diego de Valera mentions that the parents reached the king "*y llegados al rey*" (D). Quite possibly they were admitted into the *alcazar* in Seville, a space situated within the palace walls, but outside the palace itself, a transitional space that could be considered either exterior and public or interior and private.

14. Scheme published in Foronda, François. "Las audiencias públicas de la reina Isabel…": 133-171



MOVEMENT FROM THE PLACE OF THE AUDIENCE WITHIN THE SEVILLE PALACE (1455-1477)[15]

Of course, the architecture of the Sevillian *alcazar* is probably rather more complicated than these accounts would suggest, but the chronicles do seem to indicate that it was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that the works begun by Peter the Cruel led to the use of such a space for formal audiences.[16] The spatial function of the court of Montería was to give access inside the palatial structure to the king's chamber —his private apartments. But it was not until the time of the Catholic Kings that public audiences take place in this patio, which by then served as an open-air court of justice, and which dominated the monumental façade of the Mudéjar palace built by Peter I. It is thus very unlikely that the formal audience towards which the victim's parents were heading could have happened in such a space, which was after all designed to sublimate the image of a just king.

It is almost certain, therefore, that the monumental door that leads to the king's private apartments was where the king was standing when the crying parents arrived to complain about the abduction of their daughter by a member of his Muslim guard. The gestures, screams and cries of the plaintiffs (A, B, C, D) which are included in all four accounts not only express their pain, but also serve to demand justice, as would be expected of a judicial process that was usually initiated orally. In such a context, the presentation of the complaint "*querella*" (B, C, D) whose aim was to obtain

15. About the Alcázar of Seville, see especially Cómez, Rafael. "El Alcázar de Sevilla al fin de la Edad Media", *Les palais dans la ville. Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, Patrick Boucheron, Jacques Chiffoleau, eds. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2004: 313-324; Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel. *El alcázar de Sevilla. Primeros estudios sobre estratigrafía y evolución constructive*. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucia Consejería, 2003; Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel. "Investigaciones arqueológicas en la portada de la Montería", Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja, coord. *Apuntes del alcázar de Sevilla*, 7 (2006): 7-39. See also the communications in *Los alcázares reales. Vigencia de los modelos tradicionales en la arquitectura áulica cristiana*. Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros, 2001.

16. Villapalos Salas, Gustavo. *Los recursos contra los actos de gobierno en la baja edad media: su evolución histórica en el reino castellano (1252-1504)*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 1976.

compensation for a crime committed by a member of the king's staff, was conducted by means of a gracious protocol. Palencia appears to indicate this when he stresses that the parents of the victim had come to see the king to beseech him for his favour "*subventionis*" (A). The circumstances surrounding the abduction in Seville and its judicial consequences have therefore to be considered within the wider context of the gracious manner in which such appeals had come to be conducted since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

But the gestures and screams should be considered within the terms of rules governing the resort to mercy. Such rules were designed to impose humility, reverence and parsimony, all of which served to reduce the duration of the audience and conveyed the need for a measured and considered argument. Furthermore, the laws of the kingdom demanded that in cases where the demand for compensation concerned a wrong that fell within royal responsibility such a call was made gradually. So as not to undermine the honour of the king, mercy should first be sought in secret, then in front of two or three members of the court, and finally, if previous calls were rejected, by full judicial means. Thus, the eruption of the victim's parents in the court of Montería can be seen as doubly inappropriate. If their screams and cries were enough to alert a large number of people, then their call for mercy from the king was compromised. Through this infraction of the rules, the parents broadcasted their pain and thereby dishonoured the king.

Far from alleviating things, the irritation shown by the king inflamed the situation and provoked even louder screams and cries, and directed demands for justice (A) or cries to God (B, C, D). At this point the judicial process collapsed and the king's wrath, *furibundus* (A), or *tan grande enojo* (B, C, D), led him to call for his auxiliaries and demand that they whip the parents publicly. The first stage of the ceremonial process having collapsed, the people of Seville were now treated to a display in which the regulated dispensation of orderly justice was transformed into a spectacle of screaming, crying and anger. The wrath of the king and the punishment he ordered seemed unintelligible. By heckling the king in such a manner and not giving him a chance to pass judgement, the victim's parents not only inconvenienced and infracted his order, they also offended him. To interrupt the king while he was speaking was a dishonour that required an appropriate punishment.

But the punishment he chose, even if justified and comprehensible under the circumstances, seemed inordinately harsh. The intervention of the noblemen of the court (A, B, C, D) alerted the king to the political consequences of his actions. To whip parents whose daughter has been abducted by a Muslim of the royal guard was not sensible. While Palencia talks of the expulsion of the parents and the conversion to Islam of the victim, who by now was married to her abductor and a mother (A), the other versions add an image of an angry king who took refuge in his apartments following the intervention of the noblemen (B, C, D). However the event was concluded, the various chroniclers concur in their articulation of the discontent of the victims and of the community, and the increasing unease of the courtly noblemen. Having isolated himself from these voices of disquiet and surrounded only by a retinue "*satellites*" (A), "*los que çerca del [rey] estaban*" (B, C,

D), whose presence undermined the court, the king remained silent, incapable of hearing the protests of the masses or rejecting them.

The story of the abduction in Seville not only demonstrates the mechanism of defamation, it also indicates the culture and dialogue that took place between a government and its subjects, the attainder and the disappointment, and it depicts those rare occasions when the people could get close to their king, see and talk to him. The public audience was primarily a publicity device, which, when it all went wrong, turned against its creator and forced him to lock himself away from public sight. Thanks to Palencia, the court of Montería in Seville, designed by Peter the Cruel to amplify the image of a just king, now represented the refuge of an incarcerated tyrant, railing uselessly against his nobility, who were just beginning to realise the power they could wield. The collapse of order in Seville was essentially due to the failure of the king to silence his critics, not only the plaintiffs but also the chroniclers, those masters of public opinion and propaganda, of exhibition and dissimulation. Ultimately, the various accounts of these events stress how much of written history comes down to stragecraft.

GREAT AND SMALL TRADE IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON. THE EXAMPLE OF VALENCIA IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

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abstract

The article analyses the historiographic debate about the relations between great and small trade during the later Middle Ages. It does so emphasising the social and economic role of the small trade, and the elements of integration and coordination between both categories of market. With this aim, the text takes the Crown of Aragon as its reference framework, especially the city and kingdom of Valencia, between the 13th and 15th centuries. Two types of maritime exchanges around the territory of Valencia are studied: one being short distance cabotage, between the ports in the kingdom and the capital; and the long-distance international trade that linked Valencia with such countries as Italy or Portugal.

Key words

Local trade, International trade, Crown of Aragon, Valencia, Later Middle Ages.

Capitalia verba

Res localis, Res nationibus communis, Corona Aragoniae, Valentia, Medium Aeuum inferius.

1. A historiographical debate and the case of Valencian maritime commerce

For a long time now, the debate about the relations between great and small trade has marked part of the historiography of the mercantile world in Europe and the Mediterranean in the Late Middle Ages[1]. It is evident that, in principle, the differentiation between the two types of commerce can start from the physical distance —long or short— over which the trade was carried out. However, it is also known that, more or less consciously, research has used other elements to attribute a full meaning to both economic sectors.

Thus, although simplified, it is very habitual for the formula "great trade" to include the realities of foreign trade and the international economy (especially structured along the sea routes), European mercantile elites, great investments and most perfected business techniques, the capitalist dynamics and, in short, the most advanced fields that determined the growth and change in society. Meanwhile, "small trade" is more usually linked to domestic trade and the local economy (especially overland), the local agents who very often did not specialise in the traffic, lesser businesses, the feudal variable and fields of action considered most backward, normally linked to the rural and peasant universe[2].

Without entering into polemics, also promoted in this context, about the real impact that one sector or the other had on the evolution of the economic structures, the truth is that the radical expression of the separation between great and small trade has, on occasions, provoked a specific —historiographical and historical— "logic of confrontation" between both. Nevertheless, in recent years, different authors have proposed varying or downplaying this confrontation for reasons that derive from both empirical observation and theoretical reflection. Moreover, that has had a particular impact on the territories of the old Crown of Aragon.

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1. This work is part of the studies done by the author in the "Migraciones, élites económicas e identidades culturales en la Corona de Aragón (1350-1500)", research project directed from the University of Valencia by Dr. Paulino Iradiel Murugarren and financed between 2005 and 2008 by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (reference HUM2005-04804/HIST).

2. See the debate and historiographic characterisation of "great tarde" and "small trade" in various articles by Dr. Iradiel: Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana", *XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella: "La historia medieval en España. Un balance historiográfico (1968-1998)"*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999: 603-658; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530", *Congreso Internacional "De la unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V"*, Ernest Belenguer Cebriá, coord. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001: I, 85-116; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."Nápoles en el mercado mediterráneo de la Corona de Aragón", *El reino de Nápoles y la monarquía de España. Entre agregación y conquista (1485-1535)*, Giuseppe Galasso, Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, eds. Madrid: Real Academia de España en Roma, 2004: 265-289; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes", *Comercio y hombres de negocios en Castilla y Europa en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, Hilaño Casado Alonso, Antonio García-Baquero, eds. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2007: 123-150. The bibliografiphy cited in these works saves me the need to repeat it here, although it is perhaps worth remembering the prominence of leading specialists, such as Abulafia, Aymard, Epstein or Petralia, in this debate.

As I see it, this fact is related to at least two circumstances. The first could be summed up in what I believe is a certain recovery of the social and economic role of small trade. In all probability, this is less spectacular than international trade, presents bigger difficulties for studying for heuristic reasons, and has frequently been marginalised by research[3]. However, none of this can prevent observing that small trade was decisive for maintaining the Late Medieval economy, as it affected thousands of families who became ever more closely linked to the market[4].

These latter affirmations implicitly include the perception, for example, that the initial base for some great commercial fortunes was found in the lesser currents of exchange[5], or that, in general, the beginning and end of mercantile movement — even that which moved along sea routes— was seated in the rural world (agricultural and land-based) and the local and regional circuits, the characteristics of which had direct effects on the deepest behaviour of the economy[6]. Moreover, the ideas mentioned also implicitly include the verification of the progress that local commerce underwent from the mid -14th century and throughout the 1400s. Based on situations detected in Barcelona, Valencia, Sicily and Naples, among others, David Abulafia defined the mentioned progress as "expansion" or "growing intensification" of mid- or short-range relations, and this led the same author to call this period an authentic "golden age of the local market"[7].

The second circumstance that allows the contrast between the two categories of commerce analysed to be downplayed is related to understanding not only of the interactions that occurred between them, but also the emergence of intermediate market networks, which were very consistent on a regional scale, such as those verified in areas where the production of food or raw materials for export was concentrated. Up to a point, these networks make the absolute dichotomy between the

3. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: commercio locale e commercio internazionale nell'età di Alfonso il Magnanimo", *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: "La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo"*, Guido D'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, eds. Naples: Paparo, 2000: II, 1027, 1034, 1043; Epstein, Stephan R. *Potere e mercati in Sicilia. Secoli XIII-XVI*. Turin: Giulio Einaudi Ed., 1996: 3-23.

4. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 106-107; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media (Reflexiones para abrir una Semana de Estudios Medievales)", *XVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera: "El comercio en la Edad Media"*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2006: 15-38.

5. Riera Melis, Antoni. "El comerç català a la Baixa Edat Mitjana. I: El segle XIV", *Annals de la Segona Universitat d'Estiu: La Baixa Edat Mitjana*. Andorra: Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura, 1984: 197.

6. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media…": 19; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución en los espacios interiores de la Corona de Aragón: materias primas y productos básicos", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó: La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII-XVI & VII Centenari de la Sentència Arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004*, Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005: I, 918.

7. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo…": 1025; Abulafia, David. "Mercati e mercanti nella Corona d'Aragona: Il ruolo degli imprenditori estranieri", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó...*: I, 803, 810-811.

great international traffic and the small local exchanges fictitious, in benefit of a more reticular and balanced vision of the commercial spaces[8].

In this line, always within the Crown of Aragon, the studies have emphasised the greater or lesser weight of institutional factors (such as the creation of fairs, markets or coastal loading points) to reinforce the relations between the various commercial levels[9]. They have also underlined the functions, in this respect, of the different economic operators, among which there were foreign merchants, local merchants, large and medium-sized businessmen linked to industry, craftsmen, rural producers and small-scale local agents[10]. And these functions, linked to other material or political realities, could lead to a determined integration of the multiple activities that were developed around the market.

For example, if we only look at the itineraries of the maritime commerce, it is true that it is sometimes difficult to understand the link between the long and short circuits[11]. Despite this, the diffusion and the characteristics of the shortest routes, as well as their relation to each other, are better understood if we hit upon some keys to their existence, as I have argued for Valencia: the deployment of subsidiary tasks with regard to the great convoys, with the intention of supplying these and favouring the distribution of the products carried; the concretion of economic hierarchies between main and secondary ports, accompanied on occasions by elements of productive specialisation on a regional or district scale, that led to the connection of the long and short routes becoming essential for reducing costs and avoiding lost time; and, finally, the infrastructure conditions of many Mediterranean ports, and the need to have small boats available for coastal trade to facilitate access to any type of navigation[12].

Heading inland from the coast, the image that Jose Ángel Sesma offers of the contacts between the kingdom of Aragon and the interior of Catalonia and Valencia

8. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana"…: 646-647; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución…": 918.

9. Among other possible references, see Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della Trentaduesima Settimana di Studi", 8, 12 maggio 2000*. Prato-Florence: Instituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini'-Le Monnier, 2001, especially the articles by María Dolores López Pérez about Catalonia (pages 309-333) and José Hinojosa Montalvo about Valencia (pages 597-607). See also Batlle, Carme. *Fires i mercats, factors de dinamisme econòmic i centres de sociabilitat (segles XI a XV)*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2004; Igual Luis, David. "Política y economía durante la Baja Edad Media. El papel de la monarquía en el comercio exterior valenciano", *Los cimientos del Estado en la Edad Media. Cancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la Edad Media*, Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, ed. Alcoy: Editorial Marfil, 2004: 249-278.

10. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Metrópolis y hombres de negocios (siglos XIV y XV)", *XXIX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella: Las sociedades urbanas en la España medieval*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2003: 309-310; Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos en el Mediterráneo y en Europa occidental en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna", *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della trentaduesima Settimana di Studi*... : 489-490.

11. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo…": 1043.

12. Igual Luis, David. "Itinerarios comerciales en el espacio meridional mediterráneo de la Baja Edad Media", *Itinerarios medievales e identidad hispánica: XXVII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 17 a 21 de Julio de 2000*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2001: 150-158.

again becomes highly significant of the interac tion (or "convergence", as he calls it) of the large and small ambits, international and local, of trade. Based on traits of the economic development of these zones and the exchange between them of products, such as wool, wheat, saffron or leather, that were often destined for export to other places, Sesma concluded that, especially from the end of the 14th century, a stage began there which was defined by the complementary nature, competition and concurrence in the same place of mercantile movements. This was so because these movements did not include only the largest operations. In fact, beside these businesses, a large number of little merchants, even the rural producers, made frequent use of the elements that improved the links between Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia and made periodic expeditions along well-known itineraries, so that they could reach the coastal markets, taking products from the interior and returning with others. Thus, a constant traffic of merchandise in all directions was activated, thanks to which short-distance overland trade became interregional and, at most, connected with the necessities and effects of the maritime commerce up to even the international range[13].

There is no need to prolong the casuistic. The situations that I have summarised illustrate that, beyond the "logic of confrontation" mentioned above, in the study of great and small trade it is possible to find factors of integration and coordination, which explain that the transformations in the intensity, objectives and nature of one influenced the development of the other, and that all the human, technical and geographic levels on which trade in general was structured, were decisive and important, each —clearly— on its own scale[14]. The result of all this could be the stratification of the various categories of exchange between the local and international environments or, also, as Paulino Iradiel has shown for 15th century Valencia, a superposition of circuits over structured territories with complex and hierarchical bases[15].

It is precisely the interpretations about the organisation of Valencian commerce during the Late Middle Ages[16] that insist on presenting a model that reinforced the opportunities offered by the evolution and rationalisation of the internal political and administrative institutions, and justified the rise of a structured economy on a regional scale. The internal and external demands contributed progressively to

13. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución…": 915-919. See also Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Producción para el mercado, comercio y desarrollo mercantil en espacios interiores (1250-1350): el modelo del sur de Aragón", *Europa en los umbrales de la crisis (1250-1350). XXI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 18 a 22 de Julio de 1994*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995: 205-246.

14. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana"...: 646-647; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 106-107; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media…": 27-28, 35-37.

15. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes"…: 149.

16. Some of the latest interpretative syntheses about this late-medieval Valencian trade are: Abulafia, David. "Mercati e mercanti nella Corona d'Aragona...": 805-811; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano", *El comercio y el Mediterráneo. Valencia y la cultura del mar*, Inmaculada Aguilar Civera, coord. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2006: 111-129.

developing trade relations, given the need to maintain both the supply of food and the local export specialisation. In this context, the short and medium range traffic of low-cost products and raw materials grew, and local or regional commerce could to compensate for the fluctuations in international trade. In any case, the growth of Valencia as a protagonist in the most varied flows of exchange was one of the most relevant new factors in the western Mediterranean in that period. And, as is well known, this phenomenon was reinforced in the 15th century, although on a previously established base.

After the 13th century Christian conquest, the Valencian area began a process of political, social and economic construction, where the central role of trade soon stood out, especially with regard to the movement of two sets of merchandise: on one hand, the agricultural harvests, that soon showed a high degree of commercialisation and even speculative dealing, and about which, for example, in the case of cereals, the little variation in prices throughout the kingdom had already shown in the same 13th century that there was a kind of integrated grain market; on the other hand, the local or imported textile products that, particularly from the first half of the 14th century, were fixed in a exchange at different levels (from local to regional), in accordance with the quality and the value of the articles traded and, also, according to the rhythm of the contemporary expansion of this industry in the city of Valencia[17].

Before 1350, this situation was encouraged by the presence in the region (mainly in the capital) of home-grown or foreign mercantile groups, which were more or less consistent and specialised. At the same time, all this helped to spread mechanisms for contracting and financing, or forming commercial companies, such as the *comanda*[18]. The consequences of this sum of elements made itself felt on ever more consolidated transport routes. In fact, in reference to the naval itineraries, recent analysis of the first decades of the 14th century show that Valencia and other ports of the kingdom were by then already included on sea routes that not only linked up the Valencian coast, but that also extended to North Africa, Majorca, Sicily and Sardinia, Catalonia and the south of present-day France, even reaching the Atlantic coast of Andalusia[19].

17. García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002: 23-29; Bordes García, José. *Desarrollo industrial textil y artesanado en Valencia de la conquista a la crisis (1238-1350)*. Valencia: Comité Econòmic i Social de la Comunitat Valenciana, 2006: 248-254.

18. Mira Jódar, Antonio José. "Circuitos marítimos de intercambio y comandas mercantiles en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó...*: II, 1369-1393.

19. Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. *Métodos comerciales y redes mercantiles marítimas en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (unpublish, research project), 2004; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y el Norte de África en la primera mitad del siglo XIV". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 27-28 (2003-2004): 125-127; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Intercambiar y vincularse económicamente en el Mediterráneo Occidental: un ejemplo a través del estudio de las redes comerciales entre Valencia y Mallorca durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV", *III Simposio Internacional de Jóvenes Medievalistas: Lorca 2006*, Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Jorge Ortuño Molina, Juan Leonardo Soler Milla, eds. Lorca: Ayuntamiento de Lorca-Fundación Cajamurcia-Real Academia Alfonso X el

In this scheme of maritime relations, other contacts (such as those with Flanders, mainland Italy or the eastern Mediterranean) seem to have still been very sporadic at the beginning of the 14th century. However, by the end of the century, after the well-known critical circumstances of that century and the qualitative and quantitative impulse to urban commerce since 1375 that the historiography has shown, the inclusion of Valencia in the traffic to the north of Italy or the Atlantic countries, for example, accelerated[20]. Thus, around 1400, the maintenance and growth of the traditional routes and the significant incorporation of other exchanges led to the kingdom of Valencia entering fully into a commercial maritime economy characterised by a wide diversification of initiatives, all of which fit within the superposition of mercantile circuits (from the largest to the smallest) mentioned above. Moreover, the characteristics of these initiatives, from those times on and during the rest of the 15th century, can be illustrated by the presentation of some specific cases.

2. Coastal loading points in the kingdom and routes to the city of Valencia

Despite the leadership of the port of the city of Valencia, the kingdom's maritime activity in reality also included the movements channelled through the rest of the embarking points in the territory. There were at least forty places for loading and unloading goods scattered along the Valencian coast between the 13th and 16th centuries, either constantly, or grouped together at specific moments, especially towards the end of this period. All of these, together with the capital's own port, made up something similar to a "port system", in the sense that the political and economic dynamics helped to establish hierarchies within this set of *carregadors* (loading points), as the documents call them, and between which situations of interdependence grew up[21]. However, apart from Valencia itself, the knowledge we have of this network of stopping points and its function with regard to maritime commerce is very unequal.

Beginning in the south, in the 15th century the coast of Alicante was well integrated into the medium and long distance itineraries. The trade carried out with North Africa, Majorca or other beaches in the Iberian Peninsula could stop there, as

Sabio-Lorcatur-Universidad de Murcia-Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2008: 177-195. See also Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim de les comarques castellonenques (segles XIII-XV)". *Millars. Espai i Història*, 29 (2006): 93-132.

20. Igual Luis, David; Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Relazioni economiche tra Valenza e l'Italia nel Basso Medioevo". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 20 (1995): 61-97.

21. Igual Luis, David. "*'Non ha portto alcuno, ma sola spiaggia'*. La actividad marítima valenciana en el siglo XV", *Seminario Internacional "Las ciudades portuarias en el proceso de desarrollo económico italiano y español entre la Edad Media y la Edad Moderna (1400-1600) (Valencia, novembre 2002)"*. Valencia: Universitat de València, forthcoming.

did certain routes with greater geographical projection. To only mention some ports in this area, the famous fleets of Venetian or Florentine galleys that sailed more or less regularly around many parts of the Mediterranean, and then could sail towards the Atlantic, occasionally stopped in Denia, Jávea or Alicante[22]. For these voyages, or other more limited ones centred on the trade with Flanders or with the Italian areas, the role of the three above-mentioned places was very important for the export of local products, such as nuts or dried fruit (almonds or raisins, for example). And thus, not only because the harvests from the rural interior arrived there, but also because sometimes the shipping that anchored there established a specific relation with shorter routes that reached Valencia: the large ships *en route* to Flanders, especially, used to stop in Denia or Jávea while small boats could sail from Valencia to these ports in Alicante with loads for shipping overseas which the urban operators had stored for months[23].

This is a clear example of the interactions that sometimes occurred between the different types of traffic that sailed the Valencian sea. But it is also evidence for the functional links between the kingdom's loading points. In this sense, it is now some time since Jacqueline Guiral defined Denia and Alicante as a true "anteports" for Valencia from the moment that the transport contracts could stipulate that it was there that the orders for unloading the merchandise would be given[24]. Cullera, a little further north, on the mouth of the river Júcar, has also received the same qualification by some authors, although for other reasons: during the Late Middle Ages it became a frequent anchorage and refuge for ships going to Valencia, probably because of the poor natural conditions of the capital's port at that time[25].

Whether similar definitions are more or less adequate, the truth is that, if we return to the situation of the loading points in Alicante in the 15th century, the relation between these and Valencia was important for the inclusion of the territory into international maritime routes, as shown above, an inclusion where Valencia used to make the most of its position as a nerve centre for business, while the southern districts reproduced operative missions[26]. However, apart from this meaning the contact between these districts and the city of Valencia could also reflect a more

22. Guiral-Hadziiossif, Jacqueline. *Valencia, puerto mediterráneo en el siglo XV (1410-1525)*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1989: 29; Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Alicante: polo de crecimiento en el tránsito de los siglos XV al XVI", *1490, en el umbral de la Modernidad. El Mediterráneo europeo y las ciudades en el tránsito de los siglos XV-XVI*, José Hinojosa Montalvo, Jesús Pradells Nadal, eds. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994: 79.

23. Cruselles Gómez, Enrique. "La organización del transporte marítimo en la Valencia de la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 24 (1994): 172. About the trade in nuts and dried fruit, see also Ferrer i Mallol, Maria Teresa. "Fruita seca i fruita assecada, una especialitat de l'àrea econòmica catalana-valenciana-balear". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/2 (2001): 883-943.

24. Auffray, Yves; Guiral, Jacqueline. "Les péages du Royaume de Valence (1494)". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 12 (1976): 147-149.

25. Díaz Borrás, Andrés; Pons i Pons, Anaclet; Serna Alonso, Justo. *La construcción del puerto de Valencia. Problemas y métodos (1283-1880)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1986: 11.

26. Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental*. Castellón: Bancaixa-Comité Econòmic i Social de la Comunitat Valenciana, 1998: 316-317.

exclusively bilateral logic, especially dedicated to supplying foodstuffs, industrial and luxury goods to the urban groups, which was usually along short itineraries from the south of the kingdom with small vessels.

In 1494, the fiscal documentation of the *manifest* or *peatge de mar* —a kind of customs register of the ships that arrived in the port of Valencia every day— show up to thirty-three voyages from Denia. According to Guiral, nineteen of these arrivals were really coastal shipping and a direct and limited link between both places. In contrast, the remaining fourteen were on more complex and longer voyages[27]. In reality, however, it is not always easy to separate some circuits from others with this source of information. The typology of the ships that are listed helps to distinguish them, as Jose Hinojosa does when, in reference to the voyages to Valencia from the port of Alicante, he differentiates between the small traffic that used *barques*, *llaguts* or *sagèties*, for example, from the great lines of navigation that preferentially used *naus*. However, the question becomes more complicated when we observe that, even on the shortest routes with smaller boats, the effects of international transactions can be noted. In accordance with the above-mentioned professor Hinojosa, who analysed the *manifests de mar* for 1488 and 1491, arrivals from Alicante to the capital declared that they carried almost thirty products from the southern part of the kingdom, among which cereals and the nuts and dried fruit stand out, beside a large number of small batches of other food and industrial products. Despite this, the small or medium sized ships also sometimes transported Italian or Flemish cargos (cloth, dyes, metals, etc.) that had first been unloaded in Alicante. Thus, this place acted as an export point, as an initial, final or intermediate stop on long journeys and as a redistribution centre, and the three functions affected the relations with Valencia at least at the end of the 15th century[28].

The variety of routes inside or outside the territory the ports on the northern half of the kingdom of Valencia were on has also already been emphasised. This was the case of Sagunto[29] or the loading points in Castellón, although the latter case is worth detailing. It is undeniable that, from the 13th to the 15th centuries, there was frequent news about trade between the districts of Castellón and other places on a regional or international level, normally limited to the Western Mediterranean. However, beside the problem of interpreting the weight that these connexions had —especially the longest— within the economy of Castellón, as a hypothesis and from a comparative perspective it seems unlikely that a stop at these places was essential for the major maritime circuits. With what is known to date, only the initiatives that affected ports such as Moncófar, Burriana, Castellón and Benicarló would break this tendency in certain periods with the aim of exporting, especially, local

27. Auffray, Yves; Guiral, Jacqueline. "Les péages du Royaume de Valence (1494)"…: 148.

28. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Alicante: polo de crecimiento en el tránsito de los siglos XV al XVI"…: 85-89.

29. Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una villa medieval volcada al Mediterráneo: Morvedre en los itinerarios mercantiles locales e internacionales durante la Baja Edad Media (ss. XIII-XV)", *Catálogo de la exposición "De Murbiter a Morvedre"*. Valencia: Bancaixa, 2006: 171-185.

agricultural or livestock products. However, there is a marked exception, namely Peñíscola[30].

During the second half of the 13th century, Peñíscola was already integrated (although sporadically) into routes that linked the Iberian coast with the north of Italy. Nevertheless, from the same time and until the early decades of the 14th century, the available sources situate the basis of the maritime trade from Peñíscola in the export of the cereal surpluses from inland areas, such as the *Ports* of Morella, for the supply of relatively close urban markets, such as Barcelona. Later evolution confirmed this important regional function for Peñíscola in relation with both Catalonia and Majorca, or even Valencia itself[31]. Despite this, from the mid-14th century, the major novelty was the consolidation of the port's international role, with the export of Valencian wools from the Maestrazgo and the *Ports* that were just then beginning to penetrate the European market, particularly in Italy under the control of the same Italian mercantile companies. In fact, Melis thought that Peñíscola could be defined as the biggest export port for wool in the Mediterranean on the transition from the 14th to 15th centuries[32].

This situation continued until around 1450, as Carles Rabassa has detailed recently. In that period, Peñíscola became a meeting point between the local and international ambits of trade, as the wool merchants from the villages in the interior converged there, and the agents of the large maritime traffic also collected their produce there. And as well as wool, other articles from the area entered in the mercantile channels as a complementary load (honey, leather or cloth, for example). However, none of this implies that Peñíscola ever became a large commercial centre or had a powerful merchant class. Rather, the town was normally a mere transit point for products, which did, however, favour the existence of a group of naval transport professionals (skippers or seamen), outside the control of the exchanges[33].

Beyond the importance of the activities around Peñíscola and the other initiatives mentioned in the ports of Castellón, the research reflects better the participation of all the coastal loading points in these districts in the domestic routes in the kingdom, especially those leading to the capital, Valencia, like almost always. Once again, the study of the *manifests de mar* offers very important data about this for the second half of the 15th century, the only medieval stage for which this source, which is fiscal in character, exists partially. Thus, in the *manifests* conserved for 1451, 1459, 1488, 1491 and 1494 there are ships reaching Valencia from thirteen points on the

30. Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim de les comarques castellonenques (segles XIII-XV)"…: 95-104.

31. Rabassa i Vaquer, Carles. "Funcions econòmiques del port de Peníscola durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*...: II, 1271, 1277-1278, 1280, 1283.

32. Melis, Federigo. "La llana de l'Espanya mediterrània i de la Berberia occidental en els segles XIV-XV", *València, un mercat medieval*, Antoni Furió, ed. Valencia: Diputació de València, 1985: 69-70; Melis, Federigo. "L'area catalano-aragonese nel sistema economico del Mediterraneo occidentale", *I mercanti italiani nell'Europa medievale e rinascimentale*, Luciana Frangioni, ed. Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", 1990: 228.

33. Rabassa i Vaquer, Carles. "Funcions econòmiques del port de Peníscola durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana"…: 1277-1278, 1283, 1285.

coast of Castellón. The global analysis of all the information derived allows various conclusions to be drawn[34].

The first is related to the quantity of movements shown by this documentation. In three discontinuous but relatively close (1488, 1491 and 1494) years, the source includes some three hundred movements of ships between the coast of Castellón and Valencia, one hundred and thirty-five of which corresponded to one year alone (1488). The numbers are high, but one must not forget that the density and frequency of a specific current of transactions does not always have a direct relation with its weight in the affected markets or, in general, within the system of exchanges. Moreover, these contacts were not evenly distributed around the different parts of Castellón, as there was always a predominance of customs inscriptions for ships sailing from the centre-north of Castellón (between Vinaroz and Cabanes) and, very especially, to the triad of ports made up of Vinaroz, Benicarló and Peñíscola.

The type of the fleet that sailed to Valencia would be the squadrons of small or medium tonnage that anchored then in the port of the capital of the kingdom. Again, according to the *manifests* for 1488, 1491 and 1494, the most common ship types were the *llaguts* (the majority), *barques* and a few skiffs. It was habitual for the same ships (or, at least, the same masters or skippers of ships) to reach Valencia many times during the year, and it sometimes also seems that various *llaguts* and *barques* made up convoys that allowed them to dock together, in a joint navigation that was not unusual in the Late Medieval Mediterranean and that can be judged as a defensive precaution against the numerous dangers on the sea. All together this ensured a periodicity of arrivals that, in the overall contemplation of the loading points in Castellón, accelerated during the final months of the each year or, at the most, during the winter season. A similar rhythm can be linked to the agricultural cycles and the urban supply needs, especially if we bear in mind that there was a great abundance of rural products among the merchandise transported to Valencia by ships from Castellón.

The list of this merchandise in the five *manifests* studied from 1451 to 1494 includes around a hundred items, which reproduce a catalogue very marked by the terminological details of the documents that place the emphasis on food articles, mainly agrarian (such as cereals, legumes, fruit and vegetables), but also in some derivates of livestock, forest or mineral working. However, if we take the details from a specific example (1488), only six products were really mentioned very frequently: these are, in ascending order of mentions, oats, beans, honey, oil, barley and wheat. In any case, the majority of the objects were hypothetically from the area of Castellón or the zones further inland that sent the surplus to the coast. Those objects were taken to Valencia as small mercantile batches, which would appear to be far from any potential later commercialisation. The logic of exchange deduced from the data in the *manifests* usually comprises the simple transfer of merchandise between an exporter and an importer, traffic that stopped in Valencia in transit on

34. The analysis and conclusions of the news of the *manifests de mar* related to Castellón are presented in detail in Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim de les comarques castellonenques (segles XIII-XV)…": 104-116. I present a summary of these in the following lines.

its way to other destinations, or transactions that seem veritable redistributions of resources within a family, company or institution. In short, the logic that could be considered typical of a trade, as I have said, sustained by rural products and that was basically aimed at supplying an urban centre such as Valencia.

It is more difficult to determine the social and professional state of the large number of people that, always in line with the *manifests de mar* from the end of the 15th century, were in charge of arranging the carriage by sea of commercial loads between Castellón and Valencia. The source usually offers few details about this, except the mention of the names of those individuals that acted as owners of the cargoes at the loading point and as consignees for these in the port of arrival. However, the scarce information in the *manifests* and the comparative examination of other documents show the important role of privileged sectors or the elite of the communities (nobles, churchmen and local authorities), experts in naval transport, members of trades, even of an artisan type, and merchants who had very varied economic levels. It has to be supposed, at least as an average definition, that a merchant of rural or semi-urban origins, like many of the operators from the Castellón districts, would not be the same as a merchant from the great centre of Valencia. And besides all these groups, the participation in the itineraries cannot be ruled out of persons from other ambits who could be interested in these circuits in a most or less exceptional way. Thus, the maritime trade routes between Castellón and Valencia were run by a wide variety of actors, the majority of local Castellón or Valencian origin and many of them by no means specialised in the mercantile business.

If the arguments about the loading points in Alicante served to emphasise the occasional interactions and interferences between the great and small trade, the things that we have just seen when talking about the ports of Castellón are useful for illustrating at least two questions: that the naval routes were much denser and more heavily travelled near the coast than on the high seas, a situation that is widely corroborated by the set of voyages —from Castellón or not— that reached the city of Valencia from at least the second half of the 15th century on[35]; and that routes such as those that set the relation between these ports and the capital were usually the scenario for the transport of humble merchandise, in general of limited volume and value, although contracted in quantities that would acquire considerable importance thanks to the stimulation of internal networks of the territory and the workings of the kingdom's extensive port network. All this was the result of the local specialisations in production and the urban supply needs, but could also be due to the increase in the capacity for consumption of the coastal populations and changes in the schemes of the demand[36].

35. Salvador Esteban, Emilia. "Valencia, puerto del Mediterráneo", *Catálogo de la exposición "Los Reyes Católicos y la monarquía de España"*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2004: 147-148.

36. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes"…: 147-148.

3. The international traffic through the Italian and Portuguese examples

Apart from the characteristics of the small trade, always on a Valencian scale it has been emphasised in parallel that the working of the great routes facilitated the profitable insertion of agents and products from the kingdom in very busy and competitive mercantile places. The initiatives developed in these second routes were marked, more than by the volume of the trade, by the comparative advantages and profits generated, as well as the participation of local and foreign merchants, who were able to built trade networks based on a common model of strategies, which were usually structured around elements such as the family ties, geographic or ethnic origins, and even religious identity[37].

I have mentioned above how, around 1400, there was full integration of the Valencian territory into the maritime mercantile economy, within which the function of the capital's port then exceeded the simple exchange of locally produced goods and loads only destined for internal consumption[38]. This integration remained solid (even with growing diversification) throughout the 15th century, although there were specific fluctuations and some differentiated evolution of the traffic[39]. This solidity constantly expressed the double perspective of projection of the coast towards the Mediterranean on one hand, and to the Atlantic, on the other, areas for which Valencia came to play missions of convergence (or of economic closure) for various currents of maritime trade.

In the Mediterranean, some of the routes worth more attention were those to Italy, which were among the most fertile of those established by Valencia during the Late Middle Ages. In fact, with particular reference to the links with the centre and north of the Italian peninsula, I only indicate two historiographical milestones: from the thirties of the last century, when the wool traffic organised between the northern districts of Valencia and Tuscany from the end of the 14th century was emphasised[40], to the recent edition of a series of mercantile letters from the famous Datini company between 1395 and 1398 that has once again allowed the significance

37. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano"…: 120-122, 125.

38. Orlandi, Angela. "Estudi introductori", *Mercaderies i diners: La correspondència datiniana entre València i Mallorca (1395-1398)*, Angela Orlandi, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 42, 57.

39. Fluctuations and evolutions that I have emphasised in some specific cases through various publications. For example: Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia*...: 31-76, 403-418; Igual Luis, David. "Navegación y comercio entre Valencia y el Norte de África durante el siglo XV", *Relaciones entre el Mediterráneo cristiano y el Norte de África en época medieval y moderna*, Carmen Trillo San José, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2004: 227-286; and, in collaboration with Paulino Iradiel Murugarren: Igual Luis, David; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico. Mercaderes, productos y empresas italianas entre Valencia y Portugal (1450-1520)", *Portogallo mediterraneo*, Luis Adão da Fonseca, Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, eds. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2001: 143-194.

40. Levi, Ezio. "I fiorentini nel Maestrazgo al tramonto del Medio Evo". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 10 (1929): 17-29; Levi, Ezio. "Pittori e mercanti in terra di pastori". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 13 (1932): 39-48.

and the operative modalities of foreign merchants in Valencia to be shown[41], a wide tradition of studies has underlined the numerous effects that the Italian contacts had on the politics and economy of the city and kingdom of Valencia, but also on other very varied aspects of local daily life.

If the study of these contacts is focussed on those maintained by sea with central and northern Italy, the analysis from the second half of the 15th century provide images of interest[42]. To start with, with regard to the material structuring of the trade, it must be stated that this showed the situation of Valencia linked to three very specific zones: Liguria (that also included the overland routes to Lombardy and Piedmont), Tuscany and Lazio, and Veneto. With these, the transport routes not only touched in one sense or another the Valencian or Italian beaches directly affected, but also passed along other coasts. Thus, the itineraries localised from 1450 show the habitual circulation of the convoys to Murcia and Andalusia, Catalonia, the south of France, the Balearic Islands, Sicily and Sardinia, Naples, North Africa and, even, although more exceptionally, the Atlantic coasts of Portugal, France and the British Isles.

There were two consequences of this. First, that the Valencia-Italy connexions, far from acquiring an exclusive bilateral sense, were framed within a wider and integrating context that covered, at least, a good part of the Western Mediterranean thanks to the design of heterogeneous and multilateral routes on which, as is obvious, coastal navigation predominated. The second, that this phenomenon —that not only occurred in the above-mentioned connexions, but was also frequent in other international exchanges along the European and Mediterranean coasts— makes the distinction that has been sometimes established between coastal navigation and high seas navigation, in assimilating a differentiation between great and small trade under both concepts respectively, somewhat artificial. It must be remembered that the preferred methods of navigation during the Late Middle Ages, on both long and short voyages, were almost always to follow the coasts and pass from port to port[43].

In any case, the sea between Valencia and the centre-north of Italy was sailed by ships with an intensity we have some figures for, once again for the 1450-1500 period. With regard to the Valencian exports agreed in the capital through contracts of charter, an average maximum of between six and seven annual journeys from 1495 to 1499 have been shown, especially to Genoese, Tuscan and Roman ports. In the opposite direction, the sources of the *manifests de mar* for 1488, 1491 and 1494 allow an examination of twenty-five arrivals in Valencia of ships from Genoa, Savona, Pisa, Livorno, Piombino, Civitavecchia and Venice. The number is far from the almost three hundred movements that, as mentioned above, according to the

41. It is the edition by Angela Orlandi of the letters corresponding to the comunication mantained by Datini's agents in Valencia and Majorca between the dates indicated (Orlandi, Angela, ed. *Mercaderies i diners...*).

42. Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia...*: 319-418. Apart from some cases in which some other reference was noted down, see this quote for all the information that follows in the text about maritime trade between Valencia and north-central Italy between 1450 and 1500.

43. Igual Luis, David. "Itinerarios comerciales en el espacio…": 138.

same documentation were made in the same years between the loading points in Castellón and Valencia. Even so, the weight of the Italian traffic in the Valencian economy was way above what, given these quantities, it would seem at first sight.

With regard to this, the important fiscal repercussion of this traffic for the income of the royal tolls must be borne in mind —at least in its importing aspect. This helps to understand the constant preoccupation shown by the authorities from the 13th century for the customs treatment of the Italian trade (and of the Italians), in which economic, political and social logics were intertwined[44]. Some other specific data is also highly symptomatic of that weight. According to the Valencian maritime insurances from between 1488 and 1520 investigated by Enrique Cruselles, those corresponding to centre-north Italy only covered between eight and twenty percent of all the annual trade studied, a magnitude below those of the contracts that referred to Naples, Sicily and Sardinia and the Iberian territories of the Crown of Aragon. However, if we analyse the price of these insurances, that is, the value assigned to the products transported that was related totally or partially to the commercial cost, the hierarchy is turned on its head and is now headed by the Ligurian, Tuscan, Roman and Venetian ports[45].

Undoubtedly, situations like this were the result of various factors. To start with, the fact that the vessels that worked the routes between Valencia and the centre-north of Italy were among the largest that could be found at the end of the 15th century in the port of Valencia. These were mainly *naus*, galleys and caravels. It is easy to imagine the greater cargo capacity of this fleet compared with other smaller ship types. However, it is almost more important to indicate the enormous heterogeneity, in typology and value, of the products that were carried on these same vessels. Thus, between 1451 and 1509, the analysis of the *manifests de mar* from the centre and north of Italy together with other Valencian fiscal documentation related to Genoese import and export trade has registered over six hundred different terms for the merchandise carried. Logically, among these there were all kinds of objects of very varied geographic origins, this being the result of the above-mentioned multilateral nature of the Valencia-Italy contacts and the fact that, on both one side and the other of the exchanges, they acted as redistributors of foreign articles. Despite this, among this accumulation of references, two elements can be emphasised: the first, that three typical groups of international commerce (wool, textile and dyes) still constituted, despite the diversification of the markets, an essential and vigorous business, highly adaptable to the changes in demand and the conjuncture and the second, that this happened while, in the Valencia of the period,

44. As is seen repeatedly in Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia...*: 31-175, and also in Igual Luis, David. "Política y economía durante la Baja Edad Media…": 264-267.

45. Cruselles Gómez, Enrique. *Comercio y mercado en tiempo de crisis (Los mercaderes valencianos y su Mediterráneo frente a la época de los Descubrimientos).* Valencia: Universitat de València (unpublished research project), 1991.

the Italian connexions and those with other places allowed a general increase in the circulation of manufactures and industrial raw materials and Atlantic products[46].

When I mention Atlantic products, I am not referring so much to those that were known in Valencia through trade with Flanders, for example. In 1450, this was a trade that could already be considered traditional and that had been characterised almost from its very beginning, and would continue to be so until 1500, by the fluidity of the links, the variety of mercantile and naval operators involved, and the weight of Valencian agriculture exports and the importation of finished European textiles[47]. Atlantic products refers more to those that arrived from Portugal, Andalusia, the Canary Islands and Madeira, and West Africa, a world that, as is well known, would from the perspective of European commerce, take off from the mid-15th century. This rise would also provide opportunities for new and abundant trade, as indicated by particular cases, such as the economic relations established between Valencia and Portugal.

Like many other lines of transaction, apart from having a bilateral significance, this trade fitted into more complex mercantile networks that stretched to Western Andalusia, Galicia or the northern Atlantic and that, even at a certain moment, began to connect basically from Lisbon with African and Asian products that arrived there thanks to the successful opening of new routes to the southern ocean and India. Without forgetting that, the axes of maritime exchange between Valencia and Portugal until 1450 seemed to have been based on the transport of Portuguese leather and fish and medium and low quality Valencian cloth, which did not preclude the presence on these itineraries of a much wider range of merchandise, although quantitatively of little importance. The commercial structure described was also maintained later, beyond the influence of critical situations, such as the one provoked by the creation in Valencia of the so-called *dret portugués* in 1464. However, from the middle decades of the 15th century, the effects of the above-mentioned growth in trade in the central and southern Atlantic would make itself felt on this Valencian-Portuguese contact, especially with the penetration in the trade of products, such as sugar, gold, slaves and spices[48].

In fact, during the latter years of the 15th century, the comparative study of various Valencian fiscal and notary sources allows us to consider the possibility that relations between Valencia and Portugal split into a kind of double circuit of commerce for imports: one, traditional, around fish and leather controlled by

46. Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos en el Mediterráneo…": 479-489; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 105.

47. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Intercambios y relaciones entre Valencia y las ciudades marítimas del norte europeo", *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media hispánica. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín*, Carlos María Reglero de la Fuente, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002: II, 998-1003; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano"…: 115, 121-122.

48. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "De Valencia a Portugal y Flandes. Relaciones durante la Edad Media". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 1 (1982): 149-168; Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Intercambios comerciales entre Portugal y Valencia a fines del siglo XV: el 'Dret Portugués'", *II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação, 1990: II, 759-779; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 143-169.

the Portuguese operators; and the other, more recent, developed around slaves and sugar and that, although Portuguese participation is also seen, seems to have been dominated in reality by Italian and, to a lesser degree, Valencian, mercantile companies. Sometimes it seems that this division also corresponded to a separation of economic strategies between the sectors where individual merchants and carriers predominated who had hardly anything but small short-lived easy to control businesses, in contrast with more evolved and stable forms of company[49].

Nevertheless, even if the full validity of this hypothesis is checked, the fragmentation described of the circuits should not be taken in an absolute sense. In fact, the general vision of the exchanges between Valencia and Portugal throughout the 15th century, with the multiple spatial implications and negotiating groups that they contained, shows that the elements of competition, inequality and hierarchical structuring coexisted with the factors of cooperation and integration at all levels. In his time, for example, Federigo Melis indicated the happy combination that occurred in the Late Middle Ages between Italians and Portuguese in the field of navigation. Because of their economic and transport necessities, these Italians (especially the Tuscans) contributed to increasing the number of Portuguese ships, their capacity and their use in specific activities[50]. So, apart from the above-mentioned combination finding a micro-analytical reflection in Valencia, the actions of Italians, Portuguese and Valencians, always from the same Valencian outlook, drew up dense networks of traffic that, I insist, mixing competition and integration, allowed not only the processes of maritime exportation and importation, but also the interrelation of these processes with the projection from (or to) the interior of the territories[51].

The latter does not mean anything more than the fact that, obviously, all external links from the kingdom of Valencia somehow needed to fit into the internal mercantile currents, to channel the articles for export towards the coast or to distribute the imports in the opposite direction. And what it is more important: this joining could be produced through a division of the work between different groups of operators or, on occasions, thanks to the assumption of part of the functions of the two aspects of the commerce (internal and external) by the same merchant or by a single mercantile company. With regard to this, and once again in the Valencia-Portugal relations, the career of a character who has merited various prosopographic approximations is very interesting: Cesare di Barzi[52].

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49. Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Navarro Espinach, Germán; Igual Luis, David. "El comercio de importación portugués en Valencia, 1487-1488", *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Luis Adão da Fonseca, Luís Carlos Amaral, María Fernanda Ferreira Santos, coords. Porto: Livraria Civilização, 2004: III, 1121-1131.

50. Melis, Federigo. "Di alcune figure di operatori economici fiorentini attivi nel Portogallo, nel XV secolo", *Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Hermann Kellenbenz, ed. Cologne: Böhlau, 1970: 66-67.

51. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 154, 166, 192; Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos...": 489-490.

52. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Cesaro Barchi y otros mercaderes florentinos en la ciudad de Valencia en el tránsito del Medievo a la Modernidad", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età Moderna. Studi Storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Cagliari: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: III, 231-249; Igual Luis, David. "De la tienda a la banca: Los agentes del comercio mediterráneo medieval",

He was a Florentine businessman living in the city of Valencia between 1473 and 1519. From there, Barzi joined a network of itineraries that first linked Florence with the Iberian peninsula, then, in the peninsula, Valencia with Seville and Lisbon, and from the latter, as a basic consequence of the Portuguese link, the peninsula with Africa and even India. This variety of areas of interest was the result of the incorporation of the Tuscan into a complex company that had its principal base in Lisbon, from where its influence extended to Andalusia and the other areas that I have mentioned. In any case, the opening of areas of commercial activity allowed Barzi to be present in the shipping that called at the port of Valencia and, thus, fulfil tasks as an exporter and importer. However, simultaneously, he and his company's delegates and employees also participated in Valencia in the large or small scale buying and selling of many products, either within the dynamics of exportation and importation, or hypothetically in simple local traffic. This is a portrait of a merchant well introduced into the Valencian circuits of exchange and moreover, well connected with others operating in the urban market as suppliers and/or consumers[53].

I believe that this specific case is a magnificent example of at least two situations that, in both Valencia and other places, has been shown to be very common at the end of the Middle Ages. The first, that the distinction between the retail and wholesale markets is normally only perceptible at the level of the smallest agents. In the case of commercial companies, such as Cesare di Barzi's, both activities were done by the same negotiators, which meant that the members of the companies, personally or with the help of middlemen, acted where they could and for any quantity of product[54]. The second, that it is possible that the protagonists of the international transactions (even more so if they were foreigners in a place like Valencia) gave an essential weight to this great trade in their economic accounts, and that this reality led them to a preferential treatment for this sector of operations. But such a reality did not exclude the same actors from intervening more or less intensively in the local circuits, sometimes even partially or totally separated from the great mercantile networks[55]. I also believe that this would again insist on the images of interaction and integration between great and small trade that I have mentioned throughout the article.

Los vendedores y las civilizaciones, Felip Masé Farrer, coord. Barcelona: Würth, 2007: 148-152. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 178-189.

53. In relation with what I have just indicated, it is symptomatic of Barzi's behaviour in the slave market. It is now well known that between 1489 and 1497, the Tuscan declared to the Valencian authorities the importing of over two thousand Black African slaves, which made him the most important slave trader in Valencia at the end of the 15th century. Once there, Barzi could re-export the captives to other places and distribute them around the city, according to the around fifty contracts that the Italian reproduced before two local notaries in 1488 and 1497, and with which he sold over seventy slaves to Hispanic and foreign merchants, artisans, nobles and churchmen.

54. Orlandi, Angela. "Estudi introductori"...: 42.

55. Abulafia, David. "Gli italiani fuori d'Italia", *Eli orizzonti aperti. Profili del mercante medievale*, Gabriela Airaldi, ed. Turin: Scriptorum, 1997: 197-198.

PEASANTS IN ANDALUSIA DURING THE LOWER MIDDLE AGES. THE STATE OF THE QUESTION IN THE KINGDOM OF SEVILLE

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Abstract

The peasantry was obviously of great weight in medieval society. It was the base of the social structure and the segment entrusted with working the land, the source of employment in those times. It is thus essential to study this group to understand the epoch correctly. The aim of this paper is to present the situation in Andalusia during the Late Middle Ages. The study is limited geographically to the kingdom of Seville, a territory conquered by the Crown of Aragon between the mid 13th century and the middle of the 15th century. The evolution this underwent during the Late Middle Ages shows the consolidation and configuration of this social group.

Key words

Peasants, Economic levels, State of the Question, Late Middle Ages, Occidental Andalusia.

Capitalia verba

Rustici, Oeconomica disciplina, Status quaestionis, Medium Aevum inferius, Baetica Occidentalis.

1. Introduction

> *Para tratar de las formas y oficios de las gentes del pueblo, empezaremos por el primer oficio popular, puesto en el haz de los peones a la diestra del rey. Está situado delante del roque, que está a la derecha, porque pertenece al vicario del rey. A este peón, que proveerá al reino con todo lo necesario, llamémosle labrador. Fue figurado de la siguiente manera y por largo pertenece a la especie humana: en la mano derecha tiene una azada con la cual cava la tierra. En la izquierda lleva una vara para guiar los ganados y animales, y del cinto cuelga una hoz con la que poda viñas y árboles. Estas herramientas representan a las tres labores a que se reduce toda la agricultura.*[1]

The Lombard Dominican, Jacobo de Cessolis wrote the *Liber de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludum scacchorum* between 1300 and 1330. Taking the game of chess as his reference, he reflected on the different social groups, comparing them to the different pieces, their position in relation to the king, giving details of their movements on the board and explaining their corresponding symbols. The work, written in Latin and translated into German, French, English, Dutch, Catalan and Castilian, was widely read in the 15th and 16th centuries. Its contents, similar to many others in chronicles, literary works or legal texts, are centred on the role of each social group. In the case that concerns us, the text above is based on the mythification of the figure of the labourer through the use of the tools that identified him ideologically and which supported society: the hoe, the stick and the sickle.

The example serves as a preamble to this study of this social group in the kingdom of Seville during the Late Middle Age centuries. This sector played an important role in a society defined and characterised by Marc Bloch or Georges Duby as rural in nature. Thus the theme addresses a basic question for understanding the workings of European medieval societies.[2] The information we have about the working systems, agrarian property or the great institutions of ownership is an adequate framework for analysing the peasantry.

In response to these developments, over the last thirty years the historiography of medieval Spain has also made notable quantitative and qualitative progress on these issues and, at the same time, this sector of society. In this current of research (an extensive bibliography of which can be found in the text of the speech by Emilio

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1. "*To deal with the forms and trades of the people of the village, we shall begin with the first popular trade, looking at the pawns ranged to the right of the king. He is situated before the rook, who is on the right, because it belongs to the vicar of the king. We can call this the pawn, who will supply the kingdom with all its needs, the labourer. He was depicted in the following way and long belonged to the human species: in his right hand, he holds a hoe with which to work the earth. In his left, he holds a stick to guide the flocks and animals, and a sickle with which to prune vines and trees hangs from his belt. These tools represent the three tasks that all the agriculture is reduced to*" (Cessolis, Jacobo de. *El juego de ajedrez o dechado de Fortuna*, ed. María-José Lemarchand. Madrid: Siruela, 1991: 57).

2. Bloch, Marc. *La Historia rural francesa: caracteres originales*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1978; Duby, Georges. *Economía rural y vida campesina en el Occidente Medieval*. Barcelona: Altaya, 1999; Shanin, Teodor. *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979. The state of the question about the historiography of the European rural world during the Middle Ages in the monographic editions of *Historia Agraria. Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural*, 31 (2003): 11-83; *Historia Agraria. Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural*, 33 (2004): 13-103.

Cabrera in the XXV Medieval Studies Week, held in Estella in July 1998 and which he has continued in later years),[3] José Ángel García de Cortázar's study of rural medieval society is still seminal.[4] In Andalusia, the research initiated by the same Emilio Cabrera for the kingdom of Cordoba, and Mercedes Borrero for the Aljarafe and the Land of Seville is outstanding.[5]

Starting from these estimates, after a brief summary of the constitution of the kingdom of Seville, I focus on the reconstruction of the *historical reality* of the peasantry in Andalusia, with special emphasis on this area during the late Middle Age centuries. The work is divided into two parts, the first showing the evolution from the mid 13th century until the first quarter of the 16th diachronically, then the different categories that made up this group are analysed. To do this, we analyse the peasantry as the "*sujeto de la historia y no como objeto pasivo, primitivo e indiferenciado del proceso histórico*".[6]

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3. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Población y poblamiento, Historia Agraria, Sociedad Rural", *La Historia Medieval en España. Un balance historiográfico (1968-1998). XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 14-18 julio 1998*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999: 659-745, especially, 724-726; Valdeón Baruque, Julio. "El mundo rural", *La Baja Edad Peninsular. Siglos XIII al XV. La población, la economía, la sociedad. Historia de España, Ramón Menéndez Pidal*. Julio Valdeón Baruque, José Luis Martín Rodriguez, dirs. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1996: 165-191; Clemente Ramos, Julián. *La economía campesina en la Corona de Castilla (1000-1300)*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2004; Martín Cea, Juan Carlos. *El mundo rural castellano a fines de la Edad Media. El ejemplo de Paredes de Nava en el siglo XV*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1991; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La comunitat pagesa", *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans. II, Edat Mitjana,* Josep Maria Salrach, coord. Barcelona: Fundació Catalana per a la recerca-Universitat dels Països catalans, 2004; Salrach, Josep Maria. "Sociedad rural y mercados en la Cataluña medieval". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 4 (2001): 83-111.

4. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural en la España medieval*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1990.

5. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, repoblación y estructuras agrarias en el sector Occidental de Los Pedroches (Siglos XIII al XV)". *Cuadernos de Historia. Anexos de la Revista Hispania. Andalucía de la Edad Media a la Moderna*, 7 (1977): 1-31, especially 23-26; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "La gran propiedad en Carmona en la Baja Edad Media", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Carmona: Edad Media, Congreso conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la conquista de la ciudad de Carmona por Fernando III, 1247.* Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, Area de Cultura y Ecología, 1998: 225-251, especially 244; 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. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 2003*, Juan Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna. La violencia antiseñorial en el siglo XV*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo. De la explotación de la tierra a las relaciones laborales en el campo andaluz (siglos XIII-XVI)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003; Borrero, Mercedes. *Los campesinos en la sociedad medieval*. Madrid: Arcos/Libros, 1999; Borrero, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural: los agricultores", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica. La sociedad castellana a finales del siglo XV*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, coord. Madrid: Dykinson, 2004: 195-217.

6. "*subject of the history and not as a passive object, primitive and undifferentiated from the historical process*". (Freedman, Paul H. "La resistencia campesina y la historiografía de la Europa Medieval". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 17-37, especially 21).

2. The constitution and securing of an area

Although the subject of this study is the peasantry, some preliminaries are dedicated to the constitution of the territory because that is where the peasants did, in fact, spend their lives. In his book about the great transformations taking place in modern society since the last quarter of the 20th century, the sociologist Manuel Castells states that "*el espacio es la expresión de la sociedad*". This statement implies that a specific social structure, built around the dialectic established between the official discourse and the forms of opposition, has designed the various spatial processes derived from earlier epochs, each of them with its own legacy.[7] This interpretative model is applicable to an epoch like the late medieval times, where the system also underwent profound changes.

In the medieval history of the Iberian Peninsula, the concepts of *Reconquista* and *Repoblación* have generally served to set the rhythms of a process characterised by replacing the Muslim population with Christians. In the meeting of historians held in Jaca (Huesca province) in 1947, with a value that goes beyond the merely symbolic, the great phases of population associated with the advances of the Christian conquest were fixed.[8]

The conquest of Western Andalusia was a diachronic (between the mid 13th century and the beginning of the 15th) and accumulative process in which the crown, the lay and ecclesiastical lords and the cities acted as agents of territorial organisation. The kingdom of Seville, which covered the modern provinces of Cádiz, Huelva and Seville, had an area of around 30,000 square kilometres, in which the cities of Seville, Écija and Jeréz de la Frontera were the centres of their respective *alfoces* (districts). Seville, with jurisdiction over a territory of 12,000 square kilometres, nearly half the total area of the kingdom, was the leading place. At a lesser level, important places included the secondary nucleuses in the interior, such as Carmona, Fregenal de la Sierra, Utrera, or Medina Sidonia, with their agricultural and livestock resources, and others located on the coast, such as Sanlúcar de Barrameda, El Puerto de Santa María or Cádiz, with economies based on fishing.[9]

The Kingdom of Seville was not always a peripheral area in the economic system of the Medieval West. Its geographic situation, close to the Straits of Gibraltar, lying along the river Guadalquivir, meant that trade grew during the late medieval centuries, together with a progressive specialisation of products in the respective geographic areas. An indication of this value are the colonies of foreign traders, especially Genoese, who had settled in the kingdom's most

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7. "*space is the expression of society*" (Castells, Manuel. *La era de la información: economía, sociedad y cultura.I, La sociedad real*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999: 488).

8. *La Reconquista española y la repoblación del país: cursos del Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos*. Zaragoza-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos-Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951. Current valuations, with the relevant bibliography, in García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "Introducción", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII al XV*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 11-42.

9. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media. Estructuras. Valores. Sucesos*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1999: 15-27.

important centres, such as Seville, Jeréz de la Frontera, El Puerto de Santa María, Sanlúcar de Barrameda or Cádiz.[10]

The current state of the question on the territory can be followed through different interpretative schemes.[11] Concepts such as *controlled* or *occupied space*, minted and developed by García de Cortázar, constitute the premises for a later valuation of the *social organisation of the space*. Meanwhile, Estepa Díaz's studies have concentrated on the analysis of the *territorial organisation* linked to the evolution of the social structures, where the political power implanted an organisation on the territory and the peasants. This question has also been tackled from different perspectives, such as the works by Malpica Cuello, that study the changes that occurred from the arrival of the Muslims to the settling of the Christians.[12]

3. Reflections on the settling of the peasantry on andalusian lands in the second half of the 13th century

The numerical entity of the peasantry and, especially its evolution over such a short period of time, are perfect examples of the difficulties faced by the Castilian crown when it came to organising the areas conquered after the mid 13th century. The need to make effective occupation of the territory attractive led to the creation of favourable conditions for people to settle there. The social repercussions derived from this movement affected this social group, converting it into an active agent during the phases of the repopulation process.

The Andalusian society that arose after the 13th-century territorial conquests was based on premises that contemplated the presence of the high lay and ecclesiastical nobility together with a very important position for the medium and small land-

10. Igual Luis, David; Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Los genoveses en España en el tránsito del siglo XV al XVI". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 24 (1997): 261-332, especially 264-280.

11. Asenjo González, María. "Las ciudades medievales castellanas. Balance y perspectivas de su desarrollo historiográfico (1990-2004)". *En la España Medieval*, 28 (2005): 415-453, especially 418-420.

12. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "Introducción", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval*…: 11-42, García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "La organización del territorio en la España de la Reconquista en los siglos XIII al XV", *Poteri economici e poteri politici, secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della Trentesima Settimana di Studi", 27 aprile-1 maggio 1988*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed. Prato-Firenze Istituto Internacionale di Storia Economica F. Datini: Le Monnier, 1999: 274-301; García de Cortázar, José Ángel, ed. *Del Cantábrico al Duero. Trece estudios sobre organización social del espacio en los siglos VIII al XIII*. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1999; Estepa Díaz, Carlos. "Formación y consolidación del feudalismo en Castilla y León", *En torno al feudalismo hispánico: I Congreso de Estudios Medievales, (León, 21 al 25 de septiembre de 1987*). Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1989: 157-256; Estepa Díaz, Carlos. "El realengo y el señorío jurisdiccional concejil en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV)", *Concejos y ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica. II Congresos de Estudios Medievales (León, 25 al 29 de septiembre de 1989)*. Madrid: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1990: 465-506; Álvarez Borge, Ignacio. *Monarquía feudal y organización territorial. Alfoces y merindades en Castilla (siglos X-XIV)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993; Malpica Cuello, Antonio. *Medio físico y poblamiento en el delta del Guadalfeo. Salobreña y su territorio en época medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996.

owners. The studies carried out during the 1970s and early 1980s eliminated the earlier vision of a predominance of large estates and, as a result, great landowners, after the 13th-century distribution of land and houses.[13]

The model used by Fernando III to share out the lands in Baeza, Úbeda, Jaén, Arjona and Cordoba was a preview of the characteristics of the later distributions by Alfonso X in the kingdom of Seville. With regard to the kingdom of Cordoba, mention must be made of the difficulties Fernando III had to organise the recently conquered territory. The absence of royal councils (*realengo)*, except that of the city of Cordoba, and the development of feudal estates in the kingdom, were significant differences with the areas of Jaén and Seville.[14] Although we know that the monarch had reserved part of the cultivated lands, a third in Baeza, a quarter in Úbeda and a third in Cordoba, we do not know the "*entidad de los heredamientos otorgados por los concejos a los pobladores*". This lack of documentation has impeded us from knowing how the settlers were distributed and has generated speculation about their grouping, either in *caballeros* and *peones*, as Julio González claims, or in *caballeros hidalgos*, *ciudadanos* and *peones*, as González Jiménez thinks, based on the models of sharing in the kingdom of Seville.[15]

The question is whether the specific categories of *caballeros*, *ciudadanos* and *peones* were placed on the same level as the general one of peasants. While the first term was used to refer to the noble peasantry with farms and livestock,[16] the second had a much wider meaning. Thus, Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* includes a double meaning: while it was used for those "*que en las obras mercenarias trabaja por su jornal*", it was also used to designate the "*soldado de a pie*".[17] What is truly important is that the socio-military category became a reiterated argument in the Libros de Repartimiento.[18] Based on a comparative study of these texts, the peas-

13. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes de Andalucía. La repoblación del siglo XIII*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1988: 31-50.

14. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, organización territorial y restauración eclesiástica en el reino de Córdoba en la época de Fernando III". *Archivo Hispalense*, 234-236 (1994): 313-333, especially 319-323, 327-328.

15. "*entity of the inheritances awarded by the councils to the settlers*". *Repartimiento de Sevilla. Estudio y edición*, ed. Julio González. Sevilla: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Sevilla, 1993: 237-238; González Jiménez, Manuel. "La obra repobladora de Fernando III en los reinos de Jaén y Córdoba". *Archivo Hispalense*, 234-236 (1994): 287-312, especially 310.

16. Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa Occidental, 1250-1520*. Valencia-Granada: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2005: 29-66; Asenjo González, María. "Labradores Ricos: nacimiento de una oligarquía rural en la Segovia del siglo XV". *En la España Medieval,* 4 (1984): I, 63-85, especially 64, 68.

17. "*who in mercenary works worked for daily pay*" (…) "*foot soldiers*". (Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Felipe C. R. Maldonado, revised by Manuel Camarero. Madrid: Castalia, 1995: 813).

18. For the kingdom of Seville, see *Repartimiento de Sevilla*…; *El Libro del Repartimiento de Jeréz de la Frontera: estudio y edición*, eds. Manuel González Jiménez, Antonio González Gómez. Cádiz: Instituto de Estudios Gaditanos, 1980; Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel; González Jiménez, Manuel. "La población en la Frontera de Gibraltar y el Repartimiento de Vejer (Siglos XIII y XIV)". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 4 (1977): 199-316; González Jiménez, Manuel. "Repartimiento de Carmona. Estudio y edición". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 8 (1981): 59-94; *Repartimiento de El Puerto de Santa María*, ed. Manuel González

ants constituted a numerically relevant segment in Andalusian society. Legally free, they were settled in rural areas (*aldeas* (hamlets), *alquerías* (farmsteads), *machares* (farmhouses)) and cities. Charged, like the rest of the settlers, with defending the territory, they were given houses and plots of land.

Thus, we have evidence of the formation of a society made up of different groups, organised in a closed and hierarchic way, and linked to each other. This idea is easily incorporated into the models that explain the structure of property ownership. The documentation from the monastery of San Clemente in Seville shows how the small or medium size properties were linked to the great estates. In fact, a political project has been suggested whose principal objective consisted of creating an "*estructurada jerarquía de propiedades territoriales*".[19] This was an economic process accompanied, as I have argued, by its appropriate social correspondence. On a specific level, the works by Mercedes Borrero have underlined the systems of farm structure as a basic factor in the analysis of the peasantry, marking the line between property and work.[20]

That social organisation of the territory that began to define itself in Andalusia failed to crystallise as a result of the problems that arose with the Mudejars inside the kingdom, and with Granada and Fez abroad. Without going into details, the theory of the *Fracaso de la Repoblación Oficial* (Failure of the Official Resettlement) supplies the keys to understanding this phenomenon and its consequences: expulsion of the Mudejar population, abandoning of the shared lands and the establishment of the Frontier.[21] These political difficulties with the kingdom of Granada and the consequences of the penetrations by the Benimerins from North Africa, patent from the 1270s and 1280s, led to a significant change in the role of the peasantry in Andalusian lands. A new identity arose with attributes and functions to add to the ideological scheme of Castilian society. And thus, for example, during the first quarter of the 14th century, Don Juan Manuel attributed functions to the peasants according to their social position, which he brilliantly linked to the defence of "*la tierra por armas et por sus manos*".[22]

A new reality emerged from these conditions for Andalusian society in general, and for the peasantry in particular, a new reality that took shape through economic transactions. It was in this land market that those properties that arose after these

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Jiménez. Sevilla-El Puerto de Santa María: Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla, 2002; Sanz Funetes, María José. "Repartimiento de Écija". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 3 (1976): 531-551. For the kingdom of Cordoba: Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. "El Libro de diezmo de donadíos de la catedral de Córdoba". *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 4-5 (1979): 157-162.

19. "*structured hierarchy of territorial properties*". (Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo…*: 23-45; González Jiménez, Manuel; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes; Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. "Origen y desarrollo del latifundismo en Andalucía (Siglos XIII-XV)". *Economia e Sociologia*, 45/46 (1988): 41-61).

20. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural…": 198-199.

21. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes…*: 83-90; González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación de la zona de Sevilla durante el siglo XIV*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1993: 23-33.

22. "*defence of the land by arms and with their hands*". (Manuel, Don Juan. *El Libro de los Estados*, eds. Ian Macpherson, Robert Brian Tate. Madrid: Castalia, 1991: 279).

distributions underwent a series of changes in ownership. For example, in 1255, Alfonso X ordered Admiral Ruy López de Mendoza and the mayors of Seville, Gonzalo Martínez and Rodrigo Esteban and the bailiff of the same city, Domingo Muñoz that, after identifying "*todas las casas e los heredamientos que dexan aquéllos que se van de Seuilla, las recabdedes e que los dedes a buenos pobladores, así cuemo fueren viniendo*".[23] A similar phenomenon was occurring in the kingdom of Cordoba. The *Libro de las Tablas*, with data about the tithes paid by the *donadíos* (grants for assisting the king in the reconquest) in Cordoba to the cathedral chapter and the parish churches, gives details about the process followed in the transmission of property between the first and second generation of settlers. An analysis of the text shows the weight of the contracts for the sale of *donadíos* (26 out of a total of 40).[24]

Thus, the main lines of the initial system created by the Castilian crown gradually disappeared owing to the abandonment and liquidation of the distributed properties and the economic and demographic circumstances of the moment.[25] For example, in 1284 Alfonso X conceded various properties in Sanlúcar de Alpechín to Pero Sánchez. Among these lands, there was an old vineyard that had been abandoned, land for young vines and 16 *aranzadas*[26] of olive groves. The same happened in other areas of Andalusia. Thus, in March 1242, in the kingdom of Cordoba, Domingo Lozano sold nine *caballerías de tierra* (around 350 hectares) in La Torre de Miguel de Zorita, Abén Hud's old farmhouse, to the warden of Cordoba, Don Alfonso Téllez. This property, together with Diezma Ayusa's farmhouse, ended up in the hands of Cordoba Cathedral in April of the same year. The situation was similar in the kingdom of Jaén, where there was a transfer of property from the first settlers to the great lay and ecclesiastical estates.[27]

The above examples, and many others that could be relatively easily added, show the generalisation of the phenomenon and its intensity. However, this process did not exclude the small agricultural labourers, because, in fact, the crown, the jurisdictional lords and the great landowners with economic interests in the cities created the optimum territorial framework for maintaining them.[28] The most notable consequence was the beginning of a movement that tended towards the

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23. "*all the houses and inheritances that are left by those who go from Seville, counted them and give them to good settlers, as they arrived*". (González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 167 (doc. nº 1)).

24. Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. "El libro de diezmo de los donadíos…": 125-162; González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 30-33.

25. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Las transformaciones de la estructura de la propiedad de la tierra en la Baja Andalucía en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII", *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492): Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía*, Emilio Cabrera, coord. Córdoba: Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1988: 191-208, especially 194, 205.

26. The *aranzada* was a measure of land equivalent to 200 vines or 3,672 m^2 in Córdoba or 4,472 m^2 in Castile.

27. Alfonso X. *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Sevilla: El Monte Caja de Huelva y Sevilla, 1991: doc. nº 523; González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 181-183 (doc. nº. 1); Rodríguez Molina, José. *El Reino de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media. Aspectos demográficos y económicos*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1978: 202-203.

28. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo*…: 43-45.

bipolarisation of Andalusian rural society, characterised by a greater implantation of large-scale lay and ecclesiastical landowners and the maintenance of small peasants.

To sum up, at the end of the 13th century, the social binomial made up of *señores* and *campesinos* had been reinforced as the main agent for the defence and exploitation of the conquered territories. On example among many, in 1281, Alfonso X awarded jurisdiction and property to the settlers of Guillena in Seville. After endowing the village with its jurisdiction and some 750 hectares of farmland as *donadíos*, on the condition "*que tenga sus casas pobladas en Guillena de sus omes con armas en el arrabal*", he approved the distribution of lands among "*veinte omes de caballo e quarenta de pie, vesinos e moradores dentro en el castiello e villa de Guillena e fuera en el arrabal*".[29]

4. The 14th century territorial and social realignments in Andalusia. Effects on the peasantry

The 14th century is presented as an epoch during which there was a profound economic regression that has been a major focus of European historiography.[30] Although the peninsular kingdoms also suffered the consequences of the 14th-century crisis, this interpretative model is difficult to apply mechanically to those of Jaén, Cordoba and Seville. Andalusia was peripheral, recently conquered and, for this reason, in a special situation, with specific problems and ways of solving these.[31] Despite these, this peripheral character should not be brandished as an absolute argument, to justify singular interpretations, among other reasons, precisely for this cyclical situation.

The development of the jurisdictional lordship and the consolidation of great *realengo* councils were the framework for the traditional approach to 14th-century Andalusian society. The research for the period between 1312 and 1350 shows how the repopulating agents were the councils (48.61%), nobility (23.38%), military orders (15.27%) and the Church (9.72%).[32]

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29. "that they maintained the houses inhabited in Guillena with men with arms in the outskirts" (…) "twenty horsemen and forty on foot, neighbours and inhabitants in the castle and village of Guillena and out in the outskirts". Alfonso X. *Diplomatario andaluz*…: 508-509 (doc. nº 480).

30. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión Medieval: siglos XIV-XV. El precedente de una crisis sistémica*. Madrid-Valencia: Biblioteca Nueva-Universitat de València, 2001: 91-98; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "La crisis bajomedieval, un tiempo de conflictos", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, del 4 al 8 de agosto de 2003,* José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 13-48.

31. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV. Economía y sociedad*. Madrid: Síntesis, 2003: 161-174.

32. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Tierras realengas y tierras de señorío en Córdoba a finales de la Edad Media. Distribución geográfica y niveles de población", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, diciembre de 1976. 2, Andalucía Medieval.* Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978: 295-308; Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Los Señoríos andaluces. Análisis de su evolución territorial en la Edad Media". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 6 (1979): 89-112; García Fernández, Manuel. *El reino de Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso XI (1312-1350)*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989: 77-118; González

Table 1. Internal repopulation in Andalusia (1312-1350)

Repopulating agents	Kingdom of Seville	Kingdom of Cordoba	Kingdom of Jaén
Council	20	2	13
Nobility	10	6	3
Military Orders	11	-	-
Church	6	-	1
Total	47	8	17

The resettlement process in this century consolidated the small peasants with plots of land, who worked under a series of generic obligations (maintenance of the farm, transmission of property), and others of lordly character, such as handing over tributes, obligatory service, such as the *martiniega* (a tax due to the lord on St Martin's Day) or *yantar* (a tribute in kind), that defined and reinforced their links to the lords.[33]

Thus, the data in Table 2, that shows a varied casuistic of settlement, reveal the necessity to analyse the effect that the activity of the resettlement agents had on the Andalusian peasantry in each place. To do so, the complicated spectrum of this social group during the 14th century must be considered. This implies that it should not be interpreted as a homogeneous group that responded uniformly to a series of political changes. Variables, such as the jurisdictional frameworks, the area of land received or the effects of the war, should be taken into account when analysing the *historical reality* of the Andalusian peasantry during this century.

4.1 The consolidation of the great royal councils

Measures were imposed that were designed to install new settlers with the aim of reinforcing the Castilian presence on the *alfoces* linked to the great *concejos de realengo* (councils under direct crown authority), in Seville, Carmona, Écija or Jeréz de la Frontera. This effort generated a new social reality in which the peasants acquired an ever more clearly defined profile.

As had been happening since the last decades of the 13th century, during the 14th, the pressure exerted by members of the urban oligarchies on the peasants gradually increased. The repopulation of the southern sector of the Seville area, including Los

Jiménez, Manuel. "Colonización agraria en los Reinos de Córdoba y Sevilla", *La Andalucía Medieval. Actas de las I Jornadas de Historia Rural y Medio Ambiente (Almonte, 23-25 de Mayo de 2000)*, Javier Pérez-Embid, ed. Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 2002: 231-248, especially 245.

33. González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 92-93.

Molares, Torre del Bao, Coronil, Gómez Cardeña, Los Palacios, Villafranca, Cabezas de San Juan, Torre Alocaz and Castillo de Cote, was renewed during the reigns of Alfonso XI and Henry II, the most important lineages of the urban nobility of Seville being its promoters. For example, in 1371, Henry II authorised Lady Leonor Pérez, widow of Francisco Fernández of Seville to settle La Torre de Gómez Cardeña in the Seville country with 20 vassals. To favour their installation, these peasants were exempt from various taxes, except that of the "*moneda forera*", and "*de toda hueste e armada e de galeas*". However, the nearby presence of the Frontier provoked an immediate depopulation between the last quarter of the 14th and the first of the 15th century.[34]

A similar result, although for very different motives, was the binomial of Jeréz council and Tempul castle. After this latter strategic point was conquered in 1309, it was finally ceded to the city by Alfonso XI in 1333. Although the document of cession stated explicitly the need to repopulate the zone, the council was always reluctant to do so. At first, it was decided to create a kind of a no-man's-land to keep the Frontier far from the Campiña, but later this decision became a recurrent argument brandished by the lords with livestock mindful of their grazing interests.[35] Thus, the preponderance of military activities imposed itself over the intentions of the repopulating agents, who were interested in reinforcing the population by developing agriculture.

4.2 The installation and consolidation of the jurisdictional lordship

As indicated above, 33.10% of the colonising ventures in Andalusia during the 14th century corresponded to lay and ecclesiastical lords. The *Carta-Puebla* (Town Charter) was a frequently used juridical instrument. Its use and working by the cathedral chapter of Seville has been studied following the examples of Sanlúcar de Albaida in 1302, Gatos in 1332 and Chillas in 1370. The chapter generated the optimum conditions for the cession of lands and plots for installing new settlers.[36] By means of this juridical mechanism, the great landowners settled the peasants on their land, through handing over small plots in perpetuity in exchange for incomes in money and kind. For example, on 5th November 1313, the archbishop of Seville, Don Fernando conceded a town charter to the settlers of the hamlet of Umbrete, in the Aljarafe. The peasants were obliged to plant vines and "*e figuerales de nueuo*

34. "*coinage fee*" (…) "*from all militia or army or of galleys*". (García Fernández, Manuel. "Nuevos datos sobre la Repoblación del sector sur de la campiña sevillana durante el siglo XIV", *La campiña sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV). Estudios sobre poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 31-48, especially 38, 43, 45-46 (doc. nº 1)).

35. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural de Jeréz de la Frontera. Territorio durante la Baja Edad Media*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2003: 120-134.

36. Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. *Propiedad y explotación de la tierra en la Sevilla de la Baja Edad Media. El patrimonio del Cabildo-Catedral*. Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1988: 322-334.

quanto más pudierdes labrar e poner", paying a ninth "*de toda quanta huua ouierdes en las vinnas que pusierdes*".[37]

On 7th May 1302, the cathedral chapter of Seville gave the hamlet of Sanlúcar de Albaida in the Aljarafe to 28 settlers. Although the document does not include the social category of each of these, it is highly probable that they were from the lower sectors of society. While the peasants received plots of "*tierras de pan*" (cereal growing areas, literally the bread lands), olive groves and vines, the chapter reserved a "*suerte de la tierra de pan*", the olive groves on the drove road, the chapter's vineyard and the kitchen gardens. Together with these, it controlled the butcher, ovens, taverns, shops, measures and everything related to the *almojarifazgo* (customs tax). Together with the use of the houses and stables, the new settlers could construct buildings to settle in.

The link between the cathedral chapter and the new settlers was fixed by payments in kind of the fruit obtained. In the "*tierras de pan, el diezmo que deue auer la eglesia e el dozeno por terradgo de quanto Dios y diere*". To maintain and increase the olive groves (by "*çinquenta pies de nueuo oliuar o de figueral*" in each *suerte*) a third of the oil that had been extracted and a third of the figs harvested, "*passados en el almixar*". The chapter ceded the oil mill during "*este anno primero*" and promised, if it were necessary, to increase this to two. For working the vines, which had been shared out at 2 *aranzadas* for peasant, they would pay "*de la vua el diezmo de la eglesia, forro de toda costa, en el lagar e el dozeno por terradgo en el lagar*". As well as all the above, they had to pay the tithe "*e todas las cosas que criáredes*" and 150 *maravedís* per year "*para vna yantar*". Apart from these lands, they could take their livestock to the pastureland "*para los bueyes e exido para las bestias*".[38] The peasants were usufructuaries of plots of land and paid a canon for the fruit obtained, but could not use the oil mills and winepresses. The conditions set demanded not only the maintenance of the cultivated land but also ploughing new areas.

Another geographic area, with its own specific circumstances, was the town of Medina Sidonia in the Cádiz region. The two share outs in the second half of the 14th century show us different circumstances and solutions for the same objective: to settle the population and work a rural area.[39]

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37. "*and new fig groves and as many as possible to work and plant*" (…) "*of all the grapes from the vines that they planted*". (González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 112-114 (doc. nº 4); González Jiménez, Manuel. "Colonización agraria…": 244).

38. "*in cereal lands, the tithe that is owed to the church and the twelfth for the terrazgo* [lease] *for what God provides*" (…) "*fifty feet of new olives or figs trees*" (…) "*passed in the fig drier*" (…) "*this first year*" (…) "*the value of the tithe for the church, forro de toda costa, in the olive grove and the twelfth for the terrazgo in the olive grove*" (…) "*and all the things that you breed*" (…) "*for a fief*" (…) "*for the oxen and exido for the animals*". (González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 94-98; Ostos, Pilar; Pardo, María Luisa. *Documentos y notarios de Sevilla en el siglo XIV (1301-1350)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003: 74-80 [doc. nº 7]).

39. Although the one that had to be done in the 1270s has disappeared, from the 14th century, those for 1346, 1379 have survived together with the one for 1459 from the 15th century: *El Libro del Repartimiento de Medina Sidonia. Estudio y edición*, eds. Laureano Rodríguez Liáñez, Ana María Anasagasti Valderrama. Cádiz: Caja de Ahorro, 1987: 34-35, 61.

The share out in 1346 was sponsored by Doña Leonor de Guzmán and was linked to the settlement and organisational process that affected the town between 1344 and 1348. The settlers (who were divided between *ciudadanos*, *ballesteros* and *peones*) had to look after the defence of the town and its district. From this point of view, the distribution maintained the same tonic as those during the second half of the 13th century. The text (that shows 310 settlers) illustrates the social hierarchy in the distribution of wealth at that time. In the *tierras de pan*, the *ciudadanos* received between 2 and 3 *yugadas* (the land a pair of oxen could plough in one day - some 2,700 m^2), the *ballesteros*, between 1 and 2 and the *peones*, one. Likewise, the share of vineyards was the same: 4 *aranzadas* for the *ciudadanos*, 2 for the *ballesteros* and 1.5 for the *peones*.

Table 2. Distribution of land in Medina Sidonia. 1346

Ciudadanos		*Ballesteros*		*Peones*	
33	25%	41	31.06%	58	43.93%

The near-by presence of the Frontier in the Cádiz area explains only too well the predominance of such a militarised social structure. 43.93% of the population was included in the socio-military category of *peones*, who, as well as fulfilling defensive functions, worked on the land.

The second share out was in 1379, when the town of Medina Sidonia belonged to prince Henry, bastard son of the monarch Henry II and Juana de Souza. On this occasion, 91 settlers who received lands in the area that had not been worked in the previous distribution were registered. 3,655.83 hectares of *pan* were distributed without any vineyards. The hierarchical divisions of the settlers by socio-military categories were maintained. Thus, while the *ciudadanos* received 3 *yugadas* of land and the *ballesteros* 2, the *peón* acquired one.

Table 3. Distribution of land in Medina Sidonia (1379)

Ciudadanos		*Ballesteros*		*Peones*	
10	17.80%	13	23.21%	33	58.92%

Although this second distribution maintained the same social scheme, it is worth mentioning the significant increase in the number of *peones*, who made up 58.92% of the settlers receiving land. The explanation can again be found in the need to search for ways to strengthen the settlement process, accentuated by the obligation to defend the area by arms.

4.3 The Frontier with the kingdom of Granada

The Frontier is for the medievalist a determining factor for studying the *historical reality* of the Andalusian peasantry during the 14th century, as the kingdom of Seville bore the consequences derived from the armed conflicts in the form of assaults on economic resources.[40]

The Frontier exercised a power of attraction through the possibilities of social progress and, at the same time, was a motive for abandoning it, given the dangers that existed there. Presented in these terms, its presence should not be interpreted in a single direction but rather as a scenario with its own dynamic where we must reflect on the real impact of war on the peasants' living conditions. Once again, the specific circumstances of each area have to be considered and related to specific periods. Thus, the further an area was from the Frontier, the devastations and military duties that the peasants had to fulfil would gradually diminish, becoming, on some occasions, minimum or even null. On the contrary, if we look at places near it, we can see that these factors were not only significant but also became the main axis around which the resettlement gravitated. It was in this context where the privileges received by various Andalusian councils with the aim of guaranteeing and reinforcing their settlement became established. The town charter of El Puerto de Santa María (1281) initiated a model that was followed by those of Tarifa (1295), Gibraltar (1310) and Olvera (1327), the so-called "*derecho de frontera*" or frontier right. This line of action led to 1333 when Alfonso XI, "*por razón que la nuestra villa de Tarifa está muy cerca de los moros e ha menester muchas gentes para defendimiento de ella*", conceded the privilege of pardon for murderers and criminals who went to serve and work on it during "*un anno e un día todavía continuadamente*".[41]

On these occasions, the eminently military functions of the peasantry appeared relatively frequently in the documentation. The militarisation of Andalusian society in general, and the peasantry in particular, had direct effects on the living conditions of the peasantry who inhabited the territories closest to the kingdom of Granada, and thus the most dangerous. We have analysed its incidence through the example of the failed attempt to repopulate La Torre de Gómez Cardeña or the distributions carried out in the town of Medina Sidonia.

The presence of the Frontier and its effect on settlement was still noticeable in the 15th century. For example, some years ago, the accounts of the collector of the *alcabalas* (indirect taxes) on bread and oil in Seville were published. The text is about the *maravedís* received from the *alcabalas* of Aroche, Constantina, Aljarafe and Ribera and the coins from these places in 1402-1403 and 1408-1410. The sum of

40. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 157.

41. "*because our town of Tarifa is very close to the Moors and has to employ many people to defend itself form them*" (…) "*a year and a day still continuously*". (Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. "Privilegios y franquicias de Tarifa". *Hispania*, 16 (1957): 3-78 (doc. nº 4), 22-24, 31-35 (doc. nº 10); González Jiménez, Manuel. "La creación del derecho local y territorial andaluz. De Alfonso X a los Reyes Católicos". *Initium*, 9 (2004): 127-222, especially 146-165).

these quantities was distributed in the payments of the citizens of Tarifa and Teba.[42] Later, from this information, the role of the settler-soldiers in these frontier towns in the early years of the 15th century was evaluated. The data show a social structure clearly orientated towards military activities. For example, in 1402 and 1403, the social structure of Tarifa (with a male population of 500) was broken down into 80 on horse, 200 crossbowmen and 220 lancers.[43] Evidently, this situation should be no surprise given, on one hand, the nearby presence of the Frontier of Granada and, on the other, bearing in mind the traditional military functionality this enclave had had since 1292.

4.4 The profile of the Andalusian peasantry during the 14th century

The resettlement process and the application of various formulas for working the land generated a new social reality in which the profile of the peasant acquired an ever-clearer role. Thus, while in truly frontier places, such as Medina Sidonia or Tarifa, the military component continued to dominate the daily life of this social group, in other areas of the kingdom of Seville with a more stable political situation, different categories gradually emerged depending on the rural activities carried out.

In the mid 14th century, the Seville *veinticuatro*,[44] Fernán García de Santillán was the owner of the *donadío* of Santillán in the countryside. Thanks to the accounts book from his estate, covering the period from 1358 to 1366, we know that the peasants were divided between those who lived on the farm and those who went to the *donadío* at specific times of the year and lived in Las Casas de *Cogederas* and *Gañanes*. The expressions used, "*hombres a soldada y a jornal*", denoted contractual relations in rural work. They were paid in cash and in kind, while the *aniagas* (fixed tenants) were basically paid in wheat and oil. They were catalogued according to the work they did. While the *gañanes* (farmhands) did a variety of tasks on the farm, the *boyeros* (drovers) were mainly employed on jobs related to farming. Together with these, the *caseros* (tenants) dealt with the activities linked to the property, the *aperadores* (carters) and *mesegueros* guarded the cereal fields and prevented the livestock from entering and the *encapachadores* or oilers took care of the tasks in the oil mills. Although there was very little information related to agrarian instruments, if we exclude the plough, the mentions were, generically, of "*herramientas*, *aperos* or *pertrechos*".[45]

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42. Vilaplana, María Asunción. "Un ajuste de cuentas del alcabalero mayor de Sevilla Pedro Ortiz (1420)". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 1 (1974): 417-501.

43. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *La Frontera entre los Reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 330-331.

44. The *veinticuatros*, literally twenty-fours, were hereditary aldermen who worked for the city council. (translator's note).

45. "*men as soldiers and day labourers*" (…) "*tools, farm implements and instruments*". (Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Un modelo andaluz de explotación agraria bajomedieval", *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas: celebradas en Santiago de Compostela del 24 al 27 de abril de 1973*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1975: II, 135-154, 136-140).

5. The transformations of the peasantry during the 15th century

According to Guy Bois, there are three main arguments in the interpretation of the social aspect of the Great Depression of the Late Middle Ages, namely the social fracture provoked by the marginalisation of poverty, the weakening of the traditional functions of the governing elites and growing precariousness in the employment world. This situation meant that the social structure, founded on a "*cierto consenso*" was progressively diluted and led to a "*repliegue de cada capa social a sus propios intereses. Y la violencia, naturalmente, encuentra ahí su mejor terreno*".[46]

Western Andalusia, given its proximity to the Straights of Gibraltar, was in a privileged position for the development of trading activities. The commercial triangle made up of Seville, Sanlúcar de Barrameda and the Bay of Cádiz favoured the consolidation and installation of colonies of foreign merchants, especially Genoese, in these places.[47] This process generated a significant economic renewal, especially notable in the markets and the land. Investments by these traders in land purchases related to speculative crops are a good index to quantify their magnitude, to the extent possible.

The peasantry were not left out of this economic and social effervescence and underwent changes in their relations with the higher strata and also their composition. Jacques Le Goff has drawn attention to the important social effects derived from the mobility of manpower and the freedom of work evident since the 11th century.[48] Mobility, tensions and impoverishment characterised the wide spectrum of Andalusian peasantry during that century. While the development of vines had made possible the consolidation of a peasantry who found a base in this crop from which to face the situation, the most disfavoured sectors suffered the effects of the agrarian crisis and levels of poverty gradually increased and swelled the ranks of the discontented in the cities and villages of Andalusia.

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46. "*certain consensus*" (…) *withdrawal of each social layer to its own interests. And violence, naturally, found its most fertile ground there*". (Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 119).

47. Heers, Jacques. "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV: orígenes, grupos, solidaridades", *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. Sevilla 8/10 de abril de 1981*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1982: 419-444; D´Arienzo, Luisa. "Le relación tra Genova e Códice fra il XIII e il XV secolo", *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico: siglos XIII-XV. Jornadas celebradas en Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003*, Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, eds. Cádiz-Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación de Cádiz-Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006: 733-745; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Nuevos datos sobre la población y los genoveses en la ciudad de Cádiz. Una relectura del padrón de vecinos de 1467". *En la España Medieval*, 29 (2006): 187-223.

48. Le Goff, Jacques; Schmitt, Jean Claude, eds. *Diccionario razonado del Occidente Medieval*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2003: 781-789, especially 748.

5.1 The new populations: the sharing and breaking up of lands

From the end of the 15th century to the end of the 16th, there was a constant movement of peasants from the centre towards the periphery.[49] This mobility must be evaluated within the context and constituted a sign of identity in Andalusian lands. The creation of new places allowed this dynamic to be visualised through the installation of peasants. In the 14th century, Luque and Villafranca stood out in the kingdom of Cordoba, Aldehuela and Iruela, in that of Jaén, and Robaina, Los Palacios, Palos or El Coronil in Seville, and the list grew considerably in the 15th century. New settlements have been documented in the kingdom of Jaén, including Pegalajar and Puerto de Muradal, although the latter never prospered, in Cordoba (among which Villanueva del Duque, Blázquez, Granjuela, Valsequillo, Doña Mencía, Monturque or Posadas can be mentioned) and in the kingdom of Seville (made up of Villamartín, El Garrobo, San Juan del Puerto, Hinojales, Puente de Viar, Campillos, Puerto Real, Pero Mingo, Tejada, Villafranca de la Marisma, Fuentecubierta, Paradas, El Almendro, Villarasa, Valverde, Puebla de Guzmán, Chipiona, Cartaya, San Miguel del Arca del Buey, Puebla de Cazalla, Aljaraque and Paterna de Rivera).[50]

On some occasions, the *sistemas concejiles* (city councils) were limited to correcting and, on many others, encouraging a dynamic of settlement forged within the groups of peasants. In the Cádiz area, in 1483, an indeterminate number of "*presonas estranjeras, asy commo pescadores commo otros*" arrived in the vicinity of Juan de Xerez's mill, near the Guadalete, to settle the area and build houses. Although there is not much information, it seems to have been a movement that arose from the lower segments of society. The policy of Jeréz council, more concerned with protecting livestock interests, prevented this nucleus from prospering.[51]

This result contrasts with other peasant movements in other areas of Andalusia. Thus, for example, in the county of Niebla, the lords "*siguieron una política muy activa de repoblación interior*" during the 15th century. This (materialised in Villarrasa, Rociana, Campo de Andévalo, La Puebla de Guzmán and Villanueva de las Cruces) revolved around the defence and growth of each of the *alfoces*, the development of grazing and encouragement of vines.[52]

During the 15th century, there was a marked growth in agriculture in the Kingdom of Castile.[53] There was a long process of share-outs and the breaking of new land, initiated during the 14th century and continuing in the following, with notable

49. Ruiz, Teófilo F. *Historia social de España, 1400-1600*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002: 53.

50. Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Nuevas poblaciones del siglo XV en el Reino de Sevilla". *Cuadernos de Historia*, 7 (1977): 283-336, especially 286-287, 319-320; Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Los efectivos humanos", *Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía del Medievo a la Modernidad (1350-1504)*, Manuel González Jiménez, José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, eds. Madrid-Barcelona: Cupsa-Planeta, 1980: 90-91.

51. "*foreign people, as well as fishermen among others*" (Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural*…: 160-161).

52. "*followed a very active policy of internal repopulation*" (Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Niebla de Reino a Condado. Noticias sobre el Algarbe andaluz en la Baja Edad Media*. Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1992: 73-79).

53. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural*…: 212-223; Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía a fines*…: 29-36. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. *La Baja Edad Media*…: 186-191.

repercussions for the peasantry. In Andalusia, some well-known and well-studied examples provide valuable information about these and show the transformations caused by cereal growing in areas destined then used for pastures or forests. In 1508, in the Jaén area, the Castilian crown had begun an interesting resettlement process (Campillo de Arenas, Valdepeñas, Los Villares, La Mancha and Ortiñar) that, all together, included 800 peasants installed in 7 villages, some newly created.[54] In the Bay of Cádiz, the town of Puerto Real, founded by the Catholic Monarchs in the Jeréz *alfoz* in 1483, is a paradigmatic case. The peasants who went there were given land to plant trees and vineyards. "*E quien no lo fysiere*" (according to the founding charter from the Catholic Monarchs dated in 1483) "*que pierda los suelos e se pueda dar e den a otros con las mismas condiciones*". The 200 areas of saltpans they received as inheritance also had to be added to these goods.[55]

The breaking of land, together with the usurpation of common lands, supplies the key to understanding the increase in cereal production, with the consequent increase in population in 15th-century Andalusia. Either officially or clandestinely, all sectors of lower-medieval Castilian society participated actively in this process.[56] Linked to this was the distribution of lands carried out among the peasant population, a process that was important given the amount land handed out, according to what can be deduced from the data we have. In the Jeréz area, documentation from the end of the 15th century about the mechanism used has survived, which enables an in-depth study of this development. As Table 4 shows, in 1496, 83 *caballerías* of land (about 4,980 *aranzadas*, some 2,191.2 hectares) were shared out among 43 peasants, at a rate of 2 *caballerías* of land per person. Each peasant received a plot of land that varied between 110 and 120 *aranzadas*.

54. Rodríguez Molina, José. *El Reino de Jaén*…: 29; Quesada Quesada, Tomás. *El paisaje rural de la campiña de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media según los Libros de las dehesas*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1994: 39-49.

55. "*And who did not do so*" (…) "*who loses the lands and can give or gives to the others under the same conditions*". Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural*…: 160-166; Martín Guitiérrez, Emilio. "Salinas y explotaciones salineras en la Bahía de Cádiz a finales de la Edad Media", *Congreso Internacional Las Salinas de interior en la Historia: economía, medioambiente y sociedad. Sigüenza (Guadalajara), 6-10 de Septiembre 2006*, forthcoming.

56. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel; González Jiménez, Manuel. *Diezmo eclesiástico y producción de cereales en el reino de Sevilla (1408-1503)*. Sevilla: Departamento de Historia Medieval de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1979; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Los derechos sobre la tierra en el sector centro-oriental de la Extremadura Castellana. Uso y abuso a fines de la Edad Media". *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval*, III (1996): 29-49, especially 40-48; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Usurpaciones de comunales: conflicto social y disputa legal en Ávila y su Tierra durante la Baja Edad Media". *Historia Agraria*, 24 (2001): 89-122, especially 92-101; González Jiménez, Manuel. "Andalucía Bética", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 188-189. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La demografía en el sur peninsular durante el siglo XV: Andalucía Occidental, un área en expansión". *Studia*, 47 (1989): 169-179, especially 170, 178-179; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La organización del paisaje rural durante la Baja Edad Media. El ejemplo de Jeréz de la Frontera*. Sevilla-Cádiz: Universidad de Sevilla-Universidad de Cádiz, 2004: 118-123.

Table 4. Distribution of land in Jeréz de la Frontera. 1496.

Place	Area	Peasants	Land Distributed
Torrecera	360 aranzadas	3	120 aranzadas
Adelfoso	840 aranzadas	7	120 aranzadas
Doña Benita	1,140 aranzadas	10	120 aranzadas
Fuente del Rey	240 aranzadas	2	120 aranzadas
Ojo de Adelfoso	780 aranzadas	7	120 aranzadas
Guadalbacar	1,620 aranzadas	14	120 aranzadas
Total	4,980 aranzadas	43	720 aranzadas

Four years later, 41 peasants also received plots of land. This was an important effort of breaking land in zones with a high grazing value, as these were the *echos* of Torrecera, Adelfoso, Doña Benita, Fuente del Rey, Ojo de Adelfoso and Guadalbacar.[57]

After Gibraltar was incorporated into the *realengo* jurisdiction, the Castilian crown prepared a distribution of land. With an estimated population of 320 or 330, a project was prepared that included 500 new settlers among which "*parte de los echos e términos que tiene la dicha çibdad*" was distributed. The share-out included 150 nobles and 350 farmers, stockbreeders and men of the sea. While a noble was assigned 1 *caballería*, equivalent to 40 *fanegas* of land, the *peón* received ½ *caballería*. Together with land in the town to build a home on, they were allowed to plant vineyards and market gardens on the uncultivated common land.[58]

5.2 The development of livestock

We know that the livestock rearing grew significantly in many parts of Western Europe during the 15th century. This development went hand in hand with the consolidation of the nobility as an economic power and the establishment of the Frontier facilitated an activity that was easier to protect from the dangers of incursions from the kingdom of Granada.[59]

57. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *El mundo rural jerezano a fines de la Edad Media*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz (PhD Dissertation), 2002 PhD. Dissertation.

58. "*part of the neighbourhoods* ["echos" literally "stone's throw"] *and limits that said city has*". (Cano de Gardoqui, José L.; Bethencourt, Antonio de. "Incorporación de Gibraltar a la corona de Castilla (1436-1508)". *Hispania*, 103 (1966): 325-381, especially 344, 365-367 (doc. nº 1)).

59. Mínguez Fernández, José María. "Ganadería, aristocracia y Reconquista en la Edad Media castellana". *Hispania*, 151 (1982): 341-354, especially 352-353; Mínguez Fernández, José María. "Feudalismo

The study of the social sectors that worked with livestock provides clues to the social structure of the peasantry. Social models have even been made from the possession of heads of livestock as a criterion for grouping the peasant population in Andalusia. Thus, while oxen and donkeys were very common for use in agricultural tasks, the lesser livestock was less widely distributed among the population who paid the *pecho*, the feudal dues. Normally, it belonged to a sector of society who had enough economic resources for breeding and later sales.[60]

However, other research has supplied data that proposes an alternative to this scheme. The reflections on the role and *contradictory situations* of the small stockbreeders in the kingdoms of Jaén and Cordoba are interesting. For example, while no livestock was found in the inventories of the property of a group of small and medium peasants in the research carried out in 1511 by the council of Jaén with the aim of including them in the group of important nobles, the notary documentation from Úbeda shows various examples of economic transactions in which small livestock farmers took part.[61] Once again, we note the need to handle conclusions based on the variety and territorial diversity of Andalusia.

Obviously, a segment of the group of the *Peones* worked with livestock. According to the comparative study of the Municipal Ordinances, shepherds, linked to a head *rabadán* (stockbreeder) or someone knowledgeable about livestock,[62] were workers who looked after a flock, an activity that was compared with that of goatherd, cowherd or stockbreeder.[63] The Ordinances promoted by the Duke of Medina Sidonia for Huelva and the county of Niebla in 1504, regulated the

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y concejos. Aproximación metodológica al análisis de las relaciones sociales en los concejos medievales castellanos-leoneses". *En la España Medieval*, 2 (1982): 109-122, especially 112-113; Mínguez Fernández, José María. *Las sociedades feudales. 1. Antecedentes, formación y expansión (siglos VI al XIII)*. Madrid: Nerea, 1994: 291-292; Gerbet, Marie-Claude. *La ganadería medieval en la Península Ibérica*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2003: 34-37; Gerbet, Marie-Claude. "Noblesse et élevage dans la Couronne de Castille a la fin du Moyen-Age", *La Nobleza Peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales*. Ávila: Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 1999: 171-196, especially 173-174; Asenjo González, María. *Espacio y sociedad en la Soria Medieval (Siglos XIII-XV)*. Soria: Diputación Provincial de Soria, 1999: 259-261; Rodríguez-Picavea, Enrique. *La formación del feudalismo en la meseta meridional castellana. Los señoríos de la Orden de Calatrava en los siglos XII-XIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1994: 8-13, 176-188; Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval andaluza. Siglos XIII-XVI (Reinos de Jaén y Córdoba)*. Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 1991: II, 362; Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. *La ganadería en el Reino de Sevilla durante la Baja Edad Media*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1998: 99-105; López Martínez, Antonio Luis. *Ganaderías de lidia y ganaderos. Historia y economía de los toros de lidia en España*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002: 177-178, 251-255; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La organización del paisaje rural…*

60. Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. *La ganadería…*: 346-347; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Pastores, carreteros y arrieros", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica. La sociedad castellana a finales del siglo XV*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, coord. Madrid: Dykinson, 2004: 219-227.

61. Argente del castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval…*: I, 219-225.

62. Gálan Parra, Isabel. "Las Ordenanzas de 1504 para Huelva y el Condado de Niebla". *Huelva en su Historia. Miscelánea Histórica*, 3 (1990): 107-174, especially 167-168.

63. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena 1528. Estudio y edición*, eds. Mercedes Borrero Fernández, Manuel García Fernández. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla-Area de Cultura, Archivo y Biblioteca del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2001: 97-98 (title IV, 4), 110-111 (title VIII, 3), 112 (title VIII, 6), 113 (title VIII, 7), 126-127 (title XI, 1); *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer (1538)*, ed. María Luisa Pardo Rodríguez. Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2003: 59 (title LXI).

activities of the community of shepherds.[64] In some areas, they were banned form carrying "*caldera que sea sana*" between the feasts of Saint John and Saint Cebrián.[65]

The contracts for "*guarda e pastoradgo*" supply information about this social group.[66] In the Jeréz area and regarding cattle, the contracts were for a year if they were signed in July or August, and for six months if they were formalised in November or December. During this time, the cowherds gathered various herds together: thus, for example, in 1414 the cowherd Antón Martín de Sanlúcar, agreed with various *labradores* (yeomen) to look after their animals: specifically 128 head from Francisca Martínez, wife of Bartolomé Martínez de Alcalá, 37 from Fernando Gutiérrez de Alcalá and 13 from García, son of Pedro Díaz de Villanueva.[67]

5.3 The development of vines

One of the main characteristics of the 14th century in western Andalusia was the expansion of vineyards.[68] The association between peasants and vines constitutes a diachronic process that, initiated in the second half of the 13th century and continuing through the following centuries, encouraged the acquisition of small plots, either through the royal or council share outs, or through plantation contracts. The small owners (who since the time of the great share-outs) had plots that combined some *aranzadas* of olive groves, vineyard and cereal, with an average area of between 60 and 180 *fanegas* in Seville) worked their land directly and personally.[69] They also, directly and personally, had to bear the consequences of the *Failure of Repopulation*. On the other hand, through the application of plantation contracts, some institutions, such as the Seville monasteries, contracted peasants who had not managed to obtain land in the Seville distributions but who were able to underwrite part of the expenses of work and tools on the farm.[70]

The 15th century saw a process of consolidation of large property in the hands of the titled nobility, ecclesiastical and urban aristocratic institutions.[71] In this context, the small vine-growing properties and the typical profile of the land-owning

64. Gálan Parra, Isabel. "Las Ordenanzas de 1504…": 167-168.

65. "caldera que sea sana". (*Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 137 (title XV, 2)).

66. "*custody and pasturing*". (Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Pastores…": 220-222).

67. Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera (AMJF). Protocolos Notariales (PN), Escribano Juan Martínez, Año 1414, f. 173r; 173r-173v; 173v-174r; 174v.

68. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía durante la Baja Edad Media", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003: 239-284, especially 249.

69. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 120.

70. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía…": 251-252.

71. Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. *El paisaje rural sevillano en la Baja Edad Media*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Gran propiedad y estructura económica campesina. La Baja Andalucía entre el siglo XV y el XVI", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval...*: 355-388, especially 359-360.

peasantry were altered by partitions in wills, sales of land and heavy peasant indebtedness, which resulted in a "*disminución de la extensión media de esos minifundios*". According to Mercedes Borrero "*el 70% de la población rural de la zona* [sevillana] *es propietaria de tierras de viña, aunque el conjunto de las mismas no superan las 2.000 hectáreas*". The detailed studies of these have estimated the average area of these vine-growing smallholdings at 1.5 aranzadas. On some occasions, the peasants had full ownership of these lands through council distributions or sales. In others, they only had the use and usufruct of the properties, handed over by an owner through an emphyteutic lease. The social differences between both types of peasant derived from these legal regimes were null.[72]

In the Bay of Cádiz area, there was an important groundbreaking effort centred on vineyards in the last quarter of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th. In an extensive report conserved in the General Archive of Simancas, that covers the period between 1505 and 1511, it was argued that, owing to the abundance of uncultivated land in the Jeréz *alfoz*, the best option was to "*dar lugar para plantar vinnas*", as the text states, "*como se faze en tierra de Seuilla e Córodua o otras partes*". This document indicates that the area of vineyards in Jeréz reached 10,000 aranzadas, around 4,400 hectares.[73] This wager for vines also appeared in El Puerto de Santa María. Between 1512 and 1523, for example, the Jeréz *veinticuatro*, Luis Ortiz de Gática dedicated 205 *aranzadas* of cereal land "*para poner de viñas*" in the *haza* of Santa María,[74] or in 1512, Leonor de Orbaneja, wife of Juan Jiménez de Gática from Jeréz had destined 109 aranzadas to vineyards in the *pago* of Los Tercios.[75]

We analysed 412 contracts for emphyteutic leases in Jeréz de la Frontera during the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th. 77.42% of the contracts analysed referred to properties with an area of between 1 and 4 *aranzadas*. Two cases (the vineyards of Antón de Cuenca and María de Argumedo) serve as examples to analyse this zone. Antón de Cuenca and his wife Juana Sánchez de Cuenca had 54 *aranzadas*, around 24 hectares, split between the Jeréz and El Puerto de Santa

72. "*decrease in the average area of these smallholdings*". (…) "*70% of the rural population of the zone* (Seville) *were owners of vineyard, although all together they covered an area no greater than 2,000 hectares*". (Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía…": 255, 258, 259).

73. "*room to plant vines*" (…) "*as is done in the lands of Seville and Cordoda or other places*" (Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La crisis de 1503-1507 en Andalucía. Reflexiones a partir de Jeréz de la Frontera", *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Pere Benito, eds. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2007: 277-302.

74. "*to plant vines*", AMJF. PN, Escribano Giraldo de Medina, Año 1512, f. 470v-472r. Escribano Bartolomé Gil de Palencia, Año 1516, f. 321r-323v; 325v-328r; 328r-331r; 376r-378r; 378v-379v; 380r-382r; 382r-384v; 385r-387r; 388r-391r; 391v-393v; s. f. Escribano Antón de Alarcón, Año 1516, f. 214r-214v; 261v-266r; 313r-314r; 322r-324v; 325v-328r; 329r-331r; 385r-387v; 376r-378r; 378v-380v; 381r-382r; 388r-390r; 391r-393v; 409r-411r. Escribano Rodrigo de Cazorla, Año 1516, f. 409r-411r. Escribano Luis de Llanos, Año 1523, f. 436v-439r.

75. AMJF. PN, Escribano Giraldo de Medina, Año 1512, f. 3v-7v; 7v-10r; 11v-14r; 18r-22r; 35v-37v; 38v-40r; 40r-43v; 53r-56v; 57v-59r; 82r-84v; 85v-87r; 173v-175r.

María. The links between these owners and their peasants was through the emission of emphyteutic leases.[76]

Table 5. Peasants linked to Antón de Cuenca and Juana Sánchez de Cuenca

Peasant	Aranzadas	Lease (Mrs)
Antón García Rodete	9	-
Viuda de Francisco Picaso	7.5	700
Herederos de Juan Lobatón	5	1,000
Antón Martín de la Zarza	4	500
Antón García	3	600
Alfonso González	3	350
Pedro Ortiz	2.5	500
Juan Martín	2	400
Diego Gómez	2	400
Andrés de Medina	1 and ¾ quarters	370
Pedro Guillén	1.5	280
Viuda Antón Jiménez	1.5	280
Alonso López de Cabra	1.5	250
Diego González	1	200
Cristóbal Rodríguez	1	250

In María de Argumedo's will, dated 23rd of November 1522, she ordered that a chaplaincy should be constituted in the church of San Lucas, "*con çiertos vínculos e obligaciones*". The goods that she left to sustain this chaplaincy were 2.5 *aranzadas* of olive groves, in the *pago* of La Fuente de Pedro Díaz, and some kitchen gardens in Picadueñas.[77] The vineyards were broken down as follows:

76. About Antón de Cuenca: Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales de Jeréz de la Frontera*. Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 1996: I, 58; AMJF. PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, f. 980r-981v; PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos Año 1513, without.

77. "*with certain links and obligations*". (AMJF. PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, f. 819r-822r; 859v-863r).

Table 6. Peasants linked to María de Argumedo

Peasants	Aranzadas	Lease (Mrs)
Gonzalo Fernández de Guadalcanal	7	3.700
Francisco Lacio. Water seller	2	200
Alonso de Oreán. Worker	2	700
Andrés Muñoz. Miller	1 and a quarter	340
Bartolomé García del Corral	1	440
Lázaro Martín	1	205.5
Juan Ruiz	1	205.5
Juan de Maya. Gardener	3 quarters	175

As can be seen in Tables 5 and 6, the structure of land ownership had a correlation in the relation between the owner and the groups of peasants. In effect, the peasants worked small plots of land and were linked to the owner through the payment of a lease or tribute in cash. A high percentage of them were smallholding families, which obliged them to do another activity or search for an economic complement. Thus, Table 6 supplies some indications of the 8 peasants on the list, 4 appear with their trade, water seller, worker, miller and gardener. This image reinforces the social aspect of this crop even more and its complementary nature in the late medieval peasant economies.

5.4 The peasant risings

The clashes between lords and peasants occurred in an epoch that knew an especially dramatic economic situation. In the *Historia de Xerez de la Frontera*, friar Esteban Rallón describes the social situation in the city in 1463.[78] The tale of the events

78. *"Por este tiempo no estaba nuestra ciudad menos inquieta. Era el año trabajoso, había mucha falta de pan, que suele dar atrevimiento a los que no lo tienen, para buscarlo y quitarlo de donde lo haya, aunque sea con violencia. Habíase criado en Xerez un mozo de demasiados alientos, muy valiente y de grande ánimo, llamado Gómez, cristiano viejo y de buena gente. Éste, forzado de la necesidad, levantó el pueblo, hizo junta de hambrientos a quien la necesidad oprimía, dióle nombre de Hermandad y juntos con esta cabeza, sacaban trigo de donde lo hallaban. Y como era gente de pocas obligaciones, se desmandó fácilmente a robar todo lo que se hallaban por delante, con violencia y poco respeto y aunque fuese en las casas principales. Con lo cual estaba la ciudad escandalizada y fue necesario que la nobleza se juntase con la justicia para ponerle remedio. El corregidor don Gonzalo de Ávila los acaudillaba y junto con los caballeros, gente honrada y los oficiales del cabildo, salieron con intento de prenderlos a todo riesgo. Supieron que estaban en la plaza del Arenal y caminando a ella apenas desembocaron por la Puerta del Real cuando la Hermandad se deshizo. Y luego cada uno por su parte, como gente de pocas obligaciones, unos por un lado y otros por otros, sin que quedaran ninguno. Gómez se retiró a San Miguel a retraerse. De allí le sacaron y luego le ahorcaron, pagando él por todos. Y lo hicieron cuartos. Y la ciudad quedó pacífica."*

is based on facts that were based on a relation of causality between the agrarian crisis and the popular uprisings. A social uprising social in a *realengo* city with an important *alfoz*, led by one Gómez and made up of individuals, whose hazy images (*people with few obligations*, as friar Esteban Rallón states), can barely be made out as belonging to the lower levels of society, and in which the most disfavoured sectors of the peasantry also had to take part. Facing them, the mayor Don Gonzalo de Ávila who, with the inestimable assistance of "*los caballeros, gente honrada y los oficiales del cabildo*", managed to put paid to the uprising with no apparent difficulty.

The studies by Abel in Germany, or Postan and Hilton in England have emphasised the fact that the agrarian economy was in a stage of contraction or phase B during this period. The characteristics for the West in general have been identified: a drop in population, reduction of the farmed area, a general drop in production and collapse of seigniorial income.[79] The *Great Depression* was the indispensable reference in which to place the substantial transformations society underwent.[80]

"*In those times our city was no less troubled. It was the laborious year, there was a great lack of bread, which usually makes those who have not more daring, to seek it out and take it where they find it, although this is with violence. In Xerez, a lad had grown with too much encouragement, very brave and with a great soul, called Gómez, an old Christian and from good stock. He, forced by need, raised the people, made a group of the hungry of those who need oppressed, gave it the name of Brotherhood and together, with him at the head, they got wheat from wherever they found it. And as they were people with few obligations, they fell to stealing whatever they found in front of them, with violence and little respect and even if it were only for the main houses. With which the city was shocked and it was necessary for the nobility to come with the justice to put a remedy to this. The mayor Don Gonzalo de Ávila led them and together with the knights, honourable people and the officials from the chapter, they set out with the intention of catching them at any cost. They knew they were in the plaza del Arenal and walking there they hardly reached passed the Puerta del Real when the Brotherhood came. And then everyone for their own, like people with few obligations, some to one side and others to the other, until there was nobody. Gómez withdrew to San Miguel to retract. He was taken from there and later he was hung, he paying for all. And he was quartered. And the city remained calm*" (Rallón, Fray Esteban. *Historia de la ciudad e Xerez de la Frontera y de los reyes que la dominaron desde su primera fundación*, ed. Emilio Martín Gutiérrez. Cádiz-Jérez de la Frontera, 1997-2003: II, 289).

79. Abel, Wilhelm. *Crises agraires en Europe: XIIIe-XIXe siècles*. Paris: Flammarion, 1973; Postan, Michael. *Ensayos sobre agricultura y problemas generales de la economía medieval*. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1981, which includes his most important works; Hilton, Rodney. "Una crisis en el feudalismo", *El debate Brenner. Estructura de clases agrarias y desarrollo económico de la Europa preindustrial*, Trevor Henry Aston, Charles Harding Philpin, eds. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988: 144-163; Hilton, Rodney. *Conflicto de clases y crisis del feudalismo*. Barcelona: Crítica,1988; Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Recesión económica y crisis social de Castilla en el siglo XIV", *Las crisis en la Historia. Sextas Jornadas de Estudios Históricos organizados por el Departamento de Historia Medieval, Moderna y Contemporánea de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1995: 33-55, especially 33; Brenner, Robert. "Estructura de clases agraria y desarrollo económico en la Europa Preindustrial", *El debate Brenner...*: 21-81; Bois, Guy. "Contra la ortodoxia neomalthusiana", *El debate Brenner...*: 131-143.

80. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "La crisis bajomedieval…": 13-48; Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo…*: 172-198. The chapitre *La conciencia de clase*, is a republication of his article: Astarita, Carlos. "¿Tuvo conciencia de clase el campesinado medieval?". *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 89-113; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Conflictos en el mundo rural…", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 2003*, Juan Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80, especially 50; Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. *Justicia contra Señores. El mundo rural y la política en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2004.

In this new scenario, the late medieval peasant uprisings had common features that revolved around questions of freedom and servitude, the capacity of the peasants to seize the opportunities generated by the tensions and the formulation of demands under the umbrella of the dominant ideology.[81]

A systematic catalogue of peasant uprisings in Andalusia has still not been drawn up, despite various cycles of agrarian crisis (1463-1467, 1471-1474, 1503-1507 and 1521-1523) being observed, whose consequences affected all sectors of society to a greater or lesser degree. This vacuum means that its manifestations cannot be shown or the vehicles of expression used known. In any case, we know that the peasant protests were directed and channelled by the elites. This is the interpretation given to the movements that arose in *realengo* centres that were progressively seigniorialised or segregated from the *alfoz* and passed to seigniorial jurisdiction, as was the case of Fuenteovejuna linked to Cordoba.[82] For example, the organisational policy carried out by don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera in his seigniorial jurisdiction during the first quarter of the 16th century met with growing systematic opposition from the *sistemas concejiles* of Bornos, Alcalá de los Gazules, Espera and Tarifa. These confrontations led to specific agreements with the representatives of the peasant communities.[83] It thus seems logical to think about the active participation of groups that defended certain interests somehow lost after seigniorialisation. However, one can also speculate about groups of peasants who acted as authentic spokesmen for the common objectives of the peasant community.

Various lines of research have concentrated on analysing the *small-scale rebellions*, which has allowed a varied interpretation of the social effervescence in Northern and Southern Europe.[84] A new field of analysis revolves around the critical conscience of the peasantry who, acting outside the dominant discourse, manifested itself through evasion, deliberate delays or sabotage;

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81. Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 35; Hilton, Rodney. *Siervos y liberados. Los movimientos campesinos medievales y el levantamiento inglés de 1381*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1984.

82. There are the towns of Gaete, Hinojosa and La Rambla (Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna*…:20-26).

83. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "La villa de Espera en la Baja Edad Media", *Estudios de la Universidad de Cádiz ofrecidos a la memoria del profesor Braulio Justel Calabozo*, Joaquín Bustamante Costa, Javier Martín Castellanos, Fernando Nicolás Velásquez Lasanta, eds. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz-Grupo de Investigación "Al-Andalus-Magreb", 1998: 455-476; Franco Silva, Alfonso. "La villa gaditana de Bornos en la Baja Edad Media", *En la Baja Edad Media (Estudios sobre señoríos y otros aspectos de la sociedad castellana entre los siglos XIV al XVI)*. Jaén: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Jaén, 2000: 297-332; Fernández Gómez, Manuel. *Alcalá de los Gazules en las Ordenanzas del Marqués de Tarifa. Un estudio de legislación local en el Antiguo Régimen*. Alcalá de los Gazules: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997; Cabral Chamorro, Antonio. *Propiedad comunal y repartos de tierras en Cádiz (siglos XV-XIX)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1995; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La configuración territorial del alfoz de Tarifa durante los siglos bajomedievales", *Tarifa en la Edad Media: Actas I Congreso de Historia Local, celebrado en Tarifa (Cádiz) del 9 al 11 de diciembre de 2004*. Tarifa: Publicaciones Ayuntamiento de Tarifa, 2005: 127-145, especialy 135-138.

84. Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 22; Valdeón Baruque, Julio. *Los conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1975; Pastor, Reyna. *Resistencias y luchas campesinas*…; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna*…

in short, according to Paul Freedman, in movements of "*no-cooperación que constituyen formas cotidianas de la resistencia campesina*".[85] Without transferring this interpretative model to the Cádiz area, we see how the investigation by the marquis of Tarifa, initiated on 7th of March 1527, had already been attempted earlier but without much success. In fact, "*pareçe,*" the text states "*que començastes a haser lo contenido en mi mandamiento y que solamente reçibystes la declaración de diez y ocho vesinos desa dicha villa de los labradores y de treynta y çinco de los otros vesinos que no labran nin sienbran*". Thus, at first only 53 neighbours (8.64% of the estimated population) responded to their lord's appeal. Independently of this setback, his interest in knowing the posture of the village about this subject generated a dynamic in which he wanted to involve all the sectors with the aim that "*todos los vesinos desa villa digan y declaren en esto lo que les pareçe que será más provechoso de la comunidad desa villa*". Despite his intentions, only 272 neighbours, around 1,360 inhabitants, took part. However, the reality must have been different as the whole population was made up of 613 neighbours, some 3,065 inhabitants in 1534.[86] Thus, only 44.37% of the total took part in the survey. Such numerical differences in such a short period of time can only be explained by the existence of groups opposed to the marquis of Tarifa's political programme and contrary to taking part in the investigation.

5.5 The relevance of the marginal groups

Certain groups of peasants (included generically in the category of *Peones*) were inconvenient for the crown and authorities of the *sistemas concejiles* and generated suspicion and fear in collective imagination of society.[87] There are many allusions to groups of vagabonds in the cities and country of Western Europe. According to Geremek, the development of the mercantile-monetary exchanges and the cities had direct repercussions on the forms of poverty and influenced "*los procesos de diferenciación interna de la sociedad y sobre todo en la depauperación de algunos grupos*".[88] An example of this is in 1466, Jeréz council passed some Ordinances related to the

85. "*non-cooperation that constituted everyday forms of peasant resistance*". (Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 24; Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. *Justicia contra Señores*…: 35-180; the quote on 135-136).

86. "*it seems,*" (…) "*that you started to do what my order contained and that you only received the declaration of ten and eight neighbours of said town of the labourers and of thirty and five of the other neighbours who neither plough nor sow*" (…) "*all the neighbours of this village say and declare on this what they think will be more useful for the community of this village*". (Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. "La población del reino de Sevilla en 1534". *Cuadernos de Historia. Anexos de la Revista Hispania. Andalucía, de la Edad Media a la Moderna*, 7 (1977): 337-355, especially 350-351).

87. Delumeau, Jean. *El miedo en Occidente. (Siglos XIV-XVIII). Una ciudad sitiada*. Madrid: Taurus, 2001: 296-304.

88. "*the processes of internal differentiation of the society and especially in the depauperisation of some groups*" (Geremek, Bronislaw. *La piedad y la horca. Historia de la miseria y de la caridad en Europa*. Madrid: Alianza, 1989: 23-134 (quoted on 87); Geremek, Bronislaw. *La estirpe de Caín. La imagen de los vagabundos y de los pobres en las literaturas europeas de los siglos XV al XVII*. Madrid: Mondadori, 1991: 295-368).

landless peasants in which they were required to "*se cojan a soldada e entren en ofiçios o se vayan desta çibdad*" within a maximum of three days, reiterating that those who stayed in the city "*biuan cada vno en su afán e serviçio*".[89]

One socially marginalised segment grew and was strengthened with individuals from the lower sectors of the peasantry owing to their intensive proletarianisation. Guy Bois reflected on the effect that the generalisation of poverty had on the social fracture during the *Great Medieval Depression*. The mechanisms of pauperisation in the economic order came from the endemic unemployment and, in the fiscal order, the increase in the tax pressure linked to the war. A new poverty characterised by the breadth of the phenomenon, the social exclusion owing to the relaxation of help mechanisms, the confluence with violent groups and opposition to power.[90] Moreover, during the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th, there was a strong growth in indebtedness in peasant society owing to bad harvests and the rise in prices. Their presence helped to polarise society between the *rich labourers*, who acted as creditors, and the *poor peasants*, who appeared as debtors.[91]

The situation of impoverishment of the Andalusian peasantry has been shown in various pieces of research.[92] For example, between 1316 and 1347 the mayor of Seville, Pedro Martínez, bought small plots of cereal land from impoverished peasants in the hamlet of Torre Alocaz.[93] Mercedes Borrero has studied the lack of liquidity among Seville peasantry between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. Thus, as can be gathered from data from tax declarations, "*el nivel económico más débil, que declara cuantías entre 1.000 y 10.000 maravedíes, concentra en la década de los años 80 del siglo XV a poco más de un tercio de la población, mientras que en las primeras décadas del XVI agrupa nada menos que al 80% de la misma*".[94] The effects of the rise in wheat prices in 1502 in Jeréz de la Frontera had provoked that "*los pobres e miserables presonas resçiben mucha fatiga. Y para mantener sus mugeres e fijos les convenía aver de vender sus faziendas*".[95]

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89. "*become soldiers and enter into trades or leave this city*" (…) "*they each live from their toil and service*" (AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1466, f. 41r).

90. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 119-128.

91. Spufford, Meter. *Dinero y moneda en la Europa Medieval*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991: 434.

92. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, repoblación…": 23-26; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "La gran propiedad en Carmona…": 244.

93. García Fernández, Manuel. *El reino de Sevilla*…: 315.

94. "*the weakest economic level, which declared amounts between 1,000 and 10,000 maravedíes, concentrated in the decade of the 80s of the 15th century a little more than a third of the population, while in the early decades of the 16th they covered no less than 80% of the same*" (Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Efectos del cambio económico en el ámbito rural. Los sistemas de crédito en el campo sevillano (Fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI)", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003: 27-63, especially 34).

95. "*the poor and miserable people receive much fatigue. And to maintain their wives and children they were forced to sell their properties*" (Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La crisis de 1503-1507…", forthcoming).

From a qualitative point of view, this social reality was also implied in the declarations of the witnesses who participated in the investigation by the marquis of Tarifa in 1527 letting slip remarks about this indebtedness.[96]

6. Social categories of the peasantry at the end of the middle ages

This study, aware of the variety of areas and regions, cannot hide the multiplicity of realities linked to the generic concept of *labrador*, which we automatically associate with the peasant or yeoman, a term that did not crystallise in Castilian until the 18th century.[97]

The comparative study of the Municipal Ordinances allows a first approximation to the economic reality that lies behind this concept. We know that the *labradores* were owners of plots and farms,[98] inheritances and *panes*,[99] pastures,[100] rangeland[101] and land in general.[102] However, we also know that this word alluded to the owners of *ganados mayores*,[103] such as cattle,[104] oxen, mares, ponies[105] and pigs.[106] Together with these goods, they owned farm implements, such as ploughs.[107] This indisputable economic predominance allowed them to contract reapers and labourers.[108] Some Municipal Ordinances even mentioned privileges in the weights and measures office.[109]

Thus we understand that the generic term *labrador* acquired meaning as the medieval society grew economically and socially, at the same time as the vertical

96. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Grupos e identidades campesinas a finales de la Edad Media. La pesquisa del Marqués de Tarifa del año 1527", forthcoming.

97. Fontana, Josep. "Los campesinos en la Historia: reflexiones sobre un concepto y unos prejuicios". *Historia Social*, 28 (1997): 3-11.

98. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 100 (title V, 3).

99. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras Ordenanzas del Puerto de Santa María", *Estudios sobre Ordenanzas Municipales (Siglos XIV-XVI)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1998: 221-245, especially 235.

100. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 126-127 (title XI, 1); *Ordenanzas de Espera (1527). Una villa gaditana al final del medievo y principios de la modernidad*, ed. Manuel Garrucho Jurado. Cádiz: Tréveris, 2003: 100 (Title LV).

101. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 134 (title XIII, 6).

102. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *Olvera en la Baja Edad Media (Siglos XIV-XV)*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1988: 204-224, 215-216 (doc. nº LXXVIII).

103. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras Ordenanzas del Puerto…: 236-237.

104. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 127 (title XI, 3).

105. *Ordenanzas Municipales de la villa de Cantillana (1550)*, ed. María Antonia Carmona Ruiz. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Cantillana-Concejalía de Cultura, 1996: 51 (Chapter XLIV); Pardo Rodríguez, María Luisa. *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer*…: 62 (title LXXII).

106. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *Olvera*…: XI, 206.

107. *Ordenanzas de Espera*...: 99 (title LV).

108. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 138 (title XVI, 1), 139 (title XVI, 5).

109. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 155 (title XXVIII, 3).

and horizontal links among their different groups were consolidated.[110] Thus, for example, in 1527, the people of Tarifa, obliged to declare before a commission about whether "*en el criar de los puercos*" it was better to use "*trigo o çevada o otras semillas*", were divided into *labradores* and non *labradores*.[111] In fact, the gradual specialization in rural work had its logical translation in the written documentation and a progressive extension of terms that designated diverse economic realities of groups and subgroups. I thus believe that adequate knowledge of this social group requires approaches that combine synchrony and diachrony to evaluate their dynamism within medieval society.[112]

The principal difficulty resides in determining this social and economic reality. To this end, what lies behind the term peasant and each of the segments that made up this group that represented 80% of the population need to be valued must be unravelled.[113]

6.1 Profiles of the Late Medieval Andalusian peasantry

Werner Rösener reflected on whether a European peasantry has existed with its own exclusive characteristics, without obviating, evidently, its multiple particularities. Through a diachronic approach, he had no doubt about affirming that *the peasant society* was maintained in Europe from the dominical organization in the Frankish kingdom until the 19th century. Sensitive to the interpretations launched from sociological theoretical positions, he established the genuine traits of the ideal peasant. From the point of view of the economy and organization of work, he appears as the person who farmed and reared livestock, obtaining his products in the framework of a self-sufficient economic unit, used the plough as a basic tool for farming, working the land with his own hands and constituted an economic unit together with his family.[114]

From this reflection, which sets out the general parameters of the *peasant society*, the medievalist must go deeper into the profile of the different segments that made it up in function of the political, economic, social or cultural development in each of the places where they were settled[115] and by virtue of the impact of the mercantile

110. Rösener, Werner. *Los campesinos en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990: 221.

111. "*for rearing pigs*" (…) "*wheat or barley or other seeds*" (Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Grupos e identidades…", forthcoming.

112. Fontana, Josep. "Los campesinos en la Historia…": 5; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural: los agricultores", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica*...: 195-217, especially 202-214; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La comunitat pagesa", *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans. 2: Edat Mitjana*, Emili Giralt Raventós, dir. Barcelona: Fundació Catalana per a la Recerca-Universitat dels Països Catalans, 2004: 505-539.

113. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía*…: 155-159; García de Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural*…: 237-242; Ruiz, Teófilo R. *Historia social*…: 54-55.

114. Rösener, Werner. *Los campesinos*…: 24-40.

115. Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. "Sobre los niveles de vida en Tierra de Campos a fines del medievo". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 175-226.

and monetary economy.[116] Reyna Pastor, basing herself on the studies by Rodney Hilton, set out a profile of this social group through the possession, not of property, but of the means of production, the organization of the process of work around the family as a basic productive unit, the association in villages equipped with communal goods or collective rights, the presence within them of labourers or rural artisans and the economic link to the dominant class - valid concepts to define, *with a certain degree of imprecision*, as the medievalist herself states, the medieval peasantry.[117]

Julio Valdeón sketched out three identifying traits for this social group in the Crown of Castile during the Late Medieval centuries. Firstly, there was the progressive appearance of a limited group of *labradores ricos* in various areas of the Crown of Castile. Owners of land and animals, they emerged in *realengo* cities and villages, acting, at the same time, as leaseholders for other people's exploitations. They were frequently found in conditions to enter the popular nobility and achieve a distinguished status. Secondly, the bulk of this social sector was made up of dependent peasants, linked to the lords, both lay and ecclesiastic. This covered a wide range of social realities ranging from feudal peasants, passing through the men of *behetría* (those villages who could choose their own lord) to those installed in *realengo* zones and who progressively entered into the seigniorial orbit. The third was the growing importance of journeymen in agrarian work. An abundant group in the old kingdom of Toledo and in Betic Andalusia, this social sector was obliged to sell their labour in exchange for remuneration.[118]

These three fundamental features centred on the crown of Castile allow a first approximation to its composition, three traits that provide the keys to understanding the many-sided social and economic meaning of the generic term "peasant" at the end of the Middle Ages; three traits, in summary, that have a common denominator in their link, at any of their levels, to rural activities.[119]

From these parameters, attempts have been made to define the essential characteristics of the *average peasant exploitation*. For Julián Clemente, this was made up of cereal fields, vineyards, kitchen gardens, working animals, livestock, both sheep and cattle, and rights over common land. This *ideal exploitation* had to maintain a balance between the needs of consumption of a peasant family with 4 or 5 members and their possibilities of work.[120] Even while accepting this scheme, we understand that the components of this *average exploitation*, that basically included both land and livestock, had to be flexible and cover all the possible economic realities. Thus, for example, in some areas, such as the Bay of Cádiz, salt production

116. Salrach, Josep Maria. "Sociedad rural y mercados…": 87; Ruiz, Teófilo. *Historia social*…: 50.

117. Pastor, Reyna. *Resistencias y luchas campesinas en la época del crecimiento y consolidación de la formación feudal. Castilla y León, siglo X – XIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1990: 5-6; Hilton, Rodney. *The English peasantry in the later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1975: 13; Hilton, Rodney. *Conflicto de clases y crisis del feudalismo*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988: 15-19.

118. Valdeón Baruque, Julio. "El mundo rural…": 172-181.

119. Dyer, Christopher. *Niveles de vida en la Baja Edad Media. Cambios sociales en Inglaterra, c. 1200 – 1520*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991: 41.

120. Clemente Ramos, Julián. *La economía campesina*…: 39-102.

was also a contribution to the family economy.[121] However, what was even more important, this *average exploitation* changed and evolved as a consequence of the evolution of the territory.

The conservation of exceptional documentation for the Seville area has allowed this question to be studied from exclusively fiscal parameters. The *Padrones de Bienes* (property registers) (54 have survived from between 1483 and 1493 and 30 from between 1511 and 1538 in the Seville Municipal Archive) included the home of each neighbour and, on some occasions, a description of the goods valued. From the analysis of this kind of source, the peasant population of the Aljarafe-Ribera areas has been studied and its members have been grouped into four levels: *Mayores, Medianos, Menores* and *Pobres*.[122]

Starting from those who had livestock, the social structure of the *pecheros* in the kingdoms of Jaén and Córdoba has also been analysed. The result of this research has led to four groups being established: *Labradores Acomodados*, with notable livestock, *Propietarios Agrícolas* —individuals of a certain standing and who had fewer than a hundred animals —*Personas Asalariadas*— a group which includes the shepherds, working either for themselves or for others, and who had some livestock and, finally, the *Vecinos*, who were either shepherds or poor people who had livestock under lease.[123]

As can be seen, these are interpretative models, with clear economic contents, that incorporate typologies rich in variants and in their denominations. Grouped by the quantity of goods, they attend and respond to different economic-social situations. Taking this data, and including that from the Cádiz area, we propose three categories: *Rich journeymen* with livestock farms, livestock and equipment for transformation, *Medium journeymen*, who had land and livestock although less of each, and *Peones*, which included different economic situations, from those who owned lands and livestock to those who had no property and were obliged to work for an owner.

6.1.1 Labradores ricos (wealthy journeymen)

The data for Tarifa at the end of the Middle Ages provides some interesting qualifications about this question. According to what can be deduced from the declaration by the councillor Antonio de Mendoza in the 1527 census, in the town (which had a population of 613 around 1536) there were "*veynte e çinco personas ricas que no labran, las quales gastan más trigo e çevada que los que crían e se escusan de labrar porque lo tyenen por granjería*". In this case, this sector was 4.07% of the population.[124] In the Aljarafe, this segment was known as *Campesinos Mayores* or *Labradores Acomodados*,

121. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Salinas y explotaciones…", forthcoming.

122. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

123. Argente del castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval*…: I, 221-222.

124. "*twenty and five rich people who do not work, who use more wheat and barley than those who breed and excuse themselves from working the land because they livestock farms*" (Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La configuración territorial…": 127-145).

with quantities of over 50,000 *maravedís*.[125] These individuals had a strong economic position, owning land with olive groves, cereals and vineyards, numerous head of livestock and control over part of the installations for transformation.

As happened in other places, in Jeréz de la Frontera this social group used the "*caballería de cuantía*" (knights who were obliged to guard the coasts against Moorish incursions) to acquire habits like those of hidalgo origin knights.[126] Although we could analyse various cases, this study focuses on two examples. The first is that of Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio, known by the significant nickname of *el Rico*, and who was married to lady Teresa de Suazo. In 1507, he founded the *mayorazgo* of Barbaina in his grandson Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio who he awarded the houses situated in the parish of San Mateo and the *donadío* of Barbaina with an area of 86 *caballerías*, 5,160 *aranzadas*, made up of arable fields, vineyards, woods, pastures, mounts, houses and huts.[127] Thanks to the notarial documentation, we can go into his level of livestock wealth in detail. He owned 13¾ *aranzadas* of olive groves in the Jeréz area.[128] His investment in property also included vineyards (distributed in small plots, they exceeded 50 *aranzadas*) stretching into the *alfoces* of Jeréz, Medina Sidonia and El Puerto de Santa María.[129] His livestock was made up of 553 head of cattle, (108 cows who had calved, 307 cows without calves, 59 females, 23 males, 31 four-year old bullocks and 25 three-year old steers) and 23 beef cattle, (4 cows who had calved, 13 cows without calves, 2 males, 1 males and 3 four-year old bullocks).[130]

The second revolves around the goods owned by the juryman Martín Dávila. According to the inventory in 1502, he had 26¼ *caballerías* of land (some 1,014 hectares), 65¾ *aranzadas* of olive groves and a kitchen garden he owned in the *pago* of Sidueña. To all this, we must add his extensive livestock, made up of 108 cows who had calved, 150 cows without calves, 59 year-old calves, 50 year-old bulls, 42 three-year olds, 3 four-year olds, 103 lambs, 6 bulls, 55 domesticated oxen, 16 four-year old oxen, 19 mares who had foaled, 7 mares, 7 two-year old mares, 9 two-year old stallions, 4 foals, 2 mares, 7 horses, 2 female donkeys, 1 ass, 673 sheep, 310 sheep, 16 rams and 80 beehives.[131]

Both based their economic power on land and especially the ownership of livestock. With regard to this, it is worth paying attention to the distribution of the *echos*

125. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

126. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. "La singularidad de Jeréz a la luz del proceso de formación de su nobleza (siglos XIII al XV)". *Trivium. Anuario de Estudios Humanísticos*, 9 (1997): 179-194, especially 183.

127. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales*…: I, 227.

128. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Poder, paisaje, estructura de la propiedad y sistemas de explotación. Las tierras de olivar en Jeréz de la Frontera durante el siglo XV y primer cuarto del XVI", *Primer Congreso de la Cultura del Olivo.(Jaén. Octubre, 2005)*, forthcoming.

129. AMJF. PN, Escribano Antón Franco, Año 1501, f. 356v; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1508, f. 93r-94r, 193v-194v, 195r-195v, f. 209r, f. 209v-210r, f. 215r-216v; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1509, f. 15v-16v, f. 384r-385r, f. 495v-496r; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1510, f. 94r-95r.

130. AMJF. PN, Escribano Juan Román, Año 1505, f. 296r-296v.

131. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. "De los patrimonios nobiliarios en la Andalucía del siglo XV: los bienes del caballero jerezano Martín Dávila (+1502)". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 18 (1988): 469-485, especially 476-479.

carried out in Jeréz in 1519, which included a nominal list of cattle owners.[132] It divided livestock farmers into two main groups: those who had at least 300 head of cattle, the minimum required to opt for an *echo*, and the rest, who had to join together to reach this figure. The list is a sure guide to the members who made up the segment of the *Labradores Ricos* in Jeréz, as was the case of the juryman Antón Benítez who appears with the impressive sum of 1,000 head of cattle[133]. Evidently, this same economic-social reality existed in other places, such as Puerto Real. On this occasion, the differentiating element was the possession of livestock. Although the data we have is scarce, we have some about these peasants.[134]

Table 7. Wealthy peasants. Puerto Real. 1499

Name	Livestock
Alfonso Vera	8 oxen 1 bullock
Juan Martínez Roldán	8 oxen
Juan Sánchez Crespo and Francisco Pérez Crespo, his father	8 oxen
Alfonso, son of Juan Alfonso Conde	7 oxen 2 bullocks
Ambrosio Martínez	4 oxen 1 bullock
Alvar García	4 oxen 2 bullocks
Fernando Alfonso, son of Juan Alfonso Conde	4 oxen
Alfonso González Gutiérrez	4 oxen
Juan Velázquez	4 oxen
Francisco Ramis	3 oxen 1 bullock
Diego Ruiz	2 oxen
Fernando de Vera	2 oxen

132. The *echos* were excellent areas of pasture that were distributed every three years among the owners of cattle, sheep and goats so they could introduce —*echasen*—their herds in them. During this period of time, the council guaranteed the use of the meadows and committed itself to investing in the building of wells and drinking troughs for the animals. The only examples known are the distributions of 1485 and 1519. Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. "La reglamentación de los echos jerezanos en el siglo XV". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 23 (1996): 159-172; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Aprovechamiento de los espacios pecuarios. Los echos en el reino de Sevilla durante la Baja Edad Media", forthcoming.

133. AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1519, f. 130r-131r.

134. AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1500, f. 130r-131r.

The possession of working animals was the economic key for obtaining lands in new towns and an index of their economic level. For example, we know that Alvar García, who supplied 4 oxen and 2 bullocks, had received lands and made with them "*vn pegajar de dos fanegas e media de sementera en vn baruecho que conpró*". The majority of these *Labradores Ricos* (who were settled in Puerto Real, except Diego Ruiz from Jeréz) made up the upper social segment of this rural nucleus.

Political power, manifested socially by control of the ruling bodies of the *sistemas concejiles*, was exercised through economic control over other peasants. For example, the ordinances approved by the marquis of Tarifa for his village of Espera in 1527 stated that those labourers who "*quisieren ayudar a otros con sus arados e bueyes en tienpo de barvechazón e sementera, que lo puedan fazer syn pena aunque sea en otra dehesa*".[135] This was a clear case of a temporary loan of animal traction and agricultural equipment being allowed thanks to this economic power. Although neither the economic value nor what was given in return are specified, it is clear that the text is a working scheme for a seigniorial town in which the marquis of Tarifa was supported by the *Labradores Ricos*.

6.1.2 Labradores Medianos (medium journeymen)

In other places, they were called *Agrícolas Propietarios*. They were peasant owners with possessions that ranged from 5,000 to 50,000 *maravedís*, according to estimates made from the documentation in Seville.[136] The common denominator of this broad sector was to own enough land and livestock to maintain a family. The wide spectrum of this group meant that, depending on the area, there were cases where their economic situation freed them from the need for complementary jobs and others in which they were obliged to do agricultural tasks on other farms.

In the Aljarafe, it has been estimated that around 80% of the local population owned small plots of vines. The presence of this type of peasantry is even clearer in the Seville area, where they had land under vines and cereals. It was like this because while the "*mercado de la tierra prácticamente se había cerrado,*" in the Aljarafe, "*en la Campiña el proceso de conformación de la estructura de la propiedad seguía abierto*".[137] In a wider context, it is significant that during the second half of the 15th century, 32% of the owners of vines in Cordoba were artisans and leaseholders of cereal fields, olive groves and market gardens. This was a social sector with a clear vocation for agrarian activity and an interest in investing their earnings in land.[138]

The category of *Labradores Medianos* covered individuals with enough agricultural wealth and who were linked to the upper segment by economic ties. For example,

135. "*wished to help others with their ploughs and oxen in times of fallow and sowing, can do so without ounishment although it is in another pasture*" (*Ordenanzas de Espera*…: 99).

136. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

137. "*land market was practically closed*" (…) "*in the Campiña the process of conforming the structure of ownership was still open*" (Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Gran propiedad y estructura…": 366).

138. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 183-184.

according to the inventory of Gonzalo González de Granado on 13th August 1522, he owned 5 *aranzadas* of vineyards in the *pago* of La Cabeza del Pelado with a duty of 1,000 *maravedís* paid to the heirs of the *veinticuatro* Pedro de Hinojosa, a Jeréz lineage linked to the House of Medina Sidonia.[139] Moreover, he ran 12 *aranzadas* of olive groves in the *pago* of Barbadillo. His livestock herd was made up of 40 cows, large and small, that included 3 cows with calves, 5 plough oxen, 2 wild bullocks, 5 mares, 1 ass, 1 donkey and 1 horse.[140]

In the Jeréz area, we have studied the complementary nature of the works carried out on agrarian property and the possession of animals. Of the 202 contracts for the lease of oxen, 199 were to plough the land and the other 3 were for carting. Some of these peasants went to the olive groves with their oxen and ploughs, which demonstrates a sufficient economic level. For example, in 1508 Juan Martínez let his oxen for ploughing, while two years later he agreed to plough 25 or 26 *aranzadas* of olive groves belonging to Alonso Gil with his oxen.[141] In October 1517, through Alonso Romero from Jeréz, Pedro Díaz de Vargas contracted the labourer Alonso de Castro to tame 6 bullocks from the first day of November until the first day of January, "*e me servir e aprovechar dellos en todo el tienpo de la dicha sementera en aquellas cosas que buenamente puedan haser e conplir*". On finishing the contract, he promised to return the animals in a "*boyada de la legua adentro desta çibdad, buenos e sanos e bivos e en pie*". Each of the bullocks was valued at 3,000 *maravedís*.[142]

6.1.3 Journeymen

This denomination is found in the references localised in various zones of Andalusia through the comparative study of the Municipal Ordinances. In these texts, the *Peones* were associated with reapers,[143] labourers and diggers.[144] With this profile, it is evident that this segment (that was called *Labradores Menores*, *Pobres*, *Personas Asalariadas* or *Vecinos* in other areas of Andalusia) included a wide spectrum where there were smallholding peasants, farm hands and labourers. In the Seville area, this social group has been identified with peasants with quantities of less than 5,000 *maravedís*.[145] Their scarce possessions (made up of a bit of vine and some livestock, asses or cattle) forced them to do farm work on other properties.

In the Ordinances of Carmona, there is a chapter dedicated to defining the working conditions of the *Peones*, those who reap, dig or do "*otras cosas que se fazen a*

139. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales*…: I, 104-105.

140. AMJF, PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, year 1522, f 650r-652v.

141. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Poder, paisaje…", forthcoming.

142. "*and I use and take advantage of them in all the time of said sowed land in those things that they could well do or meet*" (…) "*herd within this city, good and live e en pie*". AMJF. PN, Escribano Antón García del Pecho, Año 1517, f. 534v-535r.

143. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 138-139 (title XVI, 1-7).

144. *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer*…: 55 (title LII).

145. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

jornal". A legislation that covered compliance with written or spoken contracts, that insisted on the necessity to pay the agreed amount. The working hours for reaping were set out (from dawn to midday) and in the vineyards (from sunup to sundown). It mentioned that during the *barvechazón* (from the 1st of January to the 30th of April) nobody could take wine to the workers "*que anduviesen barbechando*". This measure, however, was not applicable to the "*aran olivares y cavan y fazen otros serviçios*".[146]

The wide casuistic of this group makes their study difficult and consequently requires a division in function of the exploitations where they worked and knowledge about the types of seasonal contracts. Their typology has been studied in the development of the Aljarafe and Ribera areas in Seville and the Cordoba and Cádiz countryside.[147] With the aim of defining the profiles of these peasants, we study them in function of the zone specialised in a certain crop.

The research into the reaping contracts in the kingdoms of Seville and Cordoba provides very valuable information about the labourers in general, and specifically, the reapers. While the former were farm workers who were on a labourer's pay,[148] the latter dedicated themselves to harvesting cereals.[149] The council legislation concentrated part of its effort on preventing the reapers from abandoning the land and going to work in other places. For example, the municipal ordinances of Cañete de las Torres in Cordoba, ordered that "*ningún vezino ni morador desta villa sea osado de yr a segar fuera desta villa en tanto que oviere en ella panes que segar, e sy no qualquier que fuere fuera parte a segar, como dicho es, pague seysçientos maravedís*".[150]

The reapers who travelled to the farmland of Cordoba from Medellín and Guadalajara or the country around Jeréz de la Frontera from towns in Ávila, Salamanca or Badajoz, exemplified a long distance migration linked to the farming cycle.[151]

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146. "*other things that they do for a daily wage*" (…) "*who were fallowing*" (…) "*plough olive groves and dig and do other services*" (*Ordenanzas del concejo de Carmona. Edición y estudio preliminar*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1972: 144-146).

147. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios y el mercado de trabajo en el campo sevillano bajomedieval", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Granada, 2003: 103-171; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 195-196; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega en Jeréz de la Frontera en la Baja Edad Media". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 26 (1999): 280-317.

148. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 139 (title XVI, 5).

149. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 138-139 (title XVI, 1-7).

150. "*no neighbour nor dweller of this town dare to go to reap outside this town whilst there be breads to reap, and if not any who went to reap, as is stated, pay six hundred maravedís*" (Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Ordenanzas municipales de Cañete de las Torres (Córdoba). 1520-1532". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 2 (1975): 483-521, especially 507).

151. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo*…; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 194-196; Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "La tierra realenga de Huelva en el siglo XV", *II Jornadas de Estudios Medievales en Andalucía. Huelva en la Andalucía del siglo XV*. Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva, 1986: 37-65, especially 62-63; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega…": 300.

Table 8. City of Jeréz de la Frontera. Origin of the reapers

Place of origin	Percentages
Badajoz	
• La Parra	22.72%
• Burguillos del Cerro	7.57%
• Fuente del Maestre	2.42%
• Jeréz de los Caballeros	4.84%
• Santos de Maimona	2.72%
• La Morera	1.51%
• Higuera de Juan de Vargas	0.60%
• Villanueva del Fresno	0.90%
• Santa Marta	3.63%
Total	46.91%
• Jaén	0.90%
• Las Torres	6.06%
Total	6.96%
Seville	
• Huévar	3.33%
• Almadén	0.30%
Total	3.63%
Salamanca	
• Los Santos	2.42%
Total	2.42%
Huelva	
• La Rábida	2.12%
Total	2.12%
Cádiz	
• Rota	2.12%
Total	2.12%
Ávila	
• Villafranca de la Sierra	1.21%
Total	1.21%
Not stated	6.66%
Total	72.03%
The remaining 27.87% was manpower from the city of Jeréz	

They were organised into squads (the number of which we have estimated at between 1 and 16 in the Jeréz country) and, on some occasions, linked by family ties. Thus, for example, there were squads made up of Alfonso Álvarez and his son Francisco or Pedro Franco and his brother Francisco Gómez.[152]

The demand for manpower in the olive groves in the Aljarafe was linked to the offer based on the peasant social structure of the zone. Ploughing was basically done through contracting day labourers, which obliged the owners to provide oxen and yokes, or through agreements with neighbours who owned the instruments and livestock. The latter was the most frequent way in the Aljarafe where the olive grove owners were related to the wine growing smallholding peasants.[153]

Olive harvesting required a lot of manpower. These were taken on with the famous gatherers' contracts, in which the women played a notable although not exclusive role, given that on many occasions, they were accompanied by their young children, who gave the seasonal immigration a social identity. Between 1500 and 1516, gatherers from different parts of Andalusia and Extremadura went to the Sevillian town of Pilas.[154]

Table 9. Village of Pilas - origin of the gatherers

Place of origin	Percentages
Places in the County of Niebla: Niebla, Palma, Villalba, Almonte and Rociana	32%
Places in the Sierra Norte: Aracena and San Nicolás del Puerto	24%
Other places in the Aljarafe	8%
Extremadura: Maestrazgo de Santiago	3%
Total	67%
The remaining 33% were workers from the town of Pilas itself	

With regard to the vineyards in the Bay of Cádiz, the employment contracts supply data about the living conditions of the labourers. In August 1517, Fernando de Utrera Rendón from Jeréz contracted the worker Juan Rendón for a year to "*sirua en nuestra hazienda*" to "*cavar e agostar e en todas las otras cosas que convienere*" on the

152. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega…": 300.

153. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo*…: 226-229; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios…": 121-125.

154. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios…": 130-135.

property. During this time, Fernando de Utrera gave Juan Rendón food and drink, and paid him a salary of 6,000 *maravedís* in two instalments.[155]

A city like Jeréz de la Frontera, where the growing of vines began to develop notably from the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, had to contract workers to transport the grapes from the estates to the wine presses in the city. 81.08% of the carters were from Jeréz, a high percentage based on the strength of the livestock in the zone. The remaining 18.91% were from Lebrija, Alcalá de los Gazules, Bornos, Vejer and Utrera. There was thus a short migration of those who moved in the weeks before the grape harvest to pick grapes and, sometimes, to carry the wine barrels. While in 64.86% of the cases registered, these workers were carters and 2.70% carpenters, no trade was acknowledged for the remaining 32.34%. However, the latter figure may hide or significantly transform the reality, as it was very probable that they presented themselves with the implements necessary for their work. Thus, for example, in 1517 Alfonso de Palma made use of the services of the carpenter Antón Martín, who committed himself to "*traer con mis carretas*" all the grapes there were.[156]

Independently of these agricultural tasks, the knowledge about peasant life in its lower segments was not solely limited exclusively to the more or less regulated agricultural and livestock activities. The hills and forest played a notable role in the economy of medieval societies by providing a complement for peasant families. One example among many, were the communal lands of Lomo Pardo in the Jeréz district used by farm labourers, breeders and the poor as "*allí se cojen palmitos y espárragos y orégano e poleo*" and they could gather "*leña para traer a vender a esta çibdad para la provisión della e para los hornos de cozer pan*".[157]

Perhaps because of the wish to regulate the council economies, these realities also flourished in the Municipal Ordinances during the 15th and 16th centuries. For example, those of El Puerto de Santa María mentioned the custom that "*muchas personas traen carrasca e madroño e retama*" from the "*monte desta villa*", trying to prevent these activities and they were punished with fines.[158] In the Ordinances of Marchena, the *mozos de soldada*, peasants who did various jobs for a landowner, cut and gathered firewood on the council lands.[159]

These are isolated objectives, but can easily be multiplied, and serve to illustrate this other component of the family economy of the *Peones*. Thus, on the 20th February 1518, Llorente Jiménez agreed to "*traer e acarrear con mis bestias e con carretas*" 300

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155. "*sirve on our estate*" (…) "*dig and weed and in all the other things that need done*" AMJF, PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, Year 1517, f. 574v-575r.

156. "*bring with my carts con*" (AMJF. PN, Escribano Lucas Martínez, Year 1517, f. 689v-690v).

157. "*there they gathered palm hearts and asparagus and oregano and mint*" (…) "*firewood to take to sell in this city for its supply and for the ovens to bake bread*" (AGS. Consejo Real, Legajo 24, F. 11, Years 1505 - 1511, Evidence from Alonso de Herrera, member of the council of Jeréz, before the magistrate Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes and the mayor Villalba, before a delegation of the city's landless, who had presented a letter to Queen Juana I, defending the need to plant vines on Lomo Pardo).

158. "*many people bring evergreen oak and strawberry tree and retama*" (…) "*mount of this village*" (Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras ordenanzas del Puerto…": 237).

159. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 107-108 (title VII, 10).

bundles of briar charcoal that the coppersmith Gaspar Hernández had bought from the charcoal burner, Diego Simón. The transport, from the Sierra de la Jardilla to the city of Jeréz, had to be done between the date of the letter and the day of Saint John the Baptist. The remuneration, set at 10 *maravedís* for each "*trayda de cada vn corcho del dicho carbón*", was done "*commo vos fuere trayendo el dicho carbón*", in such a way that "*acabado de traer, sea acabado de pagar de todos los marauedíes que montare*". If the terms stipulated were not met, Gaspar Hernández could contract another carter and Llorente Jiménez would be obliged to pay the difference in price.[160]

7. Final considerations

Independently of the progress achieved, future research should go deeper into various facets of the Andalusian peasantry during the late Middle Age centuries. A project for analysis, centred exclusively on this social group, would have the objectives of defining the economic profiles and studying the political or cultural profiles to demonstrate the social dynamism reached by the peasants between the 13th and 16th centuries. Thus, from this reflection, we propose some possible lines for this research grouped into three blocks.

1. Carry out a systematic and comparative study of the role of the peasants in the Municipal Ordinances. As a consequence of this study, it is deemed necessary to draw up a glossary of the activities carried out in the country, including the agrarian and livestock breeding.
2. Delve into the different economic levels that made up the social category of the peasantry. Although the documentation does not often allow quantitative criteria to be established about the composition and nature of the various categories, there is information qualitative about each of them. The political connection between the *Labradores Ricos*, *Labradores Medianos* and *Peones* also has to be defined. When the documentation so allows, it would be interesting to carry out prosopographic analyses of the peasant families.
3. Without disregarding the jurisdictional framework within which the social conflicts arose, the ones that the peasants were involved in need to be catalogued and analysed for the forms of organization or the channels of expression.

160. "*bring and carry with my animals and with carts*" (…) "*delivery of each bundle of the said charcoal*" (…) "*as you bring said charcoal*" (…) "*after it is delivered de traer, pay all the maravedíes that it costwill be paid*" (AMJF. PN, year 1518, Escribano Luis de Llanos, F. 171v-172v).

III PART

THE PAST EXPLAINED AND RECREATED



THE SURVIVAL OF MEDIEVAL KNIGHTHOOD OVER THE CENTURIES: A JOURNEY THROUGH THE CULTURE AND TASTE OF THE OCCIDENT IN REVERSE

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Abstract

Medieval chivalry is still today the dominant figure in any reposition of that age, given the persistent continuity of the nineteenth century romantic vision. However, the nineteenth century had, in turn, received a legacy from the previous century of material reworked and selected according to the needs of its sensitivity to the social and literary invention of "its" Middle Ages. In fact, it was during the eighteenth century that historical erudition, political debate, literature and architectural evocation contributed to building an emotional climate characterized by the evocation of the Middle Ages. The development of late medieval chivalry as the "religion" of the nobility was then recovered, not only in law but above all, in heart and mind, thanks to the Renaissance transformation of the knight into a gentleman.

Key words

Medieval Revival, Chivalry, Gentleman, Romanticism.

Capitalia verba

Denuo Medium Aevum, Equites, Homo liberatis, Romanticos tractatus.

1. The perception of the Middle Ages in today's world

The capacity which the Middle Ages has consistently shown to re-invent itself over the centuries, going well beyond the limits of academia to embrace many expressions of Western society, is historically unique. A re-worked Middle Ages is, in fact, an ever-present feature of our world and cultural-anthropological horizons to the extent that the reasons for its existence are sometimes difficult not only to interpret but even to determine so rooted are they in our patrimony of widely held pre-conceptions. In other words, it is to appeal to the "unconscious Middle Ages" in each and every one of us that, for example, that advertisers consistently resort to direct and de-contextualised medieval symbols to promote a product.[1]

There is also today, however, a consciously promoted media Middle Ages in popular literature, comics, films and television consisting of adventure stories set in the Middle Ages and, as such, of guaranteed public success. That these adventures allow us to escape into an alternative world where we project needs and desires frustrated in modern life is too obvious to require supporting evidence. Adventure is clearly not only medieval: from the western genre to the "archaeological" escapade Indiana Jones style, to mention only two, the mechanisms of the stories follow the same dynamic of action, suspense and cathartic ending. But there is no doubt that the medieval adventure has something extra, linked to its setting in a far-off time which does not, however, feel alien (unlike ancient Rome, for example, which meets with very limited popular success) and allows us to switch off from our every day lives but not from its emotions, thanks to pre-conceptions of the Middle Ages, which appear even in the symbols of advertising.

1. Some examples from recent advertising in Italian magazines and newspapers: a) woman with cuirass, armour, crossed shield and sword (Joan of Arc style) to advertise Euclorina Bracco, "protects from the attack of germs and bacteria" (weekly "Anna", various issues of 1999): b) barrel helmet, cross shield against which knight's swords, a mace and an axe are being thrown, "anti internet provider. Let's assert our rights. How to protect ourselves against inefficiency" (cover of the monthly "Internet Magazine", February 2001); c) entrance to a castle defended by two round battlemented towers, on the door panoply with shield above two lances with crossed weather vanes inscribed "Lord Kyron" to advertise "Kyron Prince of SUVs" (newspaper "La Stampa", 25 November 2005); d) a flexible base of plates and chainmail onto which the handle of a car gear stick has been grafted to promote the automatic gears of the Alfa 159: "Discover a more modern drive" (newspaper "La Stampa, 14 September 2007). These are just four examples from a long list that use medieval symbols to communicate various messages. In a) and b) the presence of the shield and armour evoke the idea of defence —in the former against the attack of microbes, in the latter against those who undermine our rights, made explicit by the reference to offensive weaponry. The message put across by the castle and panoply is different (c) the SUV seems to promote the lifestyle of those who drive it (lord, prince) marked out by the residence of a medieval nobleman. Finally, in d) the complex mechanism which, though invented, has a medieval feel to it refers to the technology of the past now rendered out-of-date by the automatic gearshift. To conclude, in two cases the Middle Ages are used to indicate defence against physical or social risks, in the third to evoke the idea of aristocratic prestige and only in the last to contrast negatively and represent the antithesis of progress. Anticipating the response of the public, therefore, the publicists in these examples attribute the idea of armed struggle- offence-defence - of the aristocracy and of a backward past to the Middle Ages. It can be concluded that our "unconscious Middle Ages" is a land of adventure, of knighthood and nobility which belongs to an outmoded but evocative age. Those who use the publicised products fight against attacks or live nobly "as they did in the Middle Ages" even if the Middle Ages are over for ever.

The great success in France and abroad of the comic book saga *Les Tours de Bois-Maury*, eleven volumes published between 1984 and 1998 in which the scriptwriter and illustrator Hermann (full name Hermann Huppert) recounts the eleventh to twelfth century adventures of the knight Aymar de Bois-Maury and his squire would otherwise be inexplicable. The illustrations are realistic and the historical reconstruction seems accurate. In Hermann's wake, there was a whole series of comic book stories filled with fairytale characters sometimes interacting with real historical figures portrayed with singular faithfulness to historical sources. We are a long way from the faux-medieval pastiches of Prince Valiant, the Arthurian knight of Hal Foster's comics, which have been so successful since the 1930s but, despite a certain iconographical and historiographical modernisation of the contemporary French comic strip and its imitators, the Middle Ages evoked by the *bandes dessinées* has remained essentially knightly. If we can reasonably talk today of "the graphic historical novel" the dominant model remains the eighteenth-century Walter Scott style novel.[2]

It is to Scott, in fact, that the cinema, especially American cinema, owes a great many of its subjects, beginning with the very first silent movies dedicated to characters such as Ivanhoe and Robin Hood and continuing in the 1950s, by which time a medieval Hollywood style had been defined, loosely based on the costumes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (and on the comic strips of Hal Foster) which held good for any subject set in the Middle Ages and not least for the Knights of the Round Table. Compared with this romantic and somewhat sugary vision of the Middle Ages, a turnaround seems to have occurred in the 1980s with John Boorman's spectacular *Excalibur* (1981). Though cruder and more realistic than earlier films, *Excalibur* displays at the same time clear touches of that fantasy of swordplay and magic that was fashionable in those years with the American public in role plays.[3] In this new season of Hollywood medievalism, there is a tendency to cross-contamination of genres in that hints of knighthood have begun to appear in science-fiction and fantasy as well. While belonging to the category of science fiction, the *Star Wars* saga transported the world of the Round Table and its knights far into the future while, in the fantasy genre, the New Zealander Peter Jackson's cinematographic adaptation of Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings saga (from 2001 to 2003) creates a purely imaginary Middle Ages, setting the activities of the "Company of the Ring" in a world of markedly medieval character.[4] And we can also cite the very recent (2008) and similar case of the film *Prince Caspian*, second book of the

2. A careful analysis of Hermann is to be found in Casavecchia, F. *L'immagine del medioevo nella narrativa disegnata. Bandes dessinées, Comics, Fumetto*. Turin: Dipartimento Storia dell'Università di Torino, 2001: 81-120. On the work of the illustrator Hal Foster and on the "graphic historical novel", see Bordone, Renato. "Editoria tra '800 e '900. Fumetto", *Arti e Storia nel Medioevo. 4. Il Medioevo al passato e al presente*, Enrico Castelnuovo, Giuseppe Sergi, dirs. Turin: Einaudi, 2004: 711-735.

3. In reference to this see Sanfilippo, Matteo. *Camelot, Sherwood, Hollywood*. Rome: Cooper, 2006.

4. Bordone, Renato. "Cinema e medioevo", *Lezioni sul medioevo*, Daniela Romagnoli, dir. Guastalla: Comune di Guastalla-Comitata per il IX centenario del Concilio di Pieve di Guastalla, 2006: 82-84.

Narnia saga based on C. S. Lewis' trilogy, in which the overall style is once again medieval, contributing to the popularisation of this fashionable iconographic model.

The origin of this new silver-screen medievalism can certainly be traced to J. R. R Tolkien's *The Lords of the Rings* which, between 1940 and 1954 and inspired by medieval epics, painted a complex fresco of a world of pure fantasy where the eternal struggle between Good and Evil is fought out between fairy tale creatures (hobbits, dwarves, elves, ogres, dragons, black knights, etc) and men, encountering a series of challenges in a way which was typical of the chivalrous novel. However, Tolkien's actual success dates from the 1960s, when the paperback edition of his novel appeared in the United States and immediately sold hundreds of thousands of copies. This success can probably be attributed to the complete otherness of its world from the contemporary world system. As Tolkien himself wrote in *Tree and Leaf* in 1964, "the fairy tale as escape from the transitory", an escapism which struck a chord with a restless generation dissatisfied with the present.[5] Middle-earth thus mirrors the Middle Ages without identifying itself totally. Over the same period, however, among the more cultured strata of the European public, a lively interest was developing in a certain type of Middle Ages onto which research was throwing light in the spirit of the French "*Annales*". Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1975) and other books like it were unexpected bestsellers as a result of the role they gave to characters of lower social class, which were generally marginalised by traditional "great men" style histories, and the attention they dedicated to sexual mores and gestures, the situation of women, deviancy and poverty, all themes which struck a chord with the new currents of thought thrown up by the sexual revolution, feminism and the social protest movements of the age. This curiosity for the Middle Ages of the poor (or the peasantry) led in turn to an interest in the collection of objects relating to agricultural work, the rediscovery (and sometimes the outright invention) of lost traditions, folk songs and music, all with a view to rediscovering the expressions of a popular culture which was placed for the most part somewhat shallowly and without much sense of historical context into a hazy "long Middle Ages" stretching from the fourteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century.[6]

Thirty years on, this inheritance, this twofold image —imaginary and popular— has merged into the present-day image of the Middle Ages in an apparently contradictory way. Alongside the persistent fairy tale-knighthood model of the cinema, we are at the same time witnessing the ever more common scene of popular medieval festivals organised by folk groups and local councils, some of which involve costume re-enactments of episodes or characters in local history whilst others limit themselves to the evocation of a generically medieval atmosphere. In both cases, an integral part of the event is the organisation of a medieval dinner derived, in the best of cases, from a study of medieval cuisine but which can, on some occasions, result in unbelievable anachronisms such as the use of potatoes or tomatoes. Such events

5. Bordone, Renato. "Medioevo oggi", *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo. 1. Il Medioevo latino, IV, L'attualizzazione del testo*. Rome: Salerno editore 1997: 273-276.

6. Bordone, Renato. "Medioevo oggi"...: 269-271.

often constitute an attempt by new social groups in the province, partly relocated from the major urban centres, to find a local historical basis for community activities and, above all, to place the presumed historical roots of the local community's identity unequivocally into the Middle Ages.[7]

Where this does not effectively constitute the present-day invention of a historical tradition, as is most often the case, these historical re-enactments are intended to revitalise patron saints' day festivals celebrated in the past with prevalently medieval costumes. There is no doubt that this "medievalisation" of popular festivals is determined by the logic of an event which is now, contrary to past events, principally intended as a tourist attraction aimed at pulling in the visitors who flock in number to such events. Therefore, it is this aspect of the festival that brings together the apparently contradictory imaginary and philological Middle Ages because the event-product has to fulfil the expectations of a public with only elementary preconceptions of the nature of the Middle Ages. Thus, alongside medieval peasants and foods prepared correctly, we again find knights and ladies, witches and jesters in line with the models presented in films and advertising.

This means the lasting image of the Middle Ages is still the traditional one which the academic debate of the recent past has done little to bring up to date but which, on the contrary, has been subsumed into this highly conservative model. An adventurous, chivalrous Middle Ages thus remains the dominant image of the period, reinforcing our childhood experience of it, which once derived from pre-school storytelling sessions and later school fairytale reading. It is not by chance that these feel closer to the glossy fantasies of the cinema, with all the magical associations by which our current concept of the Middle Ages has been influenced, and in fact our exposure to these fairy tales may explain our immediate absorption of these later images. It is well known that the mechanism which sets fairytales in the Middle Ages dates to the interpretation of these as the cradle of popular literature by the first medieval Romantics. The medieval common denominator thus determined the character of most of these tales. Whatever the real origin of the fairytales then being rewritten, castles, knights, princesses, fairies and ogres could only be set in the Middle Ages. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which children today still read fables, or watch the television versions. Recent newspaper surveys (April 2008) would seem to indicate that "*despite the large numbers of television programmes and series featuring superheroes and imaginary characters, what children really love are still knights*".[8] The numerous examples of computer games

7. Bordone, Renato. "La medievalizzazione del tempo festivo", *Il teatro della vita. Le Feste tradicionali in Piemonte*, Piercarlo Grimaldi, Luciano Nattino, dirs. Turin: Omega, 2008: 97-106.

8. "*Malgrado l'alto numero di prodotti e serie televisive con supereroi e personaggi fantastici, la vera passione dei più piccoli siano ancora i classici cavalieri*". Numerous books and children's games in Italy today offer opportunities to learn much about the world of knighthood and how to play a part in it. The title of Fabbri editore's children's book *Come diventare cavaliere. Manuale per scudieri* (*How to Become a Knight: a Squire's Manual*) (Dugald, Steer. *Come diventare cavaliere. Manuale per scudier.* Milan: Fabbri, 2007), an introduction to medieval knighthood and its rules speaks volumes; De Agostini's *Cavalieri e castelli* (*Knights and Castles*) (Dixon, Philip. *Cavalieri e castelli.* Novara, 2008*)* uses three dimensional images to guide its young readers around the medieval castle and in the reconstruction of medieval life in times of war and peace. From the

for adults or roleplay games with medieval subjects (or more often pseudo-medieval fantasies) also deserve attention as the huge size of their market would seem to indicate the popularity of the world of knighthood among all age groups.

2. The Romantic roots of the reassessment of the Middle Ages in chivalrous terms

In all the cases analysed here, the image of a chivalrous Middle Ages would seem to be practically the only way of conceptualising that far-off historical period which, as we know, encompassed many other aspects that have to a considerable extent determined the development of later historical periods, in political, economic, religious and social terms. The institution of knighthood remains the predominant model of the Middle Ages in the popular imagination. Direct responsibility for this choice of emphasis, from amongst the many other aspects which could have been chosen, certainly lies with the persistence of the nineteenth-century Romantic vision.

The nineteenth century as a whole, in fact, saw the conscious choice of the Middle Ages as the preferred historical era of reference and contrast, transforming a historiographical concept into an existential metaphor applicable to all aspects of society. While the French Revolution had effectively declared the Middle Ages dead in political, social and economic terms, it had not been a definitive or painless death. It had left an immaterial, but no less tangible, inheritance which was soon to be asserted on various levels. Thus, in political terms, the Middle Ages was encompassed in a general process of propagandist reassessment much used by the Restoration monarchies which, in opposition to the Revolution, proposed a return to the *ancient regime* by means of frequent reference to the symbols of the Catholic and feudal Middle Ages as the foundation stones of their claims to legitimacy, but also by European nationalists and reformers for whom the Middle Ages represented a time of liberty. The Italian Risorgimento made ample use of medieval symbols, from Pontida to Legnano even going as far as to identify the Austrians with Emperor Barbarossa's Germans.[9]

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same publishing house a book with CD - *Maghi, draghi e cavalieri (Magicians, Dragons and Knights*) (Melis, Alberto. *Maghi, draghi e cavalier.* Novara: De Agostini, 2003) is available in which the best known fairy tales set in the world of knighthood are told. Hints on how to make a helmet and sword are to be found in *Cose da fare con castelli e cavalieri* (*Things to do with Castles and Knights*) (Pratt, Leonie. *Cose da fare con castelli e cavalieri.* Milan: Edizioni Usborne, 2008), while as far as games are concerned, the classic medieval Playmobil dolls, complete with all accessories, continue to be popular as do those of Lego, no less well established, which has recently created the "Knight's Kingdom" special series to accompany its "Lego Castle" (from "Leggo", 29 April 2008).

9. See Bordone, Renato. "Il medioevo nell'immaginario dell'Ottocento italiano", *Studi medievali e immagine del medioevo fra Ottocento e Novecento*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1997 (*Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo*, 100 [1997]): 109-149.

It would, however, be inaccurate to consider the "invention of the Middle Ages" in the nineteenth century as merely a tool in an ideological war, thus limiting its rediscovery and its impact on nineteenth-century society to this single aspect. The choice of the Middle Ages as a propagandist tool would appear to be the result of a widespread cultural perception of it rather than its cause. The generation which, for the whole of the nineteenth century, resorted easily to the Middle Ages as an everyday metaphor, showed a great familiarity with the re-enactment of this historical period. The imitation of the past (and particularly of a broadly medieval past) in everyday life represented the tip of the iceberg of a process that, beginning in the arts, had spread throughout European society and to every aspect of it.

This process had originally been set in motion by the intellectuals of the Romantic movement who had traced the origins of the nations of Europe to the fertile encounter between German-ness and Christianity, an encounter which had found its highest expression, according to Friedrich Schlegel, in the creation of the Carolingian Empire.[10] In this climate of opinion, the promotion of medieval knighthood as in some way relevant to modern life became a general cultural phenomenon all over Europe. Knights became the preferred heroes of the new Romantic literature: from Goethe's bleak *Goetz von Berlichingen* in 1799 to the emotive ideological evocation of Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* (1802) which in the chapter *Del vivere e dei costumi cavallereschi* (Of the Life and Customs of Knights) recounts the behaviour of the medieval knight using the examples from the late chivalrous period, such as Joan of Arc or Bertrand Duguesclin, which would soon appear in the *troubadour* art of France, where ornamentation inspired by the world of knighthood became commonplace even in the domestic sphere.[11] This tendency clearly reached its apotheosis in the novels of Walter Scott, not by chance also translator of *Goetz von Berlichingen* and, above all, responsible for the building of the Neo-Gothic castle of Abbotsford with its rich collection of medieval weaponry and armour.[12]

This widespread popularity of the Romantic world of chivalry also involved acting it out, putting life into the dry bones of the chivalrous dream. The fashion of weaponry collection involved all the social classes who could afford it - the middle classes who attempted snobbishly to imitate the new aristocratic fashions, the nobility who took advantage of their heritage to polish up the family escutcheon and even the Restoration monarchies which based their claims to restored legitimacy on explicit references to medieval knighthood. Olivier's watercolour, dated 1815, has long been considered emblematic in this respect in its portrayal of the 'Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, in medieval armour,

10. Cited by Artifoni, Enrico. "Il medioevo nel Romanticismo. Forme della storiografia tra sette e ottocento", *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo...*: 194.

11. As in the case of the curious tableware of Sèvres decorated with the images of Bertrand Duguesclin and his most famous contemporaries as referred to by Renaud, Philippe. "Le décor à la cathédrale", *Le "Gothique" retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc (Paris, exhibition in the Hôtel de Sully, 31 October 1979-17 February 1980).* Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1979: 155.

12. Villari, Enrica. "Introduzione", *Cavalleria,* Walter Scott. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri,1991: XX-XXI.

swearing an oath of loyalty inside the Gothic cathedral of Frankfurt.[13] No less well-known is the fondness of King Carlo Alberto of Savoy-Carignano for the world of knighthood, displayed in the Constitution in Turin in 1837 in the Royal Armoury and described by a contemporary journalist as "*magnificent and surprising a spectacle as such displays of knightly prowess must once have been*".[14]

At the Savoy court the apotheosis of the re-evocation of knighthood was the 1842 wedding celebrations of Carlo Alberto's son in Turin during which a great tournament was organised involving more than a hundred horses mounted by the *crème della crème* of the nobility and of the Sardinian army. The rebirth of the tournament had already occurred in Albion where the young Lord Eglinton, passionate enthusiast of the world evoked by Walter Scott, had organised, in 1839, a real tournament in medieval costume complete with knights and squires attended by an incredibly large crowd at his Scottish (Neo-Gothic!) castle. It should not surprise us to find among the numerous foreign spectators the exiled Louis Bonaparte who is known to have been a friend of Eugène E. Viollet-le-Duc whom he commissioned to organise the Imperial Coronation ceremony in 1851 and, in 1857, entrusted him with the fanciful restoration of the Castle of Pierrefonds, where the architect would recreate the "Knightly Prowess Room" to exhibit the armour of which Napoleon III, like Carlo Alberto, was a collector.[15]

The concept of the tournament as the highest expression of the chivalrous spirit roused the enthusiasm of the Romantics for the whole of the nineteenth century from England to the Savoy and French courts. But not only those of Europe: tournaments also took place across the Atlantic. The profound influence of Walter Scott in the first half of the century had led to the birth of a castle-type architectural style in the northern American states in imitation of European residential models. However, it was down to the southern states to organise actual tournaments, such as one in Virginia in 1857 to celebrate a young lady's marriage.[16] In fact the culture of the southern aristocrats, contrary to that of the northern industrial elites, was inspired directly by humanist values which were clearly distinguishable in a concept of a gentleman's education and the importance attributed to a chivalrous lifestyle which was characterised by a sense of honour in which openly Gothic touches, such as those to be found in the works of the southern Edgar Allan Poe, were not absent. Even the Confederation's entry into war has been recently convincingly re-interpreted as a consequence of the "*tradizione combattiva, bellicosa, pronta, nelle*

13. Castelnuovo, Enrico. "Hautecombe: un paradigma del 'Gothique troubadour'", *Giuseppe Jappelli e il suo tempo*, Giuliana Mazzi, dir. Padua: Liviana, 1982: I, 136.

14. Cited by Bordone, Renato. "Spettacolo magnifico e sorprendente quale doveva essere quello presentato altre volte dalle pompe cavalleresche", *Lo specchio di Shalott. L'invenzione del medioevo nella cultura dell'Ottocento*. Naples: Liguori, 1993: 87.

15. On the Eglinton tournament, see Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1981; on the role of Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène E. "Le Château de Pierrefonds", *Eugène E. Viollet-le-Duc 1814-1879*. Paris: Academy Editions, 1980: 64-69.

16. On American Neo-Gothic architecture, see Bordone, Renato. *Lo specchio di Shalott...*: 170-171; the 1857 tournament is cited by Domenichelli, Mario. *Cavaliere e gentiluomo. Saggio sulla cultura aristocratica in Europa*. Rome: Bulzoni, 2002: 578.

questioni in cui sembrasse in gioco l'onore, a scendere sul terreno".[17] After the defeat it was another southern writer, the humorist Mark Twain, who reflected ironically on the fact that the people of the South still saw themselves as medieval knights[18] and who, in 1889, stigmatised the vain myth of consolation in the famous and bitter *A Connecticut Yankee at King's Arthur Court*, an attack on American medievalism.

On this side of the Atlantic, too, where this myth had originated and prospered, the most significant effects of it were evident in the realm of social behaviour as set out by the Englishman Kenelm Henry Digby's treatise *The Broad Stone of Honour - Rules for the Gentleman of England* or, in a later edition *The True Sense and Practice of Knighthood*, a work which came out in the 1820s and was subject to additions and new editions until the second half of the century. For Digby, the distinguishing virtues of the knight were faith in God, generosity, a sense of honour, loyalty to friends and social superiors, daring, courtesy, modesty, humanity and respect for women. Seen in this way knighthood took on a predominantly ethical and social value, without losing that aesthetic dimension which had characterised it during the first Romantic revival. This was the moment at which the figure of the English gentleman was born, heir of the medieval knight and behavioural model which, starting in the Victorian era and influencing the whole of society, lasted well into the twentieth century in various fields. Thus, in sport, a code was established which required loyal and chivalrous behaviour towards an opponent and which even brought medieval terms into sporting vocabulary —tournaments, to enter the lists, distinguishing colours and coats of arms for teams, championship shields— while in the education of young people good manners and a spirit of service according to the code set out by Digby were applied by Robert Baden Powell to the Boy Scouts' organisation, probably inspired by the American youth association "The Knights of King Arthur".[19]

This "Return to Camelot" —the extraordinary production of artistic works on the Arthurian theme of the Pre-Raphaelites and their successors[20]— of the Victorian artists in the second half of the nineteenth century is, therefore, both a complex metaphor of the present and an attempt by a new generation of sensitive souls to find refuge from the disorientation caused by the urgent challenges of the logic of

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17. "combative, warlike tradition ready, at any moment at which honour was felt to be at stake, to descend into battle" (Luraghi, Raimondo. *La spada e le magnolie. Il Sud nella storia degli Stati Uniti*. Rome: Donzelli, 2007: 73).

18. Gorlier, C. "*Lo spirito della cavalleria. Tutti eroi fino a Wayne*". *La Stampa*, Saturday 18 January 1991: 17.

19. On this, see Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot*...: 56-86.

20. The re-working of the Arthurian cycle, mediated by a reading of Malory, was already present in Scott's early work but it was above all Tennyson who, starting in the 1830s concentrated on evoking the melancholy of this world —from the *Lady of Shalott* of 1832 onwards— to the great interest, successively, of the Pre-Raphaelites who dedicated a very large number of works to him even illustrating in 1857 the Monoxian edition of the *Idylls of the King* the 1862 re-printing of which was dedicated to the then recently deceased Prince Alberto who had been identified as the new King Arthur, Bordone, Renato. "Cavalleria e romanticismo", *La civiltà cavalleresca e l'Europa. Ripensare la storia della cavalleria. Atti del I Convegno internazionale di studi, San Gimignano, Sala Tamagni, 3-4 June 2006*, Franco Cardini, Isabella Gagliardi, eds. Ospedaletto: Pacini, 2007: 254.

the merchant and industrial world in the values of a reborn chivalry precisely as sustained by Digby. Literature and art then gave this attempt an Arthurian character, transforming this metaphor into an analogy between medieval knights and modern gentlemen according to a practice common in the Romantic century, in which the Middle Ages were used above as a form of meta-language. This visual image of the Victorian Middle Ages would long determine the chivalrous conception of the Middle Ages not only in England, but in the whole of the Western world.

3. Early signs of the rediscovery of the Middle Ages in the eighteenth century

If it is to Romanticism, and in particular to its Victorian form, that we owe the exclusively (or almost) chivalrous image of the Middle Ages, an image which proved itself capable of continued relevance throughout the twentieth century and has, in fact, survived into the contemporary baggage of cultural pre-conceptions, it is still necessary to trace the ways in which this model survived into nineteenth-century culture and was able to establish itself as the permanent archetype of any re-evocation of the Middle Ages. It has now been established that the nineteenth-century Romantic obtained an inheritance from the century which preceded it, which he then reworked according to the demands of his own sensibilities until he had succeeded in inventing a Middle Ages of his own —both literary and social. But in fact interest in the Middle Ages had already been shown during the course of the eighteenth century, an interest which, even then, went beyond straightforward scientific-academic analysis.[21]

When the Romantic Chateaubriand described "the chivalrous period" as "the only poetic period of our history",[22] and described the behaviour of medieval knights, what he was actually doing was literally paraphrasing the text of the *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* that Jean Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, member of the "Académie des Inscriptions" in Paris and in personal contact with Muratori, had already published in 1751 to immediate and enormous success not only in France but also in the rest of Europe.[23] The eighteenth-century rediscovery of medieval knighthood can be placed, then, within that fervent season of antiquarian erudition which, since the time of Mabillon, had aimed at the publication and study of the historical sources. But even then, the medieval paradigm filtered out of the hushed academies and studies of the erudite to take on the role of an alternative political and cultural model that would predominate in the century to follow. Already

21. Bordone, Renato. "Le radici della rivisitazione ottocentesca del medioevo", *Medioevo reale Medioevo immaginario. Confronti e percorsi culturali tra regioni d'Europa, Atti del Convegno Torino 26-27 May 2000,* Danielle Jalla, ed. Turin: Città di Torino, 2002: 11-18.

22. Chateaubriand, Réne de. *Genio del Cristianesimo*. Turin: Fontana, 1843: 521.

23. Gossman, Lionel. *Medievalism and the ideologies of the Enlightenment. The world and work of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1968: 273.

during the reign of the Sun King the "Académie des Inscriptions" itself had come down strongly in favour of the "moderns" against the "ancients" in the well-known literary debate in which the "moderns" represented the claims of the Middle Ages against the classicism of the court. It was in fact an eminent representative of the Académie, Henry de Boulainviller (died 1722) who, combining literary and institutional interests, had "rediscovered" the parliaments of the French monarchy and the political system which, in the Middle Ages, had given space to the nobles and to developments in the provinces, in marked contrast to the absolute monarchy of his own day.[24]

The work of de Sainte-Palaye, who took up and continued the research begun by Boulainviller himself, came under the research programme of the Acadèmie which, in 1727, in the classificatory spirit of the imminent Illuminist movement, proposed analytic works on the monuments, inscriptions, coins, habits, customs and laws of the French Middle Ages in close contact with Maurini's editorial activity. From 1729 to 1733, Bernard de Montfaucon thus published five volumes illustrated with more than 300 plates on the *Monuments de la monarchie française*[25] and, in 1751, as mentioned above, the *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* came out. These described the habits and customs of the knights in picturesque terms, underlining the moral value of the institution of knighthood and reworking it as the essential basis for an "illuminated" monarchy, an argument which was particularly welcomed by the hereditary aristocracy as well as by those whose titles derived from civil service.

The medieval institutions of the eighteenth century debate on the nature of law became a model of ideal political behaviour. Montesquieu and his Swiss disciple Paul-Henri Mallet glorified the "ancient liberties of the Goths" while in England the myth of "Saxon freedom" was reinforced, an idea which had originated at the time of the Great Revolution of 1640-60 and which promoted the concepts of the "mixed constitution" and of "parliamentarianism".[26] According to this interpretation, prior to the Norman Conquest, nobles and common people had together elected the Saxon king, and after the invasion, the barons and common people performed the same role, an idea which inspired Jonathan Swift to refer to Parliament as a wise "Gothic institution".[27] It should not surprise us, then, that, a hundred years later, it was on the basis of this academic material that the Romantic novelist Walter Scott placed the theme of the Saxon-Norman antithesis at the centre of his historical novel. *Ivanhoe*.

In the almost frenetic output of documents relating to medieval society, whilst French learning emphasised a chivalrous code borrowed from historical examples

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24. Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*. Saint-Pierre-de-Salerne: Gérard Monfort, 1991: 88.

25. The Monuments of the French Monarchy. Rossi Pinelli underlines the importance of these: Rossi Pinelli, Orietta. *Il secolo della ragione e delle rivoluzioni. La cultura visiva nel settecento europeo*. Turin: UTET, 2000: 224-225.

26. Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*...: 84-86; the references to Montesquieu and Mallet are in Gossman, Lionel. *Medievalism and the ideologies*...: 285.

27. Cited by Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*...: 85.

taken from the end of the Middle Ages, putting forward characters "*sans tache et sans reproche*" such as Baiardo and Duguesclin (not by chance taken up later by Chateaubriand), English scholars turned above all to the poetic sources, publishing in the 1760s works such as Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) and Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) thus promoting the chivalrous novel set in Arthurian times which was to be so successful in the second Romantic period. But it is precisely in these years that the Middle Ages found its way from erudite studies into a literary re-working. Well before the Romantic historical novel first appeared, in fact, the chivalrous Middle Ages became both subject and setting of an imaginative re-working in Thomas Leland Longsword's novel of 1762, eloquently entitled *A Tale of Chivalry, Love and Religion.* Only two years later, in 1764, the better known *The Castle of Otranto* by Horace Walpole, father of the gothic novel, appeared, in which the Middle Ages took on a new mysterious and terrifying character in line, certainly, with that aesthetic of the sublime celebrated by Edmund Burke in 1756 in the *Enquiry,* but acquiring, at the same time, a nature which it would find difficult to shake off and a part of which has remained with it to our day.[28]

In this work, the main character is very definitely the castle itself but it is important to point out immediately the very close inter-connection that castle and knighthood had acquired over the preceding decades, particularly in the architectural and decorative re-working of the Middle Ages. It was Walpole himself, in fact, who built Strawberry Hill "castle", a fanciful Neo-Gothic residence built in 1750 to house his collection of armour and other curious objects,[29] in an attempt to create, not just an ideal Middle Ages, but a real one too, identified closely with knighthood, into which to plunge and in which to merge with the dreamed-up world. Further proof —and not of minor importance— that the eighteenth century anticipated the medieval re-evocation of the following century.

It was in England that, starting in the eighteenth century, in the wake of the now established myth of "Saxon freedom", in order to exalt their traditional autonomy from the monarchy, many provincial nobles commissioned architects, such as Vanbrugh, to build castles and villas in a loosely medieval-inspired style, a Gothic which was sometimes Palladian or 'rocaille and more decorative than philological but which, would, over the course of the century, link up with a parallel revolution in landscape gardening which was also inspired by ideas of liberty (the freedom of nature as opposed to the formal garden) while the ideological and political motivation behind the architectural re-working of the Middle Ages began to fade.[30] Thus, during the eighteenth century, academia, the political debate and the new

28. On this, see Bordone, Renato. *Lo specchio di Shalott...*: 164-166.

29. Franci, Giovanna. "Il piacere effimero del collezionare", *Strawberry-Hill,* Horace Walpole. Palermo: Sellerio, 1990: 17.

30. On the relationship between English gardens and Neo-Gothic architecture, see Bordone, Renato. "Origine del gusto medievale nell'architettura dei giardini", *Presenze medievali nell'architettura di età moderna e contemporanea*, Giorgio Simoncini, ed. Milan: Guerini e Ass, 1997: 215-226.

style of architecture built up around the Middle Ages that highly emotive aura that would later accompany any sort of re-evocation of the period.

4. Chivalry as the "religion of the aristocracy"

At this point, it is necessary to consider the question at the heart of an understanding of what we can describe as the myth of knighthood in European culture over the last three centuries. Where did the assortment of rituals and myths that were attributed to the institution of knighthood in this period come from, and how had they survived the then far-off demise of the Middle Ages?

It is important, firstly, to identify the elements that made up this myth. The cavalry, technically a military corps with a precise role within the traditional armed forces, survived into the twentieth century. The figure of the gentleman knight, whose role as courtier had been definitively established in the Renaissance, also still existed, though he had undergone a transformation which had enabled him to retain his dignity as knight and soldier but had added to it a familiarity with the arts which gave him a higher social status.[31] Lastly, a culture of chivalry, refined during the Middle Ages and the early modern period, consisting of a behavioural code of prevalently literary derivation, also still existed. These aspects together contributed over time to the establishment of a trans-national dimension to European knighthood, gathering together its members and reinforcing their reciprocal ties in Orders of Knighthood of great social prestige. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century re-evocations united these elements into a whole which took little account of the real historical origins of the institution of knighthood or of the modifications to which it had subsequently been subject.

These origins relate —as is well known[32]— to the need to defend and protect the social order as identified by the Church in the *rex-bellator* and extended to its vassals, the *bellatores*. The *milites* assisted the king in military matters thus extending their role. Their investiture mirrored, at a lower level, that of the king, and it was from the king that their virtues and their responsibilities derived. The concept of knighthood was even then evidently an ideological construction refined by the aristocracy and the Church initially to bring under control the easily inflamed group of warriors on horseback without financial means, employed by the lords of the castles, to give them social functions and group ideals and to channel their violence into the Crusades against the Muslims. More than the Church, however, it was the literature of the chivalrous novel that had given the knight a behavioural model based on the union between innate qualities —fighting capacity— and acquired virtues —courtesy, valour, generosity, good manners and a respect for women idealised in

31. Fundamental, on this subject, is the wide-ranging study of Domenichelli, Mario. *Cavaliere e gentiluomo*...: 176-177.

32. For all this, see Duby, George. *Lo specchio del feudalesimo*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1981.

romantic love— that together led to the development of a chivalrous ethic which would later establish itself as a behavioural code.[33] In the late Middle Ages all this would develop into a complex recreational structure made up of tournaments, jousts and pas d'armes which were intended to present knighthood itself as the "dream of a better life" according to Huizinga's[34] still relevant definition. This self-representation, however, had not yet been emptied of its relationship to actual combat in which the knight continued to take his exalted emotive and ideological status both onto the battlefield and into the tournaments.

The demise of knighthood as an instrument of combat, however, had already occurred in the fifteenth century with the new widespread use of firearms and the overwhelming strength of the infantry which would become decisive in particular in the century to follow. The battles fought between those of Agincourt and Mohàcs were little more than a succession of massacres for the knights. It is perhaps this which necessitated that re-working of the knight's identity on the basis of a literary re-elaboration —or invention— of his past, and an ever more rigid behavioural ritualism as demonstrated all over Europe by the wealth of chivalrous poems and the new popularity of the ceremonial orders. In fact, the re-elaboration of the medieval chivalrous literature in the Anglo-Saxon world dates from this period, encompassing Malory's version of the previous Arthurian works and the appearance of the Elizabethan Spencer's "Faerie Queene", while his contemporaries Boiardo and Ariosto returned to the Orlando theme taken from the literature of the Carolingian cycle. The architecture of the castles of the fifteenth century also follows this logic as has been noted in the case of the Savoy castle of Ripaglia, restored in 1433-1434 and transformed by Amedeo VIII into the headquarters of the Order of St Maurice in which the architectural design was based on models of chivalrous life rather than requirements of defence.[35]

Until the first years of the Italian Wars, fought between the French and the Spanish in the first half of the sixteenth century, knights on both sides could still convince themselves that their behaviour was inspired by a code of honour and a spirit of loyal competition which, despite everything, had survived the transformation in military techniques and continued to play an integral part in their culture. It still happened that, during exhausting tactical battles involving sieges or winter encampments, the officers of the two sides took the opportunity for personal or group combat — jousts or tournaments— keeping strictly to the rules of chivalry and offering their personal armour as a prize or ransom in the case of defeat. The "Barletta challenge"

33. As demonstrated by Köhler, Eric. *L'avventura cavalleresca. Ideale e realtà nei poemi della Tavola Rotonda*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985.

34. This is the title of the second chapter of Huizinga, Johan. *L'autunno del medioevo*. Florence: Sansoni, 1966: 37-72.

35. Tosco, Carlo. "*L'architettura religiosa nell'età di Amedeo VIII*", *Architettura e insediamento nel tardo medioevo in Piemonte*, Micaela Viglino, Carlo Tosco, eds. Turin: Celid, 2003: 99: "la facciata a sette torri, destinata alle residenze dei cavalieri di San Maurizio, non rispondeva a logiche militari ma incarnava una simbologia di gestione collegiale del potere, esaltata da Amedeo VIII". "The facade with its seven towers intended as the residence of the knights of St Maurice did not correspond to any military logic but had symbolic significance in terms of the collegiate holding of power which Amadeo VIII idealised".

fought in 1503 between Italian and French champions (Baiardo was among the French) is an important case in point. Combat thus became spectacle, taking on a sporting character which had always characterised knights' services in times of peace.[36] Whilst the sixteenth century saw the total demise of this practice, it left a deep mark in European culture which, once the Middle Ages had been left behind in historical terms, looked back nostalgically at its real or imagined traditions. Even the castle model featured in this precocious rediscovery of the chivalrous Middle Ages is shown by the large number of Italian (but not solely) castles built with corner towers, sometimes battlemented, and drawbridges in the second half of the sixteenth century, without any military function, but intended to become, as in the case of those built by the Este family, backdrops for a court of "*passionate readers of chivalrous poems*".[37] The most important evidence on the extent to which the institution of knighthood had now been transformed into a literary myth is represented by Cervantes' unfortunate Hidalgo, "*reduced to madness by excessive reading, the main character of the last chivalrous book who himself encompasses them all and annihilates them all*".[38]

It was a parody of a knighthood which was no longer relevant, but which was still popular all over the West, perhaps because it really represented the more poetic "invention" of the Middle Ages as a model of social behaviour (particularly in its Renaissance re-working) in direct contact with that other medieval invention, in the juridical field, the concept of bloodline nobility. Both were ambiguous enough to be open to interpretation and misappropriation in a long, tormented process of refinement which bore definitive fruit only after the Middle Ages was over or at least at the end of it but the two were linked in the influence they had on each other. In a secular society in which war had been the common denominator to the extent that it had determined, among the intellectuals of the day since the eleventh century, not only the distinction between *bellatores* and *laboratores* but had also attributed social and political hegemony to the former —the dominant class could only be military. And anyone who fought inevitably took on associations of command as happened to the first warriors on horseback, despite their modest origins, who, residing with their lords, absorbed their prestige in the eyes of both powerless and powerful to the extent that in peacetime the "chivalrous" lifestyle was common to both lords and vassals[39]. There were then moments at which —depending on the region— the "noblesse de fait" of the great lords could be transformed into "noblesse de droit" only through chivalrous *adoubement*. The reciprocal nature of the process is clear

36. On the sporting aspect of the activities of the medieval knight, see Keen, Maurice. *La cavalleria*. Naples: Liguori, 1986.

37. "*Assidui lettori di poemi cavallereschi*" (Matteucci Armandi, Ana Maria. "Fedeltà alla tipologia castellana nell'edilizia di villa in Emilia", *Presenze medievali nell'architettura di età moderna*...: 168-170).

38. Bologna, Corrado. "*folle per eccesso di letture, protagonista dell'ultimo libro di cavalleria che in sé tutti li ingloba e tutti li annulla*" "Miti di una letteratura medievale: il Sud", *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*...: 347.

39. On the birth and development of the medieval knighthood see —as well as the previously cited Keen, Maurice. *La cavalleria*...- also the more recent Flori, Jean. *Cavalieri e cavalleria nel medioevo*. Turin: Einaudi, 1999.

even though it occurred naturally and not without exceptions, distinctions and contradictions[40]. In the end, however, the knight —as we have seen— identified himself with the "*gentil huomo*", that is, with the rightful nobleman.

Chivalry as the "religion" of the nobility would appear to have been already established at the end of the Middle Ages at the exact moment, that is, at which its military function had largely disappeared; it had its own sacred texts, represented by chivalrous novels, its own rites based on these (tournaments, jousts, pas d'armes) and to its disciples it could refer to a mythical moment of perfection at its origins ("*O gran bontà dei cavalieri antiqui*" 'O great goodness of the ancient knights"). Another extraordinary medieval "invention" descended from this, the "myth of knighthood", which had developed around the figures especially of Arthur, but also Charlemagne, which was comparable to the classical mythology of the Greek-Roman civilisation in terms of its meaning and considerable refinement but also in terms of its functional importance to the civilisation of the Western Middle Ages and its widespread popular character.

When, with Humanism and even more with the Renaissance, the gods of Olympus were rediscovered alongside canons considered to be of Classical origin, this "religion of chivalry" went into partial crisis in that it was linked to an era at this point judged by the historians of the day to be an intrusion, a traumatic interruption of Classical antiquity to which they intended to restore their connection. The adoption of the concept of the "Middle Ages", in fact, constituted not so much a new classification of human history as much as an expunging from it of a historical period now judged negatively, thus creating an antagonistic dualism between classicism and non-classicism. The reaction of the knight-noble, heir to this outdated world, varied according to country and the greater or lesser impact on it of the new Renaissance spirit —which, in Italy, would transform the knight into courtier— and where the new political scenarios were taking it. But it was above all the assertion of absolute monarchy which hit particularly hard aristocracies of medieval origin and of chivalrous inspiration, which had seen in Arthur the "*first among equals*", "*a sovereign strictly limited by feudal rights in his exercise of power and subject to the same moral and political rules as the knighthood*".[41] In the French monarchy, for example, royal propaganda aimed at diminishing the prestige of the nobility in the sixteenth century fantasised about ridiculous or even immoral rights exercised by nobles in the Middle Ages thus giving rise to the myth of "*ius prime noctis*" (or "*droit de cuissage*") which would later strike a popular chord in the popular image of the Middle Ages.[42] In any case, new economic and social forces were emerging in Europe and, where it had not renewed itself, threatening the prestige of the ancient

40. On the historiographical context of the knight/noble problem, see Bordone, Renato. "L'aristocrazia: ricambi e convergenze ai vertici della scala sociale", *La Storia*. I, *Il Medioevo*, Nicola Tranfaglia, Massimo Firpo, dirs. Turin: UTET, 1987: 145-175.

41. "*Primus inter pares*", "*un sovrano strettamente vincolato dal diritto feudale nell'esercizio del potere e sottomesso alle stesse categorie morali e politiche" della cavalleria*" (Köhler, Eric. *L'avventura cavalleresca*...: 30).

42. On this, see Boureau, Alain. *Le droit de cuissage. La fabrication d'un mythe (XIII^{e} –XX^{e}siècle)*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1995: 226.

"bloodline noble" and reducing the surviving traces of the chivalrous tradition to empty formalities. If in some sense the continuity of the ancient chivalrous spirit was thus interrupted, it re-emerged culturally in the academic re-discovery of the Middle Ages and sometimes with political connotations, as we have seen, in France in the *Académie*'s struggle against classicism/absolutism.

The re-evaluation of the knighthood, therefore, formed part of a more general interest in the Middle Ages, which developed in the climate of lively curiosity that characterised the eighteenth century, intolerant of canons and rules and already searching for the primitive and "barbaric" origins of European civilisation following a direction which was brought to fruition at the end of the century by an incipient Romanticism. From the rediscovered Middle Ages the bourgeois intellectuals, attracted by aristocratic hints of behavioural models based on heroism and courtesy, favoured the "new myth" of knighthood which had come into being. The nineteenth century, as we have seen, did the rest by means of armour collections, costume tournaments, Neo-Gothic castles, pseudo-historical artistic representations and, above all, thanks to the extraordinary popularisation that took place via popular advertising. The more any real traces of the Middle Ages gradually disappeared from the fabric of a progressively industrialising society the more the dream grew —promoted at various levels— until it culminated in the social model of a "chivalrous" elite. Then, with the First World War —the last war with some chivalrous aspects— the sun finally set on that generous representation of a fully lived life. Perhaps the nostalgia for it survived in a world which had left no space for dreams, except for the dry bones of those traces of the Middle Ages recreated by the nineteenth century which, unconsciously, continue to survive today.

VIDEOGAMES AND THE MIDDLE AGES

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For Juanfri, who at the age of 10
enjoys these games as much as I do at 42

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Abstract

The advances in technology and its application to the world of leisure have generated a new model of cultural expression: the videogame. Among the scripts chosen for these, there are those of a historical nature, or simulation of this past, but with special emphasis on the medieval period. This article presents the reality of this phenomenon applied to the knowledge and divulgation that these games offer about the Middle Ages.

Key words

Videogame, Middle Ages, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Cultural leisure, European Union.

Capitalia Verba

ludus per uisum, Medium Aevum, Artes ad disquisitionem et communicationem, Otium doctrinae deditum, Europea communitas.

1. Start: Programmes

This expressive way is the start for what I intend to be a first approach to the complex and complete world of videogames by professionals and aficionados in medieval history. In many cases the contents will be known to some (I suppose the younger among the readers) but others (certainly many) will encounter for the first time a series of names and denominations that belong to the specific semantic field of videogames, constituting almost a slang. If you understand nothing in the following sentence, you belong to this second group: MTW II, from the TW saga, is a *TBS* videogame, although the combats are RTS, that requires a minimum of a 1,800 MHz chipset, 512 Mb RAM, a graphic card with 128 Mb, DirectX 9 and Windows 2000/ XP OS (although the truth is that you need a more powerful unit). This sentence includes the abbreviated name of a very well-known game of management, strategy and tactics set in the high and late Middle Ages (Medieval Total War II, that is, the second version), the abbreviations of *Turn Based Strategy*, developed by the player, where you also manage material resources that allow your faction to advance and thus generate sufficient military machinery to enable you to win the game (where previously you win purely tactical medieval battles). The acronym of *Real Time Strategy*, and the rest of the contents expressed are linked to the hardware the game requires. This work is aimed fundamentally at those who have had no close contact with this world, or those who see it through eyes prejudiced by mere disdain for the unknown, as a result of one's own insecurity. But it is also destined for those who have certain notions, so that my reflections can offer another point of view or generate new ways for application and reflection.

I am not trying to offer an encyclopaedic presentation of the vast world of the videogame, nor the importance that it has for leisure in our civilisation (although I mention it in passing). Nor do I even present a list of all the videogames linked to, or inspired by, the medieval period or the Middle Ages, in its widest sense. Accordingly, someone may feel some titles are missing. My aim is to present a specific reality, that is the presence and roots of the *videogame* phenomenon in modern society (and specifically among adolescents and post-adolescents, extending to individuals between thirty and forty, approximately[1] (but does not extend to the portable videogame consoles for the adult public and third age),[2] and its impact

1. The report on "Habits and initiation to videogames in the over 35s", carried out in December 2008 by a team from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid under Antonio García Martínez is very expressive. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos en mayores de 35 años". *Asociación Española de distribuidores y editores de Software de entretenimiento*. December 2008. 3rd May 2009 <http://www.adese.es/pdf/vjadultosestudio.pdf>.

2. The commission that approved the inclusion of the videogame industry as a cultural industry, stated the following "In its extraordinary diversity, the videogame is used by both children and young people as well as adults, so it also represents a good opportunity to experiment with new pedagogic formulas in educational development and the formation of civic values (File number 161/000774/0000)". "Proposición no de ley presentada por el Grupo Parlamentario Socialista, relativa a la promoción y el respaldo a la industria cultural del videojuego". *Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales. Congreso de los Diputados*, D/ 148, 17 February 2009: 40.

on the divulgation of the concept of *medieval*. This is from the point of view of the perception we receive through this informative channel (which is really leisure) and specifically in the field of the professionals in medieval history, both at the level of secondary education and the university.

This is precisely one of the first steps that need establishing to begin our route. Why do we play at *Medievo*? What is it that attracts us to that epoch that induces us to play as if we were living in the past? My final conclusion will be that, in the end, it is a question of just that, of playing, with all the advantages that leisure infers for learning and the educational act in itself, always from the viewpoint of a medievalist and medieval history. I am not a pedagogue, so nobody should expect a treatise about the educational value of videogames, which, it must be mentioned, has appeared in other forums, with varied results. I do not, however, rule out an incursion into this terrain from the perspective of university teaching.

All these precautions that I present are related to the heterodox fact that an article about videogames and the Middle Ages can appear *a priori*, as with one on cinema and the medieval period, as would have been, in its time, one about medieval literature and history, and the wide field that supposes the application of multiple disciplines[3] to a specific subject of study. For some people, the world of the videogame is as distant as it is close and day-to-day for others. Thus, the idea is to present the neophytes with a precise and specific reality that represents a fundamental part of leisure. We know that in 2005, the videogames business in Spain overtook the cinema (both at the box office and in video) and music industries.[4] In fact, the 2008 figure for Spain was a turnover of 1,432[5] million euros, the fourth European country and the sixth in the world in consumption of interactive entertainment software. In this sense, something that the creators themselves assume consciously must be clear, which is that it is not only a question of leisure. The developer M. Frasca expressly mentioned in an interview that "*los juegos pueden ir mucho más allá que el simple entretenimiento. Lo mismo sucede con el cine, la televisión, la música. Los videojuegos no tienen por qué ser una excepción*".[6] However, referring to what "explaining something"

3. The reflections about the by no means new concept of interdisciplinarity are very interesting in this respect, in Castillo, Juan José. "La paradigma perdido de la interdisciplinariedad: volver a los clásicos". *Política y Sociedad*, 26 (1997): 143-155.

4. Benito García, José María. "El mercado del videojuego: unas cifras". *Icono 14. Revista científica semestral de comunicación audovisual y nuevas tecnologías*. June 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 3rd May 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/Jose%20Maria%20Benito.pdf>.

5. Figure offered by *Hobby Consolas*, 212 (2009): 28. The document that contains the above-mentioned initiative in the Congreso de the Diputados specified a turnover of 700 million, but these are changing figures and permanently growing and that at this moment is already obsolete given its ongoing development. However, this figure corresponds to the data in the ISFE report for 2007, where it must be taken into account that the data refers to sales of software, not to the sum total of the videogame business, such as the sales of consoles. "Key Facts. The profile of the European Videogamer". *Interactive Software Federation of Europe*. 2007. Interactive Software Federation of Europe. 3rd May 2009. <http://www.isfe.eu/index.php?PHPSESSID=JF4PQ8432EH6RK3F8BJ92VVQD6&oidit=T001:662b16536388a7260921599321365911>.

6. "The games can go far beyond simple entertainment. The same happens with the cinema, television or music. There is no reason why videogames should be an exception". Esnaola Horacek, Graciela

to distract or entertain means, the videogame goes way beyond the cinema, for example. The cinematographic medium is finite, limited and specific: the script and definition of the product with a time limit show this. The videogame is not like that. The new non-lineal forms of script mean that they diverge considerably from the traditional development of a film. Peter Molyneux (developer of the game *Fable* and known as the "King of *Hype*") mentioned the separation between videogame and cinema based on this concept.[7] The Spanish parliament approved an initiative so that, given that the "*industria del videogameo constituye uno de los sectores más dinámicos y pujantes de nuestra cultura*", it should be recognised as an "*industria cultural de primer orden*". The same document considered the authors as "*creativos culturales*" and their staff made up of "*guionistas, dibujantes, modeladores and directors de artes, a la que se unen profesionales de las nuevas tecnologías*", as integral parts of this authorship, in a potential "*internacionalización de su actividad, en los mismos términos que el cine, la música, el libro o las artes plásticas*".[8] It is thus a tangible reality. So let us see what the approach to the Middle Ages from the perspective of the virtual game means for the quality and quantity of this information. The different views that arise will simply be the product of the multiple possibilities that the human being can see (and give) to these technologies.

One final premise: the literature on this subject is as scarce as it is recent (for obvious reasons).[9] The great majority of contributions are limited to the field of the network, with electronic publications where immediacy supplants obsolescence into which these themes usually fall from the moment they are written. These studies are mainly carried out by psychologists or pedagogues, although some will be useful for setting and placing games that belong to different typologies, all being on medieval subjects. There are abundant references to these studies on the Internet, so it should not surprise if in many cases the date of the last visit coincides, as this was to check that they are still at the same URL.

Alicia; Levis Czernik, Diego Levis. "La narrativa en los videojuegos: un espacio cultural de aprendizaje socioemocional". Teoría de la Educación, 9/3 (2008): 53; Sánchez Peris, Francesc J, coord. "Videojuegos: una herramienta educativa del 'homo digitalis'". *Revista Electrónica Teoría de la Educación: Educación y Cultura en la Sociedad de la Información*, 9/3. November 2008. Universidad de Salamanca. 21st April 2009. <http://www.usal.es/teoriaeducacion/rev_numero_09_03/n9_03_esnaola_levis.pdf.

7. Interview with Peter Molyneux. *Marcaplayer*, 8 (2009): 69.

8. "the videogame industry constitutes one of the most dynamic and fast-growing sectors of our culture" (…) "first order cultural industry" (…) "cultural creators" (…) "scriptwriters, draughtsmen, modellers and art directors, who are joined by professionals in the new technologies" (…) "internationalisation of their activity, in the same terms as the cinema, music, books or plastic arts". See note 3.

9. In the Spanish case, just a few references have been griten by: Rodríguez, José María. "¿Historia o ficción: la visión de la Edad Media en los juegos de ordenador". *Clío: revista de Historia*, 37 (2004): 52-27; "El uso de Internet y los videojuegos en la didáctica de la Historia medieval", *La historia medieval en la Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria: un balance*, Ana Echevarría, coord. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008: 177-216.

2. Tutorial. What is a videogame?

According to the definition in the RAE, a videogame is an "*electronic device that allows one, by means of the appropriate controls, to simulate games on the screen of a television or computer*". Apart from the fact that this definition is already obsolete, basically due to the appearance of new platforms that have nothing to do with a computer or a television (or what we understand as either of these devices), a videogame is somewhat more complex. This is not a "device" as such, the question of controls is vague (a gamepad, a keyboard, a mouse, a joystick; there are also touch screens, like with the new multi-touch technology, applied to Apple's iPhone for example, where the games are handled from the machine's own screen, here a device), and where in reality they do not "simulate games", but rather verify games. In a word, one plays, one does not simulate playing: one simulates being a knight, a general, a trader, a strategist, a super-soldier, etc. Without it becoming a precedent, I find the definition in the oh so dangerous Wikipedia closer to the mark, "*A videogame is a computational programme, created for entertainment, based on the interaction between one or more people and an electronic device (either a computer, an arcade system, a video console, a handheld device or nowadays a cellular phone), which executes said videogame. In many cases, these recreate virtual worlds in which the players can control one or more characters (or any other element in that environment), to reach one or more objectives through a set of rules*".[10]

It is clear that this is a virtual element that uses a cybernetic device to generate leisure activity. At the same time a physical platform appears, and it is worth very briefly running through the history of the videogame to help us to understand the reality and deep roots in our society, the same that untiringly demands contents inspired in the medieval period, under any excuse and in any format (that of the videogames included). The reason is that the videogame can only be played through a machine (described simply and almost simplistically), so that we can only access the game if we have the possibility at a specific moment to acquire, or use, one device or another. This fact is also important, as technological progress has allowed the virtual *re-creations* of the Middle Ages to become progressively more spectacular, thus adding to the intrinsic attraction of the game.

For some sociologists[11] the videogame is the gateway for children and young people to approach the information and communication technologies (the famous TICs). The most normal is that for us to find students in university classrooms whose deepest approach to History, not only Spanish but also European, has been through one (or various) videogames. That is why we should not consider the question inane, given the enormous impact it is having on our society, and despite this only being an impression among those of us who have approached the subject.[12]

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10. "Videojuego". *Wikipedia*. 21st April 2009 < http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/videojuego>.

11. Belli, Simone; López Raventós, Cristian. "Breve historia de los videojuegos". *Athenea Digital*, 14 (2008): 160.

12. These same authors mention this fact in the above article, showing that it "is a phenomenon that has still not been studied in depth by social researchers". Belli, Simone; López Raventós, Cristian. "Breve

The first videogames were the direct result of technological advances. The application of the new media to board games (including *wargames*) was *a posteriori*. Now is the moment to present where the game is played, and we will see that the platform is fundamental. On a board, there sufficed a flat surface, the physical game and two or more players (except if one "engineers" it as solitaire). A videogame is, however, much more complex given the simple fact that the platform chosen is the determining factor.

2.1. The machine that serves for playing

Nowadays, and for certain titles, the system we have chosen or opted to play on is determinate. The game is not a free element, so the media is often an end in itself. The marketing of the machine we play on appears as a handicap, a decisive factor, which allows us to execute the chosen game. A computer (PC or Mac, Windows environment in its various versions, Linux…), an Xbox 360 console, a Playstation (versions One, 2, 3 and Portable), Nintendo DS (plus all the earlier ones from this company, such as Game Cube or Game Boy), Wii (also from the Japanese giant), iPhone, N-Gage or various models of mobile phone terminals.[13] We are talking here about the field of hardware, the physical platform where the game is executed, that is the product of an increasingly fast evolution since the mid 20th century.

Since the appearance of what is considered the first console in 1972, the Magnavox Odyssey[14], the panorama of the platforms destined exclusively for games has undergone one technological revolution after another. The first of these great moments arrived with the launch of the Atari VCS/2600 at the end of the 1970s. This allowed games to be changed, each loaded onto an exchangeable cartridge. Shortly afterwards, an apparatus appeared on the market that could be used to programme games, all very simple with sober lineal interfaces in muted colours. This was the

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historia…": 160.

13. Om this theme, see Moreno Herrero, Isidro; García Serrano, José Antonio. "Las nuevas pantallas, un reto educativo". *Revista Complutense de Educación,* 17/1 (2006): 135-149.

14. The stories of the videogame platforms and the games themselves are destined to be done progressively, as they quickly become antiquated and obsolete. For the periods set, that is the origins, development, beginnings of the hardware and software companies, etc., it is possible to find high quality and fairly complete texts. There are brief histories of videogames in the electronic format that we can find on internet (*Fabienspain*. 6th december 2008. 21st April 2009 <http://fabiensapin.centerblog.net>; "Historia de los Videojuegos". *Wikipedia*. 21st April 2009 <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_de_los_videojuegos>; or various pages in "Prehistoria de los Videojuegos". 2050 D.C. M*icrohistoria de los Videojuegos*. 21st April 2009 <http://sapiens.ya.com/fredworried/html/Microhistoria-ep1.htm> forwards, altering the digit), and on paper in *Guinness World Records. Especial videojuegos 2008*. Barcelona: Planeta, 2008: 24, and the following, Demaria, Rusel; Wilson, John L. *High score! La Historia ilustrada de los videojuegos*. Madrid: Osborne McGraw-Hill, 2002. Some concentrate on the early stages, trying to define specific elements of the phenomenon, such as the arcade game. López Nieto, Daniel. "Análisis del contexto histórico y tecnológico del origen de los videojuegos". *Icono 14. Revista científica semestral de comunicación audovisual y nuevas tecnologías*. January 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 26th April 2009. <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num8/articulos/05.pdf>.

Sinclair Spectrum ZX, launched in 1982. There were already some machines in public places that gradually replaced the classic pinball, among which there were the three *eternal* games: *Pac-Man*, *Space Invaders* (in its multiple variants, including *Asteroids*) and *Tetris*. However, in this epoch, and with the application of a novel technology (*laserdisc*[15]), a game which *sounded medieval* could be played in amusement arcades or bars, a game that has lasted since then, with multiple editions in absolutely all the platforms (recently even in UMD for PSP). I refer to *Dragon's Lair*, which was a transfer of the sword strokes from a cartoon with costumes identified with the medieval period and that was controlled by the player.



Illustration 1. Dragon's Lair.

Dirk, the leading character (another question not dealt with in this article is the personality that these fictional or non-fictional characters take on), is clearly described in the user's manual for the PC game, "Help Dirk, a daring medieval knight, to rescue the princess Daphne, held prisoner in the dragon's lair". It was a great success, and it consisted of 800 decision points where a player who made no mistakes took less than ten minutes to complete the game. Was it the graphics, or the spectacular feeling of brandishing a sword? Nowadays it is still a cult, complete with marketing and graphic adaptations of the characters (we can find Daphne on the net represented as a pure sex symbol). But let us leave this kind of game aside. I also differentiate between the games that use improbable, fantasy and magic

15. At that time and with this technology, *Mach 3*, the first really spectacular flight simulator for amusement arcades was produced, where the player flew a combat aircraft. This game can be seen in a sequence of the film *Terminator 2*.

phenomena and elements (typical of the generalised stereotype of the medieval), and those that remain more or less true to the historical record. I will return to this point, as it is one of the pillars of this study.

This stage of development coincided with the change between the "golden" and the "driving" epochs, in Huertero's classification.[16] In the first, the videogame became established as an element of home entertainment (the epoch of the above-mentioned "space invaders"), and in the second, between 1983 and 1994, the technological limits for the creation of videogames diminished. This was when the franchises of this product were generated. The above-mentioned *Dragon's Lair* game thus had a springboard to bring dream and fantasy worlds closer, that for which the universe of *the medieval* has attracted our western civilisation (the potential player) since the Renaissance (which was when the concept was generated). The Romanticism and fantasy literature of Tolkien or Lewis were the perfect complement (and I emphasise, complement) for its development.

The application of technology led to an exponential multiplication of the diversity of games. The expansion of the PC and the outbreak of the war of the consoles in the 1990s meant that the developers (those who created the game) offered the consumers the opportunity to play anything, where the visual culture of the age of the computer became progressively cinematographic in its appearance, digital in its material and computerised in its logic.[17] Thus we are talking about an increasingly attractive appearance that gradually absorbs the players.

The appearance of strategy games in those years also revolutionised the possibilities of developing products that transferred the audience from the tables to the screens. There was then no need for another person to compete against in strategic or tactical games: the historical substrate was there simply to be used.

Substantial improvements in the various components of personal computers, through the application of *antialiasing* technology (explained simply, that which stops the graphics from appearing excessively pixelated, blurring the outlines) with the growth in size of the memory of the graphic cards, and the ongoing perfecting of information processing (a good card already has DDR5 memory, although a DDR3 is more than sufficient for all the PC games on the market), have been accompanied by the well-known war of the consoles between large companies in this type of leisure activities, that has generated the rise and splendour of some consoles, like versions

16. Huertero Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos: una forma diferente de entender la política". *Razón y palabra*. 2007. Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey. 25th April 2009 <http://www.cem.itesm.mx/dacs/publicaciones/logos/actual/ghuertero.pdf.> The same article appeared in Huertero Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos: una forma diferente de entender la política". *Cibersociedad*. 18th december 2007. Observatorio para la Cibersociedad. 25th April 2009 <http://www.cibersociedad.net/textos/articulo.php?art=141>. He distinguishes between *pioneer* (1971-1978), *golden* (1978-1983), *driving* (1983-1994), and *technological* (1994-2004) phases, where the videogame industry took positions of power, with the definitive expansion of the PC and the beginning of the war of the consoles, and *flash* (from 2004 until now), when the application of certain tools (Macromedia Flash and Java by Sun) made production easy for independent creators, accompanied by the definitive expansion of the internet, that facilitated their spread.

17. Manovich, Lev. *El lenguaje de los nuevos medios de comunicación: la imagen en la era digital*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2005: 241.

One and Two of the Sony Playstation, the Microsoft Xbox (that has held the interest of players with the *Age of Empires* saga, now extended with *Halo Wars,* a strategy game by the same team of developers, Ensemble Studios), or Nintendo, that after the frustrating Game Cube has seen a huge increase in the sales of the portable Nintendo Ds (now rejuvenated with the Nintendo DSi) and the revolutionary Wii. Each game requires a specific application, so the degree of commercial penetration is decisive when commenting on which games inspired in the medieval period the player has access to. A RTS (real time strategy) game that seemed limited to the PC media until recently, has filled a space in the consoles (Xbox) through the videogame I have mentioned above (*Halo Wars*). However, even the most widespread medieval game, *Age of Empires II* (the basic series, *The Age of Kings*, without the expansions) that had been generated for the PC and Mac platforms, has been applied to the PS2, the Nintendo DS (here with a typology as a TBS (turn based strategy) game), and mobile phone terminals.

I insist that this is not a conditioning factor, but rather a question that undoubtedly determines the use and enjoyment of a particular game. The companies, large multinationals in the case of the consoles, direct the implantation of these games through their marketing. The personal computers present other conditioning factors, which is where the software distributors have more say.

2.2. The software. The business world, distribution and the historical subjects

At this point, it is worth briefly mentioning that these same limits apply to the games themselves. If the implantation of a system of consoles makes it easy to understand whether or not we can play a game in a specific area, in this case the European Union, it is to no lesser degree the distributor's commercial interest to sell a product in a determined sector. For example, bearing in mind that there are very few Spanish development studies, with the honourable exceptions of Pyro Studios, FX Interactive (Hispano-Italian) or Alcachofa Soft, the language also ends up being a limit in itself, representing as it does an obstacle to easy playing for a public with a limited knowledge of English (not to mention other languages). In this sense, there is an excellent game called *Europa 1400*, from *The Guild* saga, that was not a great success in countries like Spain for the mere reason of being in English. It has now been re-released with expansions and the second part (under the title *Pirates of the European Seas*, in 2008), with all the texts translated into Spanish, although not the voices. The law obliges this type of information to be available for the consumer when acquiring the product, so that it is quite common to find a label to attract potential buyers with "Totalmente en castellano" ("All in Spanish") (or "Totalmente en español") or specifying simply "Juego en castellano" (Game in Spanish). It may also indicate the linguistic limitation stating "Textos de pantalla en inglés" (Screen texts in English) (as in *Great Invasions. The Dark Ages. 350-1066 AD*), or a have minuscule box indicating what is or is not translated into Spanish (for example, the case of *Knights of Honor*, one such box merely specifies that the manual

is in Castilian, but that the voices and texts on the screen are in English, with the proverbial national identifying flags). This is habitual, given that the manuals assure that the buyer has enough of a guide to be able to play the game. In the case of the above-mentioned *Europa 1400. The Guild*, the Castilian manual is in pdf format on the support CD, but the second version has a full guide.

All these suppositions, from the linguistic issue to the offer of the product reducing costs, lead us to the starting point for this epigraph. The commercial interests of the large distributors (who, in the end, do or do not translate the games) excessively condition the hold of certain videogames among the public. The marketing strategies, accompanied by the regulatory dynamic of supply and demand, in most cases decide the destiny of these products. Promotion, distribution, specific interest of the intermediaries (franchises or large commercial enterprises), etc., end up to a great extent directing the implantation of a videogame.

The economic situation seriously conditions the release or withdrawal of any title, as generally happens. I am not referring to the current situation, but to that of the company (in fact, the videogame sector is experiencing unprecedented growth in the leisure world, given the low cost when compared with the investment-hours of enjoyment). The drop in consoles (like the Atari in the 80s), support for specific platforms (Microsoft with Xbox) or the use of the machines for other activities (such as the PS3 with the Blu-Ray player, PSP as a GPS navigator, or the PC or Mac as working tools), are factors of such great importance that the player suffers these movements passively. The only response left is to buy the products or not to buy them. This is where the *taste* for certain themes comes in.

Now is the moment to mention the phenomenon not only of the sagas but also the expansions. The success of some titles ensures that two parallel forces have been generated that pull in the same direction. On one hand there is the business interest that, wishing to repeat the profits, will insist on a new improved version of the game. It is the *saga* applied to the field of videogames. These are the cases of the second, third, fourth, or more parts, where together with the identification number, (*Caesar, Caesar II, Caesar III,* and now *Caesar IV*) the interface is normally changed, notably improving the graphics and the gameplay (sometimes even the full game). *Stronghold* and *Medieval Total War* are the most outstanding examples of games set in the Middle Ages. A different element is the *expansion* for PC or Mac. In first place, the original game must already be installed to enable play to begin (a factor that the distributors are obliged to announce on the boxes, in various formulas, but all warning about this requirement), and are extensions of that first game. From the commercial perspective, it is very interesting, as it requires a potential public that wishes to continue with the game, for various reasons. In the field of science fiction the possibilities are infinite (the only limit is the imagination of the scriptwriters), in the videogames with a historical background, there are various historically specific ways. Although this is reiterated later, I must mention the expansions of *MTW*, for both the first game in the saga and the second. For the first, we had the *Viking Invasion* expansion, setting the scenario in the British Isles during the high medieval period; for the second there were multiple expansions, given that *Medieval Total War*

II: Kingdoms included four micro-expansions, stand-alone games but with the same playability system: *Britannia, Teutonic, Crusades* and *Americas* (concentrating on the early phases of the American conquest of the Caribbean and Central America). The product could be acquired in a collectors' pack, apart from the *gold* editions (that includes the original game and the expansions), a tactic used to sell the same games but with some specific incentives (a map, a figure, post cards, etc.). It has been used by the same companies and for the new game in the saga, *Empire Total War*, where the box is changed, a large map is included and four specific units are given away after registering the game on-line.

There is no need to emphasise that the videogame inspired or set in the Middle Ages, or simulating it, is one of the great favourites, whether the game has a high degree of verisimilitude or if it presents an unreal, fantasy world, linked to the prototype image of the medieval period. The demand for these games among players, whether occasional or habitual, has grown, and it is not surprising that the medieval background for games that have appeared on the market over the last twenty years take this period as the historical framework for adventure, challenge or enjoyment of the game in itself (*playing for playing's sake*). The dynamic has been continuous, with milestones like *Zelda*, the medieval *Total War* (including the expansion of *Rome Total War*: *Barbarian Invasion*, set in the late Ancient world), *Age of Empire II* and its expansion *The Conquerors*, all the versions of *Tzar*, *Assassin's Creed* (its star, Altaïr, has generated his own fan club), *Stronghold* (the full saga), all the fantasy universe of the *The Lord of the Rings*, *Narnia*, *World of Warcraft*, *The Guild*, the *Patrician* saga or the recent *Mount & Blade*, to mention just some. On many occasions, these have arisen with the backing of releases outside the videogame world, but which have been reflected in it through some application to increase the income from merchandising, taking advantage of the virtual attraction of living and starring in the film. In the same way that the producer of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy has released all kinds of contraption, or as with the premiere of *Beowulf* by Zemeckis and the homonymous novel by Kiernan (both in 2007),[18] the videogames[19] have started to form part of this panoply of the exploitation of a consumer product (and the videogame is just that).

18. Conde Silvestre, Juan Camilo. "Estrategias and recursos para la reelaboración de un poema heroico medieval en el siglo XXI: los Beowulfs de Robert Zemeckis y Caitlín R. Kiernan". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, XXXIII (2009), forthcoming.

19. For the case of *The Lord of the Rings*, there are *The Lord of the Rings Online: Shadows of Angmar* (a MMORPG, very similar to WoW), *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King*, *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers* and *The Lord of the Rings: The third age* (all for PS2, although belonging to different typologies of playing, as while the first two were action, "beat'em up", the third is an RPG in the style of *Final Fantasy*), as well as *The Lord of the Rings: The Battle for Middle Earth* (strategy for PC) and *The Lord of the Rings: The Conquest* (multiplatform: PC, X360, PS3 and Nintendo DS). For *Beowulf* with the game of the same name for PC, Xbox, PSP and PS3, developed by the Franco-Canadian Ubisoft. And *King Arthur* for PS2 and Xbox. This marketing strategy is habitual for these products, there being all kinds of cases that have "leapt" from the big screen to the monitor (*Torrente, el brazo tonto de la ley*; all the children's films have their corresponding videogames in almost all the platforms) and even from the small screen (series that have their own videogame, such as *Perdidos*, *CSI*, *Mujeres Desesperadas*, *etc.*). The interesting cases are those that have gone the other way, that is, a videogame that has generated a film, such as *Tomb Raider* or *Blade*, and with such "complex" cases as *Alien vs Predator*. These are notes for an endless list.

Thus, I conclude that the videogame is another element that appears in the showcase to be consumed; the market demands *medieval* products, so the companies respond accordingly, moving towards these same tastes. The extension of historical, or pseudo-historical subject matter, is something that the same firms insist on in search of the same type of player but who leans towards other historical periods that attract more than the medieval, such as the numerous games about classical Rome (from the *Great Battles of Caesar*, via *Pax Romana*, *Age of Empires. Gold Edition*, *Rome Total War*, *Roma*, *Praetorians, Pompeii: the Legend of Vesuvius*, the extensive *Imperivm* saga, the *Caesar*, *Civcity Roma, Great Battles of Rome, Europa Universalis: Rome* and its expansion *Vae Victis*, *Legión Arena, Glory of the Roman Empire*, *Imperium Romanum Gold Edition, Artyrian,* the online game, or the very recent *Horrible Histories: Ruthless Romans*, for Wii, PC and DS, from the "Horrible Histories" series of history books for children), Greece (*the Sparta saga*, *Zeus: Master of Olympus*, *Rise of the Argonauts, Alexander:* expansion of *RTW*, *Great Battles of Alexander*, *Alexander*, about the campaigns of Alexander the Great, the *Alexander* derived from Oliver Stone's film), the many about ancient civilisations (*Rise and Fall: Civilizations at War*, *Strength & Honour: Empire Building in the Ancient World (260 BC-100 AD)*, *Chariots of War*); some from the modern epoch (the *Cossacks* saga and its corresponding expansions, *Imperial Glory*, *Europa Universalis III* (although starting from the late medieval period), *Age of Empires III* and the expansions in the Far West and the American West, *Empire Total War*, the *Anno* saga (*Anno 1602, Anno 1503* and *Anno 1701*), all those related to the world of Caribbean corsairs (the *Port Royale* saga, *Black Buccaneer*, *Sea Dogs*, the legendary *Monkey Island*, *Pirates of the Caribbean*), *American Conquest*, the expansion of *Civilization IV*: *Colonization*) and the ancient Egyptian period (*Pharaoh* and the expansion *Cleopatra, Queen of the Nile, The Children of the Nile*, *Egypt 1156 BC: the Tomb of the Pharaoh, Egypt II: the Prophesy of Heliopolis* and *Egypt III: the destiny of Rameses, Ankh: an Egyptian adventure*).

Another chapter is generated by the range of videogames with historical backdrop that develop a true human story, some starting from Prehistory, and that reach a futurist epoch (now set in science fiction), and where the player, according to his or her skills and achievements, reaches stages marked by technological consecutions that lead through classical, medieval, modern and contemporary civilizations. This way, it is not unusual to be able to face a host with a tank division, an authentic aberration for the historical purists but very entertaining for those who only want to play. This is *Empire Earth* and its corresponding expansions, *Empires. Dawn of the Modern World* (in this case beginning in the late Middle Ages) or the well-known *Civilization* saga, by the developer Sid Meier.

Another separate theme is the very wide catalogue of videogames centred on the Second World War. It must be born in mind that not only have *shooter* games multiplied (the player moves forward by shooting at almost anything that moves), such as the *Medal of Honor* saga, or *Call of Duty* or *Brothers in Arms*, but also those of strategy have usurped the role of the old board *wargames*, especially the simulators of all kinds and almost all scenarios: combat aircraft (either fighters or bombers), warships, submarines, tanks, etc. Bear in mind that these simulators have been encouraged by the military industry, with the resulting investment leading in the short term to higher quality in

the products that quickly jump to the general market. We have continuations of this type of game with applications in the Vietnam War or the recent Gulf conflicts. There are even some set in the Cold War, like the recent *Codename Panzers: Cold War*. I insist that there are very numerous videogames related to the great world conflict, with a constant stream of innovations for absolutely all platforms.

I have not tried to offer a complete list of the videogames set in any historical period (and I have not done so with this intention), but rather that at this point of the study we must note the fundamental importance that History, with a capital letter, has for the industry and the phenomenon of the videogame as a whole. To think otherwise would be to deny the evidence.

However, two questions relativise or alter this process. In first place, there is the development of online games on Internet, and secondly, downloads in electronic format. In the latter case, there are occasions when this is not a good option for the player, as they may find that some expansions are unplayable without a legally acquired copy, as with *Medieval Total War II. Kingdoms*.

Another different subject is the private initiative that has shown itself to be independent and wants to turn itself into a competitor (given its free nature) "with the large companies in the videogame sector" (as the creators of *Buccaneer Quest*, a free game, state).[20] Internet is like the countryside, without gates (with the exception of the limits that public powers want to impose). In this sense, the question of piracy must be mentioned. I own no illegal game, firstly because I can afford the hobby, secondly because I originally approached this world through the simulators and needed the necessary complex instructions, so I saw the advantages of the original copies, and thirdly, because the manuals represent a bibliography in themselves; sometimes one is disappointed by the little investment the companies make in these, although one can understand that this is to decrease costs. What I cannot understand is that some still cost a real fortune for an adolescent from an average family and do not even include a miserable explanatory leaflet.

2.3. Internet and the multiplayer

Naturally, the growth of videogames on the net has not stopped. Here, one registers by offering only simple details, such as an alias and an e-mail, and this has the great advantage that the support is the internet itself. Sometimes there is a charge, but the result is the same. These are known as MMORPGs *Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games*. After the phenomenon of *World of Warcraft* (WoW),[21] with eleven million players around the world, and its move to a commercial CD format, the extension of this type of games (of all kinds) is growing at a spectacular rate. This media is generating specific forums linked to a specific

20. SourceForge. *Buccaneer quest*. 25th April 2009 <http://buccaneerquest.sourceforge.net/index.html>.

21. Official page: Blizard Entertaiment. *World of Warcraft*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.wow-europe.com/es/index.xml>, developed by Blizzard Entertainment for Windows and Mac OS X platforms, through the designers Rob Pardo, Jeff Kaplan and Ton Chilton.

game, deriving for obvious reasons from the context that inspired it. If this is a videogame set in the medieval past, the contents of the forum will be inextricably linked to our discipline. Leaving aside the abovementioned videogame of medieval fantasy inspiration, there are five games (although there will be others), the first two of role and the rest of strategy, that are worth mentioning: *Holy-War*[22], *Battle Knight*,[23] *Kings Age*,[24] *Guerras Tribales*[25] and *Medievol*.[26]



ILLUSTRATION 2. HOLY WAR.

22. GameArt Studio. *Holy War*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.Holy-War.net>. "Holy War is a complex online role game that you can play for free. Submerge yourself into the exciting era of Holy war. Choose the role of a crusader, a Saracen or a pagan, and conquer or defend the Holy Land." is the definition of the game that appears on the start page. The possible languages are German, English, Spanish, French, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian and Turkish.

23. Gameforge. *Batlleknight*. 25th April 2009 <http://battleknight.es/index.php?loc=start>.

24. Gameforge. *KingsAge*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.kingsage.es>.

25. InnoGames. *Guerras tribales*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.guerrastribales.es>; Travian Games. *Bienvenido a Travian*. 25th April 2009 <www.travian.net>. In Travian the gaming system is similar, with hamlets to increase and defend, and with attacks on the others. Leaving aside some other simple arcade pastime (more than simple), titled *Castle Siege*, the object of which is to defend a fortified post and which requires no more attention (Panaworld. "Castle Siege". *Macrojuegos.com*. 25th April 2009 <ttp://www.macrojuegos.com/juegos/castle-siege-3020.php/>, although it can also be found at Producciones lo nunca visto. "Castle Siege". *Juegosagogo.com*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.juegosagogo.com/arcade/juego/2368-castle-siege>, and at Soluciones Telemáticas. "Castle Siege". Juegos10.com. 25th April 2009 <http://www.juegos10.com/juegos/castle-siege_2928.php>.

26. Integra media digital. *Medievol*. 25th April 2009 <http://www.medievol.es>.

Take on the personality of a "Christian, Saracen or pagan" (HW) defending or attacking the Holy Land, or obtaining resources through combat and management, although what most encourages playing with these is the direct and permanent communication between users. The interfaces of the first and third are much better, but this is not a decisive factor in this media, rather the playability and immediacy of response and action. *Tribal Wars* and *Kings Age* have the substrate that continuous "frontier" type attacks are the basis of the growth of one's own position: the more you "rob" from the neighbour, the more powerful your village becomes. This requires spending a very long time connected, so that, as some users say, these are games where the winners are administrators who spend infinitely long hours sitting in front of the screen.

The popularisation of these "multiplayer" games has altered the reality of the solo game, the man-machine fight. They have their origin in the MUD (role games), that have existed since *Arpanet* (the network that Internet was built on around the end of the 70s), and was based on the use of written text,[27] a system that lasted; in 1984 a game was launched with this system, *The Saga of Erik the Viking*, a game that brings a smile to our faces when compared with even the simplest online games nowadays. However, among the keys to success in the future, as well as such factors as the development of graphics and AI (the artificial intelligence of the enemy), is the application of the multiplayer modes, either through Internet or local connections.[28]

A very different question is marketing through the network, as this opens an exceptional possibility for an independent to prosper with no more means than Internet. This is the case of *Mount & Blade*, by the Turkish Taleworlds Entertainment studio, that was recently released by the firm Paradox, considering the great success of downloads between players.

I am currently unaware of the success of the new *OnLive* system,[29] presented in the San Francisco *Games Developers Conference*, which reproduces games remotely through the Internet, without the need for a specific console. However, a terminal will always be necessary, and in the last step, a machine (TV, PC or Mac). However, it does give a good measure of how fundamental the network will be in the near future.

3. Games and players

It was necessary to present the complex framework of supports and working (in very broad traits) of the videogame phenomenon in order to understand the success that games set in the Middle Ages have had, and still have, among the users.

27. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia; Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…": 64-65.

28. Carrasco Polaino, Rafael. "Propuesta de tipología básica de the videojuegos de PC and consola". *Icono 14*. 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 25th April 2009 < www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/rafael%20carrasco.pdf>.

29. *Onlive*. 21st April 2009 <http://www.onlive.com>.

The enumeration of all these useful parameters for observing the universe of the videogame to the right degree has led to the appearance of two basic factors: who plays and what is played. The typology of these is basic, as not all players expect the same from a game nor do all the games have the same structure, although they share a common objective: to play.

Another comment before continuing is that since 2003, there has been a rating code for videogames, depending on their contents referring to violence, the appearance of drugs, discrimination, situations of terror, inappropriate and rude language, or more or less explicit sexual content. This is the PEGI (*Pan European Game Information*, similar to the American ESRB or Japanese CERO), and that replaced the national classifications in Europe with a common system.



ILLUSTRATION 3. CLASIFICATION PEGI.

The use of a videogame classified for the over 18s by adolescent players is more common than expected, as it means "joining the group" and even "being more respected".[30] I mention this because in the end, and until the player has purchasing power, it is the adult who buys the game, and this rating is designed to guide them. In the intention to purchase, apart from the evident interest by the one who asks for a present, we must bear in mind the parameter of tastes (or responsibility, unilateral on many occasions) of the purchaser. It is very common for adults to be led by the salesperson (or the friend "who knows about this"), without taking aspects of the script of the videogame into consideration, and whether the contents will be to the consumer's taste. This usually turns out right, however, owing precisely to the market being generalised and structured. One must understand that it is not recommendable to give a seven-year-old a game of real-time strategy on a medieval subject just because we have seen how good the graphics look and that we like the Middle Ages, in the same way that a videogame where handling a sword ends up splashing the TV or computer screen with virtual blood is not recommendable for the same child. The adolescent will soon appear who will find a way to get his hands on that bloodthirsty and illegal game.

30. There is a study by Petra Mª Pérez Alonso-Geta that mentions that the application of the PEGI does not guarantee the protection of minors: Pérez Alonso-Geta, Petra Mª. "Protección de la infancia y nuevas tecnología de la comunicación: el código PEGI de regulación de los videojuegos and juegos on-line". *Teoría de la Educación*, 9/3 (2008): 29-47.

3.1. The "Medievalist" player

The "videoplayer" is the person who uses and plays a videogame. This is a simple way to define this, but it corresponds to an average reality. From this premise, players can be differentiated into categories depending on their implication in the game. I fail to see the difference that is proposed between the concepts *play* and *game* clearly, where the former is limited to enjoyment of the game through the mere fact of playing it, and the latter to the use by adults, with rules and objectives.[31] People play for many reasons, but nobody plays to loose, but rather to reach an objective, either in the game or outside it. The average age of players in Spain, according to the ISFE report for 2007,[32] is 26. The occasional player is the one who sporadically enters a videogame, with the intention of what is commonly called "killing time".[33] The bad public image of the player and the act of playing a videogame (the former seen as real drug addicts, living in the Avernus or the pale of Satan) has generated a debate between pedagogues and psychologists about the benefits or the harm of using videogames, while the initiative passed by the Spanish parliament mentions these games as "a good opportunity to experience new pedagogical formulas in educational development and the forming of civic values".[34] As this obstinacy continues, I simply state that one should know the phenomenon before expressing an opinion, and generate criteria from the contributions that some videogames make to knowledge about the medieval period. These occasional players approach with curiosity, almost surprise, when they see the avalanche of information that they receive about the time period when playing a good part of these games. On many occasions the response is to say "It's very complicated" for games that are in fact complex, like those of strategy, and normally take refuge in the *arcade*, adventure or role games that *a priori* need no more than a superficial tutorial to begin to enjoy the game. The more complicated ones to control are tackled with the development of the player. However, this is an a priori impression that sometimes means surprises, as in certain circumstances the control of the situations requires prior knowledge of the realities of the game. For example, when seen for the first time, *XIII Century. Death or Glory* is spectacular, but controlling the game is really complex for a non-expert.

31. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia and Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…": 64-65.

32. "Key Facts. The profile of the European Videogamer"… See note 6.

33. The article by Aurelio del Portillo about the meaning of wasting time, using time, losing the notion of time playing, etc, is very interesting: Portillo, Aurelio del. "Enajenación de la experiencia del tiempo ante la pantalla del videojuego". *Icono 14*. 2004. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 26th April 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num4/index.html>.

34. See note 2.



ILLUSTRATION 4. XIII CENTURY: DEATH OR GLORY. LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA.

However, after having done our own biography, the simple tutorial in *Mount & Blade* has us instantly clouting right, left and centre in the rooms of a castle or using the bow on horseback as practice.



ILLUSTRATION 5. MOUNT-BLADE. TUTORIAL.

Then there are some console games that only require you to insert the disc and start pressing buttons, such as *Assassin's Creed* (versions PS3, Xbox and PSP, or the prequel[35] for Nintendo DS with the subtitle *Altaïr's Chronicles*, and that has just appeared for the iPhone). It must be emphasised that this is the player who plays from time to time, not to be confused with the one who sits in front of a screen once every three, four or five months.

After the occasional player, we have the *gamer*, a player who knows the industry (to a greater or lesser extent) and the videogame market in depth, and is usually up to date with the new products. This is possibly the best model for analysis as a medievalist player, as he dedicates precise (and sometimes precious) time to finding a game, calibrating it and, if it is worth it, playing and controlling it. This type of player is very interesting as he normally has a prior condition that draws him towards the game set in the Middle Ages, independently of whether it is arcade or strategy. It then depends on one's tastes or the possibilities and the playability of the product. *Lords III: the Realm* is truly fantastic for understanding the feudal-vassalistic system, but this option makes it complicated to play for a non-expert (either in the game or in medieval issues).

The next case is known in the jargon as *programmer*, who is dedicated to running on-line championships and taking part in the betas (trial versions) of the programmes (in this case, videogames), very often detecting errors that, once eradicated, improve the product. The credits on some instruction manuals reflect specific cases of this type of collaboration on the final version (the one put on sale), as in *XIII Century. Death or Glory*, *Stronghold 2* or almost the entire *TW* saga (especially the latest). At this point, mention must be made of the "patch" phenomenon in the PC platform, so well known to the habitual users of the new technologies. It is very possible that a version has some problem of playability or management of the game, or one that generates some problems with the equipment. Then either the firm itself or a user writes a small programme that completes or corrects the error.

The *hardcore gamer* would be the real professional, as the highest step of the players. There are subdivisions among these with specific denominations (such as *gosu*, who is a *gamer* who has a special ability for certain videogames).[36]

Although this classification attends to the implication of the player with the product, in reality there are two extreme types related to the Middle Ages, which set the limits for a wide range of intermediate possibilities. I am referring to the player who is very keen on this medium but who has no more knowledge of what that historical period meant than the prototype of the medieval that anyone can have, generated by the avalanche of stereotyped images that floods over us from an

35. This is a neologism for a work generated after the original, but whose script is set at an earlier time. This is an interesting way of supplying information to complete the story of the first instalment. In the cinema there are several examples, the best-known being the three recent *Star Wars* prequels, set chronologically before the original from the 70s.

36. The data in the report Universidad Complutense de Madrid. "Hábitos e iniciación a los…", section 7.1 is very revealing. See note 2.

early age (Middle Ages equal darkness, backwardness, knights, castles, a princess); and on the other extreme, the professional medievalist, who seeks the background of veracity (even plausibility) in the game. Between these two, there are a vast number of possible degrees.

The first that we have to respond to is the anxiety with which the user begins any videogame. Huertero[37] states that players attempt to comply with two very different plans: for pure satisfaction, that is the mere fact of playing-competing-winning-sharing,[38] and to satisfy the group. Here is where we count the videogame as an element of sociability: not having a videogame or not playing it is not to participate in the *tribe*. The approximation of a professional historian to this type of medium can be understood, but the fact that draws the attention of a good part of non-lovers of historical knowledge is more complex (some of these young people even reject the discipline they receive in their centres of study). It can be argued that they are playing, not studying. But, at the end of the day, in some of these videogames, control of events, conditions, factors and elements of that culture set between the 5th and 16th centuries is necessary to be able to enjoy the game. What is spectacular is that players end up assuming a terminology of "combat units" more normal in a specialist, and that they would not otherwise have known about. For example, a very useful unit in *Age of Empires II* is the *catafracta*, the heavy cavalry in the Byzantine faction. I very much doubt that access to and use of this terminology would have come about with what we could call a general education. The act of choosing the game and participating in it with *equals* (colleagues, friends…) has no greater sense than to feel part of and be recognized in the group. There is an even more interesting case, which responds to the specific fashion of some games. Two years ago (in November 2007), and coinciding with the launch of one of the most popular consoles, the PS3, *Assassin's Creed* came out to exploit the high definition of the Blu-Ray player in the Sony machine.

Having played this adventure game, set in the Middle Ages and Ultramar (Holy Land), with the possibility to stroll through the streets of Damascus, Acre, Masyaf, Arsuf and Jerusalem itself at the end of the 12th century, meant prestige for the individual within the group.

37. Huertero Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos…".

38. The results of the report Universidad Complutense de Madrid. "Hábitos e iniciación a los…" seems to confirm this, with very high percentages of players (approximately half), who say they play for entertainment/distraction. The oldest did so to share something with the family, which leads us to Huertero's second proposal to indicate the reasons to approach a videogame, that is no other than integration, in this case more for a wish not to become separated from the group than to assimilate to it, as they already belong to it.

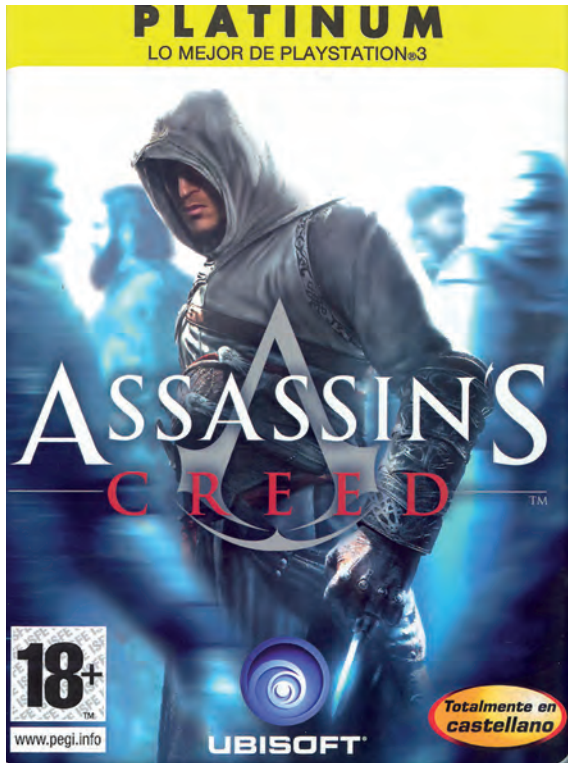


Illustration 6. Cover of the edition Platinum about Assasin's Creed.

However, this led to an "accidental" approach to the *medieval* game. It was the novelty, moreover, of the new graphic device (developed in *Scimitar*, like the one used for *Prince of Persia*), which allowed the images to be seen on HD Ready screens, at 720p, which was a spectacular advance over the resolution in previous televisions. The most important aspect of this is that it generated a sizeable group of followers, who secured not only the development of marketing (as mentioned above), but a whole social phenomenon within the videogame.[39] This was despite having a PEGI +18. Even in this case, we must take this into account, as it leads the player in neophyte medieval history to know who the sect of the *assassin* were,[40] and even the historical characters who appear, not to mention the cities, and the specific historical context of the Third Crusade.

39. Ubisoft Entertainment. *Assasin's Creed 2*. 21st April 2009 <http://assassinscreed.es.ubi.com/assassins-creed-2/teaser>.

40. W. B. Bartlett's essay about this phenomenon is very interesting: Bartlett, Wayne Baker. *Los asesinos*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006.

The professional historian does not necessarily coincide with the professional player of medieval history. The history teacher who plays the videogames will have his particular inclination towards one theme or another, and even for some specific kind of game. We do not think that all professional historians are unconditional followers of strategy games, which are considered to be those which can offer us the greatest historical content. An interesting point is to know the attitude of a player who was trained as a medievalist, independently of whether this was through History, Literature, Art, Philosophy or Philology.

It is unquestionable that the implication of the player is of enormous importance for what will develop into a game. Without going any further, it is worth mentioning the phenomenon of the *mods*. A *mod* is an extension or perfection (or profiling) of a game by some followers who are experts in it and have technical knowledge, and which are normally posted on the net for other users to use and enjoy. There are various sites where you can find this type of file, which must be installed after the original game, but I will mention a URL that has a long list of possibilities, as well as all kinds of games: strategyinformer.com.[41] The options for *Rome: Total War* are very varied, from the application of the conquest of Iberia, and thus the formalisation of Hispania (*Iberia: Total War*[42]), to various applications from Antiquity (Rome itself or a beta of the Persian invasion), to the Napoleonic campaigns or, what might interest us most, the barbarian invasions with considerable levels of historicity (*Europa Barbarorum*[43]), and which appears as *Rome Medieval* in the *mod*.[44] There is even *Star Wars*. The interesting point is that the community of players of the full TW saga is so big that, sensibly, a specific forum, *Total War Center*, was generated,[45] which is the place for players to find the *mods* that they want, to the point that norms for the working and use of these had to be published.

The concepts "veracity", "plausibility", "historical concretion" or "adaptation to the contents of History" are inherent in the position taken first by the *medievalists* (here meaning not only the teacher, but also the researcher and the aficionado in things medieval). They will choose one videogame or another, according to their learning criteria and even the visibility of a reality that can only be imagined in books, and that they now have the chance to recreate. They can even live it virtually through certain games, such as *Mount & Blade, The Guild* saga or *Assassin's Creed*. This is where the great schism between players must be made: between those who seek this veracity, and those who do not mind that license is taken in place of the game desired by the author (with the appearance of magicians, dragons, magic beings, etc.). I am unaware whether the 20% of players among those who had

41. *Strategyinformer*. 21st April 2009 <http://www.strategyinformer.com/all/mods.html>.

42. *Iberia Total War*. 21st April 2009 <http://itw.celtiberos.net>, which redirects to "Rome: Total War Mod.". *Strategyinformer*. 21st April 2009 <www.strategyinformer.com/pc/rometotalwar/mod/23491.html>.

43. *Europa Barbarorum. Modification for Rome: Total War*. 21st April 2009 <http://www.europabarbarorum.com/>.

44. There is a list of possible downloads on "Rome: Total War Mod: Downloads". *Strategyinformer*. 21st April 2009 <http://www.strategyinformer.com/pc/rometotalwar/mod/23772.html>.

45. Twcenter.net. *Total War Center*. 21st April 2009 <http://www.twcenter.net>.

higher education in 2007, lean towards one side or the other. The player's age has a lot to do with it in this case, since we know that about 43% of the under 30s are considered habitual players, dropping to 16% in those between 30 and 49 (ISFE 2007 report). Thus, prior education is implicit in the use and perspective that the researcher might have of the image of the *medieval* projected by these videogames. It is possible that several years will have to pass in order for us to calibrate the impact accurately, when the reality is fully understood by teachers (who will have played thee games and will have knowledge of this, at the same level as their students). We can substantiate this when we note that interest in the strategy game falls abruptly after the age of 45, as does interest in the adventure game.[46] But these are data from today; the report on the web of the Asociación Española de Distribuidores and Editores de Software de Entretenimiento (*aDeSe*) about videogames in Spanish homes, with figures and results from 2000, urgently needs revising.

3.2. Videogames and the notion and image of the medieval

I will now move on to refer specifically to those videogames set in the medieval period. We must remember something that I have been referring to from the beginning of this study. I accept the division offered by R. Carrasco Polaino, who specifies that the game can be arcade, adventure and role, simulation, strategy, sports or puzzles and questions.[47] Under arcade, adventure and role, and strategy we can find games set in or inspired by the Medievo. Several years ago, one was sold by Diáspora, under the title *Trivial Templarios 15.000*, that consisted of a videogame with questions, with the aim of getting hold of the Order's treasure, but whose interest is simply anecdotal. Then, as the next step, a division must be made between the videogames that have the Middle Ages as the graphic excuse and those that link their script and subject to the medieval period. In one word: the fantasy or the ones that stay close to a history more or less inspired in the past reality. This phenomenon does not happen with any other historical stage with the range of videogames that I mentioned related to other moments in History. The games linked to the classical Roman past have no magicians wandering around (except certain licenses in some titles with "heroes", like *Rise and Fall. The Fall of the Empires*, or one of the *Imperivm* saga), because there is a specific real-time strategy game referring to the mythological world (*Age of Mythology*, developed by Ensemble Studios and published by Microsoft in 2002). Apart from that, and referring to the Second World War, there is a *shooter* set in a gothic castle inhabited by monstrous Nazis soldiers (Wolfenstein 3D, by id Software, and distributed by Apogee Software), and some virtual histories in the purest "what would have happened if …" style, like the *Enigma* simulator, turning Point or some graphic adventures.

46. Report Universidad Complutense de Madrid. "Hábitos e iniciación a los…", It also has an interesting data in collation with what I state about the "normalization" of the age with the passing of time, as almost half of those interviewed between the 35 and 44 in this report said that they had played in their youth.

47. Carrasco Polaino, Rafael. "Propuesta de tipología básica…".

3.2.1. The fantasy videogame

I will now refer briefly to this section, linking the interest in the image of *the medieval* in the West to the 19th century rediscovery of the Romantic. Taking the Arthurian cycle[48] as the indisputable starting point for the whole question (in fact, together with Germanic and Nordic epics, it is the base for all these "worlds"), it really belongs to a parallel impulse, as it is also the result of the tradition promoted by the works of Lewis and Tolkien (both friends in the literary circle of the *Inklings*). All the European epics must be taken into account, especially those from the North (including France, with the *Song of Roland* or the *Chanson de Guillaume*), where the "marvellous" forms an indivisible part of Western culture; the importance of *The Ring of the Nibelungs* or *Beowulf* is thus evident. In the Iberian Peninsula, this tradition is marked by the legends from the medieval epoch found in most places and districts (a Moorish princess, a knight, etc.) but all imbued with the most purely Hispanic substrate of romance, that derives from the Hispanic epic, closer to the real and historical world than in the rest of Europe, as shown by Menéndez Pidal. However, fantasy forms an indivisible part of this tradition generated in the Middle Ages, which was transformed and adapted to modernity through the sagas by the above-mentioned authors (among others).

However, the *fundamental* role played by the genre of the *books of knightly endeavours* in sustaining these illusory worlds, where the impossible was real and fantasy was habitual, is always ignored. The roots of this cultural base seem to have been lost as a reference point, when in reality the videogames in question take ideas from this literature, nuanced by the massive influence of Tolkien. However, what is not usually known is Tolkien's deep knowledge of the Germanic epic (both Nordic and German). His family roots were from Lower Saxony, and he was a great expert on *Beowulf*. In fact, he may have been interested in generating a new English epic through his works. His friend Lewis shared his interest in the Nordic epic, as I have mentioned in the context of their literary gatherings in *The Eagle and Child* pub. Thus, there is no visible cultural discontinuity between these epics and the ones generated by videoplayers in their own adventure.

The possibilities opened up by the new computer art of the videogame are infinite, and the applications arising from it were the fruit of this current, where the medieval interface covered, protected and even legitimated (and still does) any script set in dream or fantasy worlds. Huge swords and enormous axes, ineffable creatures, with impossible shapes, purposefully mannerist breastplates and helmets, fantasy events, unreal processes, phenomena from far-off worlds… paraphernalia from the purest tradition of King Arthur and that also absorbs part of the books of chivalrous adventures as I have mentioned. Morgana, Lancelot, Merlin, Amadis of Gaul, Tirant lo Blanc, Perceval, etc., are on the same level as Sartharion, Malygos,

48. Which naturally has the relevant videogames, both those derived from the film directed by Fuqua in 2004 (*King Arthur*, Krome Studios, 2005), and the earlier *Tzar. Excalibur and the King Arthur* (FX Interactive, 2002) and Legion: The legend of Excalibur (Midway, 2002) or the recent *Sonic and the Black Knight* (Sega, 2009).

Sir Anduin Lothar or King Llane (all the latter present in *World of Warcraft*). Monsters and extraordinary beings that live beside humans (or humanoids) exposed to both the fulminating bolt of a wizard and the rapid bolt from a timely crossbow. If we add a carefully weighted contribution from Japanese *manga* culture to this, the result is that we even see a transfer of some aspects in the opposite direction, confusing real characters with others dressed like the heroes of any Japanese comic. The best example is the stars of *Bladestorm. The Hundred Years' War*, where the Black Prince is a knight from any scene from a *seinen manga* (*manga* aimed at young men and adults) developed as *jidaimono* (a *manga* set in feudal Japan).



Illustration 7. Bladestorm. The Black Prince.

Not to mention Queen Phillipa, portrayed as extraordinarily attractive, and identified as an English general: because girls also play, a reality far from the prejudices that these inventions are only for boys.

In the context of this approach, we find such a wide range of possibilities in the world of videogames that a specific study would be necessary about how these medieval images are absorbed and projected into these games. Reality is not of interest, nor is there any urge to find a plausible script. It is fantasy and does not pretend to be anything else. Neither does the player seek this veracity, but enters into this private world (generated in the imagination through reading *The Lord of the Rings*, or in a visually passive way after seeing one of the films in the trilogy by the director Peter Jackson, or, and this is what interests us, taking an active part through handling the videogame). It am not sure if it is appropriate to link a flight

from a reality "that is hostile, full of demands and requirements that the common people have problems dealing with",[49] to the use of this type of videogame, as this can equally be achieved with any other on any other theme, even with the aforementioned historical scripts.

In reality, with this type of game, the players are also seeking to involve themselves in these worlds. Ultimately, they go into these scripts (making them their own, participating in them to generate certain possibilities), and that opens a different perspective from the technological progression in graphic effects that we consider the main attraction for the future videoplayer. With the growth in the number of users and also the increase in knowledge in the global sense, sales are being linked to the offer of a pre-designed history, "that involves the players and lets them enjoy themselves without any need to show their skill with the joystick".[50] This type of videogame *à la medieval* allows the generation of an *emerging* script, that is, one that develops as it emerges, rather than following a specific path, created by the author. In the end, it is the same player who creates the history of the videogame, albeit indirectly as the game progresses. The possibilities for those closer to a historical reality are different, as we now enter the field of *re-created* History.

This type of videogame is interesting because a player without specific knowledge of Western European medieval history will not worry about fighting against Prince Yaroslav (Grand Prince of Novgorod and Kiev) or Prince Caspian (fruit of Lewis' imagination in *The Chronicles of Narnia* saga), or that the *hobbit* from *The Lord of the Rings* is comparable to a lancer from the Vistula, or that Aragorn (whose face will always be immortalised by Viggo Mortensen) shares a showcase with Premysl II Otakar of Bohemia (Yaroslav, the lancer of the Vistula and the *King of Iron and Gold* appear in *XIII Century. Death or Glory*). The player wants to play without going any deeper, although what is really interesting is that he (or she) ends up as an expert on these worlds, with a deep knowledge about the population, fauna, flora, geography and even the institutions of these universes. This is important because the approach to these "universes" appears at first so similar that for those players with no profound idea about medieval societies it might be an approximation to 13th-century monarchies.

There are so many and such varied games in this genre: arcade, strategy, adventure and role (a huge number of the latter type), that it would be incongruous to stop at this point. We need only mention such popular titles as the aforementioned *World of Warcraft*, the saga of the *Lord of the Rings*, *Drakensang*, *Beowulf*, *Cultures* (in-

49. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia; Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…": 53.

50. "Nowadays the necessary hardware fits in the palm of the hand and its possibilities of connection make the technology that saw the birth of the first videogames seem ridiculous. But, despite all this power, it could be said that we have spent 30 years playing the same things. The race to squeeze the most out of the latest generation of graphic processors is beginning to tire the consumer, and after years of long waits and dedication to games without narrative content, the users are hoping that the developers leave more space and allow the stories of the videogames to have a bigger role". Peinado, Federico; Santorum, Michael. "Juego emergente: ¿nuevas formas de contar historias en videojuegos?". *Icono 14*. 2004. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 24th April 2009 <www.icono14.net/revista/num4/index.html>.

cluding *Northland*), those linked to *Dungeons & Dragons* (and which, as the first role playing board game, has had an enormous influence), *Warrior Kings. Battles*, *Ladnok* (an MMORPG),[51] the better known *Lineage* (another MMORPG, from the late 1990s, with over 43 million copies sold around the world), all the games derived from the marketing of the Harry Potter phenomenon (*Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*), the *Might and Magic* saga, *Warhammer* and *Gothic*, *Ascension to the Throne*, *Oblivion*, *Valhalla Chronicles*, and many more. The setting of *Prince of Persia* (a widely extended game since its appearance in 1989 for Apple II) links the game to the medieval period through the mere fact of its platform being developed in the context of an Islamic medina. We can even see the puppet Sonic recently starring in a title under the denomination *Sonic and the Black Knight* (Nintendo for Wii) in a full Arthurian court.

3.2.2. Medieval historical videogames

This section is the real subject of this analysis. I have mentioned that there have been videogames on the medieval period on the market for two decades, and that these have surprised us on account of both their quantity and their quality. I will not mention the multiplayer options of the various videogames that appear below, because this has no influence on the proposed aims of this study.

Computer graphics have been shown to be the ideal tool for showing the scenarios of the past, such as a castle (*Castillo*, by Zeta Multimedia, marketed in 1996, for PC and Mac). This is not about the appearance of educational or cultural products from the different public administrations (*Castillos de España*, by Logograph Multimedia; or those aimed at children, like *La Máquina del Tiempo del Pequeño Aventurero*, by Zeta Multimedia, or the more recent Pipo series linked to mathematics for the last course of primary school, to mention a few). I refer to games that were assumed from the outset to represent the leap from the board game to the screen of the PC (or Mac).

In the mid 80s, there were various games added to what, from our perspective, can be considered the pioneers of the graphic systems that attracted a public, at that time limited but expectant. Examples from this period are *Defender of the Crown*, with spectacular graphics for the time (for various platforms, although at first only for the Commodore Amiga platform, later extended to more modern consoles like the Game Boy). It appeared in 1986, and the player could control any of the five factions in the game. It is impressive that Cinemaware redistributed an updated version in 2007, with the subtitle of *Heroes Live Forever*. It was inevitable. We must remember that when it appeared, the strategy genre was not very widespread in Spain, but it signified a very important starting point. In fact, a million copies were sold around the world.[52] However, the game evolved over the years,

51. *Ladnok*. 24th April 2009 <http://www.ladnok.es/pages/geschichte>.

52. As Alberto de Vega Luna mentions in his comments about the game in *Robin Hood: Defender of the Crown* for PC in the forum of *Meristation*: Vega de Luna, Alberto. "Avances: Robin Hood: Defender of

and also diversified towards adventure, and can be found for PS2 and even Xbox as *Robin Hood. Defender of the Crown*, where one can handle the character in various situations.

1989 saw the first title of what would over time become one of the most interesting sagas of commercial simulation, in the mercantile setting of the 13th-century Hanseatic League: *The Patrician*. Here the player took on the role of a merchant, and the objective was to progress economically in order to win power in the city of origin by climbing through a series of ranks: from merchant as the basic level, up to the level of governor. I will refer to the titles in this saga later.

The broad perspectives that opened up after applying this strategy game scheme to the computer screen through a game like *Castles II. Siege & Conquest* (by Interplay Entertainment, in 1992, and that generated the saga opened by *Castles*, launched the previous year) gave Medieval History buffs an opportunity they could identify with.



ILLUSTRATION 8. CASTLES II.

Set in the early 14th century, a fight to the death between various factions (Valois, Albion, Anjou, Aragon and Burgundy) conditioned the choice of the king of Brittany through the prior recognition by the Papacy (the video introduction begins

the Crown". *Meristation*. 4th May 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/des_avances.php?id=4236&idj=2420&pic=GEN>.

with the news of the death of the Breton king, Charles). The game was about obtaining resources (the usual food, gold, iron and timber) to support growth in the home territory, conquests, espionage and diplomacy, the building of castles and to sustain a sizeable armed host, both for attack and defence.

As can be seen, this was a game where the historical motive was the excuse. However, the script had no bearing on the historical reality (Brittany was a duchy, for example, nor was there ever a king Charles). However, what was interesting was that you could play "at the Middle Ages" on your computer screen, including the complex relations that had to be maintained with the Papacy. The latter is a factor that has never disappeared from the later games, such as *Medieval Total War*, thus defining how important it was then to keep on good terms with the Pope. This was also the time when colour screens started to become common, so the qualitative leap was remarkable. The graphics, with the exception of the building of castles, were rather simple, but this is merely an impression which we have nowadays: in its time the game was unrivalled. This strategy videogame also included one of the greatest elements for playability, namely that of maintaining various territories in peace and prosperity. An uprising could emancipate a rebellious region and thus mean a loss of power for the player: the presence of a castle mitigated these attempts to rebel. These are elements that have since that time appeared in one way or another in later games on the same subject, such as the importance of the climate and the weather for war (in winter the troops moved with greater difficulty). I consider it risky to talk about antecedents, but the truth is that these aspects would become standard elements in medieval strategy games down to the present.

Two years later, *Lords of the Realm*, by Impressions Games (the same as *Pharaoh* and *Caesar*) appeared on the market. This game gave the player the power to manoeuvre through the strategy in real-time to take over the English throne. The second in the saga appeared in 1996, also for PC and Mac. The third came out in 2004, with much improved graphics, continuing with the same philosophy as the first two: closely linked to historical truth, without magic units and, in contrast to other strategy games, with no technological tree. The battles are fairly simple to handle, and there are some fifteen historical encounters to choose from (Hastings, Legnano, Crécy, Poitiers, Courtrai, Stirling, Bouvines, Stanford Bridge, etc, with an explanation of each). However, the game's strategic system is rather complicated, with an involvement in the feudal-vassalistic structure when controlling territory (with the seigniorialisation of villages and key points in the area included), which makes it very attractive to see, but cumbersome to play without a favourable predisposition.



ILLUSTRATION 9. LORDS OF THE RALM III.

This has been one of the strongest criticisms from some users in the specialised forums, complaining that once a vassal had been nominated, the player loses direct control of what happens in this fiefdom. One cannot personally choose the units or take any specific action, as the AI is in charge of executing and managing it (that is, the virtual fact was that the vassal had in turn become a lord of vassals and had freedom to act supported by the designation of the lord, in this case, the player). Thus we have an approximation to what the private relation between lord and vassal was like. A medievalist videoplayer will always regard this type of parameter positively, although it reduces the playability.

The perfecting of graphic systems led to the generation of a new type of adventure game that took advantage of this interface to "hook" the consumer. *Crusader. Conspiracy in the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (by Pointsoft, 1997), is an example of this type, which uses the resort to adventure to introduce the player to a series of aspects relating to the entire medieval period, from the technology of the time to the historical maps of the Crusades. In reality this was emphasising the educational value of these new technologies, making it less attractive for someone who is looking for the pleasure of the game through merely playing it.

3.2.2.1. From Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings…

Two years later, in 1999, the first great keystone for videogames inspired by the medieval period appeared. I am referring to *Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings*.



Illustration 10. Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings.

This Microsoft game, developed by Ensemble Studios, continued the saga generated a year earlier with *Age of Empires*, initially limited to prehistoric civilisation, and extended with an expansion into the Roman epoch (*The Rise of Rome*). The videogame, an RTS in the subgenre of *Build and Battle* (B&B), represented a violent change in what it meant to sit in front of the computer screen and "see the Middle Ages". While Mercedes Molina, dean of the Faculty of Geography and History at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, stated in 2004 that the game *Imperivm III. Great Battles of Rome* had generated "enthusiasts of History",[53] we could say the same about this game, where the Middle Ages acquired a series of unconditional fans, who have stood up to the passing of time with the same game.

53. EFE. "Mercedes Molina, decana de Historia de la UCM. 'Imperium III' crea 'entusiastas de la Historia'". Elmundo.es. 10th January 2005. 4th May 2009 <http://www.elmundo.es/navegante/2004/12/16/juegos/1103212223.html>.

Among the various options in the game was an icon named "History", which provided the player with a little encyclopaedia with detailed information about the factions and various explanations about the Middle Ages, such as the concept itself, war and the different military units, politics and religion in the high and late Middle Ages, feudalism, the Crusades, etc.

Microsoft introduced the game progressively in the United States, Europe and finally Australia, but not in Japan. I mention this in order to show the importance that marketing has on the impact of any game, as I mentioned above. In the same way, the systems chosen in the first place, PC and Mac, were extended with the application of the game for PS2, Nintendo DS, and finally mobile phone terminals. This was the case with *Civilization* by Sid Meier. The first version, from 1991, did not reach Spain, while the second and third did (in 1996 and 2002 respectively).

The graphic engine of *Age of Empires II*, *Genie Engine* allowed one of the most dynamic games to date to be managed. The interface was also spectacular for those times, with the buildings neatly recreated and the units conforming to the archetypes suggested by the image of the different civilisations that could be played (a total of thirteen: English, Celts, Francs, Goths, Teutons, Vikings, Chinese, Japanese, Mongols, Byzantines, Persians, Saracens and Turks). Like its predecessor in the saga, the game consisted of accumulating resources, building infrastructures and fighting to attack or defend, progressing in technological phases that went from the high Middle Ages to the Imperial Age, via the Feudal Age and the Age of Castles. The improvements that were achieved in each of these gave the player a clear advantage over the other players, whether this was a multiplayer system or whether playing against the machine's AI. One of the best characteristics of the game is that each civilisation has its strong and weak points, with military units generated in the castles that are specific to the faction (such as the English archers with longbows), creating closer identification with the game. A full tree for the development of military units, buildings and technologies guides the progression of the game, where it is necessary to complete certain projects successfully in order to move on to the following phase. Obtaining resources (gold, stone, timber and food) through the peasants (who became miners, foresters or labourers, as they were ordered) is the basis for administrating the game.

The development of certain maps and specific campaigns links the game to the real past, with general or specific historical episodes featuring in campaigns to be run (such as Joan of Arc, Genghis Khan or Frederick I.



Illustration 11. Age of Empires II. Campaigns.

In fact, the tutorial (the interactive medium that "shows" you how to play) shows William Wallace's campaign, and its release coincided with the launch of the film *Braveheart*, starring Mel Gibson, which helped to know the real historical figure. At the beginning of each campaign, a narrator introduces the story, which progresses as the game goes on. However, it is also possible to confront any faction, given the possibility to generate one's own game.



Illustration 12. Age of Empires II. Introduction to the campaign of Frederick I Barbarossa.

What is interesting is "to be able to play at the medieval". There are various systems of victory, but in the end all boil down to surviving and destroying the enemy (although it is not necessary to exterminate them in any specific way to be able to win).

The expansion of this videogame, which was released in the following year with the subtitle of *The Conquerors*, added five more civilisations (two pre-Colombian ones, the Aztecs and Mayas, and three from the known world, the Spanish, Huns and Koreans), where they were involved in the medieval decline, and that has also ended being a formula in the other great game about the Middle Ages, MTW II, as we shall see below. But in our case of the Spanish context, this expansion included El Cid's campaign, with his exile, the Almoravid landing and the conquest of Valencia. Another important innovation was to be able to command historical battles: Agincourt, Hastings or Tours allowed us to manage the battle as Henry V, William the Conqueror or Charles Martel. There were also others from the modern era, such as Lepanto (1571), Kyoto (1582) and Noryang (1598). Under the name of "Vindlandsaga" one could play the adventure of Erik the Red in lands beyond Greenland.

When *Empires: Dawn of the Modern World* was released in 2002 (another RTS game developed by the team at Stainless Steel Studios, directed by Rick Goodman, the same as *Empire Earth*), its different factions started in the late medieval period, which was no surprise, unlike their progress to the contemporary epoch (2nd World War). The preface of the manual also mentions this. The shadow of *Age of Empires II* was too long and its success worthy of being reproduced in similar products. However, it is really linked to the above-mentioned *Empire Earth*, with the significant difference that the latter begins in the prehistoric period and continues, with the use of science fiction, into the future. This videogame with its expansions was launched in 2001. The English faction took much of the lead in the medieval phases, although of the three that interest us (The Dark Ages, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance), the first had hardly any appreciable technological progression, the second opened up many possibilities for the military units and the third, as well as seeing the disappearance of the phenomenon of *feudalism*, introduced gunpowder. *Empire Earth I* featured William of Normandy's campaign, and *Empire Earth II* featured the German campaigns. Apart from this, it had no greater innovations than the specified ones of global and futurist chronology.

The contributions of medieval history to *Civilization* are scarce, although, naturally, they do exist, given its character of historical development. This is the most widespread turn-taking strategy game, with a version for the latest generation of consoles (*Civilization Revolution*, 2008). It deals with the evolution of humanity from its origins to the Space Age.

Highland Warriors (DataBecker, 2002) is in the same style, set in medieval Scotland, and has the same style of management, with the collection and construction of buildings and generation of combat units. As the user's manual states, "The control of the units in *Highland Warriors* is practically identical to the majority of real-time strategy games". Nothing new, except the scenario. The game develops over the four hundred years from the first Scottish monarch, Kenneth MacAlpin, to the early

years of the 14th century with Edward I and Robert the Bruce. This videogame takes a certain licence that is not to the liking of the purists of the historical game, as certain units have magical powers. This is the same defect (or not, depending on what we expect from the game) that we find in another product also by DataBecker, called *Castle Strike*, which was released in 2003. In this and the rest, more of the same.

Prior to these games, although likewise in the real-time strategy genre, a videogame from FX Interactive appeared on the Spanish market that was to have a long life. This was *Tzar* (2000). With a series of games linked to the first one (*Tzar. The Burden of the Crown*), the Bulgarian company Haemimont Games was established to make this product. Its great success was due to its ease of use, handling of the resources and the versatility of the battles. The magic units appeared, but they did so in aspects of the game that allowed the possibility of plausibility and fantasy, thus not interfering excessively with the game if we did not want dragons or wizards loose on the screen. The release of *La Reconquista* (only in Spain and Italy) was an authentic revolution in videogames not only of medieval history, but of the entire history of the Iberian Peninsula, as it meant that for the first time there existed a specific interest in being able to involve oneself in this past. The game had a clear inclination towards the Castilian-Leonese origins, with the development of the Astur nucleus, the conquest of Valencia by El Cid, or the siege of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs, and it became a reference point for those who wanted to play in the Middle Ages south of the Pyrenees. Another three versions of the main game came out subsequently, under the titles of *Excalibur and King Arthur* (where spells have a specific purpose in the game), *Gold edition* (a recompilation, to which the Mongol campaign is added), and *The Dominions of the Magic* (2003), where the fantasy aspect is of greater importance. However, *Age of Empires II* is still the benchmark that leaves all the other games far behind in any comparison.

1998, the year before *Age of Empires II,* saw the release of *Knights and Merchants: The Peasants' Rebellion* (by Joymania Entertainment). This was another real-time strategy game, of administering resources and battles, but had neither the graphic impact nor the players, despite being a good videogame. Its complexity may have been the reason. A version for Linux appeared in 2007.

The saga of *Patrician*, initiated in 1989 as mentioned above, made a recovery with the second game by the same company (Ascaron), to which the subtitle *Power, fortune and victory* was added. Appearing in 2000, it required a large proportion of the resources of those PCs. It continued to simulate the Hanseatic merchant in search of a rise in rank through success in business. When *Patrician III* was launched (in 2003), it was the same game, but much lighter, so that machines handled its execution and development much better. With a user's manual that was unlike the habitual (printed in colour and very informative in Spanish), the videogame contained a brief historical review of the chronological situation in the 13th century and the geographic location in the North and Baltic Seas.



ILLUSTRATION 13. HANSEATIC MAP OF PATRICIAN III. A FALDOUT IS INCLUDED IN THE BOX.

The fluctuation in commodity prices, the running of the city, loans, donations, etc., made it a very attractive game (with very interesting graphics) for the medievalist, but also for anyone seeking in this typology a means to control a maritime empire economically. For those who wanted to transfer the system to another similar setting, the company developed *Port Royale* (also in 2003) and *Port Royale 2: Empire and Pirates* (which appeared two years later), set in the Caribbean. They are known in the forums as the "Caribbean cousins" of the original saga, which is very significant and which requires no further comments.

In 2001, the leap of *Europa Universalis* from the tables to the computers through the firm Paradox generated a series that is on its third instalment, and that always starts in the 15th century as a basis for the development of the modern era, which is the real subject of these videogames. For this, the company dreamed up two games more closely centred on the medieval stage. In 2003, *Two Thrones. From Joan of Arc to Richard III* was launched (with the same motor as *Europa Universalis*). This game is set in western Europe, with suggested management and battles (that cannot be personally led), and that fails to impress, having played other games. *Crown of the North* is the same game, but applied to the Nordic monarchies (Paradox is Swedish), and also appeared in the same year. Remaining with the same kind of game and the same development company, we have *Crusader Kings* (2004, with an expansion subtitled *Deus Vult*), which takes on the management and war system (where the latter is not necessarily productive, even if one wins), and which we can see projected in *Europa Universalis III*. The

presence of historical medieval elements is very high, from the territories to the personalities who appear, a fact that is emphasized on both the cover and the back of the inlay.



Illustration 14. Detail of the cover of Crusader Kings.

The game stretches from 1066 to 1453, and the innovation compared with previous ones is that the player takes over a dynasty and not a country. It can be started in 1066, 1187 or 1337, three different historical moments, but which end in the year of the fall of Constantinople. An interesting aspect is that the game can be transported and continued in *Europa Universalis II* and prolonged to 1820. This system of game is the most interesting, both for the historical background and its playability. With an interface very similar to *Europa Universalis*, another strategy game that was equally ambitious in its historically accurate approach appeared in 2005. In fact, the back cover specifies the "absolute historical rigor" as one of the strong points offered to the potential consumer. I am referring to *Great Invasions. The Dark Ages. 350-1066 AD* by Indie Games Productions.



ILLUSTRATION 15. GREAT INVASIONS. THE DARK AGES 350-1066 AD. CAMPAIGN OF JUSTINIAN.

The truth is that this is a game that, like *Crusader Kings*, covers a specific time period. The user manual states that "it is a decisive historical age in History that has never before been simulated in a videogame, probably because of its complexity and heterogeneity". These words were written by Philippe Thibaut, the creator of the game, *Pax Romana* and also EU, who always insists on this accuracy. The *engine* is from the above mentioned Roman themed videogame, and in reality there is a great deal of coincidence between all these games, with their format, playability and interface so similar that they can appear to be continuations of *Europa Universalis* and other medieval games mentioned above (*Two Thrones, Crown of the North* and *Crusader Kings*), although it surpasses these in both major and minor historical detail. It is not produced by Paradox, like the former, but this will be of little importance to the non-professional player (that is, the vast majority). The game is very complex to control and play because of the multiplicity of elements and factors, which satisfies the medievalist but can confuse the casual buyer, as it has a PEGI for players older than 3. The most noteworthy for the objectives of this article is the specific interest of the game's creator[54] not to develop a purely entertaining product, but rather one that serves to enrich the player's general culture (*"I am a great fan of strategy games, but also a History addict (see below). I always found that a game should bring you not only fun but also something else to enrich your "culture générale"*

54. King, Brian. " Europa Universalis: Philipee Thibaut – Interview". *Armchair general*. 13th March 2006. 4th May 2009 <www.armchairgeneral.com/interview-philippe-thibaut.htm>.

as we say in France). So for us, any game that can provide some cultural content in addition to good gameplay is worth a try"). In the case of *Great invasions…*, Philippe Thibaut argued that he was interested in this period as the origin of the world we live in, which leads us to congratulate ourselves as medievalists for the particular interest of these creators which takes formal shape in such notable products as this.

Let us go back four years. In 2001, the same year that *Europa Universalis* appeared, the shelves of the specialized shops were awash with a real-time strategy videogame that contained procedures that already existed in others, such as the obligation to ensure prior elements to obtain resources (for example, have cereal fields and a mill to obtain bread), as in *Knights and Merchants*. It was also to be a landmark, and thus *Stronghold* became one of the best ways of "controlling" the Western Christian Middle Ages on the computer screen. There was a strategy game of the same name from 1993, basically centred on running cities, which had real and fantasy units. From the Firefly studios, what was an authentic "simulator of castles" hit the market from the same team that was also behind the *Caesar* and *Lords of the Realm* games. With an invented story but limited to a plausible level, the player moves through phases corresponding to targets. The most attractive aspect of this game is procuring the productive infrastructure that will allow attack and defence, with a very interesting graphic level. The assaults on the castles are reproduced with gameplay possibilities that are more than acceptable. The second instalment of the saga improves the game (that came out in 2005), with better graphics and more options for entertainment, without ever separating from a plausibility close to what the game calls the "the definitive medieval simulator".



Illustration 16. Stronghold 2. Office of Treasurer.

The truth is that the hopes for a new step in quality were frustrated in the third instalment, as historicity was exchanged for fantasy, a fact that the game's name announced: *Stronghold 3. Legend*. However, a game that appeared in 2002, which took advantage of the momentum of the first part of the saga, came to justify the interest of the medievalist in this title. This was *Stronghold. Crusader*, with the castle simulator now set in the Holy Land. There is another version, with the subtitle *Extreme*, that goes deeper into the possibilities of this Crusader *Stronghold*. The game begins in 1066, where, as a first step, the player must establish the Norman keep that becomes the centre of the castle. Then there is the store (that has to be kept fully stocked, as it is emptied periodically through the consumption by the inhabitants), various kinds of productive places (places for hunting, for woodcutting, plantations with crops ranging from apples to cereals and hops), artisanal industries for both civil and military products (mills, bakeries, taverns, breweries, a bow maker (who is lame), a smith, a tanner…), metal mines, quarries, transport places (one of these is needed, with two oxen that draw carts, taking the stone from the quarry to the store for building walls), houses… These buildings function like units. The interesting thing is that the virtual medieval Europe which it portrays originates from the north, as it is linked to the "Norman" area after William the Conqueror, through Norman towers or beer making, elements far from the wine culture of Mediterranean Europe, until the decline of the medieval period. For the medievalist, it is also a benchmark.

The marketing of *Europa 1400. The Guild* in 2002 made available the first simulator set in the Middle Ages, in other words, it gave the player the possibility of taking on the life of a character who lived in those times at the beginning of the 15th century. With spectacular graphics and novel development of the game, this release culminated in the sequel, *The Guild 2* (2008). This videogame was a melting pot of role, strategy, management and social interaction, whose language problem for non-English speakers was overcome with subtitles. I mention this game in this section instead of in the next to continue the system of mentioning full sagas, although it really belongs to the latest generation of games.

Continuing with the chronological presentation, a game appeared in 2004 that claimed to have the backing of "The History Channel" (a term that I still fail to understand). This was *Crusades. Quest for Power*, whose only interest for the medievalist player was the title. It could have been set in any other time in history without this being noticed, with the exception of the usual range of units (very simple) and expected scenarios. The worst was the degree of expectation that the manual (brief, and it did not need to be longer as the simplicity of the game required no more space) generated after reading the words of Urban II calling the Crusade and the words that mentioned, "the game *Crusades* puts you in command of the armies of the Western European Crusades or the hordes of Infidels from the East, all with deep religious convictions. You will be the one who commands the troops in their campaign to reconquer the Holy Land and recover the stolen sacred relics". An authentic frustration. The conclusion of this episode is the degree of expectation that the player has when waiting for new titles about the Middle Ages.

In the same year, (a truly productive year for games inspired by the medieval period, as we have seen, also the year of *Lords of Realm III*), *Medieval Lords. Build, defend, expand* joined this interesting range. Developed by the French Montecristo Games, the task is to construct and run a city. This type of strategy really has its own section in the videogame catalogue, the *city-builder*. Since the launch of *SimCity*, in which you could plan and build a city on an empty stretch of land, other games have appeared, set in certain historical periods, with such successful titles as the *Caesar* saga or *Pharaoh* (mentioned above). Now it was the turn of the medieval period with *Medieval Lords*. The battles are "accurate", although it is not precisely a game that we would choose for this motive. It is undoubtedly the graphics that make it attractive, apart from the fact that it is the only one of this type available.



Illustration 17. Medieval Lords.

The medievalist who wants a game of these characteristics has an easy choice, but the player who is simply keen on history, will very possibly see the deficiencies in those from other different periods (looking no further than *Caesar IV*). However, I want to emphasise the excellent perspectives and possibilities of a generic medieval stage, without links to any specific moment in the period (nor any specific territory). The manual assumes that the buyers know what they are going to play (from the evidence of the title and the information on the back cover), but there is no reference to the period until well into a passage in the General Presentation ("But be careful, in the Middle Ages the paths were not safe …"). I fail to understand the reason for this, this being a game produced for enthusiasts of the genre and the Middle Ages.

As if it were a fever, in the same year 2004, Sunflower brought out *Knights of Honor*. The game is entirely in English, with a decent manual in Spanish. It is announced as "the first simulator of imperial conquest", with the game leading towards the final dominion over all Europe. At no time does it mention imperial dominion according to the medieval concept, but confuses this with absolute political control. The synopsis of the videogame does mention three phases coinciding with the traditional high, central and late Middle Ages, but there are some notable slip ups. For example, among the many explanations in the Spanish version, there is the following paragraph, "Vassalage/independence. The kingdoms can be independent or vassals of another kingdom. (…) Being a vassal means paying 50% of the income to the *chief* as permanent tributes". The italics are mine, but the person responsible for the Spanish version clearly mistook the concept. Despite this, the game is very complete and with full management of the resources and units, although the most outstanding aspect is being able to command historical battles, including Lechfeld, Hastings, Hattin, Lake Peipus, Bannockburn or Nicopolis.

However, this wide range of games in the same category could give the impression of belonging to a closed world, dormant and almost sclerotic in a similar vein. Nothing could be further from the truth. After the appearance of *Age of Empires II* and *Europa Universalis*, it seemed that the last word had been said in the strategy genre, both as RTS and TBS, that no novel aspect could surprise. In reality it did not surprise any more, but in equal measure, so that the medievalist had a greater variety available for playing. Similarly, the videoplayer found greater possibilities to approach the Middle Ages. The 2D had reached its limits, and the *Total War* series broke it with 3D tactical combat. It is very possible that since *Dune 2* (1992, futuristic) came out as a game of strategy, *Shogun Total War* (2000) was the most representative innovation.[55] This title introduced a saga of strategy games, with tactical battles in real time, which had a greater impact and hold among the general public. *Total War* was developed by The Creative Assembly, and the fact that its historical rigor is considerable, it has turned into a references for the videoplayer keen on this kind of strategy game. It allows the player to control numerous units (except when they flee), some of which consist of over a hundred soldiers, so we are talking about taking part in a fight with thousands of troops grouped in detachments on the battlefield, also with spectacular graphics. It is not surprising that it has found a place amongst the undisputed favourites.

Feudal Japan is the scenario for Shogun TW, specifically set in the *Sengoku Jidai* period (the European 16th century, with the appearance of the first two Westerners in the country, who also come out as possible combat units armed with arquebuses). The handling of the camera during the battle, the immediacy of response and the intuitive nature of the gameplay mean the meetings are truly enjoyable. A further

55. Santiago Lamelo Fagilde used these terms in Meristation: Lamelo Fragilde, Santiago. "Lo que pudo haber sido y no fue. Shogun Total War: Mongol Invasion". *Meristation*. 10th October 2001. 5th May 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/ des_analisis.php?pic=PC&idj=762&idp=&id=1252&otro=1>.

contribution is the technological development of the different territories. The armies are handled like pieces in a great chess set (or a board of *Risk* type territories[56]), whose boxes are the demarcations of the archipelago. The player takes the role of a *daimio* and fights the others with the aim of becoming the *shogun*.

This might be the most original of the *Total War* games, the purest in its saga, but in truth, for the medievalist it is simply the preparation for what was to come. An expansion of the game, *The Mongol Invasion*, came out two years later. At the same time there also appeared on the market one of the references for the *medieval* game. *Medieval Total War* cleaned up on the shelves, so much so that in the same year it was extended with *Viking Invasion*.

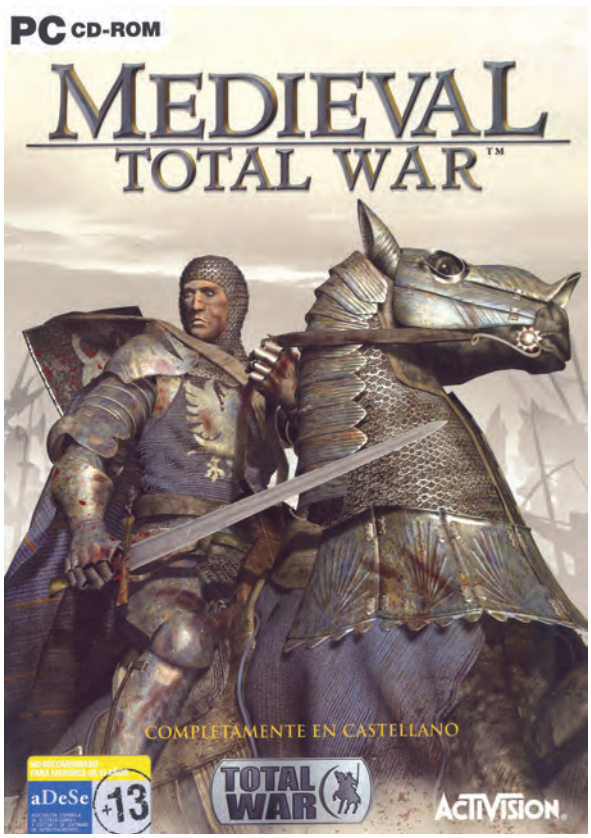


Illustration 18. Cover of *Medieval Total War*.

56. It has its own homonym videogame for PS2.

MTW took in the medieval world known to the West, including the North African shore of the Mediterranean. It was an enormous qualitative leap over the first of the saga, as the concretion of units and the geography of medieval Japan grew exponentially in MTW to the entire European territory, with which one glimpsed the multitude of units and territories: a medievalist's dream. Christian and Muslim factions strove for control of a series of territories with the same dynamics as the generator of the series. From the 11th to the 15th centuries, you could manage and engage in combat with such historical characters as Joan of Arc or William Wallace. A technological tree perfected the quality of arms, economic progress, generation of tactical combat units, diplomacy, those described as "strategic agents" (emissary, assassin, princess, spy and priests or imams), religion (priests), as well as infrastructure (buildings) that allowed all these advances to strengthen the faction economically and militarily. It must be added that the game does not mislead anyone. It is called *Total War*, and it is a videogame of total war. Fighting is its essence. One could play it without fighting, leaving the AI to resolve the struggle. It would thus become a game of pieces with implications for international politics, where the relations between kingdoms, states or peoples conditioned the development towards the final objective, which was set according to the faction and the conquest of a certain number of territories.

The historical content f the game was very significant, with the definition of specific military units for each faction. Whenever one asked for information about a type of unit, a frame emerged on the right of the interface with all the necessary data. The geographic territorial distribution was narrow, although with generalisations to help playability (as in the division of the Iberian Peninsula). The degree of satisfaction of a territory was very important, as it could lead to rebellion and a loss of control of the area. Of course, good relations with the Papacy were a basic element, an omnipresent factor in any game of medieval strategy worth its salt (as mentioned above for *Castles II*). There were twelve factions, which allowed an impressive variety when playing.

The expansion of *Viking Invasion* concentrated on the British Isles in the late high medieval period and the central Middle Ages, that is, the moment of the Danish invasions. The units were applied to this reality, though which the game was simply a "monograph" of the global videogame.

In 2004, there came a new direction. *Rome: Total War* appeared with a completely new interface and a system of playing that broke with the previous ones. The armies, the units of diplomacy (diplomats or assassins), the economy (merchants), the priests, the ships, etc., moved around the map with total freedom. I mention this videogame because it included an expansion that was set in late Antiquity. This was *Barbarian Invasion* (2005), which came out in DVD format, uniting the expansion and patches to the original game. The units were from the stage where the Christian armies were raising their standards decorated with crosses. The great innovation

was the possibility of fighting at night, when the spectacle of a shower of burning arrows is greatest. There were numerous *mods* for this game, as I mentioned above, with the application of one circumscribed to being an application of a medieval period to the structure of RTW.

But of course, the saga had reached an unparalleled graphic appearance. Battles were a real spectacle, where one could bring the camera so close to the groups fighting that it was possible to see the struggle between individual soldiers, each with his own movement and action in the foreground. However, perspective and distance were needed to control the battle, as in fact, we were the generals, giving orders to detachments, not sword strokes to the enemy.

For this purpose, it was necessary to play the character personally. That means intervening directly, involving oneself in the game. This is the adventure or role-play type. Until now, all the references have been to strategy, either in turns or in real time. It is habitual that all the contents that the medieval videogames can offer are substantiated in the abovementioned strategy, but there is also the possibility of offering a closer perspective, more in line with what the Middle Ages was at a given moment. And this represented an opportunity that was more educational than anything else, with all the leisure content that it could hold.

Paris 1313 (which appeared in 2000) was another landmark amongst the games set in the Middle Ages. In the adventure genre, we find ourselves the year before the death of Phillip IV the Fair involved in a series of adventures arising after the unfortunate accident to the goldsmith, Adam of Douai, a fictional character, but where William of Nogaret, a character who we know was real, also appears. The history is the best aspect of the game, visiting the streets of Paris, with the façade of Notre-Dame painted in bright colours, as it was then (or as we believe it would have been). It has had the assessment of the *Musée National du Moyen Âge* in Paris and is the type of game that is excellent for educational uses.[57]

However, the game-shop shelves already held a game that allowed the player to take on the personality of any of the characters and, thus, that of a historical character, and it had been designed in this way. This was the moment for *Wars & Warriors: Joan of Arc* (by Enlight, in 2004). In the first phases the leading role was for the French heroine, and the possibility of taking over some of her captains, such as Jean de Metz.

57. Grup F9: Videojocs a l'aula. "Paris 1313. Trasládate a vivir en el siglo XIII". *Videojocs a l'Aula F9*. 179, 2002. Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya. 5th May 2009 <www.xtec.cat/~abernat/propuestas/paris1313.pdf>.



ILLUSTRATION 19. *JOAN OF ARC*. DETAIL.

Then, in the fifth phase, the possibility of playing in strategy mode was left up to the player, although the predominance was for action. This mixture of strategic and adventure game was not as widely accepted as expected, but it was an interesting sideline justified by the appearance of a game on the same subject for PSP, an RPG with graphics more closely linked to the Japanese interface including the pertinent monsters.

3.2.2.2. …a Medieval Total War II: Kingdoms

The truth is that the new twist imposed by *Rome: Total War* left the doors open for what appeared two years later. The second version of the game in the medieval period signified another landmark. It placed the strategy game on the next level up, as George Fidler, manager of The Creative Assembly studio said.[58] *Medieval Total War II* is, to date, the game that has offered most information about the medieval period. It followed the playability system of RTW, where the armies, strategic units and ships moved on the "screen board" responding to our wishes. Each territory was defined by lineal frontiers that only responded to the capitality of a more or less important city. The investments that the player had to make in each place directly affected the quality of the combat units and the conditions in which the nucleus develops (religious contentment, the economic situation, citizen security, etc.). And the control of expenses and income (through a responsible management of taxes) became a fundamental factor for the progress of a faction.

58. Declarations on the making of the game, included as a DVD in the Collector's edition of *Medieval Total War II*, marketed by Sega Europa in 2007.

The graphics are impressive so we now have possibilities that impress the non-initiated and amaze the more habitual player.



Illustration 20. First French cavalry charge in Azincourt. Medieval Total War II. Detail.

It is so spectacular that we cannot argue that it is a first order medium for approaching the Middle Ages for anyone, although only to observe the progress of a battle. The complexity of the technological tree is high, although there are certain infrastructures that are taken out of context, which is surprising for a game with a lot of historical accuracy. For example, in the Spanish faction, there is a bullring to award happiness to the inhabitants, when this building really dates from the 18th century. The definition of the factions is also somewhat generalised in this game, as the term "Spanish" includes all the peninsular kingdoms of the actual Kingdom of Spain, which did not occur in the first edition of MTW, where Aragon and Navarre appeared independently. In contrast, Portugal has always appeared separate, as an autonomous faction. The interest to stay as close as possible to the facts has necessitated the use of assessment for the Islamic area (Aksaa Ltd. Management and Training Consultants), a circumstance that is also mentioned in the user's manual. The religious aspect is very important in the game. As for the Christian part, relations with the Papacy define the good state of the diplomacy with the other Catholic factions. In fact, excommunication leads to a generalised worsening of relations with these factions. Instead of being sustained by a lineage like the rest, the Holy See possesses a College of Cardinals that replaces the popes who die. Also each member of this corps is ascribed to a nation, so that the animosity of some pontiff is guaranteed if we control a specific faction and depends on how bad (or good) his relations are with this faction.

The system of faction leaders, where the generals are linked to the royal family, is very interesting, as each character will have personal features that will render them able or unable to undertake certain actions, as well as behaviour that can skirt rebellion (or who revolts, declares himself rebel and raises an army that interrupts the economic dynamics wherever it is, and who has to be defeated in a punitive battle). The machinery of war, which in *Age of Empires II* had its own combat dynamic, in MTW, like in all the series, is spectacular in its dynamic during the struggle by units of footsoldiers. The firing of trebuchets, the use of battering rams, catapults, ribauldequins, mangonels and even the shots from the earliest gunpowder artefacts are a real pleasure for the medievalist videoplayer. The assaults on fortifications are a spectacle of their own, more so if it is the player who has designed the combat tactic: the rupture of walls, a battering ram attacking the gate, boiling oil being poured from the machicolations above it… The buildings are not cloned, but each has its own appearance and together they make up the nucleus. This characteristic is completed by the damage inflicted on these infrastructures by the impact of cannon balls or artillery bombs, which is very tangible and realistic. All this is accompanied by a sound track and effects that give the product a quality that the medievalist will thoroughly enjoy. For those who are not specialists, they will surely want to find out more about the period. You do not need to imagine how the siege engines worked: you see it with what I insist are impressive graphics. There is nothing comparable to observing a heavy cavalry charge with the camera at ground level.

The historical battles are exciting, as you can participate in the assault on Setenil, the clashes at Pavia, Agincourt, Arsuf, Hastings (the battle chosen for the tutorial), Tannenberg and Otumba.

In the various turns, information appears that is well placed, chronologically speaking.



ILLUSTRATION 21. INFORMATION ABOUT THE BLACK DEATH IN MEDIEVAL TOTAL WAR II. KINGDOMS. CRUSADES.

Around 1348, a dialogue box emerges that states that there is an epidemic of a disease devastating Europe, and from then on, there are few moments when some of the cities controlled are not infected (which has to be responded to with a quarantine). This type of information is very common in the expansion of *Kingdoms*, so for example, the *MTW II Crusades* campaign has the Venetian intervention in 1204, the Mongol invasion from the east in the mid 13th century, or the rise of Osman as the leader who formalised the future Ottoman empire.

Once the game had been transferred to a format for mobile phone terminals, the second medieval instalment of *Total War*, with a multiple expansion, was completed in 2007, which is really a single DVD with four monographic games. *Medieval Total II: Kingdoms* is built around a campaign set during the Crusades (starting in 1174, with the Leper King), another in mid-13th century England (beginning in 1258, with Henry III on the throne), a third with the Teutonic Order, concentrated on the northern European sector, and the fourth, which represents the greatest innovation of the edition, incorporating the first European incursions into the Caribbean and continental Central America. The product met the expectations and continued perfectly with the quality of the game-base ("vanilla game" as the *gamers* define it in some forums).

There is an element missing in the game, and that is that the naval battle is not controlled, being resolved by the AI. This factor has been corrected by the creators in the latest instalment of the saga, *Empire Total War*, set in the 18th century. We wait with anticipation for the Australian developers to continue with the medieval saga, and for a third title to appear with the maritime combats situated at the same level as the land battles (or an aspiration to this).

Among this generation of games, centred on MTW II, the latest innovations of a typology of game that is linked to strategy must also be reviewed. One of these is *Crusaders. Thy Kingdom come* (2008) developed by Neocore. It is also a RTS in 3D, and the graphics are excellent. It is basically a series of meetings, with the battle as a basis of the videogame, and the handling of resources is restricted to money. Comparisons are always hateful, but if we are looking for a medieval simulation, this game does not offer many possibilities apart from the combats. This is an aspect that has to be emphasised, as the climatology, the terrain or the tiredness of the units, etc., have a direct impact on the response of the game and its final result. It has the recommendation of *The History Channel*, which, as we have seen, was not an element of sufficient guarantee in the context of *Crusades*, but which ends up being an important catchword for the consumer. It is magnificent to note the importance that the medievalist gives to rigor in these games.

A similar game is *XIII Century. Death or Glory* (that replaced *XIII Century: Sword & Honor*), by the Russian 1C Company (now 1C Avalon) and Unicorn Games, which also appeared in 2008. In this game, the videoplayer has the opportunity to fight in some thirty historical battles by five nations (English, French, imperial German, Russians and Mongols), with a last option of being able to fight in Stirling, Worringen, Campaldino and the Navas de Tolosa. All these are set in

the century that changed Europe and gives the product its title. Among others, there are various well-known battles, such as Evesham, Falkirk, Lewes, Muret, Taillebourg, Bouvines, Marchfeld, Cortenuova or Lake Peipus. These combats are already envisaged by the AI of the programme and leave the tactical question in the player's hands. There is no greater approach. The cover of the game defines it as "historical strategy" as a general qualification, but no game has any greater historical concretion than this. The most interesting is the opening of Slav Medieval History to the western medievalist, with clashes unknown to the vast majority of players (including a good part of the medievalists, more familiar with western medieval history). I mentioned that this distance has an indisputable attraction, and, although some players might not care about fighting in Rakovor or the Middle East, for the medievalist it means an approach to these Middle Ages, so distant, unknown and important for European history through the later formation of the various Slavonic nations. The introductions at the beginning of each clash are good prologues to involve oneself in this history, even more so when the conditions that lead to the battle are adequately presented but the result is nowhere announced.



ILLUSTRATION 22. XIII CENTURY. DEATH OR GLORY. DETAIL OF ALEXANDER OF NOVGOROD CAVALRY. PRELIMINAIRES OF THE BATTLE OF LAKE PEIPUS.

These games of strategy have never hidden other possibilities. Moreover, situated at the same level of diffusion, although not of informative quality for the Middle Ages, *Assassin's Creed* competes on the same level as *Medieval Total War II* among the "back of the wardrobe" of the medievalist player, not to mention the generic aficionado of games with historical settings. The qualitative leap that comes from the spread of the high definition technology (HD) to the world of the consoles has broadened the possibilities of playing in the field of role and adventure.

Ahead of any other videogame is the above-mentioned game, starring one of the fictional characters that has gone from the console and the computer to the world of marketing, with fan clubs and followers on all continents. Altaïr, a member of the Islamic sect of the assassins, has been, since 2007, the principal virtual actor of *Assassin's Creed*.



Ilustration 23. Assassin's Creed. Detail of the video presentation.

With the players aware of the great contribution that science fiction has made to the script, the developers decided to indicate the beginning of the game with a very visible note on the screen, "based on historical events and characters". This plausibility in games of historical character has always been sought after, but has grown in recent years. In this case, the criticism of the product made in *Meristation.com* is that the degradation of the protagonist produces a reduction of arms and physical powers, as if he had lost agility and mastery for certain actions with the loss of confidence by the sect. This is said about a game that bases its script on mental translation through a machine (*Animus*) to recover the genetic memory of an ancestor of the star who lives today. However, since the script is about an assassin who seeks the lesser evil through crimes that can

mitigate greater killings, the developers use political correctness to fit into the market without creating problems: "This work of fiction has been designed, developed and produced by a multicultural team of different religious beliefs" (introduction screen).

From the same epoch, although launched shortly after, is *Bladestorm. The Hundred Years' War*, by Koei, also mentioned in previous chapters. Integrally designed for the latest generation graphic console (PS3 and Xbox), it is an action and *beat'em up* game where you can handle a series of mercenaries, obviously choosing the English or French sides, but mixed with some strategy and tactics to handle the groups during battle. In combat, it is very similar to *Wars & Warriors: Joan of Arc*, although only for the hand to hand fighting. But the script is different, and is open to the progression of the game, so that it is in the new system of videogames with an emerging narrative (or aspiring to this). The interface chosen is a mixture of purely medieval elements with manga iconography, such as King Edward, the Black Prince, Jean of Metz or Queen Phillipa, as mentioned above.

The last game that I wish to present is *Mount and Blade*. This is an RPG that was launched recently (March 2009) by the firm Paradox for PC. It is simply magnificent at showing a notion of medieval life. If you want to personalise a simulation of the Middle Ages, this is your game. The possibility of creating our own biography is the defining characteristic of this genre. With a wide range of options, such as your father being an impoverished noble, a veteran warrior, a travelling merchant, a hunter, a nomad of the steppe or a thief, or that your childhood was spent as a page in the court of a noble, or as a shop assistant, etc., the personality of the protagonist is configured at the start of the game, the player being able to transform the virtual image of himself with very full physiognomic details.



ILLUSTRATION 24. *MOUNT & BLADE*. RIDDING AROUND ONE VILLAGE.

It continues with the adolescence and presence or absence of education, and it ends with a personal summons that is supposedly the starting point for the development of the game: for personal vengeance, for the loss of a loved one, for an urge to explore, desires for power… to end with a challenging "Take the bit between your teeth; ride towards Calradia". The videogame is a simulator of medieval life, where the vital and temporal context is important (the game begins on the 23rd of March 1257, in the mid-13th century), but not the geographic context. This occurs also on other occasions, but never as obviously as in this case. Calradia is a fictitious territory, but one which might be set in any landscape of the western coasts of France, Britain or Germany. In fact, the cities, the robbers, the buildings… everyone has their own image of those lands in those times. It is an incitement to live the Middle Ages in the first person, through which it achieves enormous playability.

The latter have all been titles which have initiated an unquestionable process, generating the specific interest that the games on medieval themes have among the potential user of this product. We learn immediately that there is a new version of *Assassin's Creed*, as the second game of a saga, which on this occasion puts the leading character, Desmond Miles, in the skin of one of his ancestors, Ezio, in the cities of northern Renaissance Italy. The images that we can enjoy are even more spectacular than those of the first instalment, with those Tuscan streets and squares as the scenario recreated in the style of the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th.[59] In the same way, and also from Ubisoft, another commercial strategy game has been launched to extend the *Anno* saga, corresponding on this occasion to *Anno 1404*, set in the Orient.

4. Conclusions

It is evident that the young player's interest in the Middle Ages is marked by the use of videogames with a historical backdrop, or directly by the clear presentation of the medieval past. In some cases, teaching experiments are already being carried out, backed by some specific pedagogic studies,[60] which aim to exploit the vast educational possibilities of the contents of videogames. This was not one of the targets of this study, but there is no doubt that this can be the research line for the next study. In the same way, and as a more interesting (or important) reflection, I wish to draw together various notes and thoughts drafted during the writing of this article, such as that of the phenomenon of historical simulation and its manipulation, as well as the factor of historical simulation and the importance that this might

59. The game's home page. Ubisoft Entertainment. *Assasin's Creed 2*. 21st April 2009 <http://assassinscreed.es.ubi.com/assassins-creed-2/teaser>.

60. Gálvez de la Cuesta, María del Carmen. "Aplicaciones de los videojuegos de contenido histórico en la aula". *Icono 14*. 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación- 6th May 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/carmen%20galvez.pdf>.

have for real knowledge of the past, supposing that the concept of ucrony has to be present at all times.

This article has arisen from the record of a snapshot taken in early 2009, with the certainty that in a few years it will have to be updated with new titles and technological applications. We have only been able to glimpse a small number of their possibilities for playing, learning and sociability. The latest generation consoles will stop being thus, and the presumed decline of the PC as a games platform is not so certain when the giant Electronics Arts is firmly betting on this medium.[61]

I have presented the complex reality of the universe of videogames, insisting on the importance of their concept, as well as the developments of the elements that constitute them, including the hardware and software in their different facets (models, technology, markets, companies, distributors, developers, etc.), always linked to the impact of the use of a means (a specific one, for example) and its location in the mercantile space on the possibilities of playing one product or another. Videogames with a historical background have become one of the pillars of this market, especially those inspired in the medieval period, both in terms of the fantasy aspect and in terms of those ruled by more historical realism. The technology used has been a determining factor since the earliest times of the videogame, especially because the spectacular nature of the graphics has increased, and this has heavily influenced the attraction that medieval scenarios have had on potential players. These people, whether or not they have any training or knowledge about the period, or simply have some ideas about the Middle Ages, are classified in a range of categories defined by the objective that a game of these characteristics aims to meet; from the specialist to the amateur in medieval matters, the range of people who enjoy these games is very wide. A reality that is changing is that the videoplayer is young (adolescent), both because the use of these games has extended as a leisure activity among older generations and because with the passing of time, the players will keep playing while they grow older. This will mean that among those young people who created a fabric of medieval contents, which were once forged as aprioristic concepts, some will reach university classrooms with a set of knowledge derived from the videogames they have played. Thus the quantity and quality of the media they have played with and the titles they have had access to will become something definitive. For the specialist who faces this reality in a classroom, it will be a challenge to have students with these characteristics, constituting as they do an ever-larger group.

A journey through the evolution of the videogame inspired in the medieval period completes this study. The development from the first products, simple from our perspective in 2009, to the most recent, has perfected the contents presented to the player. The quality of the game as such has not been the subject of my study, as each person can be drawn by a different aspect, so the valuation I have sometimes

61. According to declarations by Eric Brown, director of EA: "The PC is becoming the most widely used platform", with the support and open bid for and the production of videogames for computers.
García, Enrique. "Pc se está convirtiendo en la plataforma más extendida". *Meristation: Noticias*. 6th May 2009. 6th May 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/des_noticia.php?id=cw4a0149d262d9b&pic=GEN>.

included about one title or another (in one sense or another) has had more to do with the perspective of the medievalist, although the medievalist videoplayer. The value judgements that I have inserted at specific moments have had more to do with the defence of a criterion about what I consider interesting, or what can be interesting, than with what the player finds on using a videogame about the Middle Ages, because in the end they will extract an image and a series of concepts. With the premise that a game has to be attractive and entertaining, the quality of the medieval content must be balanced by the leisure aspect, which will help to favour the value of the product and the results the players obtain from using it. In the same way as this imaginarium of the medieval and the number of stereotypes can be a good starting point for a deeper knowledge of this historical period,[62] the videogame is becoming a leading element for this, much better even than the cinematographic resource.

The importance of videogames has never ceased to grow since their invention, with the applications continuously surprising users and observers. I hope that the superficial review of hardware and software has served as an approximate idea of the current reality to frame this universe of the videogame and the Middle Ages. The importance of the titles linked to the medieval past or using its stereotypes as a necessary (even essential) iconography has been the undercurrent of this study, with the hope of having generated among the neophytes an approach to this new world, ever closer through the simple fact that the videogame is occupying spaces in everyday leisure. As university teachers, we must clearly understand that our new students' concept of the medieval period, in the European system of convergence for higher studies, will not be generated by the cinema as it has been until now, but rather by the videogame. The evidence is overwhelming. To deny it is to close one's eyes not only to the future, but rather a very live and dynamic present.

62. Senatore, Francesco. *Medioevo: istruzioni per l'uso*. Milán: Bruno Mondadori, 2008: 16.

ORIGINALS OF THE TEXTS NOT WRITTEN IN ENGLISH



¿HISTORIA ECOLÓGICA EN LA EDAD MEDIA? FUENTES Y BASES TEÓRICAS

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Resumen

En este escrito planteo las posibilidades que ofrece construir la Historia, en este caso de la Edad Media, teniendo en cuenta las relaciones que las personas han tenido con los espacios naturales y con el medio urbano en el que se han desarrollado sus vidas. Defiendo la necesidad de hacer una Historia de las preocupaciones que en la actualidad se consideran como ecológicas. Para ello valoro las posibilidades de las fuentes documentales, enuncio unas bases teóricas, muestro un método de trabajo y una metodología y hago una valoración bibliográfica. Destaco los planteamientos ecofeministas, indicando las posibilidades que ofrece la diferencia entre las relaciones de las mujeres y las de los hombres con el medio en el que viven.

1. Introducción

Desde los últimos años setenta del pasado siglo mi dedicación fundamental ha sido la Historia de las Mujeres; bien es cierto que siempre he mantenido otras líneas de investigación en las que he buscado y señalado la relevancia de las mujeres en cualquiera de los procesos históricos. Fue a fines de los años noventa cuando comencé a destacar las diferencias existentes en las relaciones que las mujeres y los hombres mantienen y han mantenido a lo largo de la Historia con la naturaleza, con los espacios naturales y con los espacios modificados. Además, entonces fue cuando se iniciaron las traducciones de estudios e investigaciones de una tendencia emergente dentro de los Estudios de Mujeres, el Ecofeminismo. Mi interés por esta tendencia fue lo que me hizo reflexionar sobre la posibilidad y necesidad de construir una Historia Ecológica y manifestar la posible preocupación en las sociedades medievales por el medio en el que se desarrollaban las actividades de hombres y mujeres. De esta manera valorar si estas relaciones eran semejantes o había diferencias y, sobre todo, si existía conciencia del deterioro de la naturaleza y de las consecuencias que podía tener sobre las personas. Considero que en este pensamiento, en su posible existencia, radicaría la base para la posible construcción de una Historia Ecológica.

En este escrito voy a intentar señalar el contenido de la Historia Ecológica que, advierto, no debe confundirse con la Historia agraria o la Historia económica del ámbito rural. Para construir una Historia Ecológica se precisan unas bases teóricas y una metodología propias y diferentes a las de otras construcciones históricas, aunque, sin duda, puede haber aportaciones de metodologías consolidadas. Igualmente, las fuentes, que son las habituales para cualquier elaboración histórica, deben ser sometidas a un tratamiento propio. Todo ello va a ser el contenido de este escrito, junto con una aproximación a estado de la cuestión con referencia a la Historia Ecológica referida al Medievo en la Península Ibérica en este tema.

Quiero indicar que mis lecturas están relacionadas sobre todo con el Ecofeminismo, pues hay mucha bibliografía desde la filosofía, la teología y la política sobre este tema, se ha escrito menos desde la Historia y muy poco referido a la Edad Media. Gracias a estas lecturas y a mis investigaciones he reflexionado en las posibilidades de esta nueva línea, para intentar definir el contenido y la metodología que diferencien la Historia Ecológica dentro de la Historia y la constituyan como una vía de investigación emergente con posibilidades científicas, que aporte una nueva visión del pasado y de las relaciones de las personas entre sí y con los espacios en los que se desarrollaron sus vidas. Todo ello dentro de las pautas de la Historia Social, que de esta manera ofrecerá el análisis del acontecer histórico desde una nueva y desconocida perspectiva.

Inicio mi reflexión con una valoración de las fuentes y de la bibliografía para después pasar a plantear unas bases teóricas. Todo ello son los instrumentos para construir un método de trabajo y una metodología propios de la Historia Ecológica. Dedico un apartado a la Historia Ecofeminista. Y acabo con unas conclusiones muy provisionales dado lo incipiente de la elaboración de esta vía de la Historia, sobre todo como propósitos a seguir para mi misma y para aquellas/os que quieran adentrarse por un camino nuevo. Sin duda es una hipótesis de trabajo provisional y abierta a enriquecerse de nuevas aportaciones.

2. Documentación

No hay fuentes propias o específicas para la Historia Ecológica, sino que hay que buscar informaciones útiles en cualquiera de las fuentes tradicionales y conocidas. Todas deben ser sometidas a una crítica rigurosa y valorar el contenido de las informaciones con propiedad, contextualizar cada situación y buscar las causas que originan el dato utilizado. También hay que tener en cuenta las dificultades que puede suponer su localización. Por ello, dadas las características metodológicas de este trabajo, voy a hacer una valoración sobre las que he utilizado en otros trabajos[1] y los problemas específicos que me han ocasionado. También voy a plantear unas consideraciones generales y una relación de todos los documentos en los que he buscado o pienso que se deben buscar informaciones.

Quiero insistir en que no hay fuentes propias sobre las relaciones de las personas con el medio en el que se han desarrollado sus vidas y que las informaciones están dispersas en muy diversos tipos de fuentes. Mis trabajos relacionados con este tema están basados en fuentes escritas, unas publicadas y otras inéditas o editadas por mí. Las fuentes escritas son sobre las que he trabajado siempre y cuyas técnicas de análisis y manejo es el que conozco. No obstante, es complicado encontrar informaciones sobre este tema, pues no era preocupación prioritaria, por lo que habitualmente no era objeto de ser reflejada en un documento. A pesar de ello, a pesar de no existir preocupación medioambiental, hay algunas informaciones dispersas, que tratadas de forma adecuada y puestas en relación, pueden ofrecer un buen camino de investigación.

En principio, en cualquier tipo de documento, siempre que se someta a la crítica adecuada, se puede encontrar algún dato, de mayor o menor importancia, que puede servir para cualquier elaboración histórica. El estudio de las fuentes referidas a un dominio monástico, al funcionamiento

1. Segura, Cristina. "Las mujeres y la naturaleza en la legislación visigoda". *Gerión. Necesidad, sabiduría y verdad: el legado de Juan Cascajero*, Extra (2007): 489-503; Segura, Cristina. "La tala como arma de guerra en la Frontera", *VI Estudios de Frontera. Población y poblamiento. Homenaje a Manuel González Jiménez*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2007: 717-724; Segura, Cristina. "Rastros de un pensamiento ecológico en Al-Andalus?", *Al Andalus. Espaço de mudanza. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Stabel-Hanssen*, Susana Gómez Martínez, coord. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006: 29-34.

de un concejo o a la repoblación de una ciudad, pueden guardar informaciones relacionadas con planteamientos ecológicos, pero hay que percibirlos entre toda la serie de datos convencionales, que son los que habitualmente se han utilizado. La dificultad no es mayor que la que depara cualquier otra investigación, aunque los resultados cuantitativos puedan ser escasos, pero pueden conseguirse aportaciones nuevas e importantes.

Hay otra dificultad añadida en este tema. No hay un corpus específico de fuentes documentales, en los archivos no hay una sección en la que estén ordenados los documentos referidos a estas cuestiones, como sucede con otras posibles vías de investigación. Hay que utilizar documentación de todo tipo para encontrar algún dato que pueda referirse a las relaciones de las personas con el medio físico en el que trascurre su vida y su trabajo.

Voy seguir la valoración tradicional de las fuentes, pero voy a dejar en último lugar la referencia a los documentos escritos, pues son los únicos que he utilizado en mis investigaciones en este campo. Por ello, en principio voy a enumerar las fuentes que deberían utilizarse, sobre todo para evaluar sus posibilidades, inéditas hasta ahora en estos estudios y en la mayoría, pues lo habitual es la utilización de las fuentes escritas y, en menor medida, los restos materiales.

3. Fuentes iconográficas y arqueológicas

Las fuentes iconográficas siempre me ha parecido que no están suficientemente valoradas y no se han utilizado bien sus posibilidades. En muy contadas ocasiones se tienen en cuenta los mensajes visuales que han dejado las personas que vivieron en el Medioevo, a través de sus pinturas, esculturas, construcciones e, incluso, objetos de uso común.

En los capiteles, sepulcros, portadas de las iglesias o algunos frisos como el maravilloso y desconocido calendario esculpido en una pared de la iglesia de un pueblo perdido en el Norte de Guadalajara, próximo a Cantalojas, en el que cada mes del año está representado por la faena agrícola propia del mismo y tantos otros relieves en los que aparecen hombres y mujeres realizando faenas agrícolas, cuidando de animales domésticos o luchando con animales salvajes. Informaciones semejantes se ofrecen también en pinturas de diferentes tipos. Gracias a las fuentes iconográficas se pueden analizar los espacios donde se realizaban diversas actividades e intentar deducir como se producían las relaciones de las personas con el medio físico en el que vivían, aunque es difícil pues sólo se ha conservado la instantánea que perpetúa un acto.

En el momento presente, la escultura no es una fuente muy utilizada en los estudios históricos. Es posible que en un futuro se establezca un método de análisis que pueda ofrecer resultados o se encuentre algún tipo de obra donde haya mensajes mucho más explícitos que los que hasta ahora se conocen. Otro tanto puede decirse con respecto a las pinturas de cualquier tipo, éstas son muy abundantes y aumenta su número según avanza la Edad Media.

Las miniaturas de los códices, los Libros de Horas, los murales de las iglesias o de los palacios, las tablas o los cuadros, representan numerosas escenas, a personas en diversas circunstancias, paisajes verdaderos o ideales. Gracias a estas ilustraciones puede conocerse la distribución de espacios entre hombres y mujeres, sus diferentes actividades predominantes, en los espacios domésticos y en los naturales, espontáneos o humanizados. Considero que hasta ahora, como ya he señalado, hay grandes dificultades para llegar a percibir como eran las relaciones que había con el medio físico y la percepción que se tenía de él. No obstante, la utilidad de las fuentes iconográficas en

general, tanto escultura como pintura, no puede valorarse justamente hasta que no se utilicen más habitualmente de lo que ahora se hace.

Pienso que mayor utilidad puede tener la Arqueología. Es necesario remarcar que no me refiero a la Arqueología convencional, pues los restos de una ciudad, de un edificio, de un sistema hidráulico o del ajuar doméstico, pueden ofrecer informaciones someras sobre este tema. Pero siempre pueden valorarse las relaciones que estos artefactos mantienen con el medio en el que se han desarrollado. Si han supuesto una agresión al espacio en el que se han asentado o, por el contrario, se han adecuado perfectamente a él. Para llegar a valorar todo esto se precisan conocimientos e instrumentos propios y suficientes para percibir los mensajes que puedan deducirse, que, sin duda, quienes sean expertos en Arqueología, sabrán captarlos y establecer hipótesis de trabajo sobre el impacto que produjeron en el medio en el que se desarrollaron.

Considero, en cambio, que es fundamental la Arqueología del paisaje, que está empezando a dar excelentes resultados sobre la conservación, modificaciones o deterioro de los paisajes naturales. El retroceso del bosque, la ampliación de los campos de cultivo, el abandono y/o dedicación a determinados productos, la implantación de sistemas hidráulicos con la modificación que en el medio natural suponen o la construcción de una ciudad y todas las infraestructuras necesarias para que dicha aglomeración funcione. Todo ello puede ser analizado y valorado por la Arqueología, para lo que hay que dominar unas técnicas e instrumentos precisos y especiales, que lamentablemente los/as historiadores/as de papeles no poseemos. Pero esta situación no me impide valorar la trascendencia de estas técnicas de estudio para avanzar en campos donde las informaciones escritas no existen o son insuficientes.

Todo lo indicado pueden ser buenos caminos de trabajo que ofrecerán resultados sobre la consideración que el medio físico ha recibido en la Edad Media. Estas informaciones, en algunos casos, son un simple refrendo a lo que han aportado los documentos escritos; pero, también, ofrecen informaciones del pasado que no se tienen ahora, pues no han sido recogidas en los textos escritos, pero que han dejado su huella en los paisajes y en la ordenación del territorio. A la Arqueología corresponde, y tiene un amplio campo, valorar la calidad de las intervenciones humanas en las modificaciones de los medios naturales.

4. Fuentes escritas

He seguido un esquema tradicional en la valoración de las fuentes, que me parece idóneo, pues marca un camino lógico para profundizar en el conocimiento de un proceso. El orden a la referencia a los diferentes tipos de fuentes no significa ningún tipo de jerarquización. Pienso que todas tienen la misma relevancia; cada persona tiene su opción y, lo idóneo, es poder contrastar informaciones derivadas de diversos tipos de fuentes.

Las fuentes jurídicas son el primer paso imprescindible en cualquier análisis histórico, pues señalan el marco jurídico que el legislador, como representante del poder dominante, pretende imponer a la sociedad. Por ello hay que conocer y valorar si existe una posible legislación sobre el trato que las personas deben dar al medio natural que las rodea. Igualmente hay que buscar en las fuentes de aplicación del derecho como se cumplía lo legislado. En este tipo de fuentes normativas no sólo deben tenerse en cuenta los textos jurídicos laicos, sino también los religiosos, por ejemplo las disposiciones conciliares y de los sínodos.

En la documentación de carácter económico hay informaciones sobre la explotación de los negocios. Utilizo este término actual para referirme a las explotaciones agrícolas, como señoríos, dominios monásticos, posesiones eclesiásticas, concejiles o privadas. Sin duda, en los datos sobre el desarrollo agrario debe haber noticias de las exigencias que las personas tenían sobre la naturaleza. También el desarrollo de los talleres de los artesanos o las actividades mercantiles marcarían de alguna manera, cada oficio de forma diferente, el espacio que rodeaba cada negocio, cosa que se ha recogido en los textos escritos.

En toda esta documentación hay que utilizar las insinuaciones, remarco la palabra insinuaciones, a cuestiones medioambientales que pueden aparecer; este tipo de documentación es muy valiosa pues hace referencia a la realidad social en la que vivían las personas y, por ello, cuando hay algún dato utilizable tiene un efectividad incuestionable. También los contratos de compra y venta, cartas de dote, testamentos, inventarios de bienes, donaciones y limosnas son documentos con un contenido económico grande e, igualmente, son de aplicación del derecho y algunos de contenido religioso. En todas estas informaciones puede rastrearse algún tipo de preocupación medioambiental.

Igualmente son textos útiles las crónicas de reinados, ciudades o acontecimientos. En todas ellas hay referencias al espacio en el que se desarrollan los hechos y a cuestiones relacionadas con este espacio. La lectura de las crónicas puede dar frutos, como he constatado en mi trabajo ya citado sobre la utilización de las talas como arma de guerra, por las consecuencias económicas y de deterioro del medioambiente que éstas tienen, a las que se refiere Hernando del Pulgar en su Crónica sobre los Reyes Católicos[2].

Pienso que los textos de carácter religioso también deben ser utilizados. Antes hacia referencia a cánones conciliares, ahora quiero indicar que los escritos de religiosidad, penitenciales, vidas de santos, martirologios o cualquier texto piadoso contiene algunas indicaciones sobre el pensamiento oficial de la iglesia sobre la naturaleza y la consideración que debe recibir por las personas. Es interesante señalar la escasa consideración que por la naturaleza tiene la religión cristiana y, por tanto, su rechazo hacia un pensamiento ecológico, como ha estudiado con gran rigor la teóloga Anne Primavesi[3], por ello los textos religiosos pueden aportar un pensamiento dominante alejado del respeto por los espacios naturales. No deben olvidarse las noticias que pueden haberse conservado sobre rogativas por sequías o para pedir protección ante cualquier accidente climatológico que aportarán informaciones útiles.

Por último, voy a defender nuevamente la importancia de las fuentes literarias. Hay que partir de que en ellas se crean acontecimientos de ficción que suelen situarse en un espacio real[4]. El tratamiento y consideración que recibe el espacio físico en el que se desarrolla la acción no suele ser ficción, sino que recrea, en buena medida, la realidad y, asimismo, expresa el pensamiento dominante en el momento que aquel texto se escribió. Por ello, con la crítica y restricciones oportunas, los textos literarios no deben ser olvidados a la hora de hacer Historia, no la de los hechos excepcionales, sino la de los hechos cotidianos que llevan a cabo numerosas personas, aquellas cuyo nombre no se ha perpetuado en la Historia. La Historia Ecológica en buena medida escapa de lo excepcional y se acoge a lo habitual, por ello hay que tener en cuenta a las fuentes literarias.

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2. Segura, Cristina. "La tala como arma …": 717-724.

3. Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis. Ecología, Feminismo. Cristianismo*. Barcelona: Herder, 1995.

4. Segura, Cristina. "Las fuentes literarias en la Historia de las mujeres", *Feminismo y misoginia en la literatura española. Fuentes literarias para la Historia de las mujeres*, Cristina Segura, coord. Madrid: Narcea, 2001: 13-18.

5. Bibliografía

Es difícil intentar un estado de la cuestión sobre la bibliografía existente, que es muy exigua. Por ello me limito a una primera aproximación a la valoración bibliográfica. Las obras de carácter general básicas, en la mayor parte de los casos están referidas a la situación actual, pero contienen algunas informaciones útiles del pasado. Considero que son validas pues ofrecen métodos y técnicas para analizar el tema en la actualidad, que pueden retrotraerse a investigaciones sobre tiempos pasados y me parecen útiles para contextualizar el problema en la Edad Media y como referencia teórica.

Unido a la dificultad que supone la carencia de fuentes propias ya indicada, está la escasa bibliografía derivada de la mínima preocupación por este tema desde la investigación medieval en general. En buena medida la falta de dedicación obedece más a las dificultades que supone el tema que a la falta de preocupación sobre el mismo a nivel social e, incluso, científico. En otro tipo de investigaciones más consolidadas hay bibliografía que pueda servir de apoyo, que ofrezca metodología o modelos que aplicar. En este caso la bibliografía es muy corta, el conocimiento actualmente es muy somero y, por ello, cualquier aportación será novedosa, útil y, sobre todo, arriesgada pues no hay muchos puntos de referencia en el medievalismo hispano. Su interés radica en la novedad y, sobre todo, en que puede ser el inicio de una nueva forma de hacer Historia.

Mi intención es llamar la atención sobre este tema, como tantos otros, desatendido. En este momento, en el que se está cuestionando el actual paradigma de la Historia y se señalan temas que deben contemplarse como nuevas vías de investigación, considero que hay que iniciar nuevos temas para lograr una nueva Historia con mayor consonancia con las preocupaciones sociales y políticas actuales. La Historia de las relaciones de las personas con el medio en el que viven, tanto rural, como urbano, me parece una línea de investigación muy válida y pienso que está llamada a tener un buen futuro, tras salvar las dificultades habituales en el inicio de cualquier nueva línea de investigación.

Son escasas las obras de carácter general en castellano[5]. La bibliografía específica de la Edad Media tampoco es muy abundante y no suficientemente satisfactoria aunque hay que valorarla pues supone el inicio del conocimiento en tema tan importante[6]. La mayoría de las obras citadas son trabajos colectivos cuyo origen ha sido una reunión científica y parten de una previa preocupación medioambientelista. El interés de todas radica en plantear un nuevo tema de trascendencia, cosa muy loable y deben ser bien recibidas. El escaso desarrollo de este tema hasta ahora en España, que se agudiza en el caso de la Edad Media, es el motor de estos encuentros que pretenden abrir nuevos campos de investigación. La constatación de la falta de una metodología y unos métodos de trabajo propios, junto con la escasez de una bibliografía de referencia, pienso que son el motivo de convocar estas reuniones para que de ellas surja el debate, el interés sobre el tema y, como consecuencia, el desarrollo científico del mismo. En ellas se constata uno de lo problemas teóricos

5. Deleage, Jean Paul. *Historia de la Ecología. Una ciencia del hombre y de la naturaleza*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1993; Fariña Tojo, José *La ciudad y el medio natural*. Madrid: Akal, 1998; González Molina, Manuel. *Historia y medio ambiente*. Madrid: Eudema, 1993; López Bonillo, Diego. *El medio ambiente*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994; Sotelo Navalpotro, José Antonio. *Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente en España*. Madrid: Fundación Infodal, 2000; Tricart, Jean. *La ecogeografía y la ordenación del medio natural*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1982.

6. Pérez Embid, Jávier, ed. *La Andalucía Medieval. Actas de las I Jornadas de Historia Rural y Medio Ambiente*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2003; Brawlowski, Elio. *El ambiente en la Edad Media*. Buenos Aires: Pro Ciencia-Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, 1997; *II Encuentro sobre Historia y Medio Ambiente. Preactas*. Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 2001; Coladerlle, Michael, ed. *L'homme et la nature au Moyen Age. V Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Medieval*. París: Errance, 1996; Clemente Ramons, Julián, ed. *El medio natural en la España medieval. Actas del I Congreso sobre Ecohistoria e Historia Medieval*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2001.

frecuentes, como es la vinculación con lo rural. Sin duda la naturaleza dominada supone el deterioro de la espontánea, pero no siempre los cultivos suponen una degradación medioambiental y, posiblemente, los núcleos urbanos sean más contaminantes.

La publicación de las actas de estos encuentros es útil, pues a través de ellas se conocen los intentos para abrir un nuevo camino en el campo del conocimiento. Son obras colectivas en las que participan historiadores consagrados y reconocidos por sus investigaciones en otros temas y sus trabajos plantean posibilidades en la investigación. También hay textos que parecen ser las primeras investigaciones de jóvenes y sus trabajos, bien intencionados, no siempre cumplen los requisitos precisos. La mayoría de los autores y autoras que intervienen tienen pensamientos muy diferentes sobre lo que es el medio físico y sobre como debe hacerse la Historia de las relaciones de las personas con él.

En todas estas aportaciones se manifiesta el interés por este nuevo tema, pero la mayoría son meramente contributivas y no suelen plantearse la necesidad de elaborar una metodología adecuada. Todo ello da lugar a que muchos enfocan el problema desde planteamientos relacionados con la Historia económica del medio rural. Los resultados son de interés muy desigual, pues la Historia de la Economía rural ha sido ya estudiada por investigadores reconocidos y las aportaciones en este caso suelen ser reiterativas. En otros casos se parte de un planteamiento que puede desvirtuar el tema, pues se acepta de forma implícita que la Historia del Medio Ambiente se refiere, sobre todo, a las relaciones de las personas que viven en el medio rural mantienen con él, tanto con la naturaleza espontánea como con la modificada. En muy contados casos hay referencia a las relaciones de las personas que viven en el medio urbano y a su posible deterioro.

Al final incluyo una escueta bibliografía general básica que puede relacionarse con la Historia Ecológica. El contenido de estos textos es irregular y junto a obras muy valiosas e imprescindibles hay otras totalmente coyunturales. No obstante, dada la penuria de publicaciones sobre el tema, todas tienen interés, mayor o menor, como instrumento que puede ser útil a quien esté interesado. No obstante, la aportación más valiosa, coherente, articulada y que ha dado ya excelentes resultados proviene del Ecofeminismo. A continuación sólo incluyo obras básicas y con aportaciones teóricas representativas de los diversos planteamientos dentro del Ecofeminismo[7].

6. Bases teóricas

La Historia Social en este país tiene actualmente una andadura consolidada, aunque todavía hay quien lo ignora. Una rápida mirada sobre su producción recuerda que hay trabajos suficientes para conocer como se desarrolló la vida de las personas en muchos aspectos. Bien es cierto que los resultados no son equiparables en todos los temas. Se hace Historia de los avatares políticos, de la económica, de la sociedad, de las mentalidades, de los marginados o de las mujeres, pero hay algunos aspectos de la realidad social que todavía son muy oscuros. Posiblemente, esto se deba a la falta de preocupación sobre ellos, no a la carencia de fuentes documentales que propicien la investigación sobre los menos conocidos como es lo referido a las relaciones de las personas con el medio físico.

7. Agra Romero, coord. Mª Xosé, *Ecología y feminismo*. Granada: Comares, 1998; Holland-Cunz, Barbara. *Ecofeminismos*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1996; Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions, Nature, Gender and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989; Mies, Maria; Shiva, Vandana. *Ecofeminismo. Teoría crítica y perspectivas*. Barcelona: Icaria, 1997; Puleo, Alicia H.; Segura, Cristina; Cavana, María Luisa, eds. *Mujeres y Ecología. Historia, Pensamiento y Sociedad*. Madrid: Almudayna, 2004; Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis. Ecología. Feminismo. Cristianismo*. Barcelona: Herder, 1995; Shiva, Vandana. *Mujer ecología y supervivencia*. Madrid: Horas y Horas, 1995.

Fruto de mi interés sobre lo indicado fue la solicitud de un Proyecto al Plan Sectorial de Estudios de Mujeres y de Género del III Plan Nacional de I+D con el título de "Acciones y actitudes de las Mujeres frente al medio ambiente. Perspectivas Históricas y Proyecciones de Futuro" que me fue concedido el año 1999 con el número 52/99 para cuatro años. En buena medida este escrito es deudor de este proyecto, pues aunque en el tiempo que duró, me centré sólo en las relaciones de las mujeres con el espacio en el que vivían, en las fuentes aparecían también los hombres de forma más numerosa que las mujeres. Las informaciones sobre género masculino, entonces me servían para comparar las diferentes actitudes de ambos sexos. Después me han abierto un campo de investigación nuevo.

El resultado de este proyecto fueron algunas publicaciones que se citan a lo largo de este trabajo. Y, también, la realización de tres reuniones científicas en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid: "Encuentros I: Mujeres y espacios urbanos" (2000), "Simposio Internacional Mujeres y Ecología: Perspectivas Histórico-filosóficas" (2001)[8] y "Mujeres y Espacios Urbanos. Historia y Realidad Actual" (2002)[9], los tres fueron realizados en la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de dicha Universidad. Estas lecturas e investigaciones me sirvieron como base para el trabajo de investigación que presente a mi habilitación a cátedra (2006). Desde entonces no he dejado de reflexionar sobre los problemas que plantea hacer Historia del Medio Ambiente o Historia Ecológica, incluso establecer una nomenclatura todavía no definida convenientemente. He publicado algunas partes del citado trabajo[10] con las modificaciones que requería su nuevo destino; todo ello culminara en un libro. El presente texto es, sin duda, deudor de la parte introductoria del mismo y su fundamental pretensión es únicamente incitar a consolidar esta nueva forma de interpretar la Historia del pasado. No es una nueva Historia, la Historia sólo es una, sino una nueva forma de interpretarla para aportar una parte del pasado que hasta ahora no es conocida.

Marc Bloch definió la Historia como "la ciencia de los hombres en el tiempo"[11]. Hay que precisar que esta definición es anterior a 1944, año en que Bloch murió fusilado por los nazis. A pesar del tiempo trascurrido, me sigue pareciendo la más idónea de las propuestas hasta ahora. No obstante, siempre hago una crítica, muy respetuosa, pues en los principios del siglo XX, Bloch no podía prever una parte de la Historia todavía no desarrollada. Desde mi reconocimiento al maestro, me atrevo a matizar su definición. En ella ninguna palabra es innecesaria, todas son imprescindibles, pero pienso que otros conceptos la enriquecerían, matizarían y, sobre todo, actualizarían. Estas dos palabras son mujeres y espacio.

Bien es cierto que el término hombres puede interpretarse como sinónimo de humanidad, y en él se pueden incluir hombres y mujeres, como así justifica Bloch. Pero considero que, precisamente la necesidad de explicitarlo, manifiesta que no siempre se interpreta hombres como sinónimo de humanidad, por lo que hay que remarcar que no hay un solo sujeto histórico, los hombres, sino que también las mujeres son sujetos sociales, puesto que su realidad social es distinta a la del otro grupo.

El término espacio fue valorado por Bloch para incorporarlo a su definición, pero acabó rechazándolo, por la dura crítica al determinismo geográfico. El pensamiento liberal no podía defender

8. Publicado como Puleo, Alicia H.; Segura, Cristina; Cavana, María Luisa, eds. *Mujeres y Ecología. Historia*…

9. La mayor parte de las aportaciones se publicaron en Segura Graíño, Cristina, coord. *Mujeres y Espacios Urbanos. Homenaje a Christine de Pizan en el VI centenario de la 1edición de "La ciudad de las damas", 1405-2005*. Madrid: Asociación Cultural Almudayna, 2007.

10. Reseñadas en la nota 1.

11. Bloch, Marc. *Introducción a la Historia*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974.

que una persona, por el lugar en el que había nacido o en el que residía, sólo podía vivir de una determinada manera, sin posibilidad de modificar su situación original. Por ello, Bloch no incluyó espacio en su definición. En los inicios del siglo XXI, el determinismo geográfico se ha matizado y no puede negarse que las personas desarrollan una determinada actividad según los espacios en los que viven, que condicionan su vida en cierta medida, aunque siempre tienen la posibilidad de escapar a estos condicionamientos, aunque sea en una patera.

Sin duda, las personas mantienen unas determinadas relaciones con las otras personas con las que conviven y la Historia mayoritariamente se ha dedicado a investigar sobre ellas. Pero también, y de forma igualmente definitoria para su realidad social, mantienen relaciones con el espacio en el que se desarrollan sus actuaciones. Las relaciones que mantienen con el medio en el que viven no son estables, como tampoco las que establecen con las personas, y se modifican según las necesidades. Pueden ser buenas o malas, de aceptación o de rechazo, de atención o de despreocupación, de cuidado o de agresión. Y no puede olvidarse que cualquier actuación humana en relación con su habitat, no afecta sólo al momento en la que se produce, sino que tiene repercusión para el futuro. Sólo recientemente se han empezado a manifestar las consecuencias negativas que para la Tierra, que para mí es todo lo que hay sobre el planeta, o lo rodea, personas, animales, plantas, desiertos, hielos o mares, es decir Gaia, están teniendo las actuaciones de las personas con el lugar en el que se ha desarrollado su existencia a lo largo de los tiempos. Además, esto tampoco debe olvidarse, esta importante cuestión no preocupa de igual manera a las distintas personas, sociedades o gobiernos.

7. Historia de la Ecología/Historia Ecológica

La preocupación por las relaciones de las personas con el espacio en el que viven se ha denominado pensamiento ecológico. De este nuevo pensamiento ha surgido una nueva ciencia que es la Ecología que tiene un importante contenido político y social, junto con graves repercusiones económicas para las sociedades capitalistas, pues denuncia la explotación a la que ha sido sometido el planeta Tierra. Pienso que no es necesario insistir aquí más sobre ello, aunque esto no quiere decir que sea tema resuelto. Pero si quiero remarcar que las agresiones al medio ambiente no son privativas de los tiempos contemporáneos. A la situación actual se ha llegado por una progresión de actuaciones derivadas que se han sido intensificando con el avance de la técnica. Me parece interesante y oportuno, además de novedoso, hacer la Historia de este proceso y considero que es una vía de hacer una Historia de candente actualidad social y política. La Historia no debe quedar reducida a una actividad de escritorio que no se implique en la realidad social en la que se desarrolla y no responda a las demandas sociales de cada momento. La Historia debe dar respuestas, sin duda científicas, pero que ayuden a una mejor comprensión de los problemas del pasado y del presente, para mejorar el futuro.

Se plantea un problema terminológico cuando se quiere crear una nomenclatura en relación con esta nueva vía de investigación. Es preciso definir los términos que se utilicen pues pueden responder a contenidos diferentes. La Ecología analiza las relaciones de las personas ¿con la naturaleza? ¿con el medio físico? ¿con el campo? ¿con la ciudad? ¿cómo denominaremos la parte de la Historia que se ocupe de estas relaciones? ¿es lo mismo medio físico o natural que medio ambiente? Las respuestas a estas preguntas son complicadas y a lo largo de este escrito voy a intentar dar algunas. Como punto de partida quiero precisar que medio natural y medio físico tienen un mismo

significado. Es la naturaleza espontánea sin modificación humana. En cambio, medio ambiente, creo que es el resultado de la acción de las personas sobre el medio natural, dando lugar a su modificación. Esta acción no tiene por qué ser siempre nociva para la naturaleza. No obstante, a lo largo de la Historia, en muchos casos, así ha sido de forma progresiva, gracias al desarrollo tecnológico, que ha sido inversamente proporcional al deterioro del medio natural.

No creo que sea necesario insistir en la diferencia entre la Historia de la Ecología y la Historia Ecológica, es obvia. La primera tiene muy corta trayectoria pues la Ecología no tiene un siglo de vida. La Historia de la Ecología debe analizar el desarrollo de esta ciencia, que no es de mi cometido ahora, en cambio, si lo es participar en la construcción de una Historia Ecológica, que puede considerarse como una forma nueva de hacer Historia. El objeto de estudio de la Historia Ecológica deben ser las relaciones de las personas con el medio en el que se han desarrollado sus vidas a lo largo de los tiempos. El sujeto social son las personas que llevan a cabo unas determinadas relaciones con los espacios en los que han desarrollado sus actividades, teniendo en cuenta en cada caso la realidad social propia.

La Historia Ecológica, no es una parte de la Historia, es la Historia desde el análisis de unos determinados problemas de la sociedad, por ello, debe hacerse partiendo de los presupuestos de la Historia Social. Hay que valorar como han sido los comportamientos humanos con el medio en el que vivían y que consecuencias han tenido. Los resultados dependen de una serie de factores, por lo que es necesario aplicar unas determinadas categorías de análisis propias. El narrar las relaciones de los campesinos medievales con los campos que cultivaban no es suficiente. Hay que valorar las causas de estas relaciones, sus consecuencias y repercusiones sobre la naturaleza. La realidad social es determinante en el establecimiento de dichas actuaciones que solo se justifican y comprenden con este método de trabajo. Muy mermada nacerá la nueva Historia Social, si se olvida de algo tan importante para la vida de las personas, que ha influido tanto en el desarrollo económico, que ha dado lugar a numerosos conflictos y que, actualmente, tiene un interés prioritario, como son los criterios ecológicos.

Hasta ahora son muy escasas las voces que desde el campo de la Historia reclamen la inclusión de la Historia Ecológica en el pretendido paradigma de la Historia del siglo XXI, aunque empiezan algunas referencias como es el caso de las reuniones científicas ya citadas; la realizada en Cáceres[12] está relacionada con un proyecto, "Hombre y medio ambiente en la Historia", financiado por la Consejería de Educación de la Junta de Extremadura.

La importancia de la Historia Ecológica también ha sido valorada en el *Manifiesto de Historia a Debate*[13] (2002) surgido a partir de los dos primeros congresos de esta corriente historiográfica y refrendado en el tercero, todos ellos celebrados en Santiago de Compostela en el mes julio de los años 1993, 1999 y 2005. Todos ellos han sido convocados por Carlos Barros, profesor de Historia Medieval de esa Universidad y primer redactor del manifiesto, en él, entre los principios que deben definir la nueva Historia, se defiende la necesidad de la Historia Ecológica o del Medio Ambiente. Este fue uno de los temas para debatir en el Congreso del año 2005 como trasversal a las diferentes corrientes y propuestas. Constatándose la necesidad de un corpus científico que enuncie métodos, metodologías y, sobre todo, contenidos. Si no se reclama su necesidad difícilmente se va a poder desarrollar.

12. Clemente Ramons, Julián, ed. *El medio natural en la España medieval*...

13. *"Manifest von 'Historia a Debate' (Geschichte zur Discusio)". Zeitschüft für Weltgeschichte*, 3 (2002): 113-114.

8. Categorías de análisis

Aceptando la importancia del estudio de las relaciones de las personas con el medio, pronto surge la necesidad de matizar si todas ellas fueron semejantes o si hay categorías de análisis que marcan diferencias. El tiempo histórico es fundamental, aunque no entendido atendiendo a las obsoletas divisiones de Edad Antigua, Media, etc., sino a los cambios que se producen en las estructuras socioeconómicas sobre todo. Mucho más eficaz para este caso son otras referencias como sociedades preindustriales o industrializadas. Tampoco puede considerarse como estable la situación en las sociedades conocidas como preindustriales. Hay cambios profundos a lo largo de este periodo, debidos sobre todo a avances técnicos, pero lo sustancial es permanente. La sociedad medieval debe integrarse a este grupo, pero sin olvidar que es eminentemente europea y sólo incorpora aquellas otras formaciones políticas y/o sociales con las que se mantuvieron relaciones. Todavía permanecen en la actualidad pueblos o comunidades indígenas que no han llegado a la revolución la industrial, menos a la tecnológica. El tiempo histórico, por tanto, su precisión, es categoría de análisis prioritaria. Junto a ella debe valorarse el espacio propio en el que se desarrollaba la vida de las personas, pues la infraestructura material también modifica cada proceso histórico.

Junto a la necesaria precisión cronológica y espacial, hay que aplicar otras categorías de análisis imprescindibles en todo trabajo de Historia como son el género y la clase social. En el primer caso desde una doble perspectiva. Hay que valorar si las relaciones que mantienen hombres y mujeres con la naturaleza son semejantes; y, en el caso que no lo sean, analizar las causas de esa diferencia. También es necesario plantear si la percepción del medio en el que viven las personas es semejante o hay diferencias atendiendo a su sexo. No puede olvidarse la distinta consideración que han recibido las mujeres y los hombres por la filosofía clásica y ahora por ciertas tendencias en la psicología. Mientras que desde Aristóteles se ha definido a los hombres como ostentadores de la razón, por la que gobiernan sus actos y establecen unas determinadas relaciones de dominio con la naturaleza, a las mujeres se las ha considerado como más próximas en sus comportamientos inducidos por los sentimientos espontáneos a la naturaleza que a la razón. El legado aristotélico todavía sigue muy presente en el pensamiento dominante.

La clase social a la que pertenece cada persona es categoría de análisis básica que modifica las propias relaciones de cada individuo con el medio natural. En el caso de la preocupación ecológica hay que aplicar también el lugar de residencia de cada persona como categoría de análisis que, en cierta medida está relacionado con la clase social. Es decisivo en las actitudes y formas de vida de una persona si vive en el campo, en el bosque o en la ciudad. Todo esto crea especificidades propias que hay que valorar. Igualmente hay que tener en cuenta para el Medievo hispano la mentalidad dominante. Aquí hubo seguidores de tres religiones y los tres grupos tuvieron preocupaciones diferentes sobre el medio natural.

Por tanto, las categorías de análisis propuestas, el tiempo histórico, el lugar de residencia, el género, la clase social y la mentalidad, son básicas para contextualizar los problemas sobre los que debe insistir la Historia Ecológica. Asimismo, hay que desterrar percepciones sentimentales de proximidades afectivas con la naturaleza. Las mujeres no tienen sentimientos diferentes con respecto a la naturaza, no están más próximas a ella por constitución, como afirmaba la filosofía griega. Estos pretendidos sentimientos, mejor una actitud propia del grupo femenino, se derivan de la realidad social en la que viven las mujeres sobre lo que después insistiré

Por todo lo indicado, la aplicación de estas categorías de análisis favorecerá el desarrollo de la Historia Ecológica, contextualizada en la realidad social que produjo los acontecimientos a analizar.

Pienso que el planteamiento ecológico debe estar presente en cualquier análisis histórico, pero, como hasta ahora no ha habido preocupación por este conocimiento, es bueno insistir desde esta perspectiva y llevar a cabo estudios cuyo eje central sean las relaciones de las personas con el medio en el que viven, en un determinado momento histórico, en el campo o en la ciudad, diferenciando clase social, religión y sexo. De esta manera se construirá una base de conocimientos necesarios, que ayudaran a una mejor compresión de las diferentes sociedades, las del pasado y la del presente. Pero para llevar a cabo esta tarea hay que hacer primero una serie de precisiones conceptuales, desarrollar unos métodos de trabajo, hacer una valoración de fuentes y, con todo ello, establecer una metodología propia.

9. Propuesta para hacer Historia Ecológica

La Historia relato, la Historia contributiva, la Historia positivista debe ser superada en cualquier tema. El describir las posibles relaciones de las personas con el medio físico en el que viven es Historia contributiva, que puede ser muy valiosa por el acopio de datos que representa, pero no es Historia Ecológica. Para que lo sea, se necesita una base teórica que supere el mero relato y analice desde posiciones ecologistas los acontecimientos. La Historia Ecológica supone una concepción del mundo y, por tanto, de la sociedad y del desarrollo económico, que defiende que el avance no se logra a costa del deterioro medioambiental, que en la Edad Media ya podía producirse, aunque no se tuviera conciencia de sus consecuencias. Un ejemplo muy claro es el consumo de madera que se precisaba para construir un barco y el desastre ecológico que era el hundimiento de una nave, cosa bastante frecuente entonces, pues se precisaban nuevas talas de madera de los bosques. Sólo se valoraba el coste económico y la derrota que podía ocasionar si era en una batalla.

La Historia Ecológica no es la Historia de la agricultura, ni una Historia en la que se estudien los recursos naturales, el paisaje o el bosque. Es frecuente confundir Historia de la Agricultura con Historia Ecológica y considerar que sólo con hacer relación al medio rural se está introduciendo un planteamiento ecológico en el análisis. Valorar el desarrollo agrario no supone un pensamiento ecológico, sino insistir en cuestiones relacionadas con el desarrollo económico. Por supuesto que la explotación de los recursos rurales es tema fundamental en una Historia Ecológica, pero no en si misma, sino el impacto que produce en el medio natural. El tratamiento, exigencias y repercusiones en la naturaleza que se espera del desarrollo agrario es lo que preocupa a la Historia Ecológica. Los rendimientos, los censos o las mejoras técnicas a la Historia Económica. Es posible que en una primera percepción, como el objeto más frecuente es el medio rural, se pueda caer en esta confusión. Por ello, quiero insistir en que el estudio de la producción agrícola sólo, no es Historia Ecológica. Para que lo sea, hay que valorar el impacto medioambiental que produzca.

Otro error frecuente, muy ligado al anterior es considerar que la Historia Ecológica sólo se debe centrar en el medio rural. En las ciudades también se producen unas especiales relaciones entre el medio urbano y las personas que habitan en él, que tienen unas relaciones propias, de abuso o de respeto, con el medio en el que viven, a las que pueden aplicarse las categorías de análisis adecuadas. Historia Ecológica puede hacerse teniendo como objeto un feudo, un bosque, una ciudad e, incluso, una batalla. Por ejemplo, el fuego es arma de guerra y, además de la ruina económica que supone para las personas a las que les afecta, el fuego destruye sus recursos naturales y tiene consecuencias nefastas para la naturaleza que afectan no sólo al presente, la guerra, sino a las sociedades futuras. El rey Alfonso X en las Partidas dispuso que quien prendiera fuego un bosque

como castigo debía ser "echado en él". Es un duro castigo, la muerte, que demuestra el valor que entonces recibía este delito. Esta doctrina aparece en numerosos textos legales como en las Cortes de Valladolid de 1258: "Manda el Rey que non pongan fuego pora quemar los montes e al que lo fallaren faziendo quel echen dentro" [14]. El fuego es arma de guerra que produce un fuerte impacto medioambiental y fue abundantemente utilizada.

No puede imputarse la falta de atención a este tema a la carencia de fuentes, algo semejante se alega siempre que se inician trabajos sobre alguna nueva línea de investigación. Las fuentes encierran muchos mensajes que no siempre se aprovechan. Los documentos, del tipo que sean, ofrecen muchos datos útiles que no se valoran, pues no están implicados directamente con el objeto prioritario de las investigaciones convencionales. Hay que volver insistentemente sobre todos los documentos, tengan el carácter que tengan. En todos ellos hay pequeños datos desaprovechados que, puestos en relación entre sí o en un contexto determinado, pueden abrir nuevas vías de conocimiento. Hay que leer los textos buscando datos nuevos, hay que hacerles muchas preguntas y muy variadas para tener nuevas respuestas.

En la lectura de los documentos, tanto editados como inéditos es donde se encuentran las informaciones que posibilitan la reconstrucción de las relaciones de las personas con la naturaleza. Este método de trabajo debe ir acompañado de los planteamientos metodológicos propios. La recopilación y exposición sólo de datos, expuestos ordenadamente, sólo sirven para reconstruir como se han producido estas relaciones. Esto en si mismo ya es muy valioso, pero hay que avanzar más. Hasta ahora hay ideas generales sobre las que hay que profundizar y analizar de acuerdo a una metodología adecuada. Es imprescindible partir de una base teórica, sustentada en los principios de la Historia Social y de un pensamiento ecológico, preocupado por la explotación indiscriminada de los recursos naturales a lo largo de los tiempos y de las intervenciones humanas sobre el medio natural.

Anteriormente ya indicaba que, aunque la definición de un pensamiento ecológico es de tiempos muy recientes, esto no quiere decir que no existiera con anterioridad. No obstante, un pensamiento ecológico supone una conciencia del problema del deterioro de la naturaleza, una visión global del mismo y unas políticas encaminadas a tener resultados que impidan este deterioro a largo plazo. Es muy difícil encontrar este pensamiento enunciado con anterioridad al siglo XX, aunque a partir del XVIII, con la Ilustración, se inició una preocupación por la naturaleza. Pero junto a esto, en Al-Andalus, desde el siglo XI, y en los reinos cristianos peninsulares desde el XIII, hay una serie de medidas que pueden parecer como manifestación de una mentalidad ecológica. Desde estas fechas hay documentos escritos en los que se recogen normas para la protección al bosque, se establece la veda en la caza y en la pesca o se aíslan las actividades contaminantes para que no molesten a las personas. Incluso, en el Código de Eurico[15], hay disposiciones de este tipo que pueden tener como objeto la protección del medio natural.

He analizado de forma global en un trabajo[16] los indicios de preocupación medioambiental conservados en la legislación medieval castellana y aquí voy a insistir de forma más pormenorizada en las bases documentales sobre las que puede desarrollarse una Historia de la Edad Media preocupada por resaltar un pensamiento protector de la naturaleza, que dio normas para lograr esto. Pero considero que estas disposiciones no se originan por una preocupación por el medio ambiente, sino

14. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1861: I, 62.

15. Segura, Cristina. "Las mujeres y la naturaleza…": 489-503.

16. Segura, Cristina. "Mujeres y medio ambiente en la Edad Media Castellana", *Oficios y saberes de Mujeres*, Rosa María Cid López, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002: 159-188.

que sólo responden a crear una situación confortable en el caso de la vida urbana y a la protección a la propiedad privada en el medio rural. Hasta ahora nada me induce a pensar que había una mentalidad ecológica, es posible que nuevas investigaciones demuestren lo contrario. No puede haber una mentalidad ecológica pues para su existencia se necesitan una serie de requisitos. En primer lugar es necesario tener una visión global del problema; si se da esta circunstancia, los poderes públicos deberían tomar unas medidas a largo plazo, no soluciones momentáneas, que es lo que aparece en la documentación medieval. La preocupación por el futuro, manifestaría la existencia de un pensamiento en el que privaría la necesidad de proteger el medio en el que se vive. Pero me temo, atendiendo a lo investigado hasta ahora, que la preocupación es coyuntural.

No puede haber una visión global de la situación pues muchas personas no abandonaron su tierra o su ciudad nunca y difícilmente podían recibir informaciones, que afectaran a este tema, de otros lugares. La preocupación que puede aparecer en los textos, no tiene una proyección a largo plazo, sino a muy corto, resolver los problemas cotidianos. Además, hay que tener muy presente que en las sociedades preindustriales a la naturaleza, sobre todo, se la teme, no aparece como la madre protectora que los ilustrados del XVIII preconizaron y que ha sido el origen primero de la actual preocupación por su deterioro. La naturaleza es adversa para las personas en múltiples situaciones, fríos, heladas, sequías, vendavales, inundaciones, pedriscos, lluvias torrenciales o animales feroces por ejemplo. Las personas intentaban protegerse de todo ello como demuestran toda una serie de prácticas materiales, además de oraciones, conjuros, rogativas o procesiones que había que hacer para intentar tener a la naturaleza favorable y propicia.

Nadie pensaba que había que proteger a la naturaleza, sino, más bien, defenderse de ella. El bosque avanzaba continuamente en detrimento de los campos de cultivos si no se establecían medidas para impedirlo; los ríos anegaban las tierras roturadas si había lluvias torrenciales, las heladas daban al traste con las cosechas o las plagas de insectos devoraban los frutos. A pesar de todo ello, la naturaleza aportaba agua, frutos y leña para calentarse y, por tanto, daba vida. Igualmente hay que tener presente que en la Edad Media la mayor parte de la tierra, en la que había que englobar bosques, ríos, fuentes y campos de cultivo, eran del rey, de la Iglesia o del señor feudal, no de los campesinos que eran quienes estaban en contacto directo con ella. Su preocupación era que las cosechas aportaran lo suficiente para cumplir con las obligaciones feudales y, si era posible, conseguir un excedente para mejorar sus condiciones de vida.

En cambio, y esto si me parece importante destacar, la preocupación de la campesina se limitaba a conseguir que hubiera suficientes frutos para alimentar a su familia. En una sociedad de subsistencia es muy difícil que surja una mentalidad ecológica, aunque en la práctica y precisamente por esta escasez de todo, agua, frutos, cereal o animales domésticos, se tenga, en apariencia, una actitud ecológica. Es decir, de protección a aquello que se necesita para la vida y que es escaso. Pero pienso que el cuidado por proteger lo que la naturaleza aporta, no se debe a una preocupación ecológica, sino a la necesidad de la supervivencia. En la práctica, en la realidad cotidiana, hay formas de relacionarse con la naturaleza, disposiciones legales o escritos que pueden hacer pensar que había una mentalidad ecológica. No me arriesgo a hacer esta afirmación, pero tampoco a negarla rotundamente. Por esto mismo, vuelvo a insistir, considero que es una buena vía de investigación.

Puede hacerse de forma global un somero repaso de las diferentes formaciones sociales medievales y rastrear en una primera aproximación los indicios que faciliten el análisis de cada una de ellas con el medio urbano o natural en el que vivían las personas. En la sociedad islámica hay un gran cuidado por evitar actividades que deterioren la vida en la ciudad. En los tratados de Hisba

conservados[17] hay normas que prohíben contaminar el agua o el aire con malos olores. Estos tratados tenían como objetivo regular el acontecer urbano y establecer como debía desarrollarse la vida en la ciudad. Son una fuente magnífica, en ellos se exponen disposiciones, que los cristianos también incorporaron a la legislación municipal, en la que se constata la preocupación del legislador porque la vida sea confortable y agradable.

En la normativa jurídica, tanto de rango superior como de aplicación del derecho, aparecen disposiciones sobre bosques, cultivos, aguas, actividades contaminantes o pureza del aire, que pueden servir para reconstruir el pensamiento del legislador sobre el medio ambiente y, también, para analizar la aplicación de este pensamiento en la realidad cotidiana. En las crónicas o en cualquier otro tipo de escrito como las fuentes literarias, se encuentran informaciones que hacen referencia al paisaje, a su apreciación, a los contactos de las personas con la naturaleza o a los fenómenos naturales. Entre ellos hay que destacar los hechos excepcionales como catástrofes, fuegos, inundaciones, heladas y sequías. Todo ello, cuando se ha estudiado, se ha hecho desde criterios de Historia contributiva o económica o como causa de procesos sociales, pero no se han valorado sus posibles repercusiones en el medio físico. Todos estos fenómenos naturales tienen, sobre todo, un fuerte impacto medioambiental que no ha sido valorado.

En los escritos de autoría femenina puede haber datos referentes al pensamiento de las mujeres sobre la naturaleza ya que ellas abastecían sus casas y alimentaban a sus familias con lo que tomaban de ella. No sería extraño encontrar actuaciones que induzcan a pensar que hubo ecologistas por necesidad, antes de que se enunciara esta doctrina. En las fuentes iconográficas que visualizan paisajes o trabajos agrícolas, hasta ahora muy poco utilizadas, aparece un número considerable de mujeres realizando las más diversas tareas agrícolas. Incluso, las informaciones orales pueden ser muy valiosas, pues todavía se mantienen prácticas agrícolas ancestrales, bien en el espacio geográfico al que se adecuó la sociedad feudal; o en sociedades del siglo XX con escaso desarrollo tecnológico, que sin duda tienen puntos de contacto con las técnicas conocidas en tiempos medievales, por no recordar a la población del llamado Tercer Mundo que mantiene formas vida en las que hay dificultades semejantes a las que había en el Medioevo.

10. Historia Ecofeminista

Para terminar es necesario hacer una breve referencia a la Historia Ecofeminista. El Ecofeminismo es una tendencia emergente y cada vez más consolidada dentro de los estudios y planteamientos feministas. Auguro gran futuro a la Historia Ecofeminista, ya que aúna dos de los campos más novedosos dentro del ámbito de la Historia, Historia de las Mujeres e Historia Ecológica. La Historia de las Mujeres, con más de un siglo de andadura, goza de unas bases teóricas y documentales sólidas, cosa a la que debe aspirar la Historia Ecológica. La juventud de la Historia de las Mujeres, en comparación con la Historia convencional, ha aportado un fuerte impulso renovador, al no acomodarse a los planteamientos tradicionales. Es, todavía, una Historia en formación, pues siempre procura el avance teórico y del conocimiento. La Historia Ecológica en este país es casi recién nacida y ha sido fuera de la Edad Media donde se han producido los mayores avances.

17. Segura, Cristina. "¿Rastros de un pensamiento ecológico en Al-Andalus…?": 29-34.

Varias son las tendencias que hay en el ecofeminismo que influyen en la concepción de la Historia Ecofeminista[18]. Hay un ecofeminismo esencialista que identifica naturaleza y mujeres y establece una mayor proximidad entre ambas que entre la naturaleza y los hombres. Las mujeres y la naturaleza dan la vida, nutren y, en teoría, son protectoras. Ya la filosofía griega emparejaba naturaleza, sentimientos, desorden y mujeres, frente a polis, razón, orden y hombres. Por ello, el feminismo de la igualdad está muy reticente ante algunos planteamientos ecofeministas que, de forma extrema, identifican mujeres y naturaleza.

El ecofeminismo socialista considera que hay relaciones sociales diferentes con la naturaleza de hombres y de mujeres. Los hombres han mantenido una relación de explotación, pues han utilizado los recursos naturales para lograr de ellos plusvalías. Barbara Holland-Cunz[19] matiza que la destrucción de la naturaleza mediante su explotación, se desarrolla en lo público, espacio no femenino. Las mujeres, en cambio, mantienen una relación doméstica para el abasto diario de la familia; así ha sido a lo largo de la Historia y en los países del Tercer Mundo en la actualidad. Añado a estos planteamientos otro punto en común entre naturaleza y mujeres que es la explotación que, tanto de una como de otras, hace el grupo masculino, beneficiándose de los recursos y de las plusvalías que genera el trabajo doméstico no remunerado[20] que la naturaleza aporta también gratuitamente. Carolyn Merchant[21], en esta misma línea, afirma que mujer y naturaleza están en un nivel de reposición semejante, ya que tanto una como otra son producto de los procesos históricos.

La teóloga Anne Primavesi[22] apunta una importante vía de análisis. Se centra en el tratamiento que la Biblia da a las mujeres y a la naturaleza. Desde el Génesis la posición del hombre, que es el primer ser creado a imagen y semejanza de Dios, es superior a la naturaleza, creada con anterioridad y a la que Dios coloca supeditada a Adán, igual que a Eva, la mujer, creada con posterioridad y como un apéndice del hombre. Sólo Adán es semejante a la divinidad, mientras que ni la naturaleza, ni Eva lo son. Este es el argumento para que los hombres puedan actuar a su libre albedrío con ambas, sin tener que rendir cuentas a nadie. De este análisis bíblico, Primavesi deduce, las malas relaciones que las religiones cristianas tienen con la naturaleza y, por tanto, su fuerte rechazo al panteísmo.

La agricultura, en sus orígenes, supuso una modificación, no una agresión, de la naturaleza por parte de las mujeres recolectoras de lo que encontraban a mano; pretendían tener una mejor alimentación para sus familias pero no especular con los frutos que la naturaleza ofrecía. Ellas iniciaron la sedentarización permaneciendo junto a sus cultivos y manteniendo con ellos a niñas y niños pequeños, mientras que los hombres seguían siendo cazadores nómadas aunque comenzaron a regresar donde estaban las mujeres. Se produjo de esta manera un proceso que condujo a la sedentarización y mujeres y hombres comenzaron a cultivar los campos colectivamente.

Pronto se inició la apropiación individual de la tierra que se cultivaba y también se tendió a producir más de lo necesario para el sustento, para conseguir una riqueza con la venta o intercambio de los excedentes. En este proceso ya no estaban las mujeres, sino que lo impulsaban los hombres. Junto a ello, la sociedad patriarcal establecía que, dentro de las obligaciones domésticas

18. Segura, Cristina. "Historia ecofeminista", *Mujeres y Ecología*...: 35-56.

19. Holland-Cunz, Barbara. *Ecofeminismos*…

20. Segura, Cristina. "Actividades remuneradas y no remuneradas de las mujeres en la Edad Media", *Rentas, producción y consumo en España en la Baja Edad Media*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001: 109-120.

21. Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions*…

22. Primavesi, Anne. *Del Apocalipsis al Génesis*...

que concernían a las mujeres, estaba el aportar todo lo necesario para el mantenimiento de la familia, como el agua, el alimento, el fuego para el hogar, los cuidados necesarios y, en fin, la reproducción de la unidad familiar. Todas estas tareas, por ser domésticas y obligaciones de las mujeres, no recibían ningún tipo de compensación económica; la naturaleza, igualmente, aportaba sus dones de forma gratuita y cíclica. La naturaleza no descansa, a lo largo de todo el ciclo hace germinar las semillas, florecer las plantas y granar los frutos. Cuando estos son recogidos, vuelve a iniciar el proceso. La vida de las mujeres reproduce un ciclo semejante y una medida del tiempo parecida. Las mujeres y la naturaleza no descansan, ni de día ni de noche, ni a lo largo del año hay un período en que cesen sus obligaciones ambas siempre, cada día, deben iniciar tareas que no acaban de culminar[23].

Las realidades indicadas muestran gran semejanza entre naturaleza y mujeres. Pero quiero insistir en una precisión cronológica, me estoy refiriéndome a las sociedades preindustriales fuertemente patriarcalizadas, en las que las mujeres y la naturaleza llevaban a cabo el abasto familiar sin conseguir ningún tipo de compensación material[24]. Es la obligación de unas y de otra. Frente a ello, los hombres rentabilizaban en su beneficio la gratuidad de los frutos de la naturaleza y del trabajo de las mujeres. Aquí hay un elemento económico fuerte, que invalida cualquier acusación de esencialismo en la semejanza entre mujeres y naturaleza. Otro tanto puede argumentarse sobre la periodicidad de los procesos naturales y la vida de las mujeres. Tanto en un caso como en el otro hay ciclos que indefectiblemente se cumplen y que producen riqueza. En el caso de las mujeres son los hijos, que aumentan los bienes familiares. En el caso de la naturaleza es la cosecha anual. Y, por último, sólo lo voy a apuntar brevemente pues ya lo he estudiado en otro lugar más detenidamente[25], las tareas femeninas no tienen horario fijo, como tienen las tareas de los hombres. Ellas atienden continuamente, todo lo que hace falta para el bienestar familiar, tarea que nunca termina. Las actividades femeninas no se adecuan a la división económica del tiempo en jornada de trabajo y de ocio, con un día de descanso cada semana. Los trabajos de las mujeres no acaban y a cualquier hora del día o de la noche hay que atenderlos. La naturaleza tampoco tiene un horario reglamentado, aunque se desarrolle en ciclos, pero siempre, incluso en invierno, está produciendo, igual que las mujeres.

11. Conclusiones absolutamente provisionales

Todo lo expuesto hasta ahora manifiesta las posibilidades de una Historia en la que se tengan en cuenta las relaciones de las personas con el medio ambiente en el que vivían. Historia en la que se valoren estas relaciones y, también, las consecuencias que tuvieron para el futuro. Igualmente pienso que es necesario contextualizar estas relaciones en la realidad social de cada época y en relación con el pensamiento dominante en cada momento, expresado a través de leyes y normas de convivencia. Pero también es fundamental intentar, utilizando documentos no convencionales, percibir cuales eran los pensamientos, sensaciones y sentimientos de los hombres y mujeres anónimos. Este es un trabajo difícil y complicado pero se puede intentar un acercamiento gracias

23. Segura, Cristina. "La tela de Penélope. El tiempo de las mujeres en la Edad Media". *Arenal*, 8/I (2001): 39-54.

24. Segura, Cristina. "Actividades remuneradas y no remuneradas…": 109-120.

25. Segura, Cristina. "Definición/indefinición de los espacios femeninos atendiendo al tiempo y a los tiempos de las mujeres", *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. La Mujer*. Córdoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 2002: 199-215.

a un adecuado tratamiento de todo tipo de fuentes que se puedan aportar. Los resultados son muy gratificantes pues con ellos se está abriendo una línea de investigación nueva, se va a recorrer un camino poco transitado todavía. Se va a aportar una Historia que hasta ahora no se ha hecho. Una Historia desconocida, se van a ofrecer unos conocimientos importantes que hacen referencia a la vida de las personas, mujeres y hombres anónimos, que con su trabajo cotidiano son los que han construido la Historia. No la Historia de los grandes personajes y hechos irrepetibles, sino la Historia de las diversas formaciones sociales que se han sucedido a lo largo de los tiempos y que hasta ahora, bajo esta perspectiva, no se conoce.

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LE TERRITOIRE PORTUGAIS AVANT LE PORTUGAL : DES RACINES OU DES PRECEDENTS ? ESSAI DE REFLEXION GEO-HISTORIQUE

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Résumé

L'identité du Portugal a donné lieu à de nombreuses thèses; depuis longtemps, beaucoup d'entre elles sont continuistes, fondées notamment sur ce que l'on pensait être l'*ultima ratio*: les facteurs environnementaux. En considérant qu'un territoire tel que le royaume portugais, quasiment achevé, du point de vue spatial, vers 1250, est le produit de systèmes (échanges économiques, liens entre communautés locales, réseau politique) et d'une identité, on tentera de réfléchir dans la longue durée sur les rapports entre la forme de ce territoire et celle des unités qui l'ont précédé depuis les provinces romaines de Lusitanie et de Galice: y a-t-il continuité, répétition ou coïncidence ? Ecartant le problème des frontières en tant que tel (le passage de limites fortement volontaristes en des points précis), en considérant que leur tracé global (mais non pas dans le détail) est toujours imposé par des processus lourds de polarisation, on adoptera une approche comparatiste de ces « préfigurations » du Portugal.

L'opiniâtreté du Portugal à s'affirmer et à survivre en tant qu'entité se manifeste, à partir du début du XIIe siècle, avec une intensité et une précocité (par rapport à la formation de l'Etat) telles qu'il faut aller en chercher des racines identitaires avant l'apparition d'un pouvoir politique autonome. Méthode inévitable mais dangereuse : il faut savoir jusqu'où ne pas aller trop loin (i.e. ne pas remonter trop haut), sous peine d'être accusé, comme le fut le grand historien de l'identité médiévale hispanique, C. Sánchez Albornoz, d'« hispanisme géologique » — dans notre cas, de lusitanisme géologique !

Les thèses nationalistes, pour qui l'ancienneté et la continuité sont des valeurs essentielles, faisant remonter la culture et le peuple portugais aux Lusitaniens celtes (thèse humaniste, dès le XVIe siècle) ou même aux ramasseurs de coquillages paléolithiques ou aux constructeurs de dolmens (thèses ultra-nationalistes des XIX-XXe siècles), n'ont donc pas à être retenues[1]. Mais, comme la comparaison est une clé de compréhension dans la réflexion historique, une brève observation des « archétypes » (au sens des spécialistes de la littérature) du territoire et de l'Etat portugais n'est pas sans intérêt.

D'ailleurs, la référence à un passé lointain est inévitable, car, même en se situant dans un temps plus court, entre l'invasion arabe (711-716, dans cette partie de la Péninsule ibérique) et le XIIIe

1. A ce sujet, une saine mise au point chez Ribeiro, Orlando. « Formação de Portugal », *A formação de Portugal*. Lisboa : Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1987: 19-64. La dimension historiographique de cette question est particulièrement bien restituée par l'introduction de José Mattoso à la réédition de Alexandre Herculano: Matosso, José. « Prefacio », Herculano, Alexandre. *História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até o fim do reinado de Afonso III*, José Matosso, éd. Lisbonne : Livraria Bertrand, 1980-1981 (2e-4e éd. 1862-76): I, 4-22.

siècle, on admet tacitement que l'idéologie motrice de la Reconquête est la reconstitution d'une unité perdue; mais l'unité de quoi ? Au-delà du triomphe d'une foi sur une autre, qui est peu territorialisé, il faut bien donner une définition spatiale. Pour le royaume d'Asturies-León, avant ses démembrements successifs, on peut admettre que la référence est le royaume wisigothique (dont la configuration spatiale est claire, puisque péninsulaire, i.e. bornée principalement par des littoraux); mais pour les principautés de Castille et Portugal, issues du León et pourvues chacune de leur propre front contre al-Andalus, quel espace référentiel « restaurer » ?

Dans cette optique, il est inutile de retracer longuement l'évolution événementielle ancienne, et on s'interrogera plutôt sur l'existence de structures « de longue durée ». Dans la problématique des « préfigurations » du Portugal, certains ont invoqué un sentiment identitaire de longue durée transmis par la mémoire collective et la continuité des institutions englobantes ou locales ; d'autres, en suivant des modèles géographiques, ont étayé la thèse d'une continuité par la dimension territoriale, soit d'origine environnementale, soit culturelle[2], car le tracé des unités politico-administratives a la vie dure, et, par une sorte de « mémoire des lieux », peut parfois résister aux changements de contenu social et politique les plus radicaux. Certes, plus personne ne se hasarde à penser que des limites linéaires de grandes entités se maintiennent sur le terrain — si elles y ont jamais existé — depuis l'époque romaine jusqu'au XIIIe siècle ; mais on peut avancer que l'implantation des groupes humains, leurs réseaux d'échanges économiques, leurs parlers… constituent des facteurs objectifs (inconscients) qui occupent à peu près toujours le même espace sur une très longue durée — car se perpétuant sans évolutions suffisantes pour modifier leur territorialité[3].

Mais cette dimension spatiale, impliquant un très grand nombre de facteurs, est difficile à aborder, car le nombre d'éléments concrets auxquels se raccrocher est très faible, et les modèles géographiques, résolument « contemporanéistes », ne nous fournissent pas vraiment de quoi penser efficacement les systèmes spatiaux anciens ni leur évolution dans la longue durée (malgré les origines historiennes de la notion de « région »)[4]. Par ailleurs, notre réflexion se fonde inévitablement sur l'observation de cartes[5]; or, la ressemblance éventuelle des formes spatiales ne préjuge en rien des configurations sociales qui les ont mises en oeuvre: même dans ses mécanismes les plus matériels, la territorialité d'une province romaine n'est pas celle d'un royaume féodal, comme, à une

2. Cette thèse des « racines lointaines » du territoire portugais, déjà formulée par J. Cortesão, a été portée et scientifiquement étayée dans les synthèses de Torquato de Sousa Soares, particulièrement : Soares, Torquato de Sousa. « Carácter e limites do Condado Portugalense (1096-1128) », *Papel das áreas regionais na formação histórica de Portugal. Actas do 1º colóquio, Lisboa 1975*. Lisbonne : Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975 : 9-22; en dernier lieu, Soares, Torquato de Sousa. *Formação do estado português (1096-1179)*. Trofa: Sólivros de Portugal, 1989.

3. Sur ce concept de territorialité, que nous utiliserons ici sans pouvoir l'expliciter, voir des réflexions beaucoup plus approfondies dans Boissellier, Stéphane. « Introduction à un programme de recherches sur la territorialité : essai de réflexion globale et éléments d'analyse », *De l'espace aux territoires : pour une étude de la territorialité des processus sociaux et culturels en Méditerranée occidentale médiévale. Actes de la table-ronde, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale (Poitiers), 8-9 juin 2006*, Stéphane Boissellier, dir. Turnhout : Brepols, 2010, sous presse ; de même, les contributions introductives de Mousnier, Mireille ; Cursente, Benoît, dir. *Les territoires du médiéviste*. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005.

4. Voir, par exemple le bref chapitre consacré à la « chronogéographie » : Antoine Bailly, dir. *Les concepts de la géographie humaine*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2004 : 223-228, qui utilise surtout des concepts sociologiques et renvoi à une bibliographie qui n'a plus progressé depuis 1980. Plus développé, l'essai de réflexion commune d'un médiéviste et d'une géoraphe historisante : Boissellier, Stéphane ; Baron, Nacima. « Sociétés médiévales et approches géographiques : un dialogue de sourds ? », *Être médiévise au XXIe siècle. Colloque SHMES; Evry-Versailles-Marne la Vallée, 31 mai- 2 juin 2007*. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2008: 163-177.

5. Notamment l'excellent Mestre Campí, Jesús ; Sabaté, Flocel. *Atlas de la « Reconquista ». La frontera peninsular entre los siglos VIII y XV*. Barcelona : Ediciones Península, 1998.

autre échelle, la capacité de polarisation d'un réseau impérial de *civitates* et de routes n'est pas celle d'un ensemble d'évêchés médiévaux. Des facteurs sociaux restant stables à l'échelle de quelques générations n'engendrent pas, sous prétexte qu'ils se combinent de façon complexe, une structure spatiale (un territoire politique) immuable sur une très longue durée.

1. Une logique géographique ?[6]

Jusque dans des ouvrages récents et d'excellente qualité, les historiens se croient tenus de souscrire à l'insupportable « introduction géographique à l'histoire »[7], brossant une fois pour toutes une toile de fond de géographie physique et humaine, qui, telle un décor de théâtre, n'interviendra plus dans l'action. J'essaierai d'échapper à ce piège en ne présentant ici que les thèses déjà émises par les historiens et géographes du Portugal, notamment ce qui concerne l'influence des éléments du milieu les plus extérieurs à l'homme (grands traits du relief, position par rapport aux autres pays, constantes climatiques) sur la formation du Portugal. Le problème vaut d'être évoqué : tout comme certains ethnographes ont tenté de voir dans une race (lusitanienne) la clé de l'identité portugaise, nombreux sont les géographes, depuis E. Reclus jusqu'au géographe allemand H. Lautensach, à essayer de voir dans le territoire portugais une unité « naturelle » ; le grand géographe O. Ribeiro, par ailleurs partisan de la position culturaliste d'une identité portugaise de longue durée, a fait justice de ces thèses.

1.1 Le Portugal et l'extérieur : la terre et la mer

Il faut prendre tout d'abord le territoire portugais en bloc ; comme il n'a quasiment plus évolué depuis 1297 (traité d'Alcañices), sa forme actuelle vaut pour sa phase médiévale — au moins à partir de la fin de la Reconquête (1250). Au-delà de son « contenu » et en rapport avec lui, la forme même qu'a acquis le pays (un rectangle au bord de la mer) explique son fonctionnement territorial et constitue peut-être un élément d'identité « objective » (i.e. dont les hommes du Moyen Âge, faute de cartes, n'ont pas eu conscience). Territoire régulier et assez massif, quoique délié (560 km du nord au sud sur 160 km, en moyenne, d'est en ouest), couvrant 90000km², le Portugal est une bande côtière assez étroite — aucun lieu n'est éloigné de plus de 200 km de la mer —, et les fréquentes inimitiés avec le León-Castille ne favorisent pas les relations ouest-est. Ce caractère littoral accentue l'excentricité du pays aux échelles péninsulaire et européenne : le Portugal tout entier, fournissant à l'Europe son cap le plus avancé dans l'Atlantique (le Cabo da Roca), en constitue un confin océanique. Le cabotage maritime offre des possibilités de communication à ce pays étiré le long du litto-

6. Voir, en français, la synthèse commode de Ribeiro, Orlando. « La terre et l'homme », Portugal. Huit siècles d'histoire au service de la valorisation de l'homme et du rapprochement entre les peuples. Bruxelles : Comissariado Geral de Portugal para a Exposição Universal e Internacional de Bruxelas de 1958, 1958 (tirage à part, en traduction française, de Ribeiro, Orlando. « Um povo na Terra », *Portugal. Oito séculos de História ao serviço da valorização do homem e da aproximação dos povos*. Lisbonne : Comissariado Geral de Portugal para a Exposição Universal e Internacional de Bruxelas de 1958, 1958: 33-38). On trouve une excellente réflexion géographique d'historien chez Durand, Robert. *Histoire du Portugal*. Paris : Hâtier, 1992 : 11-14.

7. Par exemple : Duby, George, dir. *L'Histoire de la France*. Paris : Larousse, 1970-1991 ; Mattosso, José, dir. *História de Portugal*. Lisboa : Círculo de Leitores, 1992-1994. Ces chapitres, écrits par les meilleurs spécialistes, sont souvent remarquables et vont, dans leur contenu, au-delà du déterminisme que nous dénonçons (lui préférant un « possibilisme »), mais c'est leur place dans l'économie de la réflexion historique qui pose problème : situés en préambule, ce qui rend hommenage à l'importance des structures spatiables, ils ne peuvent exposer que des phénomènes de « longue durée », alors que les rapports entre l'homme et le milieu évoluent sans cesse au fil es configurations sociales.

ral, et les hauts fonds poissonneux du plateau continental océanique favorisent une occupation littorale et la pratique de la navigation. Plus encore, l'opposition entre l'ouverture des zones côtières et le compartimentage des zones intérieures, tout au moins dans la moitié nord du pays, explique que se soit fixé un itinéraire terrestre majeur suivant la côte depuis Braga jusqu'à Lisbonne — éclipsant la voie maritime pour les liaisons courtes, ce qui conduit d'ailleurs à écarter la thèse, plus poétique et sentimentale que scientifiquement fondée, d'une « vocation maritime » portugaise.

Quoiqu'il ne soit pas une simple façade maritime, donc, et possède un véritable arrière-pays (au moins aussi peuplé que le littoral), un espace aussi peu continental que le futur Portugal est forcément polarisé par la mer : divisant classiquement la Péninsule ibérique en trois parties longitudinales (l'est, le centre et l'ouest), le grand anthologiste andalou « portugais » de la fin du XIe siècle, Ibn Bassam de Santarém, présente l'Occident (*Gharb*) d'al-Andalus comme une région polarisée par Séville, sa capitale (*madina hadira*), et constituée par « les zones côtières de l'océan 'romain' qui appartiennent à cette région »[8]. D'ailleurs la seule véritable logique géographique (matérielle) qui unifie le pays est que l'essentiel de son territoire constitue *grosso modo* la zone où les plateaux continentaux de la Meseta ibérique s'abaissent progressivement vers l'ouest, formant un amphithéâtre ouvert sur l'Atlantique[9]. En outre, le relatif enclavement du pays par rapport au « continent » ibérique, adossé qu'il est à un royaume voisin souvent hostile, explique que ses relations extérieures lointaines passent largement par l'océan. A cet égard, l'annexion de l'Algarve (ultime conquête sur les musulmans) au milieu du XIIIe siècle, outre qu'elle octroie d'un seul coup quelque 200km de littoral supplémentaire au Portugal, contribue au développement de la navigation : seule province à avoir des relations difficiles avec le reste du Portugal (car isolé par des reliefs prononcés) tout en offrant des productions agricoles et maritimes spécifiques et appréciées qui la forcent à commercer, l'Algarve doit communiquer par bateau, surtout avec Lisbonne, et cette liaison est la première dans l'histoire du pays à ne pas être sous forme de cabotage (à cause de l'absence de port notable entre Setúbal et Lagos), préparant ainsi la grande navigation atlantique.

Cependant, l'actuelle primauté des villes maritimes (Lisbonne, Porto, Faro, Setúbal) est moins prononcée depuis l'Antiquité romaine jusqu'au XVe siècle (même en y incluant les villes non littorales liées à la mer, comme Braga, Coimbra ou Alcácer). En effet, d'un point de vue géostratégique, l'Atlantique n'a rien à voir avec la Méditerranée comme espace de relations : la « mer ténébreuse » n'a pas de rivage connu vers l'ouest avant 1492, et les pays qui bordent l'Atlantique sont donc les seuls à fréquenter assidûment ses flots. Or, au moment de la formation du Portugal, s'opposent depuis plusieurs siècles deux façades océaniques : l'une, au nord, de la Norvège à la Galice, est chrétienne, et l'autre, au sud, de Lisbonne au Sénégal, est musulmane ; c'est précisément la Reconquête ibérique, du nord vers le sud, qui dilate la 1e façade aux dépens de la 2e, et le Portugal est la zone où s'opèrent ces bouleversements — conduisant d'ailleurs à l'abandon de nombreux petits habitats côtiers. Le littoral portugais ne constitue donc pas une « condition naturelle » donnée dès le départ, d'autant plus que l'insécurité militaire de la côte, liée à la bipartition entre le royaume asturien et l'Etat andalou, a été aggravée aux IX-Xe siècles par la piraterie normande. En outre, il ne faut pas céder à un « déterminisme routier », attribuant aux communications (maritimes en

8. En revanche, il ne particularise pas le Levante andalou par la présence de la Méditerranée (mais par la présence d'une marche militaire contre les chrétiens) ; voir la traduction italienne du préambule de son oeuvre dans Soravia, Bruna. « L'introduzione d'Ibn Bassam al *Kitab al-dhahira fi mahasin ahl al-djazira* : presentazione e traduzione », *Bataliús* II. *Nuevos estudios sobre el reino taifa de Badajoz*, Fernando Díaz Esteban, éd. Madrid : Letrúmero, 1999 : 253-271.

9. L'altitude moyenne du Portugal est de 240 m contre 660 pour l'Espagne.

l'occurrence) le rôle moteur dans la formation des unités culturelles, économiques et politiques — quoiqu'il soit préférable, à tout prendre, au déterminisme topographique et climatique. D'ailleurs, si le territoire actuel a presque autant de façade maritime que de frontière terrestre[10], le Portugal primitif, lui, avec 200km de côtes pour quelque 800km de limite continentale, est beaucoup moins ouvert sur la mer, et c'est, là encore, la Reconquête qui, par son orientation nord-sud, a « littoralisé » le pays.

Un dernier problème géographique est celui de la séparation d'avec les royaumes limitrophes de León et de Castille (de Castille-León unifié en 1037-1157 puis, définitivement, à partir de 1230). Aux X- XIe siècles, le futur Portugal (entre les fleuves Minho et Mondego) constitue une marche militaire méridionale de la Galice (province léonaise) contre al-Andalus ; sa formation obéit donc à une géostratégie politico-militaire. Certes, il se trouve que le paysage littoral oppose nettement, au nord la zone « galicienne » des *rias*, ces profonds fjords allant de la Corogne à Vigo, et au sud un littoral « portugais » beaucoup plus rectiligne (à l'exception de la ria d'Aveiro). Mais dans les terres, ce déterminisme est très atténué. S'il existe bien une opposition topographique globale entre le Portugal et les régions plus à l'est, les frontières du Portugal naissant, couvrant une zone entre le Minho et Coimbra, n'ont rien de « naturel » dans leur tracé de détail — pas plus que celles de la partie méridionale du royaume gagnée après 1130. Les traits les plus marquants du paysage (les grands fleuves, auxquels il faut joindre les chaînes montagneuses du système central, notamment la Serra da Estrela, et la cordillère d'Algarve), globalement orientés SW-NE, coupent le pays au lieu de le définir ; au contraire, le Douro et le Tage, plus navigables au Moyen Âge qu'actuellement, mettent en communication aisée le Portugal et la Castille quand la volonté politique ne s'y oppose pas. La frontière, telle qu'elle se définit jusqu'en 1297, s'appuie bien çà et là sur des éléments topographiques majeurs, surtout des tronçons de fleuves (de brefs morceaux du Minho, du Douro, du Tage et des parties plus importantes du Guadiana), mais c'est à cause de la fidélité à de très vieilles circonscriptions plus que par l'influence directe des éléments naturels ; quant aux reliefs montagneux réputés isoler nettement le Nord-Est du Portugal, ils appartiennent à un ensemble de chaînes plus vaste, au sein duquel la frontière aurait pu être aussi nette… ailleurs. Comme l'ensemble de l'espace portugais, la frontière utilise localement les potentialités du milieu — qui peuvent même parfois s'imposer momentanément à la volonté — mais est due dans sa globalité à la volonté des hommes et au poids du passé[11].

1.2 La diversité interne

L'identité portugaise n'est pas frappante non plus quand on observe la mosaïque de paysages qui compose le territoire ; dans son essai majeur sur « l'identification du pays », J. Mattoso consacre d'ailleurs le plus gros de ses deux volumes à « l'opposition » entre les régions — en se soumettant

10. 832 km contre 1215 (mais c'est parce que la frontière terrestre, plus « politique » puisque en confront avec un autre Etat, est plus tourmentée dans le détail). La frontière terrestre du nord du Portugal actuel est longue de 339 km et oblique brusquement vers le sud pour constituer une frontière orientale sur 876 km.

11. Un bon exemple de cette différence d'échelle dans le rapport complexe entre le milieu et la volonté politique est la région de Riba Côa : si cette étroite bande de terre entre deux affluents méridionaux du Douro, actuellement portugaise, est colonisée par des Léonais au XIIe siècle, c'est probablement parce qu'elle appartient topographiquement aux plateaux de la Meseta castillane (dont l'abaissement constitue la frontière luso-castillane) ; mais cette identité de paysage se retrouve aussi dans la zone de Miranda do Douro, qui a été intégrée dès l'origine dans le comté primitif du Portugal.

peut-être un peu trop au déterminisme des géographes[12]. Certes, les recherches manquent pour s'assurer que la diversité était aussi prononcée au Moyen Âge, mais eût-elle été moindre qu'elle n'en serait pas moins considérable; cela n'a rien d'étonnant : malgré la taille modeste du pays, celui-ci est trop vaste pour ne pas présenter une variété locale et régionale notable.

Les géographes ont souligné depuis longtemps les contrastes topographiques entre le littoral et l'intérieur ; en outre, ce dernier peut être fortement plissé (dans le Centre du pays et dans l'extrême nord-est) ou au contraire très ouvert (surtout au sud du Tage), contraste engendrant une opposition altitudinale globale de part et d'autre du Tage[13]. Cette opposition, peut-être plus importante que la différenciation topographique globale avec la Castille, a des effets majeurs : la difficulté des communications dans le nord du Portugal, autant (sinon plus) au sein du pays que par rapport à la Castille, implique un particularisme local, tandis que l'ouverture méridionale vouerait la région à être plutôt liée avec l'est s'il n'y avait la tradition antique de séparation entre Lusitanie et Bétique[14]. De plus, comme on l'a vu, trois grands fleuves, le Douro (que l'espagnol nomme Duero), le Mondego (le seul à ne pas être partagé avec la Castille) et le Tage, traversent le pays d'est en ouest et le compartimentent — il est vrai que c'est leur utilisation par les hommes, comme frontières contre les musulmans du sud, qui en fait des séparations internes nettes.

Les contrastes climatiques opposent aussi un nord-ouest de régime océanique, pluvieux et à faibles contrastes saisonniers, au reste du pays, plus continental en se rapprochant de la frontière espagnole ou nettement méditerranéen au sud-ouest du Tage. Cependant, l'opposition climatique entre littoral et intérieur n'est pas aussi prononcée que leur contraste topographique : au nord du Tage, les influences océaniques pénètrent loin à l'intérieur des terres (sauf en Trás-os-Montes), tandis qu'elles sont uniformément faibles — i.e. même près des côtes — dans le sud « méditerranéen ». Ces différences se combinent avec la situation et avec le relief, déjà évoqués, mais aussi avec la qualité des sols (qui induit le couvert végétal) ou encore le degré de concentration de l'habitat (largement lié aux activités économiques et à la seigneurie socio-politique) pour définir de nombreux « pays », nettement distincts dans leur aspect. Cette diversité de paysages, tout à fait étonnante et quasiment unique en Europe sur un si faible espace, a d'ailleurs engendré la thèse majeure d'un dualisme entre « Portugal atlantique et Portugal méditerranéen »[15] ; à cette conception, largement fondée, quant à la géographie humaine, sur des observations ethnographiques datant du XIXe siècle, on pourrait préférer un dualisme plus durable entre Portugal septentrional et méridional, de part et d'autre d'une zone intermédiaire qui s'étend du système montagneux central au Tage. Sans atteindre l'autosuffisance démographique, économique et culturelle, les régions du Portugal médiéval mènent l'essentiel de leur existence dans une logique endogène ; la lenteur des liaisons, la force des particularismes socio-économiques et culturels et plus encore l'esprit de clocher (i.e. une volonté localiste) impliquent que, ici comme dans tout l'Occident mé-

12. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um País. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*. Lisbonne : Editorial Estampa, 1988 : I (*oposição*), II (*composição*).

13. 95% des terres de plus de 400 m d'altitude se trouvent au nord du Tage tandis que 63% des terres méridionales sont en dessous de 200 m d'altitude.

14. A l'échelle locale, qui est plus pertinente, cette opposition se retrouve, encore plus frappante, dans la taille des territoires communautaires médiévaux : paroisses minuscules (dans le Nord-ouest) ou petites au nord du cours terminal du Tage et de son affluent septentrional, le Zêzere, et vastes ou immenses territoires municipaux au sud de cette ligne.

15. Ribeiro, Orlando. *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico. Esboço de relações geográficas*. Lisbonne : Sá da Costa, 1987 (1e éd. 1945 et nombreuses rééditions après celle que nous utilisons).

diéval, l'unité politique se surimpose aux réalités locales et les intègre très lentement, mais sans jamais les oblitérer.

Il faut en conclure que la diversité, en matière d'environnement, est un atout plus qu'un handicap, tout au moins quand une volonté et une action (forcément collectives) sont assez fortes pour en faire une complémentarité ; en associant ces pays dans une unité globale, créant *ipso facto* une espèce de division du travail à grande échelle, se développent forcément des échanges de biens et de services créateurs d'unité — même si les productions agricoles et artisanales les plus massives sont largement représentées dans toutes les régions et même dans chaque terroir, et ne font donc pas l'objet d'échanges. Ainsi, certains produits et moyens de production ne peuvent être substitués ; le poisson de mer vient forcément du littoral, tandis que les pâturages d'été sont surtout en montagne : les tarifs de péages des chartes de franchises (dites *forais* en portugais) attestent que le poisson de mer est vendu partout, et la reconstitution des trajets de transhumance montre les liens entre les « pays », au moins depuis le XIIIe siècle[16]. On voit donc que la diversité paysagère n'est en rien « naturelle » mais reflète les différences de forme qu'ont revêtues les emprises humaines ; c'est une diversité surtout historique.

2. La province romaine de Lusitanie

Les Portugais, et en tout premier lieu leurs historiens, sont, comme partout, fascinés par leur passé romain, depuis la Renaissance : le Portugal a compté des humanistes parmi les plus grands, comme André de Resende. Fascination légitime, mais souvent au détriment des temps ayant suivi la domination romaine : même les plus impressionnants châteaux médiévaux n'équivalent pas, en monumentalité, les ensembles de Conimbriga ou de Mirobriga, et les villages médiévaux, malgré leurs églises et leurs enceintes, sont nettement plus rustiques que les *villae* romaines, avec leurs mosaïques et leurs thermes[17] ; en outre, plusieurs siècles de paix romaine, l'intégration économique et culturelle dans un empire à l'échelle de la Méditerranée — quand les chevaux de Lusitanie étaient renommés dans tout le monde romain —, images d'un paradis perdu, contrastent avec les siècles de guerre contre al-Andalus et avec la relégation progressive de l'Ibérie septentrionale hors de la Méditerranée [18] .

C'est la domination politique et culturelle romaine qui a légué à la culture médiévale portugaise ses éléments pré-médiévaux les plus importants : le portugais est une langue latine, la viticulture et de nombreuses pratiques agricoles sont implantées par les Romains, et la polarisation globale du territoire (plusieurs villes majeures, qui sont des colonies romaines, ainsi que les grands axes routiers) est issue de la colonisation romaine. Toutefois, ces éléments forts ne sont pas spécifiques, puisque Rome les a apportés tout autour de la Méditerranée, et donc dans toute la Péninsule

16. Une synthèse récente, fondée sur les travaux portugais, dans Boissellier, Stéphane. « Les recherches sur les déplacements de bétail au Portugal au Moyen Âge, bilan des travaux et éléments de réflexion », *Transhumance et estivage en Occident des origines aux enjeux actuels. Actes des XXVIe journées internationales d'histoire de l'abbaye de Flaran, 9, 10, 11 septembre 2004*, Pierre-Yves Laffont, éd. Toulouse : Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2006 : 163-182.

17. Voir les diverses contributions de : Gorges, Jean-Gérard ; Salinas de Frías, Manuel, éds. *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine. Occupation du sol et habitats. Table ronde internationale (Salamanque, 29 et 30 janvier 1993)*. Salamanque-Madrid : Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca-Casa de Velázquez, 1994.

18. On peut toutefois regretter que, jusqu'à l'époque romantique, l'Antiquité ait relégué le passé médiéval (y compris andalou) comme un temps barbare indigne d'intérêt, et que, jusqu'à une époque très récente, les fouilles archéologiques aient passé à la pelleteuse les vestiges médiévaux pour atteindre les niveaux antiques, sur les sites occupés en continuité ou réoccupés.

ibérique (sauf les zones basque et peut-être cantabrique) : ce ne sont pas des éléments d'identité régionale. D'ailleurs, quant à l'organisation spatiale, un territoire est un cadre en même temps qu'un « contenu », et les choses sont moins claires de ce point de vue. Il est vrai que le territoire du Portugal, tel qu'il est à peu près achevé vers 1250, par sa forme et son étendue, reproduit assez nettement, quoique pas exactement, un ensemble de trois circonscriptions (judiciaires) romaines, les *conventus*, ayant respectivement leur capitale à Bracara Augusta (Braga), Scallabis (future Santarém) et Pax Julia (Beja); et même la vieille limite du Tage (limite « interne » à la province antique de Lusitanie), entre *conventus pacensis* et *conventus scallabitanus*, reproduite aux V-VIe siècles par la frontière entre les royaumes (barbares) suève et wisigoth, sera réactivée au XIIe siècle (comme frontière assez durable contre les Maures) par la jeune monarchie portugaise et servira durablement de limite interne au royaume entre les entités provinciales médiévales d'entre Douro et Tage et d' « au-delà du Tage » (Alentejo).[19]

Mais ces *conventus*, sous la domination romaine, ne sont que des subdivisions d'ensembles plus vastes et probablement antérieurs, les provinces ; or, celles-ci ne se retrouvent pas aisément en passant de l'Antiquité au Portugal médiéval. En effet, la Lusitanie était une province nettement continentale, avec sa capitale à Mérida ; or, le territoire portugais, dans son étendue des années 1120 (à sa naissance politique), associe la moitié sud de la province de Galice (capitale Braga) et une petite partie (septentrionale) du littoral de la Lusitanie, et il démembre donc complètement ces circonscriptions romaines. En revanche, dans son élargissement des XI-XIIIe siècles vers le sud, le Portugal reconstitue assez exactement la partie littorale de la Lusitanie (sous forme de ses deux *conventus*, de Beja et de Scallabis), et il redonne son rôle à la frontière provinciale antique (entre la Lusitanie et la Bétique) sur le cours terminal du Guadiana — la seule limite romaine qui subsiste telle quelle[20]. Par ailleurs, la nouvelle unité portugaise vient à bout du Douro, qui a constitué une frontière antique durable (résistant à tous les redécoupages provinciaux sous l'Empire) entre les provinces romaines de Galice et Lusitanie mais qui ne subsiste que comme limite interne au nouveau pays ; le rôle de la ville de Braga sera essentiel dans ce processus.

C'est donc à l'échelle intermédiaire (celle des *conventus*) que la continuité spatiale est la plus nette et non pas à l'échelle des circonscriptions supérieures ; encore faut-il noter que, dans le détail, le territoire portugais repousse nettement vers l'ouest les limites du *conventus scallabitanus*, outre d'autres modifications mineures — mais qui, en fait, ne sont pas un détail, car un redécoupage, même à faible distance, montre qu'une nouvelle logique est à l'œuvre, surtout quand il a lieu à plusieurs siècles d'écart. Enfin, comme on le voit en étudiant la pénétration du christianisme, dans le « contenu » de détail de ces vastes circonscriptions, les siècles postérieurs à la fin de la romanité vont fortement modifier la polarité au sein de l'espace gallaico-lusitanien. Sous Rome, l'organisation la plus forte (un maillage systématique par des circonscriptions locales, les *civitates* ou

19. Les historiens de l'Antiquité doutent actuellement que le cours du Tage ait servi de limite entre conventus : Alarcão, Jorge de, dir. *Portugal das origens à romanização* (Serrão, Joel ; Marques, António Henrique de Oliveira, dirs. Nova *História de Portugal*, I). Lisbonne : Editorial Presença, 1990 : 384, 385 (carte).

20. Certains historiens suggèrent même que les expéditions menées, durant le haut Moyen Âge, par les rois asturo-léonais vers Mérida viseraient à reconstituer la Lusitanie antique. Cette interprétation géostratégique d'événements militaires souvent fortuits (au moins quand ils ne se répètent pas très durablement) est dangereuse, reproduisant les errements de la « géographie historique » du début du XXe siècle. Dans certains cas, elle est impossible ; ainsi, les expansions entreprises dès l'indépendance du royaume par les souverains portugais vers l'est, aux dépens du territoire « matriciel » léonais (au nord du Douro), notamment en direction de Zamora, n'ont guère de sens par rapport à la Gallaecia romaine ni même en relation avec le royaume suève.

« cités »[21]) se trouve au sud du Douro et plus encore du Tage : le *conventus baracarensis* n'est même pas découpé en cités, le *conventus scallabitanus* a une capitale complètement excentrée (très méridionale), et ces deux circonscriptions sont séparées par un *no man's land* que constitue la chaîne montagneuse centrale (elle aussi dépourvue de cités) ; ce sera le mérite du haut Moyen Âge suève et wisigoth de structurer plus fortement la partie nord et de faire du Portugal central, entre Douro et Tage, le cœur d'une unité, qui finira, aux XIII-XIVe siècles, par associer à égalité les régions extrêmes, celle au nord du Douro et celle au sud du Tage.

Le principal élément expliquant une continuité de la forme globale des circonscriptions sur quelque 800 ans, c'est que les territoires antiques civils (non seulement les *conventus* mais aussi et surtout les *civitates*) ont été le cadre de la christianisation et se sont donc transformés en diocèses entre le IIIe et le VIIe siècle ; certes, dans la zone méridionale du pays, durablement islamisée à partir du Xe siècle, les diocèses finissent par disparaître, mais les conquérants chrétiens cherchent à les « restaurer » — c'est le mot employé dans les chartes médiévales — dans leur forme primitive pour mieux nier l'Islam et affirmer, par l'idée de continuité, la légitimité de la Reconquête. D'ailleurs, cette continuité diocésaine constituera la principale source de conflits internationaux du Portugal ; encore aux XI-XIIe siècles, le regroupement des diocèses en provinces ecclésiastiques (ou archevêchés), reflétant des logiques provinciales romaines obsolètes, ne cadre plus avec la nouvelle division en nations différenciées et rivales depuis le VIIIe siècle (et en fait dès les invasions germaniques). En outre, les circonscriptions romaines, qui étaient issues d'une conquête militaire et servaient à étayer une colonisation, étaient découpées en fonction de centres urbains ; dans la partie de l'Occident ibérique devenue musulmane après 711, la civilisation arabe a permis le maintien de ces capitales locales (Coimbra, Lisbonne, Santarém, Évora, Beja, Ossonoba/Faro), à l'exception d'Idanha, et, dans le nord resté ou redevenu rapidement chrétien, le déclin urbain du haut Moyen Âge n'a pas totalement remis en cause la centralité des principales capitales antiques ou suévo-wisigothiques (Braga, Chaves, Lamego, Viseu) ; une bonne partie de l'armature urbaine du Portugal est donc d'origine très ancienne, ce qui assure une certaine stabilité dans la polarisation administrative du peuplement et des activités.

Mais si l'on cherche à associer les quelques éléments de continuité (ou plutôt de « re-constitution ») spatiale avec une continuité identitaire *culturelle*, les difficultés s'amoncellent ; en effet, aucun critère culturel important ne permet d'identifier fortement les *conventus* occidentaux au sein de la Lusitanie antique. Pour ce qui est du degré de romanisation, le Tage marque une césure entre la précocité méridionale de l'implantation d'un réseau de *villae* et la persistance septentrionale de la vie indigène — qui rapproche le nord de la Lusitanie de la Galice — ; par la suite, de nombreux phénomènes, comme la distribution géographique des clans et des grandes familles, débordent la province ou s'y développent uniformément, sans que les terres du futur Portugal ne se dégagent nettement[22].

3. Le royaume suève et l'unification wisigothique

A partir des IV-Ve siècles, l'unité romaine est démembrée en Occident par les peuples germaniques (dans la Péninsule ibérique, les Vandales, les Suèves et les Wisigoths), longtemps qualifiés

21. Une vingtaine de cités dans le *conventus scallabitanus* et une douzaine dans le *pacensis*.

22. Sur ce point voir Aguilar Sáenz, Antonio ; Guichard, Pascal ; Lefebvre, Sabine. « La ciudad antigua de Lacimurga y su entorno rural », *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine*... : 109-130.

de barbares. Sur le plan culturel, leur apport est contrasté : les langues germaniques n'ont laissé qu'une quarantaine de vocables dans le lexique portugais — quoique l'adoption de noms propres germaniques (de lieux et surtout de personnes) ait été massive, jusqu'à son recul devant les noms de saints à partir du XIIe siècle —, et le legs technique des Barbares semble des plus minces (sauf la métallurgie) ; en revanche, les pratiques politiques des dirigeants ont été fortement affectées, jusqu'aux XII-XIIIe siècles inclus, par les coutumes germaniques. Du point de vue territorial, ces peuples fondent des royaumes à base largement ethnique, respectant donc assez peu les circonscriptions antiques (sauf les plus petites, les *civitates*, et éventuellement les *conventus*, qui forment la trame de ces royaumes); malgré la faiblesse numérique des envahisseurs et leur désir de préserver la civilisation romaine, ces nouvelles cellules territoriales *sui generis* ont fatalement une identité plus marquée que les provinces romaines (conçues pour relayer uniformément les impulsions de Rome), quand bien même elles leur correspondraient territorialement. Pourtant, les unités politiques qui se constituent à l'ouest de l'*Hispania* ne préfigurent pas nettement le territoire du Portugal ; mais l'une d'entre elles, l'éphémère royaume suève (411-585), est considérée comme le premier cas d'une conscience identitaire « occidentale ibérique »..

Bien sûr, personne ne peut avancer une parenté morphologique entre le royaume suève et le Portugal du XIIIe siècle ; même en se restreignant au « berceau » du Portugal (la région entre Minho et Douro, avant l'an mille) et au cœur de la principauté suève (qui est la zone de peuplement germanique, entre Braga et Porto), on peut difficilement entrer dans une réflexion territoriale — et le problème a été posé surtout (et à juste titre) en termes identitaires. Il faut donc aller au-delà de la comparaison des formes globales et s'attarder plutôt sur certains mécanismes spatiaux.

Il serait facile de voir le royaume suève, petit et enclavé, comme une région irrédente par rapport à l'hégémonie wisigothique (royaume qui occupe tout le reste de la Péninsule ibérique)[23], comme le sera le Portugal par rapport à l'Espagne unifiée à partir du XVIe siècle. Sauf son bref éclairage par la chronique de Hydace, évêque de Chaves[24], son histoire est fort mal connue. Mais, par le seul fait de sa taille, ce petit royaume est peut-être mieux structuré que son immense voisin, au moins dans l'administration religieuse, puisque l'on conserve une liste de paroisses de cette époque (le célébrissime *Parochiale suevicum*, document unique en Occident), attestant la densité des circonscriptions locales dans les diocèses de Braga et Porto (respectivement 30 et 25 « paroisses »). Cette vigueur est due en partie à l'activité évangélisatrice de St Martin de Dume/Braga, « l'apôtre des Suèves » (évêque vers 550-579), dont la renommée s'étend à toute la Péninsule. Pendant une génération, le royaume suève se singularise aussi (par rapport à son puissant et menaçant voisin wisigoth) par une monarchie ralliée au catholicisme (en 559, après une tentative avortée dès 448), alors que les rois wisigoths n'abandonneront définitivement l'arianisme qu'en 589[25] : peut-on dire pour autant qu'il ait existé un nationalisme suève en-dehors de la Cour royale ?

Du point de vue territorial (probablement plus durable que l'identité socio-politique), le petit royaume suève est plus « antique » que médiéval, puisqu'il correspond à la totalité de la pro-

23. Tout, à l'exception d'une mince frange littorale occupée dans les années 530-50 par les armées byzantines de l'empereur Justinien, désireux de reprendre aux souverains germaniques la partie occidentale de l'Empire romain.

24. Hydace. *Chronique*, éd. et trad. Alain Tranoy. Paris : éditions du Cerf, 1974.

25. Rappelons que les peuples germaniques avaient été convertis au christianisme dans sa version arienne (condamnée comme hérésie au concile œcuménique de Nicée, en 325) et dominaient donc des populations latines presque totalement catholiques, ce qui posait aux souverains de graves problèmes de légitimité — problème qu'avaient su éviter Clovis et les Francs en passant directement du paganisme au catholicisme.

vince romaine de Gallaecia (donc largement tourné vers le golfe de Gascogne), toutefois accrue du *conventus scallabitanus*, arraché à la province de Lusitanie — et c'est par ce dernier trait qu'il est « médiéval ». Comme on l'a mentionné, le rôle de Braga, devenu siège d'archevêché dès 448 (aux dépens d'Astorga)[26], est alors essentiel pour « vaincre » définitivement la limite antique entre Galice et Lusitanie — quoique ce sera une source de problèmes puisque la province ecclésiastique de Braga déborde du futur Portugal. En revanche, en tant que capitale provinciale antique de la Galice, Braga n'a pas vocation à dominer une circonscription de la Lusitanie ; son poids dans l'unité du royaume suève montre que les villes pèsent désormais plus par leur centralité religieuse que par leurs fonctions strictement civiles.

Mais, pour comprendre la conformation territoriale du royaume suève, il faut prendre en compte aussi le peuplement germanique ; or, les Suèves se sont installés principalement dans la région entre Minho et Douro, et surtout vers le littoral, entre Braga et Porto, c'est-à-dire à l'extrême sud de la *Gallaecia* : à partir de ce noyau dur, il est logique que leur domination politique s'étende vers le nord et le sud sans trop respecter l'organigramme administratif antique. Même si la stabilisation de ce territoire dépend largement de péripéties militaires et politiques où entre une part d'arbitraire et de hasard, il existe désormais une unité galaïco-lusitanienne, notamment dans le domaine culturel : quand, au cours du haut Moyen Âge, les langues vulgaires romanes émergent du latin vulgaire tardif, un peu partout dans l'Europe méridionale, rien ne distingue les parlers de la Galice de ceux du nord du (futur) Portugal.

De son côté, le territoire du royaume wisigothique, beaucoup plus vaste que le précédent, n'a rien à voir avec le futur Portugal, car, s'il en inclut la moitié sud (en fait le littoral de l'ancienne Lusitanie), il la noie dans un ensemble qui couvre toute la Péninsule et déborde même au nord des Pyrénées, et notre région reste fortement liée, comme sous Rome, à la continentale Mérida ; le lien de cet extrême sud-ouest ibérique avec le reste de l'ensemble wisigothique est d'autant plus fort que, au sud du Tage, les communications avec l'est sont plus aisées. Et c'est précisément ce mastodonte peu spécifique qui finit par absorber l'esquisse territoriale de Portugal qu'est le royaume suève. Du point de vue du futur Portugal (dans son étendue définitive d'après 1250), deux points sont à souligner :

- durant la phase de coexistence entre royaumes suève et wisigothique, l'établissement d'une frontière forte sur le Tage et entre les *conventus* de Scallabis et Mérida — alors qu'elles n'étaient que des limites internes à la Lusitanie dans l'Antiquité — ;
- après la réunification par les Wisigoths, un probable effacement de l'éventuelle identité régionale créée par le royaume suève[27], malgré le maintien de la Galice romano-suève comme 6e province de l'*Hispania* réunifiée[28].

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26. Ce transfert de 448, qui s'opère au sein même du royaume suève, n'a pas d'origine politique, mais s'explique probablement par le désir de la dynastie royale (qui tente alors de passer au catholicisme) de localiser une de ses capitales religieuses — l'autre est Lugo — dans la zone de plus fort peuplement suève.

27. De nombreux auteurs ont souligné que cet effacement identitaire est révélé par au moins un indice, l'invasion du droit wisigothique, attestée tardivement dans les chartes « portugaises » à partir du Xe siècle par d'innombrables mentions au code législatif wisigothique (*lex Gothorum* ou *liber judicum*) ; mais on peut faire remarquer que, s'agissant de témoignages a posteriori après un hiatus documentaire de plusieurs siècles, ils révèlent surtout une continuité purement administrative, donc un mouvement impulsé par le haut, par une monarchie asturo-léonaise (qui s'est voulue héritière des Wisigoths) qui a étendu sa juridiction et son influence sur la zone de l'ancien royaume suève : rien n'atteste donc la continuité juridique in situ dans la région galicienne entre Minho et Douro ni donc l'imprégnation culturelle originelle de cette zone.

28. Ce problème, curieusement peu étudié, est abordé par Mattoso, José. « Les Wisigoths dans le Portugal médiéval : état actuel de la question », *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique. Colloque international du CNRS tenu à la Fondation*

Cet effacement est d'ailleurs voulu par la monarchie wisigothique : le IIIe concile de Tolède, sanctionnant l'adoption du catholicisme aux dépens de l'arianisme, affirme que c'est le roi Reccared qui a converti les Suèves, et les chroniques « oublient » l'évangélisation réalisée par St Martin de Braga ![29] La phase d'unité suève n'a donc probablement pas créé une spécificité régionale durable sur le moment, mais elle constitue un précédent auquel on pourra se référer quand se développera un autonomisme portugais.

Si l'Eglise constitue le principal facteur de continuité de l'héritage territorial (et aussi culturel) romain, sa géographie administrative introduit quelques nouveautés à prendre en compte. S'il y a bien, comme on l'a vu, une continuité des principales villes antiques et, moins nettement, de leur territoire associé (la *civitas*)[30], le christianisme modifie leur hiérarchie fonctionnelle. Tout d'abord, les plus anciens sièges de diocèses — et l'on sait que l'ancienneté est une légitimation essentielle dans les usages ecclésiastiques[31] — ne sont pas fondés dans les capitales administratives des *conventus* (sauf pour celles qui sont en même temps capitales de provinces, cas de Braga et Mérida) : dans le *conventus pacensis*, ce sont Ébora et Ossonoba qui abritent les premières communautés chrétiennes aux dépens de Pax Iulia (Beja), et Olisipo (Lisbonne) joue le même rôle par rapport à Scallabis au sein du *conventus scallabitanus*. Plus encore, c'est la multiplication des communautés chrétiennes dans les campagnes qui oblige, aux V-VIIe siècles, à multiplier les diocèses pour organiser ces masses, brisant de ce fait l'unité des *conventus*, surtout au nord du Tage (où le christianisme se développe plus tardivement qu'au sud mais engendre un réseau plus serré) ; apparaissent ainsi les sièges de Pax — qui, lui, met au moins en adéquation son ancienne centralité civile avec la religieuse — et surtout, au nord, Aeminium/Conimbriga (Coimbra), Egitania (Idanha), Lamecum, Viseum, Magnetum (Meinedo)/Porto, Dumium et même l'éphémère Aquae Flaviae (Chaves, illustrée surtout par son évêque Hydace, historien des débuts du royaume suève)[32].

Il devient alors nécessaire de hiérarchiser ces sièges épiscopaux plus nombreux, et c'est naturellement le nouveau cadre, politique celui-ci, des royaumes (suève au nord du Tage, wisigothique au sud) qui fonde cette hiérarchie ; or, si les capitales provinciales antiques se sont logiquement muées en archevêchés (Braga assez tard, en 448, aux dépens d'Astorga), les royaumes barbares ne correspondent plus avec les provinces romaines : au sein du royaume suève, les villes sièges d'évêché d'entre Douro et Tage (Conimbriga, Lamecum, Viseum et Egitania) dépendent donc de l'archevêque de Braga — alors que, dans une logique « antique », elles devraient être sous la juridiction religieuse de Mérida — et cette anomalie persiste durant presqu'un siècle après la disparition du royaume suève, jusqu'en 660. On tient là un premier facteur de véritable continuité politique pour le futur Portugal, puisque les archevêques de Braga, après l'indépendance portugaise, revendique-

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Singer-Polignac (Paris, 14-16 mai 1990), Jacques Fontaine, Christine Pellastrandi, éds. Madrid : Casa de Velázquez, 1992 : 325-339.

29. Deswarte, Thomas. *L'Espagne et la papauté : enjeux idéologiques et ecclésiologiques (586-1085)*. Bordeaux : Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3 (Mémoire inédit d'Habilitation), 2007 : 192-193.

30. D'ailleurs, les historiens, projetant les réalités récentes sur le passé romain, ont longtemps entretenu la certitude qu'un Etat aussi centralisé et administratif que l'Empire avait forcément, à l'image des Etats modernes qu'on croit être ses héritiers, couvert l'espace exhaustivement par des circonscriptions locales mitoyennes et emboîtées ; comme le montre l'histoire des paroisses médiévales, les médiévistes doutent à présent de ce bel agencement.

31. La moitié sud du futur Portugal constitue, avec l'est de la Bétique et la région de Tarragone, une des trois zones ibériques où se sont fondés les plus anciens évêchés.

32. La plupart de ces diocèses au nord du Tage sont créés à la fin du royaume suève, et leur fondation vise probablement à renforcer ce dernier contre la poussée wisigothique, surtout pour la zone « lusitanienne » (entre Douro et Tage) qui constitue la partie la plus fragile du royaume suève.

ront la situation de l'époque suève et légitimeront leurs prétentions par des documents datant de cette même époque. Cette expansion de la juridiction *bracarense* vers le sud compense les pertes vers le nord, car Braga s'est vu concurrencer — du point de vue de la province romaine de *Gallaecia* dont elle était la capitale — par un autre archevêché, Lugo, planté tel un missionnaire dans une région restée plus païenne ; et la limite entre ces deux provinces ecclésiastiques du haut Moyen Âge sera à peu près la frontière septentrionale du royaume portugais. Ainsi, pour un problème de juridiction religieuse, Braga, capitale politique d'un royaume suève tourné vers le nord, est désormais tournée vers le sud ; quand s'esquisse le Portugal, la vieille frontière du Douro entre Galice et Lusitanie a été remplacée par une limite plus septentrionale, sur les fleuves Minho et Lima.

Ce sera l'œuvre de la Reconquête de confirmer cette « méridionalisation » territoriale globale de l'Occident ibérique.

4. La partie occidentale d'al-Andalus, le Gharb, jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle : le chaînon manquant d'une Lusitanie ?[33]

Même si, au moment de la naissance du royaume, le « berceau » du Portugal est depuis longtemps tourné vers le sud et tend à se distinguer toujours plus d'une Galice plus nettement septentrionale, l'intégration durable de toute la Péninsule ibérique méridionale (au sud du Mondego en ce qui concerne l'Ibérie occidentale) dans une unité politique et culturelle arabo-musulmane, al-Andalus, coupe assez nettement la région *portucalense* de ses liens avec le sud et la réduit à un isolat nettement « nordique » — pas dans l'absolu mais par sa position au sein du futur Portugal. Le problème qui résulte de cette situation est également géographique : une fois le royaume du Portugal achevé (comme une véritable unité fonctionnant globalement), il est plus fortement « algharbien » que galicien (par rapport à la *Gallaecia* antique). Mais, comme on l'a dit, la rupture territoriale « latitudinale » introduite par la formation d'al-Andalus a pu provoquer un légitimisme valorisant des circonscriptions antérieures à l'invasion arabe.

De façon significative — quant à la place reconnue pendant longtemps à l'apport original de la culture andalouse —, les historiens se sont assez peu interrogés sur une éventuelle transmission d'une construction territoriale spécifiquement andalouse au royaume portugais. Remarquant que le Portugal correspond à la province de Lusitanie (avec une frontière le long du Guadiana au sud de Badajoz et surtout de Mértola) sourtout dans la partie qui est restée le plus longtemps andalouse, des historiens ont avancé, en passant un peu vite les siècles wisigo-suèves, une forte continuité des circonscriptions antiques (les *civitates* et *conventus*) dans la géographie administrative andalouse[34] ; le cas le mieux étudié (par un géographe, João Carlos Garcia), du point de vue spatial, est celui

33. Beaucoup d'informations fondant nos interprétations, dans cette partie, sont tirées de la synthèse de Picard, Christophe. *Le Portugal musulman (VIIIe – XIIIe siècle). L'Occident d'al-Andalus sous domination islamique*. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000 et, dans une moindre mesure, Boissellier, Stéphane. *Naissance d'une identité portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana (Portugal) de l'Islam à la Reconquête (Xe - XIVe siècles)*. Lisbonne : Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1998: 46-50.

34. Pour al-Andalus en général, voir Chalmeta, Pedro. *Invasión e islamización. La sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Andalus*. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1994 et diverses contributions de Vallvé, Joaquin. *La división territorial de la España musulmana*. Madrid : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986. Pour le Portugal, cette idée est reprise en particulier par Mattoso, José ; Brito, Raquel Soeiro de ; Fabião, Carlos ; Macías, Santiago ; Torres, Cláudio. *Antes de Portugal* (José Mattoso, dir. *História de Portugal*, 1) Lisbonne : Estampa, 1997.

du *conventus* de Beja, que l'auteur de l'étude pense voir perpétué par la *kura* califale homonyme[35]. Autrement dit, est-ce que, en progressant vers le sud, les gouverneurs de la province *portucalense* du royaume léonais puis, surtout, les rois portugais reconstituent un territoire ancien ?

Il ne semble pas qu'ils en aient l'intention. Si, comme on l'a suggéré, les expéditions galiciennes contre Mérida devenue andalouse, durant le haut Moyen Âge, peuvent obéir au désir de reconstituer la Lusitanie, la tentative d'Alphonse I du Portugal pour s'emparer de Badajoz, en 1169, pour laquelle certains historiens ont invoqué une « continuité lusitanienne », ne semble avoir que des objectifs stratégiques immédiats ou à moyen terme. Depuis le règne de Sancho I, des terres bien au-delà du cours terminal du Guadiana, telles que Aroche et Aracena, Huelva, ou même Séville, sont l'objet de la convoitise des rois portugais ; la définition de « couloirs de conquête », par des traités entre royaumes chrétiens, au cours du XIIe siècle, n'a jamais été très précise géographiquement et se réfère plus aux réalités andalouses qu'au souvenir des circonscriptions antérieures à l'invasion de 711. C'est par un retour en arrière des Portugais (lors du règlement de la « question de l'Algarve », qui constitue dans les années 1230 une *taifa* à cheval sur le Guadiana) et non pas en s'y conformant spontanément que la vieille frontière entre Lusitanie et Bétique est reconstituée.

Le principal problème à aborder est donc celui de la définition territoriale de l'Occident andalou. Vers le nord, il semble déterminé assez nettement, à partir des prises en main asturienne (entre Minho et Douro) et andalouse (entre Tage et Mondego) du milieu du IXe siècle, par la marche frontière d'entre Douro et Mondego ; mais cette « définition » est par défaut, car, sur le plan politique, une large part de la région entre Douro et Tage reste mal intégrée politiquement. Toutefois, si l'on considère que le caractère fondamental qui définit al-Andalus est sa civilisation (sa langue, sa religion, ses structures sociales et économiques) et non pas sa définition géographique ni son obédience politique, on peut définir le « Portugal » musulman comme la zone qui s'étend au sud du Mondego, là où la civilisation andalouse a imprégné la population en profondeur et continûment, pendant au moins deux ou trois siècles. Les choses sont encore moins nettes vers l'est, là où le « Portugal andalou » n'a de limites que potentielles, comme à l'époque wisigothique (et moins encore, puisque sans la continuité des *conventus pacensis* et *scallabitanus* romains) : la frontière actuelle a été créée dans cette zone par les chrétiens du nord dans leur reconquête, longtemps après la formation d'al-Andalus. Par son ouverture géographique, la partie méridionale du futur Portugal, surtout au sud du Tage, entretient des relations aisées, si ce n'est fortes, avec l'Etat andalou englobant ; sa principale spécificité, comme dans le passé, est donc de constituer la quasi-totalité de la façade atlantique d'un ensemble principalement méditerranéen[36]. Ce qui est nouveau, c'est que, comme la Galice au sein de l'ensemble asturo-léonais, l'Occident andalou bénéficie d'une définition géographique globale, *al-gharb al-Andalus* (« l'Ouest d'al-Andalus ») — dont le nom se retrouvera, après la Reconquête, dans la seule province médiévale la plus méridionale du Portugal, l'Algarve.

La délimitation orientale de ce Gharb nous est donnée d'abord par des géographes du Xe siècle, qui l'envisagent comme la *moitié* occidentale de la Péninsule, celle dont les fleuves coulent vers

35. Garcia, João Carlos. O espaço medieval da Reconquista no Sudoeste da Península Ibérica. Lisbonne : Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1986.

36. Ce qui lui confère une dernière spécificité territoriale, mais cette fois à une très vaste échelle et du point de vue exclusivement musulman : l'ouest d'al-Andalus constitue, avec le Maroc, la limite extrême et indépassable de l'ensemble du monde arabo-musulman, donc une zone de confin (l'océan Atlantique, sous le nom de bahr al-muhit ou « mer entourante », étant plus vu comme une barrière, une fin du monde, que comme une frontière ouverte).

l'Atlantique : on est loin du futur Portugal et de l'Hispanie romaine ! Les chroniqueurs et compilateurs andalous, entre le Xe et le XIIIe siècle, parlent d'un Gharb plus restreint et plus occidental, appelé parfois *al-gharb al-aqsa* (« l'Occident extrême »), mais qui est tout de même beaucoup plus « large » que le futur Portugal, incluant les territoires de villes comme Salamanque, Cáceres-Mérida-Badajoz, Niebla-Huelva et parfois Séville. Sans désigner une organisation administrative formelle, le Gharb des chroniques a plus de réalité que celui des géographes et des anthologistes[37], surtout quand la différenciation croissante des royaumes chrétiens septentrionaux oblige l'émirat andalou à organiser une défense militaire différenciée, sous forme de trois « marches » (*thaghr*/s), orientale, centrale et occidentale : la marche occidentale, dite aussi « inférieure » (*al-thaghr al-adna*, car plus méridionale que les deux autres), correspond largement à la frontière sud du royaume de León, et, par extension, les régions andalouses au sud de cette marche voient leur « occidentalité » mieux définie. La durable indéfinition politique de la région entre Minho et Tage explique aussi que le Gharb se singularise au sein d'al-Andalus par un territoire plus méridional que les autres régions : quand la « marche inférieure » se voit dotée d'une capitale en 929 ou 939, celle-ci se situe en plein cœur du califat, à Badajoz, beaucoup plus au sud que les autres chefs-lieux militaires, Tolède-Medinaceli et Saragosse. Paradoxalement, donc, c'est une action extérieure qui définit territorialement l'Occident andalou.

Connaissant la fin de l'histoire, il est un peu téléologique d'entrevoir une identité régionale dans certains événements politiques[38], en particulier dans les révoltes contre le centralisme cordouan, sous l'émirat (756-929) puis le califat (929-1031) : dans toute la Péninsule, elles sont à peu près proportionnelles à l'éloignement par rapport à Cordoue et à la vigueur des élites locales, et leur intensité particulière dans le Gharb, durant la grande *fitna* de la fin de l'émirat, n'exprime qu'une marginalité géographique particulièrement prononcée[39]. Mieux vaut insister sur des éléments structurels, comme la faiblesse du réseau urbain occidental andalou: hormis Séville, que l'on peut difficilement inclure dans le Gharb, seule Badajoz (qui n'est fondée que vers 890[40]) peut rivaliser, au Xe siècle, avec Tolède, Cordoue, Grenade, Almeria, Saragosse, Valence ou Murcie[41]. Plus discutable — car reposant sur des données fragiles — est la thèse d'une faiblesse

37. Les chroniqueurs andalous, qui sont toujours au service du pouvoir central, se fondent en effet sur des documents administratifs, en particulier les actes de nomination des gouverneurs locaux. Quant aux compilateurs de dictionnaires biographiques et d'anthologies littéraires, on en est encore à se demander quelle est leur logique topographique ; ainsi, au XIIIe siècle, l'andalou Ibn Sa'id, dans son anthologie des poètes, classe ceux d'al-Andalus dans un Gharb qui comprend six « royaumes » (Cordoue, Séville, Badajoz, Silves, Beja et Lisbonne) (Viguera, María Jesús. « El 'reino' de Badajoz en el Mugrib de Ibn Sa'id », *Bataliús II* ... : 225-248) : en prenant peut-être comme unités territoriales les taifas du XIe siècle, il cherche surtout à établir trois parties d'al-Andalus (est, centre et ouest) équilibrées en superficie.

38. Cette démarche a été adoptée par presque tous les historiens du Portugal, y compris par l'auteur de ces lignes (Boissellier, Stéphane. *Naissance d'une identité portugaise*...).

39. Ce sont des révoltes simultanées mais qui restent purement locales (sauf la création de l'éphémère principauté d'Ibn Marwan dans la zone de Badajoz-Mérida en 875-923) et ne confèrent aucune spécificité politique globale à la région dans laquelle elles se produisent : c'est donc une démarche méthodologique inadéquate, en partant de l'existence postérieure de ces régions, qui nous fait postuler leur signification identitaire régionale.

40. Badajoz joue ici le même rôle polarisateur que la ville, également « nouvelle », de Porto au nord ; on peut noter que leur fondation est à peu près contemporaine (868 pour Porto). Voir, sur Badajoz : Picard, Christophe. « La fondation de Badajoz par Abd al-Rahman Ibn Yunus al-Jilliki (fin IXe siècle) ». *Revue des études islamiques*, 49 / 2 (1981) : 215-229, et les divers articles relatifs aux origines de la ville dans les deux volumes collectifs : Díaz Esteban Fernando, éd. *Bataliús. El reino taifa de Badajoz. Estudios*. Madrid : Letrúmero, 1999.

41. Si l'on accepte que l'activité littéraire est un critère de la vigueur urbaine, on peut noter (Viguera, María Jesús. « El 'reino' de Badajoz »... : 229) que les territoires du Gharb « portugais » au sud du Tage se situent en queue de liste dans le classement par nombre de pages de l'anthologie des poètes andalous d'Ibn Sa'id (qui, écrivant au XIIIe siècle, nous

de l'immigration arabo-syrienne et berbère en-dehors des principales villes méridionales (Beja, Évora, Ossonoba, Silves, Santarém, peut-être Lisbonne), qui confèrerait au Gharb un caractère plus « indigène » et donc un substrat culturel pré-islamique plus fort[42] ; cette conception se fonde largement sur le fait (incontestable, lui) que l'actuel territoire portugais au nord du Tage n'a jamais été fortement intégré (politiquement) dans l'Etat andalou et a constitué au mieux une sorte de protectorat. De toute façon, le problème est mal posé en ces termes, car, si le facteur ethnique intervient fortement dans les luttes politiques des premiers siècles andalous, il semble secondaire dans les processus d'acculturation : si la haute culture arabo-musulmane se manifeste peu dans l'ouest (précisément à cause de l'absence de grandes villes), la conversion à l'islam et l'arabisation linguistique n'y semblent pas inférieurs, la culture des « résistants » mozarabes s'y distingue plutôt par son atonie, et le Gharb méridional est au contraire en pointe, au XIIe siècle, dans la diffusion du mysticisme musulman (soufisme). En-dehors des éléments qui précèdent, il n'est pas sûr que l'Occident andalou manifeste de fortes spécificités jusqu'à la fin du califat.

C'est seulement quand l'unité andalouse explose (en 1009-31), en une série d'Etats régionaux articulés par les principales villes, les *taifas* [43], *qu'est inaugurée une histoire autonome (mais non pas unitaire) du Gharb, et que l'on peut poser plus sainement le problème identitaire, là encore dans sa dimension territoriale* [44]. *Il y a sept ou huit principautés dans le Gharb, dont la plupart, dans l'extrême Sud, sont minuscules ; ce pullulement, exceptionnel au sein d'al-Andalus, loin d'être un signe de vigueur, marque plutôt la faiblesse des villes occidentales les plus méridionales, dont aucune n'est capable de structurer un système politique au-delà d'un périmètre restreint. Ce foisonnement contraste avec la principauté septentrionale de Badajoz, immense, elle, qui est particulièrement intéressante en ce qu'elle nous révèle probablement ce qu'était l'énigmatique « marche inférieure »*[45] *; sa taille induit que la faiblesse des villes est encore plus grande au centre du futur Portugal, puisqu'aucune n'est capable de s'imposer localement contre la lointaine capitale Badajoz. La géographie des taifas* méridionales primitives — qui seront rapidement annexées au royaume sévillan — nous révèle, plutôt que des circonscriptions existantes, la nouvelle polarisation induite par les évolutions du réseau urbain : émergence de Badajoz, Mértola, Huelva/Saltès et Silves, déclin de Beja, peut-être atonie de Lisbonne, Santarém et Alcácer (al-Qasr Abu Danis, l'antique Salacia). Sauf pour la *taifa* de Badajoz, dont les structures spécifiques (de marche militaire) se doublent d'un fort peuplement berbère, on peut avancer, contre un courant historiographique encore très présent, que les facteurs de formation des principautés méridionales sont assez peu ethniques mais plutôt socio-économiques et politiques, au moins dans le Gharb : ce sont de grandes familles

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offre une rétrospective de toute l'activité littéraire andalouse depuis les origines) : Silves 21, Badajoz 19, Lisbonne 11 et Beja 6 (11e, 12e, 13e et 14e places sur 17), contre 200 pour la région de Cordoue, 125 Valence et 121 Séville !

42. Thèse soutenue encore récemment par Adel Sidarus : Sidarus, Adel. « Novas perspectivas sobre o Gharb al-Ândalus no tempo de D. Afonso Henriques », *D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época. 2° Congresso histórico de Guimarães. Actas do congresso. 2. A política portuguesa e as suas relações exteriores*. Guimarães : Câmara municipal de Guimarães-Universidade do Minho, 1997 : 249-268.

43. Les chroniques arabes parlent plutôt de royaumes, vizirats ou émirats ; l'appellation taifa vient de l'expression désignant péjorativement ces roitelets comme malik al-tawa'if (« roi de parti »).

44. Toutefois, le caractère réellement territorial de ces entités a été mis en doute, et les historiens y voient plus des réseaux de fidélités et de dépendances qu'une structure matérialisée par des frontières. Naturellement, chaque réseau a une certaine extension, qui constitue ses limites et qui obéit à des règles : il se densifie et permet un véritable exercice administratif du pouvoir en se rapprochant des villes.

45. C'est l'hypothèse la plus intéressante de l'article de Valdés Fernández, Fernando « Consideraciones sobre la marca inferior de al-Andalus », *Castrum 4. Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen-Age. Actes du colloque d'Erice-Trappani (Italie) tenu du 18 au 25 septembre 1988*, Jean-Michel Poisson, éd. Rome-Madrid : École française de Rome / Casa de Velázquez, 1992 : 85-98.

d'implantation locale ancienne (arabes, sauf à Ossonoba — devenue Shantmariyya al-Gharb — où c'est une famille indigène convertie qui domine) qui prennent le pouvoir, appuyées sur leur richesse, leur réseau clientélique et sur l'exercice de hautes charges dans l'administration califale.

La division andalouse du XIe siècle n'aura pas d'échos dans la formation du royaume portugais, pas plus que n'en aura la bipartition de son nord chrétien entre les provinces de Porto et de Coimbra ; certes, l'identité politique est probablement plus forte dans le cadre des *taifas* que dans des circonscriptions administratives au sein d'une unité politique, mais le souvenir des légitimités politiques s'efface vite — d'autant plus vite, dans ce cas, que les derniers émirs locaux se sont discrédités par leur impuissance face aux chrétiens. Même après 1050-60, quand les principautés les plus méridionales sont fondues dans un vaste royaume sévillan, la bipartition du Gharb entre les *taifas* de Badajoz au nord et Séville au sud, de part et d'autre d'une ligne purement artificielle traversant le bas Alentejo, ne laissera aucune trace repérable dans la géographie ou la culture portugaise — peut-être parce que les descendants directs de ceux qui ont connu cette situation sont des vaincus, qui pèsent peu dans la formation des identités locales postérieures au changement de domination politique[46].

Conclusions

Le culte de la « longue durée » ne doit pas nous entraîner à l'anachronisme, surtout quand on raisonne à un certain niveau de généralité et quand on utilise une démarche régressive; même quand elles intègrent les éléments les plus durables, tels que ceux liés à l'environnement, les combinaisons complexes de facteurs sont éminemment évolutives. La répétition d'unités politiques dans un espace grossièrement identique doit donc être considérée avec prudence. On ne peut restreindre abusivement l'analyse aux mécanismes politico-administratifs et au volontarisme spatial mis en oeuvre par les autorités suprêmes (localisées à Rome, puis Braga et Tolède, puis Oviedo et enfin León): la territorialité d'un espace tel que celui du Portugal post-Reconquête ne peut rester la même tout au long d'un millénaire. La persistance, voire la continuité, du tracé (concrètement de limites) d'une entité spatiale gouvernementale, en admettant qu'il y ait une volonté politique de « restauration », peut être en décalage complet avec le « contenu » du territoire ainsi voulu; or, c'est ce contenu qui est le véritable moteur de la territorialisation, même à grande échelle.

L'uniformité culturelle (par le pouvoir de séduction du modèle romain dans les élites indigènes) et la forte intégration économique, dans l'Hispanie romaine et peut-être même sous le califat andalou, font des pôles urbains le relais d'un mouvement d'ensemble et des provinces et *conventus* (ou *kura*/s) un cadre conventionnel, purement administratif, sans identité très marquée ; à partir de l'époque suève, les processus identitaires, à l'échelle locale ou supra-locale des diocèses puis des communautés d'habitants, font des circonscriptions supérieures[47] un agrégat de solidarités au sein des élites et un réseau de pactes avec les dirigeants suprêmes. Quand bien même il y aurait continuité de l'administration supérieure (notamment la localisation des organes moteurs dans les

46. Sans parler des populations du nord de la taifa de Badajoz, qui sont annexées par la poussée chrétienne de la seconde moitié du XIe siècle (donc dans la phase « pré-portugaise » de la Reconquête occidentale), les indigènes âgés de la région de Leiria ou de Lisbonne et Santarém, dans les années 1130-40 peuvent parfaitement se souvenir de l'époque finale des taifas (dans les années 1090), alors même que le Portugal est né et annexe ces régions.

47. En l'occurrence le royaume suève et la province lusitanienne du royaume wisigothique, puis la provincia portucalensis du royaume asturo-léonais et les grandes taifas occidentales succédant au califat.

principales métropoles), cette logique réticulaire modifie les mécanismes spatiaux[48]. Par ailleurs, le Portugal du XIIIe siècle, comme presque tous les autres royaumes ibériques, est issu de la fusion entre un « berceau » septentrional et sa zone d'expansion en al-Andalus : la probabilité est mince pour que, dans deux zones culturelles très différentes, les traditions administratives se conjuguent pour reconstituer, par continuité ou restauration, un cadre brisé.

Pour poser le problème en termes classiques — d'ailleurs peu adéquats, comme l'a montré P. Geary[49] — et pour élargir le propos au-delà de sa dimension territoriale, la Nation a-t-elle précédé l'Etat au Portugal ? La grande synthèse de J. Mattoso, en montrant l'importance, au XIe siècle, de la « nouvelle noblesse » (féodale) des *infanções* dans l'émergence d'un pouvoir princier régional, a suggéré, d'une part que c'est la société qui précède l'Etat (mais une « société » restreinte aux détenteurs du pouvoir local), d'autre part qu'il faut chercher les racines du Portugal dans un temps assez court. L'unité politique portugaise a donc connu des *précédents* ; des précédents, mais sans filiation directe entre ces situations d'unité, car le contexte est très différent à chaque époque: sous forme de province romaine ou de royaume barbare, on observe une certaine entité territoriale et administrative qui se reproduit plusieurs fois, sans se superposer toujours exactement et sans jamais concerner la totalité du territoire portugais médiéval. Mais la personnalité culturelle et sociale de la région n'est alors pas encore aussi nette qu'elle le sera après l'indépendance ; or, c'est seulement cette personnalité qui permettrait de parler de continuité identitaire ; de fait, il n'y a pas — et c'est là un point essentiel [50]— de véritable transmission continue d'un pouvoir politique spécifique depuis l'Antiquité.

48. En se focalisant sur des coïncidences de localisations et de limites : Garcia, João Carlos. O *espaço medieval da Reconquista*...: 24, considère que les mécanismes sociaux (fondamentalement la polarisation économique et administrative des villes) les mettant en œuvre se perpétuent depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à la Reconquête.

49. Geary Patrick J. *Quand les nations refont l'histoire. L'invention des origines médiévales de l'Europe*. Paris : Aubier, 2004.

50. Rappelons que, dans les sociétés anciennes, où l'information circule mal dans la masse de la population (i.e. il n'existe pas de « culture de masse »), le sentiment d'appartenance existe surtout au niveau local, où il se fonde sur l'interconnaissance. Par-delà les identités objectives (communauté d'environnement, de langue et de mode vie), une population répartie sur plusieurs milliers (ou dizaines de milliers) de km² et fragmentée par l'esprit de clocher ne peut pas manifester un sentiment identitaire s'il n'existe pas un objet commun pour cristalliser ce sentiment, c'est-à-dire un pouvoir politique (si possible sacré) capable de réaliser l'intégration sociale.

LA HISTORIA MEDIEVAL EN ESPAÑA: UNA REFLEXIÓN A COMIENZOS DE SIGLO XXI

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Resumen

Saber historia sigue siendo una demanda de mucha gente, pero en el siglo XXI es necesaria otra forma de entender el pasado. En cuanto a la Edad Media en España, el medievalismo español de comienzos del siglo XXI es heredero del franquismo. La instrumentalización de la Historia del Medievo para fines políticos, antes falsificada por el Franquismo para justificar su dictadura, ha sido en los últimos treinta años tergiversada por algunos nacionalismos, también, y mucho, por el nacionalismo españolista, para certificar sus posiciones ideológicas. Es tiempo de que los historiadores vuelvan los ojos a la gente, a la verdadera protagonista de la historia, y a quien debe ir dirigida.

1. Historia, Poder y Medievalismo

Aunque los propios potenciales ejecutores se esfuerzan en negarlo, es evidente que no pocos tecnócratas de la política desean poner fecha de caducidad cuanto antes a las Humanidades, y especialmente a la Historia, o mejor, al estudio de la Historia. Y ello pese a que saber historia sigue siendo una demanda de mucha gente. Basta con un simple vistazo a los escaparates de la librerías o a los estantes de los quioscos para observar que los libros y las revistas historia están presentes de manera muy relevante. Es así porque en el siglo XIX la Historia dejó de ser patrimonio exclusivo de las clases dominantes para convertirse en una disciplina accesible e interesante para las clases populares. Por ello se desarrolló en torno a esta materia un enorme campo propicio a la controversia, el debate y la discusión.

La Historia interesa a la gente, pero ¿interesa a los historiadores, interesa a los poderes políticos?, y sobre todo, ¿están interesados el poder y los historiadores en que la gente sepa y acceda al conocimiento de la historia? ¿Y a qué historia?[1]

A la vista de muchos de los manuales utilizados en los niveles educativos preuniversitarios, resultan palmarias las escandalosas carencias que presentan. Claro que basta con escuchar a algunos gestores de la cosa pública o a determinados arrivistas metidos a contar y a interpretar el pasado para comprender que no son éstos precisamente los mejores tiempos para la Historia.

1. Peter Burke en una entrevista concedida a Maria Lúcia Garcia Pallares-Burke: "¿Para qué sirven los historiadores? Para mí existen para interpretar el pasado en el presente. Son un tipo de intérpretes, de traductores, de traductores culturales, como tú misma ya argumentaste en tu libro sobre recepción y circulación de ideas. Como otros traductores, ellos se enfrentan al dilema de ser fieles al texto, al pasado y, al mismo tiempo, inteligibles al lector del presente" (Garcia Pallarès-Burke, Maria Lúcia. *La nueva historia. Nueve entrevistas*. Valencia-Granada: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2005: 167-168).

Porque aunque parezca un sin sentido, continúan existiendo quienes sostienen que estudiar, investigar, escribir y publicar historia es una suerte de lujo exótico que no tiene lugar en una sociedad abocada irremediablemente al consumo y a la rentabilidad inmediata.

¿Historia, para qué?, se siguen preguntando muchos, incluso algunos de los que tienen capacidad para decidir sobre el futuro de su enseñanza. Curiosamente, cuando la Historia era patrimonio de la clase dirigente, cuando el poder unidireccional monopolizaba la autoridad política y la utilización de la Historia, cuando sus sicarios eran los únicos que podían publicar sus crónicas y anales, entonces sí era útil y conveniente. Pero desde que a fines del siglo XIX los que nunca habían tenido voz, los que habían sido silenciados de modo que sus lamentos apenas eran unos susurros del pasado, reivindicaron su papel y su lugar y se hicieron con un hueco entre las páginas de algunos libros, consiguiendo salir del olvido y del ostracismo al que habían sido relegados, la historia ya no ha sido vista de la misma manera por los poderosos. Esa nueva situación fue la que molestó hace siglo y medio y la que sigue molestando a las elites económicas y políticas, acostumbradas a no consentir ni sombras ni dudas sobre su papel y sus actos[2]. Tal vez porque en otros tiempos se llegó a considerar que "Todo historiador es un mentiroso"[3] y todavía hoy la palabra "historia" sigue siendo en el diccionario de la Real Academia Española sinónimo de "mentira".

Una historia de escaparate, una historia poco combativa, una historia de ficción a la carta se convierte en un instrumento de alineación política. Del "contar los hechos tal como fueron" de la historiografía positivista, axioma que por cierto en España todavía mantienen muchos, al "mostrar la Historia tal como fue", que todavía se proclama en algunos museos y exposiciones, no hay demasiada distancia. A comienzos del siglo XXI todo vale para justificar el presente, y si en ese presente se encuentran historiadores dispuestos a hacerlo recurriendo a la ficción del pasado, pues mucho mejor. Sólo así es posible entender que haya quien se atreva a calificar sin el menor rubor como "los primeros españoles" a los individuos cuyos cráneos se han hallado en los más antiguos niveles de los yacimientos burgaleses de la sierra de Atapuerca o quien defina a los layetanos como "los catalanes que habitaban en el barcelonés antes de la llegada de los romanos", entre otros muchos ejemplos de este estilo.

Por no decir que a fuerza de centenarios y celebraciones monárquicas teledirigidas podemos acabar considerando al canalla de Fernando VII como un gran estadista con extraordinaria visión de futuro o al imbécil coronado de Carlos IV como un excepcional hombre de Estado[4]; o a Isabel la Católica merecedora de figurar en los altares católicos entre santa Teresa de Jesús y san Juan de la Cruz.

La historia, entendida en el sentido de narración de acontecimientos del pasado, ha sido usada como arma intelectual para justificar un determinado orden establecido[5]; por lo general, ha sido escrita por el mismo poder, al menos hasta el siglo XIX, y en consecuencia se han empleado argu-

2. Para una historia que escucha otras voces, ver por ejemplo: Guha, Ranahit. *Las voces de la historia y otros estudios subalternos*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002. Según Jim Sharpe fue Edward Thompson el introductor del concepto "historia desde abajo" en un artículo de 1966 con este mismo título (Sharpe, Jim. "Historia desde abajo", *Formas de hacer historia*, Peter Burke, ed. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003: 39-58).

3. Locke, John. *Compendio del Ensayo sobre el entendimiento humano*. Madrid: Tecnos, 2002.

4. Así podemos apreciarlo en las celebraciones del II Centenario de la Guerra de Independencia.

5. "En tiempos pasados, la mayor parte de la historia se escribía para glorificar a los gobernantes y, tal vez, para que éstos la usaran en la práctica. De hecho, ciertos tipos de historia aún cumplen esta función" (Hobsbawm, Eric. *Sobre la Historia*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1998: 205 [Londres: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997]).

mentaciones similares para explicar acontecimientos ocurridos en épocas distintas, y se ha convertido en innumerables ocasiones en un formidable instrumento teórico de la justificación del poder[6].

Desde la primera mitad del siglo XIX se realizaron intentos por dotar a la Historia de una firme base filosófica; se produjo entonces una dicotomía que parecía insuperable: o se creía en una realidad metafísica a la que se podía acceder a través de la intuición, lo que conduciría indefectiblemente al subjetivismo y al relativismo, o se impulsaba el estudio exclusivo y meticuloso de lo particular e individual, renunciando a cualquier intento de generalizar o descubrir elementos comunes en los acontecimientos del pasado, lo que significaba reconocer que los historiadores no tenían nada que aportar al estudio científico del ser humano en general.

Los historiadores de principios del siglo XX tendieron a dejar de lado estos grandes temas epistemológicos y centraron sus preocupaciones en la delimitación concreta del terreno de la historia y en la reacción contra las prácticas académicas dominantes. La "recopilación exhaustiva de los hechos" y la "solidez del juicio histórico" en la interpretación de las pruebas documentales eran las virtudes esenciales del historiador que necesariamente habían de conducirle a conclusiones fructíferas; claro que por conclusiones fructíferas se entendía un "registro de verdades" válidas de manera definitiva, adquiridas gracias al conocimiento del pasado pero proyectadas también hacia el futuro. Estas pretensiones científicas se compaginaban mal tanto con el análisis lógico y metodológico como con los resultados prácticos de aquellos trabajos, frecuentemente carentes de visión de conjunto.

Tal vez no sea casual que haya sido un novelista quien ha presentado las cosas más claras sobre el trabajo del historiador: "Fue entonces cuando descubrí que muchos osados escritores de ficción habitan en el bosquecillo de Clío. (...) Con suerte, podríamos estar ahora a las puertas de una edad de oro para los historiadores que exima a los novelistas de volver a temas verdaderamente importantes..."[7].

Lo importante, claro. Porque existe una presunta "Historia científica" que suele rechazar todo aquello que se salga de lo que ahora se ha dado en denominar "La Academia". El rechazo se centra en denostar todo aquello que no se centre en la elección de un tema histórico aparentemente serio y analizarlo con una metodología adecuada; a eso lo llaman ahora "excelencia investigadora". Así, toda acción ajena a este entramado "oficialista" es desechada como poco formal.

Pero otra forma de entender el pasado, y de utilizarlo en el presente, es posible. La "historia profesional", basada en el conocimiento del método, el manejo formal de la bibliografía más reciente y un análisis "adecuado" y correcto de los fenómenos históricos no es suficiente. A algunos, ese tipo de hacer historia nos da la impresión de estar asistiendo a una práctica mecánica más de laboratorio. Frente al historiador prescindible e intrascendente que parece deslumbrarse ante la construcción de una "historia científica" pero tras el cual no hay nada, es preciso abogar por el historiador que se pregunta por los sentimientos que laten detrás de cada documento, por los intereses y la intencionalidad que esconden las crónicas escritas al dictado de los poderosos, por las ambiciones y la opresión de miles de seres humanos que subyacen en cada libro de cuentas o en cada balance empresarial, por el que se emociona ante el dibujo a barniz de una escudilla, por el

6. Son contundentes las observaciones que realiza Michael Parenti sobre los historiadores estadounidenses más críticos y que más cuestionan la muy manipulada historia oficial de su país (Parenti, Michael. *La Historia como misterio*. Hondarribia: Hiru, 2003: 168).

7. Vidal, Gore. *La edad de oro*. Barcelona: Mondadori, 2002: 475-477 (Vidal, Gore. *The Golden Age. A novel*. Nueva York: Doubleday, 2000: 466-467). El mismo Gore Vidal ha afirmado en sus impresionantes memorias que "yo era un novelista de una época en la cual la línea que dividía ficción y realidad era bastante tenue": Vidal, Gore. *Una memoria*. Barcelona: Grijalbo Mondadori, 1999: 9 (Vidal, Gore. *Palimpsest. A Memoir*. Londres: Abacus, 1996: 3).

que reflexiona ante los deseos que habitaban tras los caracteres de los rostros de las monedas, por el que comprende qué miedos se encerraban en las argamasas y en las piedras de las murallas o por el que entiende qué esperanzas se habían forjado en la humilde fábrica de una azada de hierro[8].

Estas tesis están bien alejadas de las que plantea el "poder establecido", sea el que sea, el cual sólo pretende manipular los acontecimientos históricos. En las dictaduras la manipulación es burda y evidente, y los hechos se trastocan, ocultan, cambian y alteran sin cuidado alguno. En las democracias formales se reinterpretan con afanes partidistas hechos del pasado, convenientemente manipulados para condicionar o justificar situaciones del presente. Tan es así que algunos historiadores han planteado deseos de reconciliación que suelen conducir a posiciones conservadoras como ya le ocurriera a P. Burke cuando afirmó: "Creo que utilizar la historia como arma en la lucha política es contraproducente. Uno llega a creerse su propia propaganda, a dramatizar excesivamente el pasado y de ahí a olvidarse de la complejidad real de los problemas de cualquier momento. Uno llega a idealizar a su propio bando y a dividir los seres humanos en dos grupos, 'nosotros' y 'ellos'"[9].

En consecuencia, es necesaria una reflexión sosegada sobre el momento historiográfico que estamos atravesando. No son pocos quienes ven con muy buenos ojos la desideologización que se está produciendo en algunos historiadores, antaño comprometidos con el cambio social y ahora ajenos a todo lo que no sea un mero empirismo que en las ciencias sociales es tan perjudicial como falsario.

1.1 ¿Y en el medievalismo, qué?

Para no ser menos que los grandes teóricos de la historiografía, en general muy próximos al estudio de la Historia Contemporánea, el mundo del medievalismo europeo intentó ofrecer una respuesta propia; y se sigue en ello. Historiadores tan "formales" como Jacques Heers[10] se han puesto manos a la obra para criticar el abandono de antiguos "temas estrella", el estereotipo de los modelos cronológicos (la inveterada manía de fijar el tiempo histórico como si se tratara de un producto de comercio) e incluso la imagen tópica y manida que se ha dado del Medievo.

Una importante ración de autoestima se ha extendido en los últimos años por el medievalismo europeo, y a la vez los medievalistas la han exportado a su época de estudio. De ahí que los historiadores estén poniendo tanto empeño en desmontar la imagen tradicional y folclorista de una Edad Media que a los ojos del neófito aparece como tenebrosa e inquisitorial. Y a esto no es ajeno, ni muchos menos, el viento dominante que surge de las nuevas ideas del poder político. Me refiero a los esfuerzos de un amplio sector por rescatar para el presente los "valores" tradicionales que hicieron posible Europa, y que sin la menor vergüenza intelectual identifican con la libertad, el libre pensamiento, la economía liberal, la moral y la ética cristianas. No es casual el esfuerzo de la iglesia Católica y de sus acólitos en parlamentos nacionales, organismos de la Unión Europea y universidades incluso para lograr que en la futura, si alguna vez es posible, Constitución Europea se destaque el cristianismo como un elemento fundamental en la construcción de Europa; y aunque se quiera introducir como un factor histórico, en realidad se trata de una opción de referencia política.

En este tiempo, la mayoría de los medievalistas propone un replanteamiento de los estudios sobre el Medievo en varias direcciones: se cuestiona el concepto de modernidad que se ha equi-

8. Corral Lafuente, José Luis. "Historia y ficción sobre la Edad Media". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 18 (2004): 7-36.

9. Burke, Peter. "Historia popular o historia total", *Historia popular y teoría socialista*, Raphael Samuel, ed. Barcelona: Crítica, 1984: 76-77.

10. Sobre los tópicos del Medievo: Heers, Jacques. *La invención de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995.

parado con el auge del Renacimiento y como la superación de lo medieval; se reivindica la Edad Media como una época de desarrollo de la cultura y el arte; e incluso se reivindican ciertas prácticas económicas, tachadas desde siempre como "feudales", dotándolas de un cierto aire de modernidad. Hoy, la historiografía europea plantea una relectura de la Edad Media que se aleje de los condicionantes y prejuicios que durante siglos han convertido al Medievo en un periodo demasiado oscuro de nuestra historia.

La llamada "historia científica" no entendía, y creo que sigue ajena a ello, incluso lo rechazaba por ahistórico, que la vida de los hombres y mujeres del Medievo estaba llena de sentimientos, temores e ilusiones. Parapetada en la rancia idea de interpretar los hechos, un monotema repetitivo y recurrente, la historiografía tradicional de la Edad Media sigue atrincherada, como mucho, en la interpretación, evitando abrir nuevos enfoques más enriquecedores y sobre todo más dinámicos. Pero entre tanto, algunos presuntos "científicos de la historia" se afanan con todo tipo de recursos, y siguen haciéndolo, para manipular los hechos, inventar explicaciones adecuadas a sus ideas e incluso justificar acciones absolutamente condenables. La historiografía medieval europea rebosa de ejemplos al respecto[11].

El rearme ideológico de la Historia es absolutamente necesario para el medievalismo; sólo así podrá entenderse qué significó la Edad Media, cuáles fueron los movimientos sociales que en ella se produjeron y por qué mecanismos se rigieron, y cuáles son las huellas que el Medievo ha dejado en la sociedad actual, para así poder centrar en su justo término los acontecimientos y no caer en errores tan pueriles como se acostumbra. La crisis de la Historia no es sino la crisis de la historiografía conservadora, casi limitada, por lo que a algunos respecta, a combatir el marxismo hasta que sea posible expedir su certificado de defunción. Pero nuestro tiempo es necesario un nuevo marco en el que los historiadores puedan realizar su trabajo sin los condicionantes espurios que atenazan a la historiografía tradicional. Probablemente haya que renovar muchas cosas y se necesite reintroducir la Filosofía, las Ciencias Sociales afines e incluso la Psicología, pero seguirá siendo el valor que se dé a lo subjetivo lo que defina la dirección de una Historia renovada. Hace falta mayor libertad de pensamiento, mayor compromiso, mayor capacidad de análisis, mayor generosidad, y mucha más preparación científica y técnica. Y sobre todo es preciso evitar el desencanto, el conformismo y el acomodo ante fórmulas que no dejan de ser viejas, muy viejas, aunque se presenten como el último grito de la modernidad.

La situación política en Europa ha condicionado en los últimos años el tratamiento de estos aspectos. El apego vicario de algunos historiadores a determinadas formas de Estado, como la monarquía, los ha arrastrado a trasvasar sus querencias actuales a sus investigaciones históricas. Esto es especialmente notorio en algunos recientes textos sobre la monarquía medieval castellana, sobre los reyes de Aragón o incluso sobre las coronas francesa e inglesa. Es decir, ficción presentada con argumentos "científicos" que se postulan como históricos cuando se trata de puro presentismo[12].

11. Litlle, Lester K; Rosenwein, Barbara, eds. *La Edad Media a debate*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2003; Genet, Jean Philippe, ed. *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe: actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation européenne de la Science du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*. París: Éditions du CNRS, 1991.

12. Corral Lafuente, José Luis. "Historia y ficción sobre la Edad Media"…: 7-36.

2. La Historia Medieval y "España"

Afirmar que el medievalismo español de comienzos del siglo XXI es heredero del Franquismo puede sonar demasiado fuerte, especialmente si se dice en voz alta y en una tribuna pública, pero no deja de ser cierto. Basta repasar la historiografía del último medio siglo para observar que apenas existe cesura alguna entre 1975 y 1985, por ejemplo; o la formación de una generación entera de medievalistas que no tuvo otro remedio que asistir paciente a la imposición de la jerarquía acrítica y aleatoria propia del Régimen.

La mediatización a que la ideología franquista sometió a la historiografía y el control político del acceso a los puestos docentes universitarios y a los centros de investigación han sido lacras enormes cuyas prácticas repetitivas siguen vigentes en algunos casos. Y la herencia no consiste sólo en la continuación de algunas de esas prácticas viciadas, sino también en la respuesta que la historiografía nacionalista ha dado desde posiciones irreductibles, bien alimentadas por el poder autonómico.

La instrumentalización de la Historia para fines políticos, antes falsificada por el Franquismo para justificar su dictadura, ha sido en los últimos treinta años tergiversada por algunos nacionalismos, también, y mucho, por el nacionalismo españolista, para certificar sus posiciones ideológicas y sus propios intereses. Una vez más, los ciudadanos han quedado al margen de su propia historia; la demanda de "veracidad" y de saber "lo que realmente pasó" ha contribuido a que muchos de estos ciudadanos con ansia de saber y ganas de encontrar nuevos marcos de pensamiento busquen una parte de la respuesta a sus inquietudes en otras experiencias narrativas.

En la dictadura franquista la postura oficial era en consecuencia la del partido único, sin ninguna crítica histórica ni valoraciones que se salieran del marco impuesto. Sólo algunas tentativas aisladas pugnaban por romper el monopolio asfixiante de la historiografía del régimen, sujeta a dogmas y postulados absolutamente desfasados, cuando no ajenos a la realidad histórica de España[13].

En la paranoia del Régimen, la Edad Media en la Península había sido una época muy perjudicial para el país —España, claro—, debido a la "desunión" de sus tierras y sus gentes; y es que los ideales de la "patria común e indivisible de todos los españoles" eran valores eternos, pero no sólo proyectados hacia la eternidad en el futuro, sino también hacia el pasado, hacia la historia. El medievalismo español de aquellos años no hizo mucho, más bien nada, por desmontar esa aberración histórica.

Se trataba de hacer de España un *continuum* desde Atapuerca hasta el siglo XX, con algunos paréntesis en los cuales la "unidad nacional" habría sido rota por fuerzas ajenas a lo español, como el imperio Romano o los musulmanes. Un ejemplo palmario de esta aberración es la conferencia que pronunció el ya expresidente del Gobierno, José María Aznar, el 21 de septiembre de 2004 en la universidad jesuita de Georgetown, en Washington. Este político, convertido en improvisado historiador, sin duda asesorado por especuladores de la nada, llegó a decir cosas como ésta: "el problema que España tiene con al-Qaeda y con el terrorismo islámico no tiene su origen en la crisis de Irak. De hecho, no fue a causa de las decisiones del Gobierno. Habría que remontarse 1.300 años atrás, al siglo VIII, cuando España acababa de ser invadida por los moros para ser convertida en una pieza más del mundo islámico, y así comenzó una larga batalla para recuperar la identidad. El proceso de la Reconquista fue muy largo, alrededor de 800 años. Afortunadamente, terminó con éxito"[14].

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13. Pérez Garzón, Juan Sisinio. *La gestión de la memoria: la Historia de España al servicio del poder*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2000.

14. Aznar, José María. "Siete tesis en el terrorismo de hoy-Estracto-". *Absurda revolución*. 21 de septiembre de 2004. 10 de junio de 2007 <http://absurda_revolucion.blogia.com/2004/092702-siete-tesis-sobre-el-terrorismo-actual-extracto-.php>.

Asertos como éstos, muy repetidos a lo largo de nuestra historiografía, se basan en la mitología creada en las crónicas leonesas y castellanas escritas a partir de fines del siglo IX, en las cuales se inventaron, o en ciertos casos se magnificaron hazañas guerreras que fueron convertidas en mitos fundacionales de reinos, en los cuales no suele faltar la intervención divina; es decir: "Se construye («la propaganda negra») sobre la falsificación de ciertas verdades propias considerándolas elementos introducidos por el enemigo. Si el público no admite tal posibilidad, entonces la explicación recurre al azar, el destino o la voluntad del Todopoderoso[15].

A partir de ahí arrancó toda una corriente historiográfica que ha contaminado la historia peninsular de un barniz nacionalista que se ha extendido a todos los ámbitos. Señalaba más arriba que todo poder utiliza la historia en su beneficio, manipulándola cuando lo necesita, pero esa manipulación se convierte en verdadera paranoia cuando el poder está trufado de un sentimiento nacionalista, o nacional, eterno y ahistórico, que se acentúa mucho en el caso de las dictaduras: "En los regímenes con fuerte carga nacionalista, la historia ha sido manipulada haciéndola coincidir con los intereses de aquellas ideologías que se desean inculcar a las poblaciones de un determinado territorio. Esta desvirtuación llega a su culminación en los regímenes dictatoriales: cuando el poder es absoluto, la manipulación tiende a ser absoluta"[16].

La "Historia de España" ha sufrido mucho a causa del nacionalismo, sea el llamado "periférico" o el nacionalismo "centralista", lo que ha provocado una serie de contradicciones tan evidentes como ésta: "Sólo puede hablarse de una historia de España cuando los diversos pueblos que la forman comienzan a ser percibidos desde el exterior como una unidad. Mucho después llegará la asunción de ese mismo sentido de unidad por los propios hispanos (...).La unidad de España, prefigurada ya en la diócesis romana de Hispania, se realizó, aunque fuera en condiciones precarias, en el reino visigodo". Pero a la vez, también se asegura que "Al morir Isabel la Católica se produjo una grave crisis institucional, puesto que entre Castilla y Aragón no existía más que una unión personal"[17].

2.1 ¿Unidad nacional o unión personal? ¿Con qué nos quedamos?

En los últimos años, y debido al presentismo que sigue condicionando la historiografía, los planteamientos del "hecho nacional" español han dado un vuelco radical. Con la etapa democrática iniciada hace tres décadas y la reivindicación de las autonomías, la Edad Media hispana ha disfrutado de un reconocimiento inesperado. Convertida en época generatriz de algunas de las actuales nacionalidades españolas, la valoración del Medievo hispano ha cambiado sustancialmente; ya no es un tiempo de desunión y de reyertas entre territorios españoles, sino el momento originario de las nacionalidades actuales. El nuevo prestigio de la Edad Media pasa incluso por la recuperación de nombres de instituciones que surgieron en ese periodo como elementos diferenciales de hechos nacionales concretos.

Los ejemplos son abrumadores, pero baste citar los fastos que se celebraron en Cataluña en 1989 para celebrar un pretendido "milenario de la nación catalana", sentando sus orígenes en el año 989, precisamente en plena Edad Media, o en otro sentido, la fijación de la inventada batalla

15. Torres, Margarita. "La propaganda del poder y sus técnicas en las crónicas leonesas y castellanas (siglos IX-XIII)". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 18 (2004): 75.

16. Abós Santabárbara, Ángel Luis. *La historia que nos enseñaron (1937-1975)*. Madrid: Foca, 2003: 7.

17. Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. *España, tres milenios de historia*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001: 13, 71, 121.

de Covadonga como origen de la moderna nación española. Y aunque parecía que semejante manipulación iba a remitir con el paso del tiempo democrático, las cosas no sólo no se han calmado sino que en algunos casos han ido a más. Desde algunos gobiernos autonómicos se ha apoyado una historiografía "nacional" que ha contemplado el territorio autonómico de fines del siglo XX como si se tratara de un espacio existente tal cual desde el principio de la civilización, y de ahí expresiones como "Cataluña ya existía antes de la llegada de los romanos", "El hecho nacional vasco es anterior a la Edad Media", etc. Los mismos errores de quienes celebran expresiones como "los españoles de Atapuerca", refiriéndose a los primeros pobladores de la Península, o "los reinos de España en el Medievo".

Si hasta hace tres o cuatro décadas la Historia de España era por definición "la historia nacional", en los últimos años, y a pesar de que no faltan quienes siguen guardando las más rancias esencias, nos encontramos con una historia fragmentada a partir de las "fronteras" y límites que se establecen desde el presente. Esta situación es heredera de la dictadura del Franquismo, que impuso un academicismo formalista y controlador, y unos modos estereotipados y rígidos que sobreviven en no pocos residuos y camarillas en universidades y centros de investigación. Son maneras de actuar que han lastrado, y seguirán lastrando por algún tiempo, la historiografía española.

No obstante, y pese a algunas enquistadas situaciones, el progreso de la historiografía medieval en España ha sido notable en los últimos años. Es verdad que seguimos sin superar el rígido corsé del descriptivismo, y no lo es menos que no se cuidan demasiado las formas de expresión ni la manera de llegar a un público más amplio que el académico, tan reducido a veces, y que se sigue premiando la fidelidad y la sumisión a la novedad y a la brillantez, pero algo se ha ganado, aunque seguimos dependiendo, y de qué manera, de modelos externos, a veces trasplantados sin la menor crítica ni las necesarias correcciones para la adaptación a este ámbito.

Sigue pesando mucho la formación franquista, aquélla en la que casi nadie reconocía al maestro del que se aprendía, sino al jefe que te colocaba, y muy pocos al discípulo al que se le enseñaba para que superara la labor del profesor, sino al peón de brega fiel y sumiso. En la historiografía, esta cuestión se reflejada en afirmaciones como ésta: "El 2 de enero de 1492 Fernando e Isabel tomaron posesión de la Alhambra... Era el fin de la Reconquista, al cumplirse setecientos ochenta años, como recordaban Fernando e Isabel en una carta a la ciudad de Sevilla. Ahora el matrimonio de los Reyes Católicos aparecía como una culminación para la heroica empresa que permitía restaurar la España 'perdida' del siglo VIII"[18]. Y no es preciso recordar que buena parte del medievalismo español procede de esta escuela.

3. ¿El futuro previsible?

Y cuando parecía que la situación iba a cambiar, para mejorar, se supone, resulta que la historiografía conservadora, disfrazada de modernismo, vuelve a la carga. Ahora no lo la hace como antaño, censurando de manera soez la crítica y la disidencia intelectual, la historiografía conservadora regresa controlando los resortes de la universidad y cercenado planes de estudios adecuados al progreso de la historia y al interés del alumnado; y lo que es peor, volviendo a intentar que la

18. Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Historia de España. VII. Los trastámaras y los Reyes Católicos*, Ángel Montenegro Duque, coord. Madrid: Gredos, 1985: 276.

gente quede al margen de la historia, como si el historiador fuera un chamán encargado de velar por los arcanos más sagrados.

En un mundo tan cambiante, tan condicionado a modelos impuestos, tan poco dado a la crítica y tan superficial y vano, la Historia tiene poco espacio para moverse. Claro que siempre habrá un resquicio para respirar, a pesar de que la trampa de la superespecialización, en la cual caen no pocos, siempre está preparada para que la juventud que se acerca al oficio de historiador sea rápidamente desideologizada, integrada en un sistema absurdo y condenada a no reflexionar sobre el verdadero sentido de la Historia: la comprensión de los seres humanos y de sus manifestaciones: un verdadero vivero para la mediocridad.

Claro que esta cosas importan poco, pues aunque pueda parecer increíble, todavía hay quien defiende que para hacerse historiador siguen vigentes postulados inanes para la enseñanza de la Historia Medieval, que ya nacieron viejos, como los siguientes: "La participación activa en la labor de programación de todo el equipo de profesores integrado en el Departamento... Unos claros planteamientos epistemológicos de la disciplina... En relación con lo anterior, una clara expresión de los fines y objetivos específicos perseguidos en el área de conocimientos de que se trate —en nuestro caso la Historia Medieval—, contemplándolos dentro del marco más amplio de los objetivos generales del proceso de enseñanza en que esos conocimientos se integran. Adecuación de los contenidos de la enseñanza al nivel en que se imparta, a las limitaciones temporales del curso académico y las disponibilidades del Departamento en profesorado cualificado y en medios auxiliares de trabajo. Una clara percepción de las vertientes que ofrece la enseñanza universitaria, ya que esta oferta se dirige no exclusivamente a futuros especialistas sino a un alumnado que, en buena medida, enderezará su rumbo profesional por la enseñanza media. Flexibilidad en la concepción y desarrollo de los programas e incorporación de las técnicas de evaluación que en cada caso se presenten como más adecuadas para apreciar el rendimiento de los alumnos a lo largo del proceso académico. Es deseable que la programación se materialice, al comienzo de cada curso académico, en una guía orientadora para el estudiante"[19].

Algo más frío, más alejado de una concepción apasionada y viva, participativa, crítica e ilusionante de la enseñanza de la Historia parece difícil.

La historia debe explicarse como lo que es: vida[20]. Y como tal, será aceptada por la mayoría cuando sea apasionada y transmita pasión por vivir[21].

Por eso, si se sigue explicando una lección de historia con criterios como los siguientes, "La lección magistral… debe trazar una síntesis clara del estado del tema en el momento de la exposición, señalar las ideas clave, la bibliografía más adecuada, sin atiborrar a los alumnos con listas de obras innecesarias, y las fuentes esenciales. De cada tema importante debe indicarse el estado del mismo, señalando los conocimientos más seguros, los problemas, las orientaciones que sigue la investigación, en tanto le sea posible. A esta lección, es necesario interrumpirla a veces con el diálogo de los discípulos, conseguir que ellos hagan su propia exposición, mediante comentarios

19. Ruiz de la Peña, José Ignacio. *Introducción al estudio de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1984: 148-149.

20. Aróstegui, Julio. *La historia vivida. Sobre la historia del presente*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2004.

21. Las formas de apasionarse con la historia son diversas: Jacques Le Goff lo hizo leyendo "los textos narrativos, cargados de fuerza y expresividad dramática" de la novela *Ivanhoe* de Walter Scott (Le Goff, Jacques. *En busca de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Paidós Ibérica, 2003: 17); Eric Hobsbawn leyendo a Carlos Marx, que le hizo ver que "la historia es una herramienta sin la cual no podemos comprender nada de lo que sucede en el mundo" (Hobsbawm, Eric. *Entrevista sobre el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2000: 18).

personales o ampliación de aspectos concretos que se les encomienden; su objeto es acostumbrarlos a hablar en público. Pero su labor será matizada, corregida, ampliada por el propio profesor"[22]. Así no avanzaremos demasiado.

Continúa faltando reflexión y se sigue echando en falta la pasión por el oficio de historiador. La aproximación a la historia sigue siendo demasiado aséptica, aunque en ocasiones, como se está haciendo en algunos centros de interpretación, se suele rayar el ridículo. La historia interesa a la gente, pero si el historiador profesional se olvida de ello y sigue "a lo suyo", no dejará de lamentar que esa misma gente huya de la historia. Y espero que no sea eso lo que se pretenda.

Pero no es sólo el fondo lo que importa. El historiador sólo tiene un recurso para transmitir lo que desea expresar: su palabra. En medio mundo hace ya tiempo que los historiadores han encontrado formas expresivas que hacen posible el acceso a la disciplina histórica de buena parte de la población porque es un factor decisivo para que el trabajo del historiador sirva para algo. Pero en los lares peninsulares esta obviedad sigue siendo contemplada con recelo, aunque cada vez menos, es cierto[23].

Es preciso, es un deber, acerca la historia a la gente. Y para ello, el historiador debe cuidar la manera de llegar al público, de expresarse, de escribir. Porque no se aprecia lo que no se entiende, y porque si la mayoría no lo entiende es que se ha explicado mal, muy mal. Y si lo entiende y le aburre, mucho peor.

Ya es tiempo de que los historiadores vuelvan los ojos a la gente, a la verdadera protagonista de la historia, y a quien debe ir dirigida. Algunos historiadores ya se ha dado cuenta del tremendo error cometido: "Parte del creciente crecimiento explosivo de la historia, que yo empecé por celebrar, ha sido en el gusto y la demanda popular, a los cuales los historiadores profesionales han contribuido poco y apenas han respondido en absoluto"[24]. Esta falta de responsabilidad y esta dejadez de los historiadores ya la había criticado antes Gore Vidal, que atisba una vuelta de los historiadores a lo importante[25].

Nuevas voces se han añadido a esta reivindicación[26], incluso con una autocrítica muy constructiva: "La memoria colectiva está directamente imbricada en el presente. Constituye el presupuesto 'natural' que simboliza la cohesión social de los miembros de un grupo, legitima instituciones o relaciones de autoridad e inculca creencias, sistemas de valores o convicciones e conducta… La sociedad reclama del historiador su memoria colectiva"[27].

Veremos si la mayoría sigue el ejemplo o continúa esta inanidad que nos preside.

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22. Torres Delgado, Cristóbal. *Introducción al estudio de la Historia Medieval: guía para estudiantes*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1977: 100.

23. "La historia, con la posible excepción de la literatura, es la más verbal de las materias, en oposición a los contenidos cuantitativos que se enseñan en la escuela. Esto permite que los alumnos desarrollen aptitudes de razonamiento tales como la argumentación" (Carretero, Mario; Voss, James F. *Aprender y pensar la historia*. Buenos Aires-Madrid: Amorrortu editores, 2004: 14).

24. Fernández Armesto, Felipe. "¿Qué es la historia ahora?", *¿Qué es la historia ahora?*, David Cannadine, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada-Almed, 2005: 280.

25. "... vemos ahora furtivos signos de recuperación entre los historiadores académicos más jóvenes (...). Con suerte podríamos estar ahora a las puertas de una edad de oro para los historiadores que exima a los novelistas de volver a los temas verdaderamente importantes" (Vidal, Gore. *La edad de oro*…: 477; Vidal, Gore. *The Golden Age*…: 467).

26. Corral, José Luis. *Escribir historia... e imaginarla*. Barcelona: EDHASA, 2001.

27. Mudrovcic, María Inés. *Historia, narración y memoria. Los debates actuales en filosofía de la historia*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2005: 93.

OBSERVACIONES EN TORNO A UNA HAGIOGRAFIA CONTROVERTIDA: LA *VITA VEL GESTA SANCTI ILDEFONSI*

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Resumen

Entre la reducida producción hagiográfica de la alta Edad Media hispana, existe un relato que —pese a su brevedad— habrá de conocer un enorme suceso. Ese éxito, por cierto, no sólo deriva de su difusión textual sino, sobre todo, de la divulgación de la tradición narrativa plasmada en él. Se trata de la *Vita vel gesta Sancti Ildefonsi Toletanae sedis metropolitani episcopi* —título que le diera E. Flórez—. En los últimos años, mucho se ha discutido acerca de la autoría, fecha de composición y objetivos de este texto, iniciador de una larga y fructífera leyenda en torno al santo retratado en el mismo, Ildefonso de Toledo. El propósito de este artículo es realizar algunas observaciones en torno a esa narración y, sobre todo, enmarcarla en sus posibles contextos de producción y difusión. Este acercamiento quizás permita aportar algunos indicios adicionales para identificar al controvertido autor de la hagiografía y, en particular, determinar las coordenadas discursivas que empleó para construir su obra.

Dentro de la reducida producción hagiográfica de la alta Edad Media hispana, existe un relato que —pese a su brevedad— conoció un enorme suceso[1]. Ese éxito, por cierto, no sólo deriva de su difusión textual sino, además, de la divulgación de la tradición narrativa plasmada en él. Se trata de la *Vita vel gesta Sancti Ildefonsi Toletanae sedis metropolitani episcopi* —título que le diera E. Flórez—, obra que ha sido calificada como "escasas páginas de lo que pudo haber sido un discurso catequético, sin más valor que el hagiográfico"[2]. El texto se destaca sobremanera en el panorama literario local, al punto de constituir "la vida latina de Hispania que cuenta con mayor número

1. Un panorama de dicha producción puede verse en: Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "Passionnaires, légendiers et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Age espagnol", *Hagiographies. Cultures et sociétés, IVe-XIIe siècles*. París: Études Augustiniennes, 1981: 49-59 (reimpreso en la obra del mismo autor: *Vie chrétienne et culture dans l'Espagne du VIIe au Xe siècles*. Londres: Variorum, 1992). En términos categóricos, Díaz y Díaz señala que "la producción hagiográfica de España es pobre" (Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "Passionnaires, légendiers et...": 53). Vease también: Valcárcel, Vitalino. "Hagiografía hispanolatina visigótica y medieval (s. XII-XIII)", *Actas del I Congreso nacional de latín medieval: León, 1-4 de diciembre de 1993*, Maurilio Pérez González, coord. León: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1995: 191-209; Valcárcel, Vitalino. "La historiografía latina medieval de Hispania. Un quehacer de la filología latina hoy". *Historia, instituciones, documentos*, 32 (2005): 329-362.

2. Bodelón, Serafín. *Literatura latina de la Edad Media en España*. Madrid: Akal, 1989: 40. La *Vita* fue editada sistemáticamente desde 1576 —un detalle de esas ediciones puede verse en *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. Bruselas: Société des Bollandistes, 1992 (reimp.): doc. nº 3919. Por mi parte, sigo la edición de Gil, Juan. *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: I, 59-66. Véase igualmente Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Index scriptorum latinorum Medii Aevi hispanorum*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959: 147, doc. nº 595; Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua literatura latina hispano-cristiana*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998: IV, 159 y siguientes, con la salvedad de que indica erróneamente que Flórez fue el primer editor del relato.

de manuscritos, veinte"[3]. En los últimos años, mucho se ha discutido acerca de la autoría, fecha de composición y objetivos de este relato, iniciador de una larga y fructífera leyenda en torno al santo retratado en el mismo, Ildefonso de Toledo. Mi propósito en esta oportunidad es realizar algunas observaciones acerca de esa narración y, sobre todo, enmarcarla en sus posibles contextos de producción y difusión. Este acercamiento quizás permita aportar algunos indicios adicionales para identificar al controvertido autor de la hagiografía y, en particular, determinar las coordenadas discursivas que empleó para construir su obra. Análogamente, intentaré demostrar las variables temáticas empleadas por el narrador, así como también las posibles fuentes que utilizó para ello.

1. El autor y la fecha de redacción

Dos nombres aparecen en los códices como presuntos autores del relato que nos ocupa: Cixila y Eladio. El primero figura en dos de los manuscritos en que se encuentra el texto, el Escurialense D.I.1 (procedente de San Millán de la Cogolla, año 994 aunque con adiciones de mediados del siglo XI) y el conservado en la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid, Aemilianesis 47 (también del siglo XI)[4]. Por el contrario, el segundo nombre aparece en los restantes códices, desconociéndose totalmente a qué personaje alude, como así también las razones por las que se le adjudica la autoría del relato. Por lo pronto, sabemos que este Eladio —Elladio o Helladio— "no puede ser el [obispo toledano] del que habla Ildefonso en sus *Varones ilustres* 6, ya que aquél muere en 633 y éste en enero de 667. Hoy por hoy desconocemos quién pueda ser este Eladio"[5]. Por lo demás, esta discrepancia en cuanto a la autoría —y el hecho de que el citado *beatus Eladio episcopo* figure en manuscritos de muy diversa procedencia, frente al limitado número y concentración local de los que aluden a Cixila— ha hecho pensar a Canal Sánchez que "si la atribución a Cixila fuera anterior, no nos explicamos por qué códices extranjeros contemporáneos, y situados en puntos bien diferentes, como son Cluny y Benevento, están concordes en la atribución a Heladio"[6]. A su juicio, por tanto, "la lección original era esta última [pero] algún copista, consciente que el único Heladio obispo de Toledo había muerto mucho antes de ser Hildefonso obispo [...] la cambió en la que aparece en los códices Emilianenses (Cixila)"[7].

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3. Valcárcel, Vitalino. "Las *vitae sanctorum* de la Hispania medieval: sus manuscritos y su historia editorial". *Memoria ecclesiae*, 24 (2004): 145-175 (especialmente 155).

4. Véase Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1997: 285-288. El manuscrito contiene —además de la *vita* en cuestión— la *Vita sancti Martini* de Sulpicio Severo, la *Epistola ad Frunimianum* de Braulio de Zaragoza, la *Vita sancti Emiliani* del mismo autor, el canon I del X concilio de Toledo de 656, sobre "De celebritate festiuitatis dominice Matris", el *Beati Ildephonsi elogium* de Julián de Toledo, el tratado *De virginitate perpetua beatae Mariae* del propio Ildefonso y las *Lectiones de nativitate Domini* tomadas del *De civitate Dei* de san Agustín. A juicio de Ruíz García, los folios que reproducen la hagiografía de san Ildefonso están copiados por una mano más tardía respecto del resto, que podría adjudicarse "a fines del siglo XI", presentando "pruebas de mayor artificiosidad en su grafía". Asimismo, el texto se inicia con una I "sostenida por un ángel de estilo románico", distinta a las restantes que componen el códice.

5. Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua…*: 159; Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. "Personalidad y herencia literaria de san Ildefonso de Toledo". *Revista Española de Teología*, 31 (1971): 137-66, 283-334.

6. Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso de Toledo. Historia y leyenda". *Ephemerides mariologicae*, 17 (1967): 437-462 (especialmente 446). Como bien señala Bauouin de Gaiffier, el nombre de Heladius como autor del relato figura en los *Milagros* de Gautier de Coincy, de principios del siglo XIII (Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de saint Ildephonse. A propos d'attributions discutés". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 94 (1976): 235-244, especialmente 240).

7. Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 240. Según el mismo autor, la nómina de manuscritos medievales que incluyen esta *vita* —además de los dos citados, que la adjudican a Cixila— es la siguiente: 1) Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, XXII (siglo XII); 2) Londres, British Museum, add. 11695 (procedente de Silos, s. XII); 3) París, Bibliothe-

Por cierto, tampoco hay demasiados datos para identificar a este último personaje. Conforme la tradición inaugurada por Tamayo en el siglo XVII, generalmente se creyó que podría tratarse de Cixila, arzobispo de Toledo entre 774 y 783. Así lo sostuvieron desde Flórez hasta Justo Pérez de Urbel, quien —en una biografía de este prelado— señala que "escribió en un latín correcto, que nos delata la conservación de las aficiones literarias del siglo anterior, una vida de S. Ildefonso, no exenta de excrecencias legendarias y sucesos maravillosos"[8]. La tradición a la que alude sería, obviamente, la de tiempos visigodos, sin que quede muy en claro a qué tipo de "afición literaria" se refiere.

Ahora bien, esa misma tradición "antigua", una serie de razones de estilo y determinados errores históricos —que luego veremos en detalle— son los que indujeron a Manuel Díaz y Díaz a suponer que el Cixila nombrado no podía ser el citado arzobispo toledano sino algún autor del siglo X o principios del siglo XI[9]. En tal sentido, retomó una sugerencia previa de B. de Gaiffier quien, tras haber adjudicado el texto al obispo de Oviedo, Pelayo —muerto en 1129—, luego rectificaría su postura y estimaría que esta *Vita* "data del siglo XI o, a lo sumo, finales del X"[10]. Además, en opinión del mismo especialista, la adjudicación de la autoría a Cixila puede deberse al hecho de que, en la mayoría de los manuscritos, este texto va acompañado de la *vita* que redactara Julián de Toledo. En consecuencia, "los copistas tuvieron cuidado de anotar *Hucusque Hildefonsus. Abhinc Iulianus*. La *c* de *hinc* [...] se junta a *Iulianus*, obteniendo una forma muy cercana a *Cixilianus*"[11]. Por el contrario, Díaz y Díaz destacarta esta sugerencia y, dotando a Cixila de una personalidad auténtica, cree que éste bien podría ser el monje de posible origen mozárabe que, hacia 905, tiene a su cargo el monasterio de San Cosme y san Damián en Abéllar, a 13 km. de la ciudad de Léon[12].

De aceptarse esa hipótesis, deberíamos trazar brevemente la figura de este nuevo personaje, del que se disponen algunos vestigios de importancia aunque existen ciertas dificultades en la cronología de los mismos. En primer lugar —y según acabamos de señalar—, parecería tratarse de un

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que Nationale, n.a.l. 1455 (Cluny, s. XI); 4) París, Arsenal 272 (Fleury, s. XI); 5) París, Arsenal 271 (Fleury?, s. XI); 6) París, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 2833 (España?, s. XII); 7) París, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 2359 (St.-Martin-des-Champs, s. XII); 8) Dijon, Bibliotheque Publique 232 (Cîteaux, s. XII); 9) Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 1650 (Alemania?, ss. XI-XII); 10) Roma, Biblioteca Alessandrina 200 (San Niccolò in Arena, Catania, s. XIII); 11) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 10087 (Toledo?, s. XIII); 12) París, Bibliotheque Nationale lat. 2332 (segunda mitad del siglo s. XII); 13) París, Bibliotheque Nationale lat. 16357 (Sorbonne, ss. XIII-XIV); 14) Luxemburgo, Université 119 (Münster, entre 1220 y 1240) y 15) Toledo, catedral 15-13 (Francia, 1388).

8. Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Cixila". *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, José Vives Gatell, dirs. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972: 429.

9. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística española". *Revista Española de Teología*, 17 (1957): 3-46. La referencia a Cixila en las páginas 44-45.

10. Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 243. Véanse también los trabajos del mismo autor, relativos a este tema, aparecidos en distintos números de *Analecta bollandiana*, 56 (1938), 60 (1942), 64 (1946) y 71 (1953). Véase también Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia*…: 159-60.

11. Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 242.

12. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística…": 44; Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Cixila II". *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*…: 429-430. La identificación de este Cixila como segundo responde al deseo de no confundirlo ni con el obispo toledano recién mencionado ni con un obispo de León del mismo nombre, que gobernara la sede entre 853 y 857 y que confirmara "dos donaciones de Ordoño I a la iglesia de Oviedo y el discutido privilegio de los obispos Severiano y Ariulfo a la misma iglesia". Véase igualmente Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos Cosme y Damián de Abéllar. Monacato y sociedad en la época astur-leonesa". *Archivos leoneses*, 81, 82 (1987): 7-300, especialmentel 31-34, quien cree que este cenobio ya existía antes de 905, en tanto en esa fecha sólo obtiene su reconocimiento jurídico de parte de Alfonso III (página 34). Abril de 904 es la fecha de fundación sugerida —con base no demasiado sólida— por Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe en el reino de León. El monasterio de Abéllar o de los santos mártires Cosme y Damián". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 20 (1892): 123-151, la referencia en la página 128.

mozárabe, que algunos identifican como un monje huido de Córdoba —desconociéndose, en este caso, de qué cenobio procedía-[13]. El propio Cixila se presenta -"en unión de mis hermanos"- como fundador del citado monasterio de Abéllar[14]. Fue elegido primer abad del mismo y poco después, habrá de ser nombrado obispo de León —quizás sucediendo a san Froilán—, nombramiento en el que, al parecer, intervino favorablemente Alfonso III[15]. Con el título episcopal figura en el primer diploma que firma el sucesor de Alfonso, García I, el 15 de febrero de 911[16] y, con certeza, debe haber permanecido en el cargo hasta el año 914. Por cierto, esa actividad obispal no implicó el abandono de su antiguo abaciado sino que, por el contrario, mantuvo la dirección del mismo, contribuyendo al engrandecimiento de su cenobio[17]. Cixila deja de aparecer como obispo de León hacia mediados de 914, sucediéndole el obispo Frunimio II, quizás mozárabe como él[18]. Muy probablemente, la muerte del rey García y el traslado de la capital a León hayan incidido en el retiro de aquel prelado a Abéllar, monasterio que continuó dirigiendo. En circunstancias poco claras, Cixila volvió a ocupar la sede episcopal entre 924 y 928, época en que el rey Fruela II persiguió a su sucesor (el citado obispo Frunimio) y se desató la lucha por la continuidad dinástica de este mismo monarca. La razones de esta persecución se deben a que este último obispo pertenecía a la aristocrática familia de los Olmúndiz, opositores a Fruela[19]. El destierro de Frunimio debe haber concluido hacia fines de 927 —muerto ya Fruela— pero, sin embargo, éste no reasumió su dignidad episcopal, siendo sucedido por el obispo Oveco. Por su parte, Cixila retornó a su labor abacial,

13. A este respecto, véase la opinión de Collins, Roger. "Poetry in ninth century Spain". *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*, IV (1984): 194, nota 39. El artículo ha sido reproducido en la obra del mismo autor, Collins, Roger. *Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain*. Londres: Variorum, 1992; Mozárabe de Córdoba lo cree Díaz-Jiménez (Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 128); al igual que Carbajo Serrano (Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos…: 51-52). Por su parte, Díaz y Díaz sugiere, en cambio, un posible origen toledano (*Códices visigóticos de la monarquía leonesa*. León: Centro de estudios e investigación "San Isidoro", 1983: 236).

14. En su célebre testamento del 5 de noviembre de 927 (del que luego hablaremos), el obispo señala que "cum sociis et fratribus meis, nomini sancto uestro, construxi hac monasterium, in suburbio Legionense, loco uoca ualle de Abeliare, super ripam fluminis Turio situm" —*Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*, ed. Emilio Sáez. León: Centros de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1987: I, 125 (doc. 75)—. Juan Eloy Díaz-Jiménez (Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 136), seguido por María José Carbajo Serrano (Carbajo Serrano, María José. "El monasterio de los santos…": 52), menciona a un tal Recafredo como padre de Cixila, aludiendo a un documento de García I del 12 de abril de 911. En verdad, se trata de una falsificación por la cual Ordoño II y su mujer, Elvira, donan a Cixila "et pater tuus Rekafredus et fratibus tuis" la villa de "Monasteriolo" en Río Seco – *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*…: doc. nº 56—. La referencia, por tanto, es dudosa.

15. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes del reino de León". *Archivos leoneses*, 19 (1956): 4-5, 47-54. *Archivos leoneses*, 20 (1957): 5-6, quien supone que existió un tercer obispo entre Froilán Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes del reino de León" y Cixila (página 47).

16. Flórez, Enrique. *España Sagrada*. Madrid: Imprenta de Don Pedro Marín, 1784: XXXIV, 205. En el mismo diploma aparecen los obispos Genadio de Astorga y Atilano de Zamora.

17. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes…", 19 (1956): 48-49; Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León. García I (910-914), Ordoño II (914-924), Fruela II (924-925) y Alfonso IV (925-931)*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1997: 27 y siguientes. Un detalle de la actuación de Cixila puede verse en Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 140-144.

18. Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes…", 20 (1957): 6-22; Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León*…: 54, 80.

19. Para este tema, véase Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. *Reyes de León*…: 150 y siguientes. Con respecto a la sucesión de Fruela II, véase Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. "La sucesión al trono en los reinos de León y Castilla". *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, 50 (1945): 35-124, especialmente 59 y siguientes.

figurando en la documentación leonesa hasta 938[20]. Su muerte debe haber ocurrido entre esa fecha y abril de 940, en que aparece por primera vez, como abad de Abéllar, Severo[21].

Entre los documentos dejados por Cixila, especial importancia tiene su testamento, en el que lega al monasterio de Abéllar una serie de objetos y textos, convirtiendo la biblioteca de este cenobio en un importante referente de la vida cultural hispana del siglo X[22]. En efecto, el inventario —fechado el 5 de noviembre de 927— menciona, entre otros, autores como san Agustín, Casiano, Efraín el sirio, Juan Crisóstomo, Próspero de Aquitania, Claudiano, Isidoro de Sevilla, Euquerio de Lyon, Mauro Servio, Donato, Avito de Vienne, Aldhelmo de Malmesbury, Pompeyo Trogus, Juvenal, Draconcio, Virgilio, Prudencio, Eugenio de Toledo, Catón e Ildefonso de Toledo[23]. Como se puede ver, se trata de un magnífico repertorio del saber clásico y patrístico, al que se agrega una serie de textos litúrgicos —antifonarios, los visigodos *Liber Ordinum* y *Commicum*, salterios, etc.— y un ejemplar de la Biblia. Asimismo, figura un códice que, al parecer, reunía las anónimas *Vitas sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* y una obra de Geroncio —quizás la *Vida de santa Melania*, compuesta en griego por este autor hacia el siglo V—. Por último, se cita una formidable colección de cálices, cruces y otras piezas litúrgicas —fabricadas en oro, plata y piedras—, vestimentas para el culto y otros objetos.

Estamos, pues, ante un personaje que contaba con un copioso acervo bibliográfico, situación particular pero no totalmente atípica en el marco de la sociedad hispana de la segunda mitad del siglo IX y de todo el X. En efecto, tal acervo ha sugerido a Díaz y Díaz —como se indicó antes— que este Cixila debió tener un posible origen toledano ya que ese conjunto de obras "sólo puede entenderse en manos de un personaje formado en centros más ricos intelectualmente y con bienes adquiridos fuera de tierras de León"[24]. Recordemos, en este sentido, que nos hallamos dentro del marco de ese "renacimiento" de la tradición latina —motivado en gran parte por la necesidad de contrarrestar la cultura islámica—, muy activo en el centro y sur de la península en esos tiempos[25]. Tampoco resulta extraña la cantidad de obras mencionadas por Cixila. El deseo de poseer grandes bibliotecas fue una constante entre musulmanes y cristianos andaluces de la época. Como bien señala Herrera Roldán, la ciudad de Córdoba, por ejemplo, debía tener una buena cantidad

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20. El último diploma en el que se lo menciona —en carácter de testigo— es una sentencia de Ramiro II sobre el aprovechamiento del agua del monasterio de Valdevimbre del 25 de junio de 938 —firmando "Cixila Dei gratia episcopus", Díaz-Jiménez, Juan Eloy. "Inmigración mozárabe…": 144—. Este documento no fue considerado por Palomeque Torres, Antonio. "Episcopologio de las sedes…", 20 (1997): 5, quien entiende que la última participación de Cixila corresponde a su carácter de testigo de la donación hecha al monasterio de Celanova por Ilduara Eriz, madre de san Rosendo, del 27 de febrero del mismo año.

21. Es probable —como señala Carbajo Serrano, María José, "El monasterio…": 56— que haya existido un tercer abad, de nombre Provicius, entre Cixila y Severo. Este debió tener a su cargo el citado monasterio entre el 25 de junio de 938 (como vimos, último documento en el que figura Cixila) y el 1 de abril de 940 (primer texto que menciona a Severo). Así lo sugiere un acta del 23 de octubre de 941, por el cual dos particulares confirman a Severo una donación que hicieran a Cixila y que habían revocado "Provicius abba essente in ipso monasterio" – *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*…: nº 147.

22. En términos categóricos, Pérez de Urbel indicó en su momento que dicha biblioteca era la única "de la cual consta que tenía una buena colección de libros poéticos, cristianos y paganos" —*Historia de los monjes españoles en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Ancla, s.d.: II, 357—. Indudablemente, esta opinión debe rectificarse, conforme los estudios más recientes (que subrayan la importancia que tuvieron otros tantos repositorios, diseminados por toda la Península).

23. Véase *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*...: 124-27.

24. *Códices visigóticos de la monarquía leonesa*…: 236.

25. Para este tema véase, entre otros, Herrera Roldán, Pedro. *Cultura y lengua latinas entre los mozárabes cordobeses del siglo IX*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1995: 49 y siguientes; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995: 170-174.

de libreros —amén del interés de parte de la intelectualidad mozárabe de entonces por obtener nuevos libros—[26]. Ejemplos evidentes de ello son personajes como los célebres Eulogio y Alvaro de Córdoba, quienes rastrean libros en su viajes por la península, solicitan a sus amigos de tierras norteñas los que no podían conseguir en su ciudad, favorecen el trabajo de los libreros y ponen a disposición de sus allegados los textos que encontraban. De hecho, muchos de los títulos citados en la biblioteca de Cixila coinciden con los traídos por Eulogio en sus viajes a tierras cristianas[27].

Ese debía ser el marco intelectual en el que quizás se movería el monje Cixila antes de su emigración al norte peninsular —siempre que aceptemos como válido su origen mozárabe—. Dicha emigración —como antes señalamos— tampoco es clara. De ser cierta, es probable que haya tenido lugar en los años finales del siglo IX o principios del X, en el marco de la turbulenta crisis por la que atravesaba el Estado omeya y la situación de las comunidades cristianas en tal Estado. También debe haber influido la decidida política de fundación o restauración de cenobios propiciada por Alfonso III y Fruela II, como parte de su labor repobladora de los territorios conquistados a los musulmanes. Recordemos que, en los años de reinado de estos últimos soberanos, se levantaron, entre otros, monasterios como los de Sahagún (872), San Cebrián de Mazote (915), San Martín de Castañeda (916), San Pedro de Eslonza (hacia principios del siglo X), San Miguel de Escalada (de la misma época) y el referido de Santos Cosme y Damián de Abéllar.

En síntesis, nos encontramos ante un texto que tuvo una destacada difusión (para los parámetros de la época), atribuido a tres posibles autores (Eladio, el obispo toledano Cixila del siglo VIII o su homónimo leonés del X), que quizás no sea obra de ninguno de ellos sino de un cuarto hagiógrafo y, por todo lo anterior, pasible de ser datado entre los siglos VIII a XI (fecha esta última que corresponde a sus primeras manifestaciones manuscritas).

2. La obra y sus posibles fuentes

La misma confusión existente acerca del posible autor del relato que nos ocupa se extiende al texto en sí mismo. En primer lugar, no caben dudas de que se trata de un escrito totalmente legendario, que quizás recopile algunas tradiciones o leyendas antiguas. Como ya veremos, la única biografía previa conocida acerca de san Ildefonso —escrita por uno de sus sucesores en la sede toledana, Julián— guarda una mínima relación con la que consideramos[28]. Muy por el contrario, la hagiografía compuesta por nuestro ignoto autor (al que, por cuestiones prácticas, llamaremos Pseudo Cixila) es un extenso catálogo de apariciones, sucesos maravillosos y eventos sobrenaturales. El texto comienza con una referencia al alto rango que ocupa Ildefonso en la vida espiritual española, comparándolo con san Isidoro. Aún más, se indica explícitamente que Ildefonso fue alumno del santo hispalense y que tal educación había sido concertada por el obispo Eugenio I de Toledo. Tras ello, se señala que —vuelto a su cenobio de Agali luego de su estadía formativa en Sevilla—, Ildefonso fue nombrado abad de dicho monasterio, consagrado a los santos Cosme y

26. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península*…: 50. Véase también Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique". *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 12 (1969): 219-241, 383-392 —la referencia a las bibliotecas mozárabes en 223 y siguientes—.

27. Véase González Muñoz, Fernando. *Latinidad mozárabe. Estudio sobre el latín de Alvaro de Córdoba*. Córdoba-La Coruña: Universidad de Córdoba-Universidade da Coruña, 1996: 19-25.

28. Toledo Julián de. "Beati Hildefonsi Elogium", *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. París: Montrouge, 1850: XCVI, cols. 43-44. Véase también Jiménez Duque, Baldomero. *La espiritualidad romano-visigoda y mozárabe*. Salamanca-Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca-Fundación Universitaria Española, 1977: 138 y siguientes.

Damián. En honor de estos dos últimos, el santo habría compuesto —siempre según el relato del Pseudo Cixila— dos misas, que "se encuentran anotadas más abajo"[29].

A continuación, la narración prosigue con el nombramiento de Ildefonso en la sede toledana, incluyendo una referencia a las magníficas virtudes del biografiado, elogio cargado de expresiones simbólicas. El mismo, además, sirve como prólogo a uno de los acontecimientos más importantes del relato: la aparición milagrosa de santa Leocadia. Para el hagiógrafo, ese hecho "demostraría ante los hombres el mérito de su fe [*i.e.*, la de Ildefonso]"[30]. Según el texto, durante el transcurso de la misa en que se celebraba el día de la festividad de la santa, "el sarcófago [de Leocadia] —en el que hasta hoy yacía enterrado su corpúsculo— se elevó y la cubierta, que apenas si treinta hombres la pueden mover, se levantó, no por manos de seres humanos sino de ángeles". Así, la santa apareció ataviada con las vestimentas con las que había sido inhumada[31]. Tal aparición dio lugar a un revuelo de llantos, cánticos y gritos de los presentes, en tanto la santa, "estrechando y apretando las manos", decía "Demos gracias a Dios que vive Mi Señora por la vida de san Ildefonso" —una obvia referencia al célebre tratado mariano compuesto por este último—[32]. El clero, por su parte, entonaba las estrofas del himno "*Speciosa facta est, alleluia*", compuesto —según la narración— por el mismo san Ildefonso en honor de Leocadia[33]. Esta referencia sirve al autor para volver a indicar que también dicho himno "aparece anotado abajo" (*subter est adnotata*).

La aparición de Leocadia da lugar a un curioso suceso: arrodillado ante la virgen, el santo imploraba que alguien le alcanzase "algún instrumento cortante para seccionar" el velo de aquélla, que aparentemente tenía en sus manos. Como el pueblo, frenético, no atendía el ruego del obispo y Leocadia amenazaba con marcharse, el rey "Recesvinto, príncipe en aquel tiempo, depuesta su gloria y ferocidad terrena, quien no miraba con buenos ojos a Ildefonso porque le había reprendido sus iniquidades, ofreció con lágrimas un pequeño cuchillo que tenía en un estuche"[34]. Este gesto monárquico permitirá a Ildefonso lograr la preciada reliquia, que fuera depositada —junto con el cuchillo providencial— en sendos relicarios de plata.

Un pequeño párrafo (en el que se indica que "el Espíritu Santo [por medio de Ildefonso] realizó otros milagros en un domingo de Adviento" —*alia miracula Spiritus Sanctus per eum in ipso Dominico aduentu*—) sirve como introducción a la segunda y última parte del relato, también caracterizada por una aparición sobrenatural: la que protagoniza la Virgen María. Al parecer, el santo había preparado una misa especial para la festividad de la Virgen —la séptima de las obras de este tenor,

29. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 6. Según de Bruyne, Donatien de. "De l´origine de quelques textes liturgiques mozarabes". *Revue bénédictine*, 30 (1915): 421-436, una de esas misas podría ser la que publica Marius Férotin en: *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, ed. Marius Férotin. París: Firmin-Didot, 1912. Véase también Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua*…: 273-74, quien también considera que la referencia del Pseudo Cixila podría ser correcta.

30. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 62: "fidei eius meritum coram hominibus declararet".

31. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 62: "tumulus in quo sanctum eius corpusculum usque hodie humatum est exiliret et operculum, quem uix triginta iuuenes mouere non possunt, non humanis manibus, sed angelicis eleuatum...".

32. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 62. Véase Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…: 447.

33. Esta sería la segunda obra que el Pseudo Cixila le atribuye a Ildefonso. Sobre este texto, véase Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua*…: 274.

34. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 62-63: "Clamabat [Ildefonso] inter uoces populi uelut mugiens ut aliquid incisorium deferrent, unde quod manibus tenebat precideret. Et nemo illi occurrebat, quia populos uastis ictibus rictibusque frendebat, nam et sancta uirgo quod uoluntate submiserat, tu desideria cresceret, uiolenta retrahebat. Sed princeps quondam Recesuintus, qui eius tempore erat, gloria et ferocitate terrena deposita —qui eum ob iniquitates suas increpatus superbo oculo intuebatur—, cultrum modicum quem in teca tenebat cum lacrimis offerebat...".

según el Pseudo Cixila—[35], obra que (una vez más) se encuentra "reseñada más abajo" (*missam superscriptam*). Llegado el momento de la celebración, el mismo rey Recesvinto, "menos solícito del temor de Dios y menos consciente aún de sus iniquidades, se acercó a presenciar la solemnidad, vestido según la costumbre real"[36]. En ese marco, se produce el que quizás sea el episodio más famoso acerca de la vida de san Ildefonso: la aparición de la Virgen. En efecto, cuando la procesión ingresó a la iglesia, una luz celestial aterró a la mayor parte de los clérigos y guardianes del templo, que huyeron despavoridos. Por su parte, el pueblo "con gran diligencia, quiso saber lo que hacía el siervo de Dios con los coros angélicos"[37]. A todo esto, el santo se acercó hasta el altar y, arrodillándose ante él, vio a María sentada en la cátedra episcopal de marfil. Tal cátedra será, de ahí en más, objeto sagrado, al punto que nadie intentó, en el futuro, sentarse en ella, a excepción del obispo "Sisberto, quien inmediatamente perdió su sede y fue desterrado"[38]. María estaba acompañada de "una multitud de vírgenes", que llenaban el ábside de la iglesia, entonando "cánticos davídicos con suave acompañamiento musical". Finalmente, la Virgen se dirige al santo con estas palabras: "Acércate, siervo carísimo de Dios, recibe de mi mano este pequeño obsequio que te he traído del tesoro de mi Hijo. Es necesario que uses esta vestidura bendita que te ha sido entregada sólo en mi día. Y porque permaneciste siempre en mi servicio con los ojos fijos de la fe y porque grabaste tan dulcemente en los corazones de los fieles mis alabanzas [...], es necesario que ya estés adornado en esta vida con los vestidos de la gloria y que, en el futuro, te alegres [en mis recintos gloriosos] con otros siervos de mi Hijo"[39]. Tras esto, el grupo celestial desapareció y "permaneció [san Ildefonso] tan solícito de obtener la gloria, como consciente de habérsele dado la palma de la victoria"[40]. El relato termina abruptamente en este punto, sin colofón alguno.

Como vemos, se trata de una *vita* con una enorme cuota de elementos fantásticos, compuesta —al parecer— con un fin explícito: servir como introducción a una serie de obras del santo (o supuestamente pertenecientes a él). Entre esas obras quizás debían contarse los himnos a santos Cosme y Damián, Leocadia y la Virgen, tal como lo dejan entender las expresiones "reseñada más abajo", "anotada al pie" y semejantes, que figuran en el texto. Por lo demás, esta supuesta introducción también debía enlazarse con algún relato previo, dado que la expresión que la inicia —como bien anota Canal Sánchez— resulta extraña "si no supone otro texto precedente"[41]. En

35. Domínguez del Val, Ursicino. *Historia de la antigua…*: 274, sugiere que la misa "Erigamus quaeso, Karissimi, in sublime oculos", que figura en de *Liber mozarabicum sacramentorum…*: 50-54, podría ser la que Ildefonso dedicara a la Virgen. El fundamento para tal afirmación —bastante endeble, por lo demás— es que dicho texto "en parte al menos de la tradición manuscrita va a continuación del *De virginitate* [del mismo autor]". En el mismo sentido se manifiesta Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso de Toledo. Biografía, época y posteridad*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1985: 222.

36. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 63: "supra dictus rex minus de timore Dei sollicitus et de suis iniquitatibus male conscius ad audienda sollemnia regali de more paratus accessit".

37. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 64: "Sollicita omnis congregatio requirens quid Dei seruus ageret cum angelicis choris...".

38. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 64: "quam cathedram nullus episcopus adire temtauit nisi postea domnus Sisbertus, qui statim sedem ipsam lapsu perdens exilio religatus est".

39. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 65: "Propera in occursum, serue Dei rectissime, accipe munusculum de manu mea, quod de thesauro Filii mei tibi adtuli; sic enim tibi opus est, ut benedictione tegminis que tibi delata est in meo tantum die utari. Et quia oculis fixis in meo semper seruitio permansisti et in laudem meam diffusa in labiis tuis gratia tam dulcia in cordibus fidelium depinxisti, ex uestimentis glorie iam in hac uita orneris et in futuro in promtuariis meis cum aliis seruis Filii mei leteris".

40. Pseudo Cixila *Vita…*: 65: "Remansit Dei seruus in tantum sollicitus de adipiscenda gloria quantum prespicuus de sibi donata palma uictorie".

41. Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 447.

efecto, la frase "he aquí los manjares melifluos de aquel señor Ildefonso..."[42] señala que esta *vita* debía continuar otras obras del propio obispo toledano o bien el *Elogium* de san Julián[43]. Como sea, esta función de concatenación realizada por el relato que analizamos me parece más específica que la de un mero "discurso catequético" —sugerida por Bodelón—[44]. Por otro lado, fue sin dudas esta vinculación con la obra de Ildefonso lo que justifica el extraordinario suceso que tuvo esta *vita*, mérito que no puede deberse "ni a la calidad literaria de la obra, más bien escasa, ni al nombre de su autor"[45].

Distinta es la situación en lo que atañe a las posibles fuentes de la narración. Por lo pronto, sabemos que la parte sustancial de la misma (las dos apariciones celestiales) no pudieron haber sido tomadas de la hagiografía escrita por Julián de Toledo, que acabamos de citar. De hecho, Julián sólo refiere que Ildefonso había profesado como monje, desde pequeño, en el cenobio de Agali (en las afueras de Toledo), donde luego actuaría también como abad. Igualmente, destaca la construcción que hiciera de un monasterio femenino, su elevación al episcopado en tiempos de Recesvinto (en 657) y cita las obras que compuso. Por último, indica que el santo murió en el décimoctavo año del reinado del mismo soberano (esto es, en 667) y que fue enterrado en la iglesia de santa Leocadia de Toledo, a los pies de su antecesor. El relato, como vemos, es sucinto y sólo se aparta de la narración de los hechos al señalar las excelsas virtudes de Ildefonso, la imposición del cargo obispal de la que fuera objeto —un tema clásico en la literatura hagiográfica— y una escueta indicación de que la labor del santo estuvo signada por numerosas "ocupaciones debidas a las circunstancias y molestias del momento"[46].

En cambio, una sugerencia acerca de la posible fuente seguida por Cixila la encontramos en el mismo texto. En un pasaje de éste, leemos que "sería muy largo registrar todo lo que contaban Urbano y Evancio sobre la obra realizada [por Ildefonso] en la ciudad de Toledo. De todo ello tan sólo recogeré algunas cosas, de tal modo que quienes —como yo— escuchen estos sucesos, cuando esto lean, sentirán el que haya omitido tantas y grandes cosas, que conocen lo mismo que yo"[47]. Desafortunadamente, nada sabemos de estos dos personajes ni de su labor. La única referencia existente sobre los mismos es la que se encuentra en la llamada *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, que presenta a Urbano como "anciano chantre de la catedral de Toledo" y a Evancio como "arcediano de la misma sede", varones ilustres por su "predicación, sabiduría y santidad", muertos hacia 737[48]. Al parecer, Evancio ha sido identificado como el autor de una carta contra los judaizantes de Zaragoza, inserta en un manuscrito escurialense[49]. De Urbano, en cambio, nada se conserva. Sea

42. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61: "Ecce dapes melliflue illius domni Ildefonsi...".

43. Esta última es la opinión de Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 447.

44. Ver nota 2.

45. Valcárcel, Vitalino. "*Las vitae sanctorum*…": 155.

46. Toledo, Julián de. "*Beati Hildefonsi*…": cool. 44: "...variis rerum ac molestiarum occupationibus impeditus...".

47. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61: "quia omnia longa sunt recensiri que eius temporibus in Toletana urbe domnus Urbanus et domnus Euantius per eum facta narrabant, uel ex multis pauca progrediamur, quia qui mecum hoc audierunt, cum hec legerint, dolebunt pretermisisse me tam multa et magna que utique mecum sciunt".

48. *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. José Eduardo López Pereira. Zaragoza: Anubar, 1980: 84-86: "Urbanus Toletanae sedis urbis regie katedralis ueteranus melodicus atque eiusdem sedis Euantius archediaconus nimium doctrina et sapientia, sanctitate quoque et in omni secundum scripturas spe fide et karitate ad confortandam eclesiam Dei clari habentur" [era 756]. En la página 106, se señala que "Per idem tempus [era 775] uiri doctores et sanctimonie studio statis pollentes Urbanus et Euantius leti ad Dominum pergentes quiescunt in pace".

49. *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*…: 887. Véase también Simonet, Francisco Javier. *Historia de los mozárabes de España*. Madrid: Turner, 1983 (reimpresión): I, 468-469.

como fuere, no queda constancia alguna de que hayan compuesto un texto hagiográfico sobre san Ildefonso o sobre cualquier otro santo. ¿Quizás hayan actuado como fuente oral del Pseudo Cixila, tal como sugiere López Pereira[50]? De haber sido así, ellos "deberían ser viejísimos, casi centenarios" cuando se compuso el relato —aun suponiendo que el mismo datara del siglo VIII[51]—. Por lo demás, no hay fundamento alguno que sustente esa transmisión oral. Tengamos en cuenta que el hagiógrafo indica que eran sucesos "narrados" por Urbano y Evancio (no que ellos hayan sido contemporáneos a los hechos) y que los mismos eran bien conocidos por todos. En otras palabras, no se puede descartar la existencia de algún texto que refiera tales sucesos. Es más, aun si se tratara de una tradición oral, ésta bien podría haber llegado hasta los siglos X-XI, adjudicada a dos personajes a los que —por algún motivo— se consideraba significativos dentro de la historia de la Iglesia ibérica posterior a la invasión musulmana.

Por otro lado, esta consonancia de actores entre la *Vita Ildephonsi* y la *Crónica mozárabe* ha hecho pensar a Angel Vega que quizás ambas fuentes hayan sido producto del mismo autor —o bien que el hagiógrafo conocía el texto de la crónica—. A su juicio, estos contactos son "numerosos y muy significativos [y] no se pueden explicar nada más que por uno de estos dos modos: o porque el autor de la *Vita* conoce y maneja la *Chronica*, o porque el autor de la *Chronica* es también el mismo de la *Vita*. La primera solución es más fácil y la más simple"[52]. Esta segunda opción no debería resultarnos extraña ya que, de la *Crónica mozárabe*, se han conservado manuscritos desde el siglo IX —lo que demuestra la antigüedad de su transmisión—[53].

Junto a ello, también se ha sugerido un segundo antecedente, mucho más controvertido que el anterior y procedente de un ámbito extrahispánico. En efecto, en 1957, E. Cerulli sugirió que existía una estrecha influencia entre la literatura etíope medieval y la obra de san Ildefonso —al punto que "el relato del milagro de [este santo] inicia la mayor parte de los manuscritos del *Libro etíope de milagros de María*"[54]. Asimismo, subrayó que los tres elementos fundamentales del relato del Pseudo Cixila (la aparición de la Virgen, el presente que ésta hace a Ildefonso y el tema de la cátedra episcopal) podrían haber sido tomados de la vida de un santo muy popular en Oriente: san Nicolás de Myra[55]. En verdad, más que de la hagiografía de este último santo, esas imágenes parecen provenir de la vida de otro elegido de Dios —homónimo del anterior—, cuyas peripecias fueron transferidas al obispo de Myra a partir del siglo X: Nicolás, archimandrita del monasterio de Sión y obispo de Pínara en el siglo VI[56]. En tal fuente —que quizás haya tenido un antecedente previo pero que,

50. *Crónica mozárabe de*….: 85 (nota 9).

51. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso*…: 15.

52. Vega, Angel Custodio. "De patrología española. San Ildefonso de Toledo". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 165 (1969): 55-107.

53. De ese siglo es el códice que fuera dividido y hoy está repartido entre Londres —Egerton, 1934— y Madrid —Real Academia de la Historia, 81—: *Crónica mozárabe*...: 7-8.

54. Cerulli, Enrico. "La littérature éthiopienne dans l'histoire de la culture médiévale". *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 14 (1954-1957): 17-35, especialmente página 28.

55. Cerulli, Enrico. "La littérature éthiopienne dans l'histoire de...": 29.

56. Algunos autores sostienen incluso que el Nicolás Mirense nunca existió y que fue la vida de este Sionita la que creó la leyenda sobre el primero. Otros —como Cerulli— sugieren que Nicolás Sionita es el autor de la vida del anterior. Por último, hay quienes separan ambos personajes y advierten la confusión —deliberada o casual— forjada en torno a ellos. El texto latino sobre Nicolás Sionita fue publicado por: Falcone, Niccoló Carminio. *Sancti confessoris pontificis et celeberrimi thaumaturgi Nicolai acta primigenia*. Nápoles: Josephi de Bonis, 1751. Dado que no he podido hacerme con este texto, he usado la traducción al castellano incluida como apéndice en el libro de Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. *San Nicolás: De obispo a Santa Claus*... Madrid: Palabra, 2002.

tal como se conserva, data del citado siglo X— se lee que este Sionita tuvo una visión en la cual el "Espíritu Santo [le enseñó] un espléndido trono y un hábito de sacerdote; le ordenó sentarse sobre el trono y le mostró un altar de gloria"[57]. Poco después, es la Virgen la que se aparece a Nicolás, señalándole "el lugar y las dimensiones de una casa de oración, que llevaría su nombre, para que alzase el templo de Santa María"[58]. Varias observaciones pueden hacerse al respecto: en primer lugar, es clara la coincidencia de motivos existentes entre esta aparición del Espíritu Santo al Sionita y la que conoce san Ildefonso. En este último caso, si bien el texto del Pseudo Cixila identifica a la Virgen como protagonista celestial del portento, también había señalado explícitamente que "el Espíritu Santo" obró varios milagros a través del mismo santo[59]. Junto a ello, en otro pasaje se lee que "de tal modo actuó [sobre Ildefonso] su huésped, el Espíritu Santo, que lo que [éste] ocultaba interiormente, aquél lo [manifestaba] hacia el exterior"[60]. Esta doble alusión al Espíritu Santo ha llamado la atención ya que, según Canal Sánchez, no es frecuente en la literatura hagiográfica latina de la época[61]. Otro tanto debe decirse de la referencia que hace María, en la vida del Sionita, respecto de un edificio de oración, que quizás pueda aproximarse al "promtuariis meis" —en el sentido de habitáculo reservado a los elegidos— que promete la Virgen al obispo toledano.

En suma, hay una consonancia de elementos argumentales que bien puede hacernos pensar que nuestro autor conoció esa historia acerca del Sionita y la adaptó a su relato. Otra opción —según el mismo Cerulli— sería que el Pseudo Cixila hubiera visto algún icono bizantino que representara la escena de Nicolás —motivo recurrente en el que aparecen "Jesús y María dándole el libro de los Evangelios, el trono y el *omophorion* episcopal"[62]— y construyera su narración a partir de esa imagen. Esta última posibilidad no es descartable pero ello no explica la consonancia de temas y recursos literarios que figura entre ambos textos. Que una obra bizantina de los siglos IX-X haya llegado y circulado en la Península Ibérica no es algo imposible. De hecho, varios fueron los personajes que, procedentes del Cercano Oriente, arribaron a la región por entonces. Ejemplo de ello es el monje Jorge que, originario del monasterio de San Sabas en Jerusalén, termina martirizado en Córdoba en 852[63]. Recordemos, además, que en el segundo tercio del siglo X, otro manuscrito emilianense incluía, por ejemplo, un relato elaborado ese mismo siglo, a partir de materiales sirios: la vida de san Alejo —hagiografía que tuvo amplia difusión en los territorios riojanos en esa época—[64]. Por último, tampoco debe olvidarse que, tiempo después, entre los siglos XII y XIII, se copiaba —una vez más, en San Millán— un códice que contenía, precisamente, una *Vita*

57. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión", *San Nicolás. De obispo a santa Claus*...: 310. El texto latino señala "Spiritus Sanctus praedicto sancto viro Nicolao in somnis apparet thronum ei demonstrans et gloriosum pulchrumque schema vestii" —donde el *schema* griego equivale al *veste* latino—, tomo la cita del artículo de Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso…": 448.

58. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión…": 310.

59. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás de Sión…": 310.

60. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 62: "Sic enim habitator suus Spiritus Sanctus egit, tu quod iste celebrat intrus ille patefaceret foris".

61. Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso...": 448.

62. Cerulli, Enrico. "La littérature éthiopienne dans l'histoire...": 29.

63. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "La circulation des manuscrits…": 384.

64. Real Academia de la Historia. cod. 13, fol. 250v-253v. Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección*…: 130; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*. Logroño: Instituto de estudios riojanos, 1979: 133-138. Segun Carlos A. Vega: "no se encuentra en Occidente ninguna narración de la vida de san Alejo anterior al siglo X. Tradicionalmente, se ha considerado que la divulgación de esta historia en Europa es debida a la llegada a Roma, el año de 977, del destituido arzobispo de Salamanca, Sergio" (*La vida de san Alejo. Versiones castellanas*, ed. Carlos Alberto Vega. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991: 20).

sancti Nicolai[65], con lo cual volvemos al mismo ámbito al que corresponden algunos manuscritos de la hagiografía de san Ildefonso. En síntesis, no hay nada que impuge definitivamente esta posible influencia oriental como antecedente de la obra del Pseudo Cixila.

Distinta es la dependencia respecto de otro texto, al que también se presentó como fuente de nuestra hagiografía: la vida de san Bonet o Bonitus de Clermont[66]. Como Ildefonso, Bonitus recibe la visita de la Virgen durante una misa, quien le otorga una "celestem vestem". Análogamente, el relato incluye la historia de un ser "procax, praesumptuosus" que osara probarse tales vestiduras, muriendo inmediatamente tras su sacrilegio. Si tenemos en cuenta que esta obra no puede ser anterior a finales del siglo XI o principios del XII, no caben dudas de que se trata de una versión de la historia del Pseudo Cixila y no un posible antecedente de éste[67].

En suma, una indagación sobre las presuntas fuentes argumentales del relato vuelven a ubicar el texto no antes de fines del siglo XI. Por tanto, ello descarta su posible autoría por parte del obispo toledano del siglo VIII y cuestiona parcialmente la de su colega leonés de la primera mitad del X. Esto se afirma si tenemos en cuenta que los manuscritos que contienen nuestra *vita*, como vimos, no son anteriores al siglo XI —ya que el Emilianense de 994 presenta seguras adiciones de dicho siglo—. Prueba de ello, además, es que los códices anteriores al año 1000 que copian la obra de san Ildefonso —como el que obtiene el obispo Godescalc de Puy en su visita al monasterio de San Martín de Albelda en 951[68]— lo hacen junto al *Elogium* de san Julián exclusivamente. Recién a partir de ese siglo XI se incluye, junto a ellos, la *vita* del Pseudo Cixila, conformando un trinomio que tendrá extraordinaria difusión por toda Europa occidental.

3. Función y estructura del relato

Más allá de todas esas conjeturas, deberíamos analizar ahora el relato en sí para detectar las posibles intencionalidades del mismo —y, eventualmente, fortalecer alguna tesis acerca de su autoría y fecha de redacción—. En primer lugar, sería preciso establecer qué objetivos pudieron haberse perseguido con esta narración. En este sentido, no caben dudas de que la característica principal de la misma es su contexto sobrenatural, pleno de recursos maravillosos. Para designarlos, el texto recurre a la voz *miraculum*, utilizándola con un sentido preciso: estos *miracula* son signos evidentes de la manifestación de Dios sobre la Tierra. Así, señala que Ildefonso no sólo estuvo "inspirado con [un] don de lo alto, [...] de tal modo que, lo que estaba cerrado a [los obispos predecesores], a éste

65. Se trata del códice número 10 de la Real Academia de la Historia, fol. 110ra-116rb; Ruiz García, Elisa. *Catálogo de la sección* ...: 107.

66. Véase Biblioteca Hagiográfica Latina (BHL), 1418-1420. Su vida puede verse en *Acta Sanctorum*. Amberes-Bruselas: Societé des Bollandistes, 1643: I/I, 1070-1077.

67. Según Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso...": 449 (nota 39), la primera versión conocida de esta historia es la que incluye Guillermo de Malmesbury (h. 1080-h. 1142) en su *De laudibus et miraculis sanctae Mariae*. Desconozco por qué este autor sugiere, en la misma nota, que Cerulli "duda si la narración de san Bonet es posterior a la de san Hildefonso" cuando dicho especialista señala que "el relato de san Ildefonso en Occidente ya había entrado como uno de los componentes de un relato de otro obispo, san Bonet de Clermont" –Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso...": 29. Es más, esa dependencia es la que sirve al mismo autor para reafirmar su hipótesis de que la historia de san Nicolás Sionita "pasa a España en el siglo XI, hace un recorrido por Europa occidental en los siglos siguientes, retorna a Oriente con las Cruzadas y, traducida al árabe, llega finalmente al siglo XIV con una función y una popularidad acrecentada en Etiopía" – Canal Sánchez, José María. "San Hildefonso...": 29.

68. Véase Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. *Libros y librerías*...: 55-62. Se trata del manuscrito Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. lat. 2855, fol. 69-160.

se le abrió [aludiendo al conocimiento de la tumba de santa Leocadia]"[69]. Análogamente —y según señalamos antes—, se indica que "de tal modo actuó [en Ildefonso] su huésped, el Espíritu Santo [...] revelándole al mismo tiempo lo que patentizaría algo admirable en el atleta"[70]. La primera característica del santo, por ende, es la de actuar como vocero terrenal de un conocimiento divino, evidenciando el poder de Dios sobre los hombres.

En segundo lugar, el milagro actúa como garantía visible de la santidad de Ildefonso, exaltando su carácter de elegido de Dios. Ello ocurre con la siguiente aparición narrada en esta *Vita*, la que protagoniza la Virgen. Tal aparición —al igual que la primera— es presenciada por muchos asistentes pero sólo Ildefonso recibe el mensaje de María. Dicho mensaje es claro y específico: el santo ya debía vestir, en esta vida, el atuendo reservado a los seres celestiales. Tras ello, Ildefonso es consciente de su rango, advirtiendo, por tanto, su futuro y asumiéndolo plenamente como elegido de Dios. En este sentido, la narración vuelve a coincidir con la *vita* de san Nicolás ya que, tras la referida visita del Espíritu Santo, éste entendió que el Señor "le había anticipado los avatares de su vida futura"[71].

En ambos casos, en suma, el autor ha subrayado que la santidad de Ildefonso ya había sido reconocida en vida. Precisamente, los dos milagros a los que alude no son portentos *post mortem* —como en la mayoría de las hagiografías de la época— sino que suceden durante la existencia del personaje en cuestión[72]. Con todo ello exalta la magnificencia de su biografiado frente a cualquiera de los poderes terrenales de su época, en particular la monarquía.

Precisamente, esa vinculación con el poder real es otra característica del relato que deberíamos analizar. En efecto, el texto señala, de manera cuidadosa, que las dos apariciones que benefician a Ildefonso tuvieron lugar en presencia del soberano (en este caso, Recesvinto) y agrega que este último no tenía muy buena relación con el obispo. De hecho, se añade que esa animadversión se debía a que el santo había reprendido las "iniquidades" del monarca. Un poco más adelante, se apunta que este último luego olvidaría esa reprimenda y asistiría al oficio divino sin arrepentimiento alguno. Sólo en una ocasión esa actitud monárquica se ve atenuada: se trata del momento en que el soberano —"humillado y con manos suplicantes y extendidas"— ruega que alcancen al santo el cuchillo que servirá para cortar un trozo del velo de santa Leocadia. En esas circunstancias, el rey aparece rogando "que no considerasen indigno lo que con lágrimas ofrecía"[73]. Más allá de esto, se presenta al soberano como un claro ejemplo de soberbia y necedad, al punto de no aceptar las supuestas recomendaciones o reproches que le hiciera el obispo. Ahora bien, ¿cuál puede haber sido la causa de este enfrentamiento y, en consecuencia, de la connotación negativa que se adjudica al rey en esta fuente? Por lo pronto, sabemos que, desde el punto de vista histórico, la relación de Ildefonso con Recesvinto no fue muy buena. Prueba fehaciente de ello la constituye la ausencia

69. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61: "dono superno afflatis tantis talibusque predecessoribus suis equiter clarens, quod illis clausum fuerat, isti reseratum est". Para la noción de *miraculum*, véase García de la Borbolla, Angeles. "El universo de lo maravilloso en la hagiografía castellana". *Boletín de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 47 (1999-2000): 335-51, especialmente página 338.

70. Ésta es la opinión de Canal Sánchez, José María."San Hildefonso...": 447.

71. Pero-Sanz, José Miguel. "Vida de Nicolás…": 310.

72. Dierkens, Alain. "Réflexions sur le miracle au Haut Moyen Age", *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age. XXVe Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur (Orléans, juin 1994)*. París: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995: 9-30 —la referencia sobre la inserción de los milagros en las hagiografías en la página 19.

73. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 63: "...cum lacrimis offerebat [el cuchillo] et collo submisso, supplicibus manibus a trono suo extentis, ut eum illi deferrent instantius deprecabatur, postulans tu indignum non iudicaret sua cum lacrimis offerentem".

de concilios durante los nueve años de episcopado del santo —situación mucho más llamativa si se recuerdan las cuatro reuniones del mismo tenor celebradas durante el mandato de su antecesor—, circunstancia que ha desvelado a los panegiristas de Ildefonso de todas las épocas[74]. En cambio, lo que es totalmente desconocido es la razón de esa posible enemistad. Otro tanto puede decirse de la figura de Recesvinto. En este sentido, las fuentes no son unánimes a la hora de calificar al soberano. Sea como fuere, sí sabemos de un texto que alude a Recesvinto con el mismo matiz peyorativo que tiene en nuestro relato. Me refiero, una vez más, a la *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, que presenta al soberano como "licencioso [aunque] de buen natural"[75]. Nuevamente, como vemos, aparece esta crónica como posible fuente de nuestra hagiografía o, al menos, como resultante de una misma tradición ideológica, en la que ambas se habrían insertado.

Otra perspectiva adicional para analizar el texto es la que gira en torno a las vestimentas como eje de la narración. En efecto, toda la *Vita* aparece estructurada en torno a vestidos y telas. Así, las dos apariciones sobrenaturales tienen a éstos como objeto o sujeto del relato. En la primera de ellas —la de santa Leocadia—, esa relación es aún más manifiesta: Ildefonso obtiene un trozo del velo que cubre a la santa, fragmento que dará lugar al testimonio verificador del milagro. Munido del "módico cuchillo" que le alcanzara Recesvinto, el santo "cortó con la mano derecha lo que tenía apresado con la izquierda y el cuchillo mismo, juntamente con las reliquias del velo, lo puso en cajas de plata, pues consideró indigno de profanar en adelante el objeto tan santo que había cortado"[76]. Recordemos que, ya en la tradición bíblica, "las ropas [revelaban] la naturaleza interna de una persona", dando lugar a innumerables milagros por sólo rozar esas ropas[77]. De la misma manera, se dice que Dios entregará a los elegidos un vestido incorruptible, que reemplazará el ropaje corruptible de los seres humanos (2 Cor. 5, 3-4; Ap. 7,14: 22-14).

La vestimenta volverá a surgir en la segunda aparición celestial, de modo mucho más significativo: se trata del célebre obsequio que entrega la Virgen y que diera lugar a la no menos conocida historia de la casulla de san Ildefonso. Tal obsequio, en verdad, es una recompensa ofrecida al obispo por el tratado que éste escribiera en favor de la virginidad mariana. Nuevamente, la vestimenta actúa como objeto sagrado y reliquia, testimonio tangible del portento. Por cierto, cabe aclarar que ese atavío divino —el texto no alude a él como una "casulla", tal como luego fuera conocido— se intenta contraponer con el atuendo del rey Recesvinto, que asiste al suceso "vestido según la costumbre real" (*de more paratus*) y totalmente ajeno a su pasada reverencia ante las cosas de la Iglesia. Una vez más, por ende, se critica a la persona del soberano, apelando en este caso a una diferenciación simbólica de costumbres y vestiduras.

Otro tanto cabe decir respecto de la consecuencia más conocida de ese regalo divino, ampliamente difundida en versiones posteriores pero que no figura en el relato que analizamos. Me refiero, claro está, a la imposibilidad de utilizar esa vestimenta por parte de los obispos sucesores de Ildefonso. En nuestra narración —según vimos—, esa profanación no se halla vinculada al

74. Véase Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso…*: 147-150. Dichos panegiristas se inclinan generalmente por demostrar que la escasa labor rectora de Ildefonso se contrapone de manera ostensible a su fecunda tarea literaria y doctrinal.

75. *Crónica mozárabe…*: 46: "Reccesuintum licet flagitiosum tamen bonimotum..."; Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística…": 45.

76. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita…*: 63: "Quem ille adprehendens quod manu leua iam modicum tenebat dextera precisit et cultrum ipsum una cum eisdem reliquiis in tecis argenteis conlocauit, indignum iudicans ut qui sancta preciderat polluta ultra non tangeret".

77. Browning, Wilfrid Robert Francis. *Diccionario de la Biblia*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1998: 398.

obsequio en cuestión sino a la cátedra de marfil en que apareció sentada la Virgen, la misma en la que "solía sentarse el obispo y saludar al pueblo. Ningún obispo intentó acercarse a esta cátedra, a no ser posteriormente Sisberto, el cual inmediatamente perdió su sede y fue desterrado"[78]. De este Sisberto sólo sabemos que fue el obispo sucesor de Julián en la sede toledana (690-693) y que fue depuesto por el XVI concilio de esa ciudad dado que participó en una conjuración para destronar a Egica y reemplazarlo por un pariente suyo[79]. Nos encontramos, pues, ante una nueva contraposición entre la figura de Ildefonso y un personaje histórico —al igual que en el caso de Recesvinto—, esta vez de la misma jerarquía eclesiástica que el biografiado.

De hecho, este último punto confirma un aspecto que venimos subrayando: toda la *Vita* parece ser una clara afirmación de la excelencia de la dignidad episcopal, más allá de algunos representantes nefastos (como el citado Sisberto). De hecho, la hagiografía gira en torno a obispos, enlazados de manera particular. La primera de esa relaciones es la que intenta establecer el autor al hacer de Ildefonso un discípulo de Isidoro, cumpliéndose con ello el mandato de Eugenio I de Toledo. La referencia es, a todas luces, incorrecta ya que, cuando Eugenio I fue nombrado arzobispo de Toledo (en 636), Isidoro ya había muerto (en 633) e Ildefonso había sido ordenado por Eladio —quien, por su parte, muerte en 631[80]. Independientemente de ello, con esta alusión se logra vincular las dos sedes episcopales más importantes de la España visigoda y de los primeros siglos de la Reconquista. Ildefonso —según el relato— sería un continuador perfeccionado del santo hispalense, quien "cuando [el primero] ya parecía un semisabio, tanto tiempo lo retuvo y tanto lo perfeccionó [...] que si algo le faltaba a sus conocimientos, perfectamente instruido, lo devolvió a su señor pedagogo Eugenio"[81]. En consecuencia, se insinúa que la sede toledana gozaría de un obispo de envergadura mayor a la del propio Isidoro.

En segundo término, esa dignidad obispal es exaltada en la confrontación con la jerarquía laica de un Recesvinto, según analizamos. Además, dicha exaltación es igualmente evidente en las dos apariciones de las que el santo se beneficia. Por último, idéntica sobrevaloración se observa en la contraposición entre buenos y malos eclesiásticos —tal como lo ejemplifica el binomio Ildefonso-Sisberto—.

Oposición entre poder eclesiástico y poder real, vestimentas como recurso argumental y exaltación de la dignidad episcopal son, hasta aquí, tres coordenadas que parecen guiar la estructura del relato. Una cuarta quizás sería la que atañe a las apariciones celestiales en sí mismas y sus implicancias ideológicas. Respecto de la que protagoniza la Virgen, a las características apuntadas deberíamos agregar el hecho de que ella promueve una auténtica santificación en vida de Ildefonso. Por cierto, ese tipo de consagración del sector obispal —a través de visitas recurrentes de María— es un recurso común de la literatura a partir del siglo X. En palabras de Silvie Barnay, "son cada vez más numerosos los obispos [de ese siglo] que tienen la visión de la Madre de Dios"[82]. Ellos serán los

78. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 64: "ubi solitus erat episcopus sede et populum salutare —quam cathedram nullus episcopus adire temtauit nisi postea domnus Sisibertus, qui statim sedem ipsam lapsu perdens exilio religatus est—".

79. Vives, José. *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963: 507-508 (canon 27).

80. Dato este último que el propio Ildefonso señala en su *De viris illustribus* al decir: "Me, ad monasterium rediens memoratum [i.e., el de Agali], ultimo vitae suae tempore levitam fecit" –*Patrologiae cursus completus*…: CXVI, col. 202.

81. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61: "adeo ab eo tentus et elimatus est et, ut ferunt, temporali ferro constrictus, ut si quid scientie deerat plenius instructus ad pedagogum suum domnum Eugenium remeans".

82. Barnay, Silvie. *El cielo en la Tierra. Apariciones de la Virgen en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Encuentro, 1999: 39. Ejemplos semejantes al de Ildefonso —analizados por esta autora— son los que figuran en la *Historia de la Iglesia de Reims* de Flo-

protagonistas privilegiados de este tipo de narraciones, claros indicios de la exaltación jerárquica que antes señalábamos.

En segundo lugar, hay que tener en cuenta que tal exaltación es aún más significativa ya que afecta al obispo metropolitano de España —cuya sede es, por ende, paralelamente destacada—. La glorificación de Toledo —por diferentes vías— es un elemento común en la historiografía española de la Edad Media pero, en especial, en los años finales del siglo IX y principios del X. De hecho, el ejemplo narrativo más relevante de ese entonces, la llamada *Crónica de Alfonso III*, es un claro ejercicio de esa actitud y una "demostración de [la] antigüedad [de la sede toledana] como *locus predilectus* peninsular para los gobernantes del cielo y la Tierra"[83]. En ese proceso, Ildefonso actúa como una figura clave ya que "relaciona Toledo con Isidoro y la asocia con el más allá"[84]. Esta última asociación, por cierto, no sólo tiene lugar a través de la Virgen sino, sobre todo, de santa Leocadia. Recordemos que ella es la santa por excelencia de Toledo —muerta como "confesor" y no como "mártir"[85]— y su pasión data de la primera mitad del siglo VII. Por cierto, cabe advertir que el cuerpo de esta santa fue enterrado en la basílica a ella dedicada, ubicación que conocían desde el propio san Ildefonso hasta Eulogio de Córdoba y que, por tanto, demuestra el error del autor de nuestra *Vita* —que señala que la aparición de Leocadia sirvió para revelar tal localización, ignorada hasta entonces—[86].

En tercer término, la relación con Toledo se ve reforzada por la indicación del monasterio en el que profesara san Ildefonso: el de Agali. En este caso, esa indicación subraya el hecho de que tal cenobio estaba dedicado a santos Cosme y Damián, dato que sólo figura en esta fuente y no cuenta con testimonios previos. Ahora bien, si recordamos que el obispo Cixila del siglo X fundó en Abéllar, como ya vimos, un monasterio bajo la misma advocación, ¿estaríamos ante un recurso para relacionar ambas sedes, a través de la figura de Ildefonso? En ese caso, podría pensarse que la *vita* en cuestión fue redactada o surgió como tradición en el ambiente cultural de ese cenobio. Otra posibilidad, en cambio, sería que algún copista (conocedor de la realidad leonesa), al hallar en el texto la referencia al monasterio de santos Cosme y Damián, supuso que el autor del relato tendría que haber sido el fundador de esa congregación del siglo X —de allí la particular atribución a este prelado, sólo localizable en pocos códices—.

Otro elemento que podría ayudarnos en lo que se refiere a esta identificación del contexto de producción del relato sería el particular vínculo que figura en él entre Ildefonso y Recesvinto. Ya vimos que una cierta fama negativa en torno a este soberano debía ser común a algunos medios eruditos de la España posterior a la invasión musulmana (tal como se sugería en la *Crónica mozárabe de 754*). Pero más allá de eso, lo que realmente se objeta en la *vita* son dos cosas: en primer lugar,

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doardo y en la *Vita sancti Radbodi* (ambas del siglo X).

83. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995: 96. Cabe aclarar que este autor adjudica la autoría de nuestra hagiografía al Cixila del siglo VIII, no al del X.

84. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*...: 97.

85. Fábrega Grau, Angel. *Pasionario hispánico, siglos VII-XI*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953: I, 67-78.

86. Toledo, Ildefonso de. "De viris illustribus", *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series latina...: XCVI, col. 206: "Eugenius... post lucius mundialis occasum in basilica Sanctae Locadiae tenet... sepulchrum" y Eulogio de Córdoba, *Apologeticum martyrum*, 16, 5 (*Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, ed. Juan Gil. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: II, 483). El XVII concilio de Toledo de 694 especifica que la iglesia está "in suburbio Toletano ubi sanctorum eius corpus requiescit" (Vives, José. *Concilios visigóticos*…: 522); Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *San Ildefonso*…: 15; Castillo Maldonado, Pedro. *Los mártires hispanorromanos y su culto en la Hispania de la Antigüedad tardía*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999: 333-34.

el hecho de que el soberano recelaba de san Ildefonso porque éste lo había criticado; en segundo término, la falta de humildad de Recesvinto frente a la institución eclesiástica —demostrada en su voluntad de asistir a las ceremonias litúrgicas evidenciando su soberbia y sin haberse arrepentido de su actitud—[87]. En contraposición, el relato destaca el gesto de sumisión que tiene el soberano en ocasión de la visita celestial de santa Leocadia. En suma, lo que vemos aquí es toda una observación crítica acerca del comportamiento monárquico y de la posición de éste frente a la Iglesia. Por lo mismo, ¿no sería posible que, en última instancia, en esta recreación, el Pseudo Cixila estuviera aludiendo a circunstancias mucho más cercanas? En tal sentido, sabemos que el episcopado castellano del siglo X —en particular, el de León— estuvo marcado por las tensas relaciones que mantuvo con la monarquía de su tiempo. Así, por ejemplo, vimos que Fruela II había exiliado al sucesor de Cixila, Frunimio, por razones políticas —motivo por el cual el primero volvió a ocupar la sede obispal en reemplazo del desterrado—. Durante el reinado del heredero de Fruela, Ramiro II, el propio Cixila se recluyó en un "retiro voluntario" —la expresión es de Linehan—, en tanto que su sucesor, Oveco, "fue rápidamente enviado a un trabajo misional en la región de Salamanca"[88]. Actitudes semejantes pueden verse en la trayectoria de otros prelados, procedentes de diversas sedes eclesiásticas del reino. Cabe advertir que, con ello, los monarcas leoneses y castellanos se comportaban como sus antepasados visigodos, exaltando la supremacía del rey sobre la Iglesia. Es más, normalmente los hagiógrafos intentan olvidar los días episcopales de sus biografiados, probablemente debido a la "neutralización" de obispos monárquicos en la corte[89]. En tal sentido, el texto sobre san Ildefonso podría ser una muestra de ello: precisamente, lo que aparece destacado en él es el hecho de que este obispo, pese a la oposición monárquica, fue reconocido como elegido de Dios por los propios poderes celestiales, mediando las intervenciones de Leocadia y María. Se acepte o no esta suposición, de lo que no caben dudas es que el relato utilizó la figura de Recesvinto para cuestionar un comportamiento monárquico al que se suponía indigno, advirtiendo de paso a la realeza acerca de este proceder.

Por último, quedaría pendiente un análisis de la lengua del texto —a la que Díaz y Díaz calificó de "demasiado florida" para ser del siglo VIII[90]— y las posibles influencias literarias que se recogen en el mismo. En este sentido, creo que falta un estudio filológico específico del vocabulario del relato y sus variantes morfológicas —tarea que reservo a los especialistas en esas disciplinas—. Por lo pronto, resulta llamativa, a simple vista, la predisposición del autor por el uso de numerosos diminutivos —"corpusculum", "munusculum", "clientulus"—[91]. Además, emplea algunos clasicismos interesantes. Así, alude a España como "Hesperia" y señala que Ildefonso brilló "in sede Romulea". Tales empleos son los que, en parte, sugirieron a Pérez de Urbel que el autor de la *vita* podría ser el mismo que el compositor de los himnos "Urbis Romulea jam toga candida" —dedicado a los siete varones apostólicos— y "Exsulta nimium, turba fidelium" —consagrado a san Tirso—. En tal sen-

87. Retomo aquí algunas de las conclusiones que expuse en mi artículo: Guiance, Ariel. "De reyes y santos: la caracterización de la monarquía en la hagiografía castellana (siglos VII-XI)". *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 22 (1999-2001): 9-30.

88. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*...: 199-120.

89. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*...: 199-120.

90. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística…": 44.

91. Los dos primeros figuran definidos, en un glosario emilianense de 964, como "breue corpus" y "dona modica/breue munus", respectivamente —*Fuentes españolas altomedievales. El códice emilianense 46 de la Real Academia de la Historia, primer diccionario enciclopédico de la Península Ibérica*, eds. Claudio García Turza, Javier García Turza. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia-Fundación Caja Rioja, 1997: 292, 432.

tido, el mismo especialista adjudicó ambas obras al obispo Cixila del siglo VIII —y, por ende, la *Vita Ildefonsi* correspondería al mismo prelado—[92]. En efecto, la primera de esas composiciones utiliza las ideas de *sede Romulea* y Hesperia en varias ocasiones[93], circunstancia que se aproxima a la "sede Romulea" y la "totam Hesperiam" de las que habla nuestro hagiógrafo. Ahora bien, tal coincidencia no es suficiente para sostener esa autoría. De hecho, la misma puede deberse a conocimientos directos, de parte del Pseudo Cixila, de la literatura clásica —o bien a la transferencia de ésta llevada a cabo por los textos patrísticos—. Otra posibilidad (mucho más simple) sería que nuestro autor tuviera a mano o recordara los himnos en cuestión. Dicha circunstancia es perfectamente plausible ya que los himnarios formaban parte de toda biblioteca eclesiástica de mediana envergadura[94].

Para terminar, hay otra similitud —ésta de tipo argumental, no estilístico— que creo merecería recordarse. En efecto, existe una curiosa aproximación narrativa entre esta hagiografía de Cixila y cierto pasaje de una colección de relatos del siglo VII, la *Vitas sanctorum Patrum emeretensium* —texto bien conocido en la Península y que, además, formaba parte de la mayoría de las bibliotecas eclesiásticas[95]. Me refiero a la vida del obispo de Mérida, Masona. Ambos textos, de hecho, comienzan señalando que sus retratados sucedieron en el cargo episcopal a dos figuras relevantes de sus respectivas sedes (Eugenio para san Ildefonso y Fidelio en el caso de Masona)[96]. Además, los dos deberán enfrentarse a soberanos que les fueron contrarios: si Recesvinto tuvo ese carácter para el santo toledano, Leovigildo será el gran opositor del obispo de Mérida —oposición esta última que se manifiesta en términos de catolicismo-arrianismo—. Análogamente, una reliquia de tipo textil interviene en ambas oportunidades. Si para Ildefonso hablamos del trozo del velo de santa Leocadia y la vestimenta que le diera la Virgen, Masona se ve enfrentado con el rey por la posesión de un fragmento de la túnica de santa Eulalia (al punto de aducir que se ha tragado dicha reliquia para evitar que cayera en manos heréticas). Esa santa, además, cumplirá un papel semejante al de Leocadia: mientras la primera representaba la excelencia de Mérida, la segunda hacía lo propio con Toledo. Aún más, Eulalia se aparecerá ante Masona, mientras éste estaba rezando frente a su altar —como Ildefonso en su momento—. Hasta se alude a los restos de la santa con el mismo término que emplea el autor de nuestro relato: "venerabile corpusculum"[97]. Cabe advertir, sin embargo, que mientras Leocadia asumía plena forma humana y se acercaba al santo —permitiendo que éste tomara un trozo de su velo—, la santa emeritense es mucho más estricta y esquiva: se presenta como una "blanca nieve" —aludiendo al portento que ocurriera tras su muerte, según lo refiere

92. Pérez de Urbel, Justo. "Origen de los himnos mozárabes". *Bulletin hispanique*, 28 (1926): 5-21, 113-129, 209-245, 305-320, la referencia en la página 210.

93. *Hymnodia gotica. Die Mozarabischen Hymnen des Alt-Spanischen Ritus. Aus handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen* (analecta hymnica Medii Aevi, XXVII), ed. Clemens Blume. Nueva York- Londres: Johnson Corp., 1961 [reed, primera edición: Leipzing 1897]: 253-255 (doc. nº 176): "Urbis Romulea jam toga candida" (v. 1); "Missos Hesperiae quod ab apostolis" (v. 3); "Per hos Hesperiae finibus edita" (v. 12).

94. Para el tema de las influencias clásicas en la literatura hispana altomedieval, véanse los trabajos de Roger Collins: Collins, Roger. "Poetry..."; Collins, Roger. "Literacy and the laity in early mediaeval Spain", *Law, Culture*... Por lo demás, como bien señala Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, "[en la alta Edad Media] no se da un escritor... si no hay cerca, o al lado, una biblioteca. Libros y composición son del todo inseparables" – Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "La cultura medieval y los mecanismos de producción literaria", *VII Semana de estudios medievales: Nájera, 29 de julio al 2 de agosto de 1996*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de estudios riojanos, 1997: 281-295 (especialmente página 286).

95. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.

96. El relato sobre Masona figura en el cap. V de las *Vitas* (*Vitas Sanctorum Patrum*…: 47-102), al que remito para las referencias siguientes.

97. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum*…: 204 (capítulo V).

el *Pasionario*— y sólo ordena al obispo retornar a su sede tras la expulsión de que fuera objeto por parte de Leovigildo. El monarca, por lo demás, conocerá igualmente la visita de la santa, que lo azotará por haber apartado a Masona de su cargo y lo intimará a restituirlo en el mismo.

En otras palabras, pareciera que el autor de la vida de san Ildefonso hubiese intentado demostrar, con criterios similares a los empleados por el hagiógrafo de los relatos emeritenses, la excelencia de Toledo y de su obispo —así como el segundo lo hiciera con Mérida y los suyos—. De tal manera, ambos enlazaron una santa local, un eclesiástico particularmente venerado, una confrontación con el poder monárquico y un suceso sobrenatural, todo ello con un mismo propósito: demostrar la magnificencia de su biografiado y la importancia de la sede vinculada a ellos. Así, lo que Eulalia fue para Masona, Leocadia lo fue para Ildefonso. De la misma manera, la confrontación entre ambas —desde el punto de vista de su utilización para justificar determinadas pretensiones eclesiásticas— no es nueva. Un criterio semejante ya fue analizado por Collins en relación a las mencionadas *Vidas de los Padres de Mérida*, donde se defienden los derechos emeritenses frente al poderío toledano[98]. Ahora bien, esa similitud argumental no se quedó en los factores señalados: deseoso de adjudicar aún más relevancia a su santo, el supuesto autor de la *Vita* del toledano —sea quien fuere— incorporó un segundo portento, relacionado a un ser sobrenatural de más jerarquía que la de un simple santo: la Virgen María. La justificación para ello era simple: si Ildefonso había escrito un tratado defendiendo a la Madre a de Dios, era natural que ésta se lo agradeciese[99]. El honor de Toledo quedaba a salvo y la gloria de la sede podía transferirse (por distintos caminos) a quien lo necesitara.

En conclusión, nos hallamos ante una narración que deja bien en claro qué objetivos fueron perseguidos a través de la misma. Con ello, también se evidencian los criterios que resultaron secundarios para su autor. Por lo pronto, no parece ser un texto que sirva como instrumento de propaganda de un centro eclesiástico (ya sea porque conservaba los restos del santo en cuestión o porque estuviera vinculado a su vida). Tampoco intenta destacar la capacidad taumatúrgica de un elegido de Dios (Ildefonso es receptor pasivo de tales milagros, no su ejecutor). Igualmente, no busca fomentar un camino de peregrinación (por los mismos motivos del primer punto) ni se halla vinculado a determinada traslación de reliquias. Por el contrario, es una obra que, en primera instancia, subraya la importancia de la dignidad episcopal, su preeminencia frente a cualquier otro poder terrenal y su vinculación con determinada sede eclesiástica.

Esa claridad argumental contrasta, en cambio, con la incertidumbre en cuanto a la autoría y datación del relato —según antes reseñáramos—. Conforme las distintas hipótesis sugeridas (y nuestras observaciones acerca de posibles tradiciones discursivas y factores históricos que influyeron en el texto), creo que es necesario dejar de lado una fecha tan temprana como el siglo VIII para ubicar esta *vita* y me inclino a creer —como otros especialistas— que la misma debe fecharse a mediados del siglo X o, a lo sumo, principios del siglo XI. Un dato adicional en este sentido lo constituye el hecho de que sólo los calendarios mozárabes de León posteriores al siglo XI atribuyen a Ildefonso su condición de santo —circunstancia ignorada en calendarios previos de otras regiones—[100]. Junto

98. Collins, Roger. "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585", *Law, Culture...*: 213-214.

99. Véase Rucquoi, Adeline. "Ildefonse de Tolède et son traité sur la virginité de Marie", *La virginité de Marie*. París: Médiaspaul, 1998: 105-125, especialmente página 116 y siguientes.

100. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel. "De patrística...": 44. Los calendarios vigiliano y emilianense de fines del siglo X anotan, el 23 de enero, "ildefonsi epi" –Vives, José; Fábrega, Ángel. "Calendarios hispanos anteriores al siglo XII". *Hispania Sacra*, 2 (1949): 141-. Lo mismo ocurre con el silense de 1039, el compostelano de 1055 y los dos silenses de París (todos

a ello, debe recordarse —según indicara de Gaiffier— que el célebre catálogo de reliquias del arca santa de Oviedo (una de cuyas copias data de ese siglo XI) menciona el "pallium quod dedit ipsa regina celi Ildefonso toletane sedis archiepiscopo" —claro indicio de que la tradición ya estaba difundida para esa época—[101].

Si aceptamos esa datación, de los probables hagiógrafos sugeridos hasta el presente, el más cercano a nuestra hipótesis es (siguiendo a Díaz y Díaz) el obispo leonés Cixila —que viviera en la primera mitad de ese siglo X y que contara con recursos ideológicos y materiales válidos como para promover o redactar una hagiografía como ésta—. Sin embargo, en el estado actual de nuestros conocimientos, no hay nada que permita avalar esta última sugerencia. Si a eso le sumamos la tradición manuscrita que adjudica el relato a un tal Heladio y otros elementos que pudieron haber incidido en la construcción de la obra, creo que sería mucho más oportuno identificar a su autor como Pseudo Cixila y ubicarlo, como señalé antes, a mediados o fines de la décima centuria. Por lo pronto, que un personaje de esa época —quizás un mozárabe culto y con un buen bagaje de lecturas— haya querido exaltar a Ildefonso y, de paso, la gloria de Toledo, no es nada inusual en ese contexto[102]. Se me ha sugerido, con cierto fundamento, que quizás habría que rastrear a nuestro autor no en León (como quiere Díaz y Díaz) sino en Zamora[103]. En efecto, sabemos que la sede fue restaurada en tiempos de Alfonso III, siendo su primer obispo Atilano, Attila o Adtila. Este parece haber estado en el monasterio de Sahagún, "donde escribió el tratado *De Virginitate Sanctae Mariae* de san Ildefonso"[104]. Además, el mismo Atilanus se encargaría de fundar el famoso monasterio de San Salvador de Tábara, "centro de una notable escuela de copistas y miniaturistas" del siglo X[105]. Recordemos, asimismo, que la ciudad fue repoblada con cristianos procedentes de Toledo a fines del siglo anterior, que desde esa fecha tuvo una iglesia dedicada a santa Leocadia y que en ella, mucho más tarde, se decubrirían los restos de san Ildefonso, en tiempos del episcopado de don Suero (siglo XIII). Como sea, desde temprano Zamora reivindicó cierta herencia toledana, urbe que nuestro ignoto autor se encargó de exaltar a través de Ildefonso. Con ello, llegó a construir un relato que se convertiría en la leyenda hagiográfica hispana más exitosa a lo largo de la alta Edad Media y que alcanzaría pronto el resto de la cristiandad occidental. Así, como ocurriera con su biografiado, su obra se propagó por "omnem Spaniam", brillando "por su doctrina como el sol y la luna"[106].

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transcritos por Marius Férotin, como apéndice de *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l´Eglise wisigothique et mozarabe d´Espagne du Ve au XIe siècle*. París: Fermin Didot, 1904: 452-453).

101. Gaiffier, Bauouin de. "Les vies de Saint Ildephonse…": 243. El texto puede verse en De Bruyne, Donatien de. "Le plus ancien catalogue des reliques d'Oviedo". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45 (1927): 94.

102. Linehan, Peter. *History and Historians*...: 97-100.

103. Agradezco a Adeline Rucquoi esta sugerencia, que creo debería profundizarse en el futuro.

104. Sánchez Herrero, José. "Historia de la Iglesia de Zamora. Siglos V a XV", *Historia de Zamora. T. I.- De los orígenes al final de Medievo*. Zamora: Diputación-Instituto de estudios zamoranos "Florián de Ocampo", 1995: 692-93; Pérez de Urbel, Justo. *Historia de los monjes*…: II, 298-99, quien entiende que esta presunta copia hecha por Atilano remite a una referencia de Ambrosio de Morales.

105. Sánchez Herrero, José. "Historia de la Iglesia de Zamora…": 696.

106. Pseudo Cixila. *Vita*…: 61.

SOBRE LA DENOMINACIÓN *ALBIGENSES* EN LAS FUENTES HISPANAS DEL SIGLO XIII

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Resumen

En este trabajo se analizan los términos empleados en las fuentes hispánicas del siglo XIII para denominar a los herejes cátaros del Mediodía de Francia contra los que el Papado, en connivencia con la monarquía francesa, dirigió la llamada "Cruzada Albigense" entre 1208 y 1229. De este modo se podrá contribuir a verificar las tesis del profesor Jean-Louis Biget respecto de que la aplicación a los cátaros occitanos del gentilicio local de la Francia meridional "albigense" (de Albi y su territorio el Albigés) tiene origen en la construcción ideológica de un discurso de la disidencia religiosa por parte de la Iglesia teocrática nacida de la Reforma Gregoriana, de ahí que sólo fuera empleado a partir del comienzo de la Cruzada anticátara (1209) y únicamente por autores norteños ajenos al territorio occitano. Consecuencia de ello fue la aparición de una denominación genérica de los herejes dotada de un sentido tanto religioso como geográfico y político, de tal modo que "albigenses" acabarían siendo no sólo los cátaros, sino también el conjunto de la nobleza y de las poblaciones occitanas, mayoritariamente católicas, que ofrecieron resistencia a los cruzados franceses desde 1209 y a las tropas reales francesas después de 1229. Ante este planteamiento, el análisis de fuentes no utilizadas historiográficamente con esta finalidad, como son las fuentes narrativas hispanas del siglo XIII, permite ampliar la perspectiva y ponderar la variedad de denominaciones utilizadas.

En 1998, el profesor francés Jean-Louis Biget publicó "Les *Albigeois*, remarques sur une dénomination", un brillante artículo que revolucionó un tanto la visión de la historiografía moderna sobre la pugna de la Iglesia Católica y el catarismo durante los siglos XII y XIII.[1] Su punto de partida era la preponderancia en las fuentes medievales del gentilicio local *albigenses* (de la ciudad de Albi y su territorio el Albigés, en francés "Albigeois") como denominación genérica aplicable a los herejes provenzales u occitanos que conocemos como *cátaros* y, por extensión, al conjunto de las tierras y las poblaciones del espacio político-cultural occitano.[2] Dos datos resultan especialmente reveladores: uno, que este término sólo se difundiera a raíz de lo que conocemos como "Cruzada

1. Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*, remarques sur une dénomination", *Inventer l´hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l´Inquisition*, Monique Zerner, dir. Niza: Collection du Centre d´Études Médiévales de Nice, 1998: 219-255.

2. Afirma Jean-Louis Biget que "les hérétiques méridionaux n´ont jamais pris, ni reçu, au cours du Moyen Age, le nom de *cathares*" (Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*"…: 219). Sobre esta cuestión, puede verse: Dévic, Claude; Vaissète, Joseph. "Sur l´origine du nom d´*Albigeois*, donné aux hérétiques de la Province aux douzième et treizième siècles", *Histoire Générale du Languedoc*. Toulouse: Privat, 1879: VII, 33-37; Thouzellier, Christine. "Albigenses, Hérésie et Hérétiques. Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois". *Storia e Letteratura*, 116 (1969): 223-262; Duvernoy, Jean. "L´acceptation: 'haereticus (Iretge) = parfait cathare' en Languedoc au XIII^{e} siècle", *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th C.)*, Willem Lourdaux, Daniel Verhelst, eds. Lovaina: Leuven University Press-The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1976: 198-210; Brenon, Anne. *La verdadera historia de los cátaros. Vida y muerte de una Iglesia ejemplar*. Barcelona: Martínez Roca, 1997: 15-16, 45, 61-65.

Albigense" o "Cruzada contra los Albigenses" (1209-1229), la empresa militar organizada por el Papado y llevada a cabo bajo la égida de la monarquía francesa con el fin de destruir a los herejes y de someter a la nobleza occitana que los consentía o amparaba; y dos, que su utilización sólo se diera entre autores exteriores a la realidad occitana, sobre todo *franceses* (de las regiones situadas al norte del Loira) y nunca entre aquellos que nacieron o vivieron en el espacio meridional, ni siquiera los inquisidores.[3]

Partiendo de estas evidencias, Biget vio en la denominación *albigenses* el resultado de una "construcción ideológica arbitraria" inserta en el "discurso de la disidencia religiosa" que la Iglesia teocrática nacida de la Reforma Gregoriana elaboró en el siglo XII con el objetivo de consolidar su autoridad sobre todas las instituciones y poderes del orbe cristiano. En el caso del catarismo, habrían sido los ideólogos cistercienses, máximos valedores de la teocracia pontificia, los que en gran medida "inventaron" la herejía, es decir, quienes recrearon de forma "casi paranoica" la idea imaginaria (desde los puntos de vista religioso, territorial y político) de un conjunto homogéneo de herejes occitanos dispuestos a destruir la cristiandad: los *albigenses*. Biget no dice que no hubiera cátaros, que los hubo y muchos, sino que este discurso ideológico se ajusta menos a la realidad de los cátaros del siglo XII que a la necesidad, sentida tanto por la teocracia papal como por las monarquías feudales expansivas con ambiciones en el condado de Tolosa (Corona de Aragón, monarquía Plantagenet, monarquía Capeto), de controlar un espacio occitano rico, frágil y tradicionalmente autónomo desde los puntos de vista eclesiástico y político. Como consecuencia de este discurso ideológico, las noblezas y las poblaciones occitanas —mayoritariamente católicas y en lucha contra los cruzados (1209-1224) y las tropas reales francesas (1226-1229) por motivos principalmente políticos— fueron denominadas y consideradas en bloque *albigenses* y, por ello, enemigos religiosos susceptibles de ser combatidos, reprimidos y dominados justificadamente en nombre de la lucha contra la herejía.[4]

Al elaborar su encuesta sobre el uso de la denominación *albigenses*, Biget maneja autores franceses, provenzales y también algún inglés y centroeuropeo, pero deja de lado las fuentes españolas.[5] Teniendo en cuenta la relación directa de este conflicto con la historia plenomedieval hispana y el gran protagonismo de los hispanos en muchos de los acontecimientos claves de la Cruzada Al-

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3. Jean-Louis Biget menciona como ejemplo paradigmático al clérigo tolosano Guilhem de Puèglaurenç, claro enemigo de la herejía, quien inició su célebre crónica con estas palabras: *Incipit prologus super hystoria negocii a Francis Albiensis vulgariter appelati, quod olim constat actum ese in Provincia Narbonensi, et Albiensi, Rutenensi, Caturcensi et Agenensi diocesibus, pro tuenda fide católica et pravitate heretica exstirpanda* (Puèglaurenç, Guilhem de. *Chronica*, ed. y trad. francesa de Jean Duvernoy. Toulouse: Le Pérégrinateur, 1976: 28; Biget, Jean-Louis. "Les *Albigeois*"…: 224 (Traducción inglesa de William A., Michael D. Sibly, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and Its Aftermath*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003). Sobre la Cruzada Albigense en inglés, véase Smith, Damian J. *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004; Graham-Leigh, Eliane. *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensians Crusade*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005; Pegg, Mark G. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle of Christendom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Marvin, Lawrence W. *The Occitan War. A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

4. Combatir a los herejes occitanos y sus cómplices era tomar la cruz *in Albigenses, contra Albigenses* o *in terra Albigensium*... Bériou, Nicole. "La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d´Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226", *La prédication en Pays d´Oc (XII^e-début XV^e siècle)*. Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1997 (*Cahiers of Fanjeaux*, 32 [1997]): 85-109, especialmente 101; le Breton, Guillaume. "Gesta Philippi Augusti, Francorum regis (1220)", *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, M. Léopold Deslile, dir. París: Victor Palmé, 1878: XVII, 62-116, especialmente 92.

5. Biget utiliza la documentación de Simon y Amaury de Montfort, la *Hystoria Albigensis* de Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay (1218), la *Chronica* de Robert d´Auxerre (1211), la *Chronica* de Albéric de Trois-Fontaines (1241), las *Otia imperialia* de Gervase de Tilbury (1214), la *Chronica* de Guillaume de Nangis (1300), la documentación regia de las senescalías francesas de Beaucaire y Carcassonne (1259), la *Chronica majora* del benedictino inglés Matthew Paris (1251) y la *Chronica* del dominico checo Martin de Troppau (1277), además de las fuentes occitanas.

bigense, puede ser interesante comprobar si las connotaciones ideológicas del término *albigenses* tuvieron o no reflejo en las fuentes narrativas de los reinos ibéricos del siglo XIII. Éste será nuestro objetivo en las páginas que siguen. [6]

1. Los herejes que no existen

Buena parte de los autores hispanos que dieron noticia de los acontecimientos ocurridos en el sur de Francia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIII ignoraron la existencia de la herejía. Este silencio consciente fue debido, sobre todo, a la intervención del rey de Aragón Pedro el Católico en ayuda de sus vasallos occitanos contra las tropas de la Cruzada Albigense, iniciativa que terminó brusca e inesperadamente con la derrota y muerte del monarca en la batalla de Muret (12 de septiembre de 1213).[7] La complicidad del rey de Aragón con los herejes, castigada tan claramente por Dios, obligó a ignorarlos de forma deliberada para no dar alas a los enemigos de la Corona de Aragón. La omisión de los herejes, idéntica a la realizada por la mayoría de los autores occitanos,[8] se observa en fuentes de todo el ámbito historiográfico hispánico, aunque de forma preferente en las de origen catalano-aragonés.[9] Es el caso de algunas tan importantes como el *Llibre dels fets*

6. La versión inicial de este texto fue presentado en el *II Congreso de Historia de la Iglesia en España y el Mundo Hispánico: "Religión, Etnia y Nación" (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Madrid, 18-20 de octubre de 2001)*. Los problemas internos en el *Centre d'Études Cathares* prolongaron el carácter inédito del texto hasta el momento presente. Consideramos que el tiempo transcurrido no altera la validez de su contenido, a la vez que ha permitido actualizar algunas referencias concretas.

7. Sobre este monarca y la batalla de Muret véase: Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret. 12 de Septiembre de 1213*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2002; y Alvira, Martín (con la transcripción de la tesis doctoral [1932] de Mª Á. Ibarra y Oroz). *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196-1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica*. Zaragoza-Toulouse: Institución Fernando el Católico-Laboratoire FRA.M.ESPA, en prensa. También Alvira, Martín. *Muret 1213. La batalla decisiva de la cruzada contra los cátaros*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2008.

8. Entre las fuentes occitanas que adoptan esta postura están la segunda parte de la *Cansó de la Crozada* (1219-1228) (*La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. y trad. francesa de Eugène Martin-Chabot. París: Les Belles Lettres, 1957-1961: II-III); la *Vida de Raimon de Miraval* de Uc de sant Circ (1229-1242) (Sant Circ, Uc de. "Vida de Raimon de Miraval", *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, eds. Jean Boutière, Alexander H. Schutz. Toulouse-París: Edouard Privat-M. Didier, 1950: 285-287); el *Cronicón de Santa Coloma de Burdeos* (1176-1250) ("Crónico Burdegalensi Sanctae-Columbae", *Recueil Historiens del Gaules et de la France*, ed. Michel Jean-Joseph Brial. París: Palmé, 1879: XVIII, 245); los *Anales de San Víctor de Marsella* (539-1265) ("Ex chronico Sancti-Victoris Massiliensis ab anno 809 ad 1563 (anni 1181-1226)", *Recueil Historiens del Gaules et de* …1880: XIX, 238-239); la *Crónica en languedociano extraída del cartulario del conde Ramon VII de Tolosa* (1099-1275) (ed. Patrice Cabau, "Deux chroniques composées à Toulouse dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle". *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 56 (1996): 75-120, especialmente 83-119); la *Crónica de Montpellier* (814-1284) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà, segle XIII: estudi filològic i lingüístic*, ed. Josep Moran. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998: 29-38); y la *Crónica de Tolosa* (h. 1289) (ed. Patrice Cabau."Deux chroniques...": 83-119).

9. En los reinos de Castilla y León: el *Cronicón Complutense* (1226) (*Colección de Crónicas Latinas de la Reconquista*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda. Valencia: 1913: I, 76); los *Anales Compostelanos* (0-1248) (*España sagrada: Theatro geographico-historico de la Iglesia en España: origen, divisiones, y límites de todas sus provincias, antigüedad*, ed. Enrique Flórez de Setién Huidrobo. Madrid: Oficina de la viuda e hijo de Marin, 1799: XXIII, 318-325, especialmente 324); los *Anales Toledanos I* (*c.* 1219) (*España sagrada…*: XXIII, 382-401, especialmente 399); *Anales Toledanos III* (en torno a 1244) (*España sagrada…*: XXIII, 410-424, especialmente 412); y *Chronicon Rerum Hispanicarum* (1265) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France. ms. lat. 5689C, fols. 144-156, especialmente 155v; Wagner, Kay. "'Debellare Albigenses', Darstellung und Deutung des Albigenserkreuzzuges in der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung von 1209 bis 1328". "*Politik im Mittelalter*". Neuried: Ars A, 2000. Agradezco al Dr. Wagner la posibilidad de consultar el texto de esta fuente). En el reino de Navarra: el *Libro de las Generaciones* (1260-1270) (ed. Josefa Ferrandis Martínez. Valencia: Anubar, 1968: 63). En la Corona de Aragón: *Status Yspaniae a principio usque nunc* (1268) (ed. Pere Quer. *La Història i Genealogies d'Espanya. Una adaptació catalana medieval de la història hispànica*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2006: 97-123, especialmente 117); *Annals de Barcelona de 1270* (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona. ms. 1G-8, f. 20v-22r); *Còniqua de Spanya* (*c.* 1268-1277) (ed. Pere Quer. *La Història...*: 140-163, especialmente 161); *Annals de Barcelona de 1278* (Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 943, f. 1-3, especialmente 2v); *Chronicon Ulianense* (1113-1285) (*España Sagrada*, eds. Henrique Flórez, Manuel Risco. Madrid: Impremta de Antonio de Sancha, 1774: XXVIII, 342-344, especialmente 342); Cronicó de Perpinyà (1282-1289) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà...*: 10-16, especialmente 14); *Cronicó Barceloní I* o *Annals de Barcelona de 1291* (ed. Sebastià Riera. "El Cronicó Barceloní I". *Acta Historica et Archaeo-*

(h. 1244-1276) del rey Jaime el Conquistador, por razones obvias, o la *Crònica* de Bernat Desclot (h. 1288).[10]

2. "Maniqueos, cátaros, arrianos, gente loca, gente descreída, locos traidores, enzapatados..."

Otros autores hispanos sí dieron nombre a los herejes occitanos. Una de las denominaciones importantes es *Maniqueos*. De origen antiguo, fue muy utilizada desde el siglo XI por los autores eclesiásticos para designar a los herejes de tendencias más o menos dualistas.[11] Aparece en el título de uno de los tratados anticátaros más conocidos, el *Liber contra Manicheos* de Durán de Huesca (h. 1223), antiguo valdense arrepentido de origen occitano que se había formado en Aragón.[12] Es también uno de los términos utilizados por el obispo y cronista leonés Lucas de Tuy (m. 1249) en su importante tratado antiherético *De altera vita* (h. 1233-1235), escrito para combatir a un grupo disidente de León tradicionalmente identificado con los cátaros (*Cum manichearum haeresis in Galliarum partibus nostris temporibus pullullaret*).[13] Otro leonés, muy próximo además a Lucas de Tuy, el canónigo

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logica Mediaevalia 22 (1999-2001): II 257-262, especialente 259-262); *Chronicon Barcinonense I-II* o *Anales de Barcelona de 1311 (España Sagrada...*: XXVIII, 331-341, especialmente 332, 336-338); *Chronicon Dertusense I* o *Annals de Tortosa I* (1323) (*Cronicó de Perpinyà...*: 25-27, especialmente 26); *Annals de Catalunya* o *Annals del món i de Espanya desde Carlomany hasta el any 1437* (Biblioteca de El Escorial, ms. D-III-2, f. 131r-138r, especialmente 131); *Crónicas de los Jueces de Teruel* (1176-1532) (ed. Fernando López Rajadel. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1994: 83); *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et Reges Aragonensium I* (eds. Lucien Barrahu-Dihigo, Jaume Massó Torrents. Barcelona: Fundació Concepció Rabell i Cibils, Viuda Romaguera, 1925: II, 3-20, especialmente 17-18). Sobre este tema, Bautista, Francisco."Breve historiografía: listas regias y anales en la Península Ibérica (siglos VII-XII)". *Talia Dixit*, 4 (2009): 113-190.

10. Jaume I. *Libre dels Feyts* o *Llibre dels fets del Rei En Jaume* (h. 1270), ed. Jordi Bruguera. Barcelona: Barcino, 1991: II, 12-15; Desclot, Bernat. "Crònica o Llibre del Rei en Pere (h. 1288)", *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Selecta 1971: 405-664, especialmente 414-415 (capítulo IV). Véase Cingolani, Stefano M. *La memòria dels reis. Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*. Barcelona: Base, 2006: 31-74, 97-135; Cingolani, Stefano M. *Historiografía, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2006.

11. En el contexto de la Cruzada Albigense, la expresión *Manichei dogma* puede encontrarse en un poema latino compuesto por un miembro del séquito del caudillo cruzado Simon de Montfort, probablemente el cisterciense francés Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay, para cantar su victoria en la batalla de Muret, *Versus de Victoria Comitis Montisfortis* (noviembre 1215-julio 1216) (Molinier, Auguste. "12 Septembre 1213. Récit en vers de la bataille de Muret." *Notices et Documents publiés pour la Société de l´Histoire de France à l´occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation*. Paris: Societé de l'Histoire de France, 1884: 129-139, especialmente 133 [v. 7]; Meschini, Marco. *Innocenzo III e il negotium pacis et fidei in Linguadoca tra il 1198 e il 1215*. Milán: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore [tesis doctoral], 2002: 382-386 [apart. 2]; Alvira, Martín. *Pedro el Católico*…: II, doc. nº 177).

12. *Un traité inédit du début du XIII*e *siècle d´après le "Liber contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca*, ed. Christine Thouzellier. Lovaina: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1961; traducción española en *El legado secreto de los cátaros*, ed. Francesco Zambon. Madrid: Siruela, 1997: 143-160. Sobre Durán de Huesca, véase: Dondaine, Antoine. "Durand de Huesca controversiste", *X*º *Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma 4-11 septembre 1955*. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1956: VII, 218-222; Dondaine, Antoine. "Durand de Huesca et la polémique anticathare". *Archivum Fratrum Predicatorum*, 29 (1959): 228-276; Thouzellier, Christine. "La profession trinitaire du vaudois Durand de Huesca". *Recherches de Théologie et Médiévale*, 27 (1960): 267-289 (reed. Thouzellier, Christine. *Hérésie et Hérétique: Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1969: 53-79); Thouzellier, Christine. "Le 'Liber Antiheresis' de Durand de Huesca et le 'Contra hereticos' d´Ermengaud de Béziers". *Revue d´Histoire Éclesiastique*, 55 (1960): 130-141 (ed. lat. Christine Thouzellier, *Hérésie et Hérétique: Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois*…: 39-52); Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Durán de Huesca, un heterodoxo aragonés en la Edad Media", *Miscelánea de estudios en honor de D. Antonio Durán Gudiol*. Sabiñánigo: Asociación Amigos del Serrablo, 1981: 225-238; y más recientemente Grau, Sergi. "Durand de Huesca y la lucha contra el catarismo en la Corona de Aragón". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/1 (2009): 3-25; Smith, Damian J. "Duran of Huesca: Networking to Orthodoxy", *International Religious Networks: Second Anglo-Scandinavian Colloquium on the History of Christianity (Lund, Septiembre 2005)*, en prensa.

13. Tuy, Lucas de. *De altera vita fideique controversiis adversus Albigensium errores libri III*, ed. Juan de Mariana. Ingolstadt: Andreas Angermarius – Ioannis Hertsroy, 1612: 94. Sobre la presencia de cátaros en algunas ciudades del Camino de Santiago, véase: Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "Albigenses en león y Castilla a comienzos del siglo XIII", *León Medieval. Doce estudios. Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al Coloquio "El reino de León en la Edad Media": XXXII Congreso*

e intelectual Martino de León (m. 1203), lo incluyó asimismo en su *Sermo IV*, un tratado de las herejías cristianas directamente inspirado en las *Etimologías* de San Isidoro.[14]

En Durán de Huesca encontramos la denominación más conocida y utilizada hoy en día: *manichei id est moderni Kathari*.[15] El nombre de *Cátaros* fue dado a los herejes de Renania en 1163 por el canónigo alemán Eckbert de Schönau a partir del término patrístico (agustiniano) que designaba a los novacianos antiguos. Al principio, fue una denominación utilizada en tierras del Imperio para designar de forma genérica a los herejes. Desde mediados del siglo XII, *cátaro* (en griego "puro", "justo") comenzó a designar al "hereje dualista", identificando en el siglo XIII a unos peligrosos "nuevos maniqueos". Debido a su popularidad actual, conviene recordar que esta denominación fue minoritaria entre los polemistas antiheréticos del siglo XII y, en general, en las fuentes medievales. Se les llamaba también *falsos profetas, apóstoles de Satán, pseudoapóstoles, piphles* en Flandes, *tejedores* en Francia, *publicanos* en el norte de Francia, *patarinos* en Italia y también *bougres* ("búlgaros"), *bogomilos* o *phundagiagitas*.[16] Como es sabido, además, ellos nunca se autodenominaron "cátaros", "puros" o "perfectos", sino *pobres de Cristo*, *amigos de Dios*, *apóstoles*, *cristianos*, *verdaderos/buenos cristianos*, *buenos hombres* y *buenas mujeres*, *buenos creyentes*...[17] En las fuentes hispanas es una denominación igualmente infrecuente. La variante *Catharoae* aparece en el citado *Sermo IV* de Santo Martino de León, si bien —debido a la inspiración isidoriana de este texto— conserva su sentido antiguo, designando a los herejes novacianos y no a los cátaros plenomedievales.[18]

De orígenes igualmente patrísticos es la denominación *arrianos*.[19] Aparece en la obra ascética *Planeta* (h. 1218) de Diego García de Campos, canciller de los reyes de Castilla Alfonso VIII (1154-1214) y Enrique I (1214-1217), al referirse en el prólogo al conflicto que afectaba a las tierras

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de la Asociación Luso-Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias (León, 28 marzo- 1 abril 1977). León: Colegio Universitario de León, 1978: 97-114; Roth, Norman. "Jews and Albigensians in the Middle Ages: Lucas de Tuy on heretics in Leon". *Sefarad*, 41/1 (1981): 71-93; Palacios Martín, Bonifacio. "La circulación de los cátaros por el Camino de Santiago y sus implicaciones socioculturales. Una fuente para su conocimiento". *En la España Medieval*, 3 (1982): 219-229; Martínez Casado, Ángel. "Cátaros en León. Testimonio de Lucas de Tuy". *Archivos Leoneses*, 74 (1983): 263-311; Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "El biógrafo contemporáneo de San Martino: Lucas de Tuy", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria (1185-1985)*. León: Isidoriana Editorial, 1985: 303-335; Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier. "Un noyau actif d´Albigeois en Leon au commencement du XIII[e] siècle ? Approche critique d´une oeuvre de Luc de Tuy écrite entre 1230-1240". *Heresis*, 17 (1991): 35-50.

14. Designa a los herejes que creían en dos naturalezas y sustancias (buena y mala), en la emanación de las almas de la naturaleza divina y en una parte del Nuevo Testamento, mientras que rechazaban el resto y el Antiguo, León, Martino de. "Sermo IV: In natale Domini", *Patrologiae cursus completus. Patres latini*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. París: 1878-1889: 208, cols. 83-550, especialmente 543-550; Robles Carcedo, Laureano. "Fuentes del pensamiento teológico de Santo Martino. Estudio de los cuatro primeros 'Sermones'", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias del I Congreso*…: 597-622, especialmente 619.

15. *El legado secreto de los cátaros,* ed. Francesco Zambon...: 141.

16. Seguimos aquí las reflexiones de Jiménez Sánchez, Pilar. *Les catharismes. Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XII[e]-XIII[e] siècles)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008: 22-25, 127-141, 249, 271 y otras.

17. El término *cátaro* comenzó a manejarse desde la publicación de la *Historia de la secta de los cátaros o albigenses* del historiador luterano Charles Schmidt en 1848, y su popularización es un fenómeno de la segunda mitad del siglo XX. Sobre toda esta cuestión, véase Duvernoy, Jean. *Le catharisme. La Religion des Cathares*. Toulouse: Privat, 1976: I, 297-311; y los estudios reunidos en Bozóky, Edina. *"Bogomiles, Patarins et Cathares"*. *Slavica Occitania*, 16 (2003).

18. En las obras de San Agustín designaba a los herejes novacianos, que no creían en el perdón de los pecados y repudiaban las segundas nupcias, León, Martino de. "Sermo IV: In natale Domini"…: 208, cols. 494-509; Robles Carcedo, Laureano. "Fuentes del pensamiento teológico…": 619.

19. Duvernoy, Jean. *Le catharisme. La Religion des Cathares*…: I, 301-302; Jiménez Sánchez, Pilar. Les catharismes...: 264.

provenzales por causa de la herejía (*Quando misera nec miseranda Provincia miserabiliter arriana contra ecclesiam minus recalcitrat quam rebellat*).[20]

No pueden dejar de citarse las expresivas denominaciones empleadas por Guillermo o Guilhem de Tudela, el autor de origen hispano más importante en lo que a la historia de la Cruzada Albigense se refiere.[21] En su primera parte de la *Cansó de la Crozada* (h. 1212-1213), este navarro afincado en tierras occitanas definió a los herejes como *mescrezuda jant* ("gente descreída"), *fola gent* ("gente loca") o *fols traïdors* ("locos traidores"), fórmulas que, a finales del siglo XIII, recogería el rey de Castilla y León Alfonso X el Sabio (1252-1284) en su célebre definición de las *Partidas*:

> *Ereges son una manera de gente loca que se trabajan de escatimar las palabras de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, e les dan otro entendimiento contra aquel que los Santos Padres les dieron, e que la Iglesia de Roma cree e manda guardar*.[22]

Guillermo de Tudela emplea también el término *sabatatz* ("enzapatados"), si bien para designar a los valdenses, mientras que los cátaros son denominados *eretges*.[23] El término es especialmente interesante por dos razones: primero, porque aparece puesto en boca de Arnau Amalric, el monje de origen catalano-occitano que fue abad de Cîteaux, legado del Papa Inocencio III y, por ello, líder espiritual de la Cruzada durante sus primeros y decisivos años (1209-1213);[24] y segundo, porque el mismo término había sido empleado ya con anterioridad en los edictos antiheréticos promulgados por los reyes de Aragón Alfonso el Trovador (1194) y Pedro el Católico (1198) contra los valdenses, *qui vulgariter dicuntur Sabatati*.[25]

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20. García de Campos, Diego. *Planeta*, ed. Manuel Alonso. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943: 196.

21. Su filiación hispana ya fue puesta de relieve por Milà i Fontanals, Manuel. "De los trovadores en España", *Obras Completas del doctor D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals*, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, ed. Barcelona: Librería de Alvaro Verdaguer, 1889: II, 360. Sobre Guillermo de Tudela y su obra véase: Higounet, Charles. "À propos de Guillaume de Tudèle". *Annales du Midi*, 50 (1938): 377-379; Ghil, Eliza M. *L´Age de Parage. Essai sur le poétique et le politique en Occitanie au XIII^e siècle*. Nueva York-Berna-Frankfurt am Main-París: Peter Lang, 1989: 12, 91-149, 203; Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret*…: 119-120; y, sobre todo, Macé, Laurent. "De Bruniquel à Lolmie: la singulière fortune de Baudoin de France et de Guillem de Tudèle au début de la croisade albigeoise". *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 126 (2001): 13-23.

22. Tudèla, Guilhèm de. *Cansó de la Crozada*, (Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise. 1, La Chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle*, ed. y trad. fr. Eugène Martin-Chabot. París: H. Champion, 1931 (reimpr. 1960): laisses 1-130, especialmente laisses 3, 47 y 84) (traducción inglesa de Sonet Shirley: Tudèla, Guilhem de. *The song of the Cathar wars. A History of the Albigensian Crusade*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) y Alfonso X el Sabio. *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Gregorio López. Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1555: Partida VIII, tít. xxvi, "Introducción".

23. Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la Croisade* …: v. 15.

24. Sobre este personaje, puede verse Alvira, Martín. "Le *vénérable* Arnaud Amaury. Image et réalité d´un cistercien entre deux croisades". *Heresis*, 32 (2000): 3-35.

25. *Edicto antiherético promulgado por el rey de Aragón Alfonso el Trovador contra valdenses, pobres de Lyon y otros herejes (Lleida, octubre 1194)* (Marqués-Casanova, Jaume. "Alfonso el Trovador y la Seo de Gerona", *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón: 1-6 octubre 1962, Barcelona*. Barcelona: Talleres de la Viuda de Fidel Rodríguez Ferrán, 1964: II, 207-222, especialmente apartado 5: 218-219; *Alfonso II, Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón. Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1995: 797-798 [doc nº 621]; Baraut, Cebrià. "Els inicis de la inquisició a Catalunya i les seves actuacions al bisbat d´Urgell (segles XII-XIII)". *Urgellia*, 13 (1996-97): 419-420 [doc. nº 1]); y *Edicto antiherético promulgado por el rey de Aragón Pedro el Católico contra los valdenses y otros herejes (Girona, febrero 1198)* (Baraut, Cebrià. "Els inicis de la inquisició a Catalunya"…: 420-422 [doc. nº 2]; Alvira, Martín. *Pedro el Católico*…: I, doc nº 128). Otra denominación tan interesante como infrecuente es *Begginos*, mencionada en los "Anales de Colonia" (*Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*, Georg Heinrich Petz, ed. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Aulici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 729-847, especialmente 827).

3. Herejes

Dicho esto, si hay una denominación que aparece repetidamente en los textos hispanos relativos al problema cátaro, ésta es *herejes*. Guillermo de Tudela los cita una y otra vez en su célebre poema histórico (*eretges*).[26] En el reino de Portugal está presente en un pasaje relativo a la Cruzada Albigense de la *Cronica romana* del canonista Joâo de Deus (h. 1227 o h. 1242):

> *Et hereses et hereticos destruxit cum Hugone abbate Castrense* [Arnau Amalric, abad del Císter] *et hominibus cruce signatis cum auxilio regis Francie et comitis Montis-fortis*.[27]

La hagiografía elaborada por los dominicos en torno a su fundador, Domingo de Guzmán, también ofrece innumerables ejemplos, como es el caso de la *Leyenda de Santo Domingo* de Pedro Ferrando (h. 1235-1239).[28]

Entre los cronistas, *hereje* es también el término más frecuente. En Castilla y León, lo utilizaron los tres grandes autores en latín de la primera mitad del siglo XIII: Juan de Osma en su *Chronica Regum Castellae* (h. 1230-h. 1236-1239)[29]; el arzobispo de Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada en su *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae* (1243-1247);[30] y el ya citado Lucas de Tuy en su *Chronicon mundi* (h. 1230-1236).[31] Este último también empleó esta denominación en su obra hagiográfica, titulada *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Isidori* —que incluye una *Vita Sancti Martini Legionensis*— (h. 1221-1224 y d. 1236)[32], y, lo que es mucho más significativo, en su tratado antiherético *De altera vita*.[33] En este sentido, conviene recordar dos datos: primero, en relación con el *De altera vita*, que fue el Padre Juan de Mariana quien añadió al título original la frase *fideique controversiis adversus Albigensium errores libri III*, que figura en la edición impresa de 1612;[34] y segundo, en relación con Lucas de Tuy,

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26. Tudèle, Guillaume de. *La Chanson de la croisade*…: laisse 3 (entre otras menciones).

27. Deus, João de. "Cronica romana", *Monumenta Germania Historica. Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 304-324, especialmente 324.

28. Ferrando, Pedro. "Leyenda de Santo Domingo", *Santo Domingo de Guzmán visto por sus contemporáneos*, eds. Miquel Gelabert, José María Milagro, José María de Garganta. Madrid: Católica, 1966: 293-332.

29. *Chronica Regum Castellae* o *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. y trad. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1984: 73-75; "*Chronica hispana saeculi XIII*", eds. Luis Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola, Rocío Carande Herrero. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997: 7-118, especialmente 66-67.

30. Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: libro VI, capítulo IIII y libro VIII, capítulo II.

31. La versión en castellano antiguo dice así: [Fernando III, rey de Castilla y León] *encendido con fuego de la verdad catholica,* [*en tanto*] *noblemente rigio el reyno a ssí subjecto, que los enemigos de la fee christiana perseguía con todas* [*sus*] *fuerças, e cualesquiera hereges que hallaua, quemaua con fuego, y el fuego y las brasas y la llama aparejaua para los quemar* (Tuy, Lucas de. *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio Puyol. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926: libro IV, 418 [capítulo LXXXV]).

32. Refiriéndose a cátaros o laicos descreídos: Tuy, Lucas de. *Vita Sancti Martini Legionensis* (incluida al final del *Liber Miraculorum Sancti Isidori*): 208, cols. 9-24, especialmente capítulo VII, col. 14; Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara. De Martín de León a Alfonso X", *Le Catharisme: nouvelles recherches, nouvelles perspectives". Colloque International en hommage à Jean Duvernoy (Carcassonne, Centre d´Études Cathares René Nelli, 20-22 août 1998)*: 8, doc nº 49, inédito; Viñayo González, Antonio. "Santo Martino de León y su noticia histórica: biografía, santidad, culto", *Santo Martino de León: Ponencias*…: 337-360, especialmente 347. Agradezco a Patrick Henriet sus valiosas orientaciones en relación con estas obras.

33. Véanse los estudios esenciales sobre Lucas de Tuy y su obra recogidos en: Henriet, Patrick, coord. "Luc de Tuy. Chroniqueur, hagiographe, théologien". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 24 (2001): 199-309; Tuy, Lucas de. *Lucae Tudensis Chronicon mundi*, ed. y estudio de Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: "Introducción".

34. "…sólo en el trasfondo [de *De altera vita*], como supremo analogado del error, aparecen los albigenses, de quienes [Lucas de Tuy] resalta frecuentemente sus doctrinas dualistas o maniqueas (nunca los llama albigenses ni cátaros, ni les da el nombre de cristianos)", (Martínez Casado, Ángel. "Cátaros en León. Testimonio de Lucas de Tuy". *Archivos*

que todas sus obras —como afirma Patrick Henriet— participan de un mismo proyecto, a saber, la defensa del dogma y la lucha contra la herejía.[35] Estas razones hacen aún más interesante la ausencia en las obras del Tudense de los vocablos *cátaro* y *albigense*.

Ya en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, el rey Alfonso X el Sabio hablaría en su inacabada *Estoria de Espanna* (h. 1270-1289) de *los hereges que eran muchos en*… [el] *arçobispado de Narbona* y de *los hereges que yvan contra los cristianos con envidia de los bienes de Jhesu Cristo et de la su ley, tantos en Narbona et en Beders et en Carcaxona que dalli adelant nunqa fue ninguno osado de tener razon de la creençia de la eregia*.[36] La misma denominación sería recogida por la cronística post-alfonsí tanto en Castilla y León como en Portugal.[37]

En la Corona de Aragón, en cambio, la cronística oficial tardó mucho tiempo en admitir la existencia de los *eretges* occitanos, prueba evidente de las graves consecuencias del desastre de Muret. Las primeras menciones, tomadas de la "Historia de España" del arzobispo Rodrigo de Toledo, se encuentran en las versiones II y III de los *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et Reges Aragonensium*, historia oficial de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa redactada en el monasterio de Santa María de Ripoll (h. 1268-1239 y h. 1303-1314).[38] Contamos, si embargo, con dos fuentes coetáneas que sí se hicieron eco de lo que estaba ocurriendo al otro lado de los Pirineos. Una es el *Chronicon Rotense*, cuya penúltima noticia informa con detalle de las operaciones de la Cruzada Albigense entre 1209 y 1211. Su autor, un canónigo de San Vicente de Roda, reconoció abiertamente la existencia de *gentem hereticorum et coadiutores eorum*, pero sin dejar de censurar las violencias de los cruzados, lo que nos permite percibir cómo se contemplaban en la Corona de Aragón las consecuencias del conflicto occitano-cátaro:

> *ANNO MºCCºVIIIIº. Cruciferi ex precepto domini Pape ad destruendam gentem hereticorum et coadiutores eorum, venerunt in Bederres et in Carcassona et ceperunt eas cum omnibus terminis earum et interfecerunt vicecomitem dominum illius predicte terre, et deddit cruciferis dominus Papa ducem et principem abbatem Cistellentium, et ceperunt Benerba et Termens, et Pamias, et Albi, et Caparetum, et Zabaurum, et obsederunt Tolosam, et interfecerunt in omnibus predictis civitatibus, et castellis, et villis et terris amplius quam centum*

Leoneses: revista de estudios y documentación de los Reinos Hispano-Occidentales, 74 (1983): 272, 274). Sobre esta cuestión, véase también: Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Católicos, 1956 (ed. 1882 y 1910): I, libro III, capítulo II, pto. V: 528-536; Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara", *Iglesia y religiosidad en España: historia y archivos. Actas de las V Jornadas de Castilla-La Mancha sobre investigación en archivos (Guadalajara, 8-11 mayo 2001)*. Guadalajara: Confederación de Asociaciones de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios, Museólogos y Documentalistas ANABAD Castilla-La Mancha-Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Guadalajara, 2002: II, 11-13 (doc nº 11).

35. Henriet, Patrick. "'Sanctissima patria'. Point et thèmes communs aux trois œuvres de Lucas de Tuy". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 24 (2001): 249-277, especialmente 270.

36. Alfonso X el Sabio. *Primera Crónica General de España. Estoria de Espanna*, eds. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: 479, 690. Sobre este tema, véanse múltiples referencias en: Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "Hérésie et culture dirigeante dans la Castille de la fin du XIIIe siècle. Le modèle de Alphonso X". *Hérésis*, 9 (1987): 33-47; y, sobre todo, Mitre Fernández, Emilio. "La cultura antiherética en tiempos de la crisis cátara"…: 4-11. Entre las expresiones genéricas del siglo XIII puede señalarse la de *ierro de eresia*, extraída de Bercedo, Gonzalo de. *Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Madrid: Alba, 1998: 37.

37. *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* (fin. s. XIII-princ. s. XIV), ed. César Hernández Alonso et alii. Burgos: Ayuntamiento de Burgos, 1991: libro VII, capítulo 13, 156-157; y en la *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344 que ordenó el conde barcelonés Don Pedro Alfonso (1317-1320)*, ed. Luis F. Lindley Cintra. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1951-1990: III, 266-268 (capítulos CDXXXV-CDXXXVI).

38. *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium et Reges Aragonensium II (1268-1269)*, *Monuments d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, 1: Gestes dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó*, ed. Stefano Maria Cingolani. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 125-131 (cap. XXII); y *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensum et Reges Aragonensium III* (1303-1314), eds. Lucien Barrahu-Dihigo, Jaume Massó Torrents. Barcelona: Fundació Concepció Rabell i Cibils, vidua Romanguera, 1925: 21-116, especialmente 53-54, 56-57. Sobre estas fuentes, véase Cingolani, Stefano Maria *La memòria*...: 17-30, 77-78.

milia virorum et mulierum cum parvulis suis, et pregnantes mulieres interficiebant, et quosdam excoriabant, et nullus a manibus eorum evadere poterat, et multa alia que ab eis facta sunt, non possunt enumerari. [39]

La segunda es el *Chronicon Dertusense II* (1097-1210), un relato analístico iniciado en Ripoll, llevado hacia 1115 al monasterio de Sant Joan de Ripoll (actual Sant Joan de les Abadesses) y que terminó en 1176 en la ciudad de Tortosa, probablemente de la mano de Ponç de Mulnells, abad de Sant Joan y obispo de Tortosa entre 1165 y 1193. Ofrece una noticia breve de las conquistas de Béziers y Carcassonne (1209) que admite sin matices la existencia masiva de herejes más allá de los Pirineos, lo que sitúa a su autor en la posición claramente antiherética que fue compartida por toda la Iglesia hispana:

Era M.CC.XL.VII. anno M.CC.VIIII. gens catholica venit contra haereticos in partibus Biteris, et Carcassonae, et in mense julio capta est Biteris, in qua interfecti sunt plusquam.XXV. millia haereticorum; continuo ab eisdem mense augusto capta est Carcassona, et quamplurima oppida haereticorum.[40]

4. Blasfemos

Se trata de una denominación infrecuente, pero interesante. Conviene tenerla presente, porque su autor es el arzobispo Rodrigo de Toledo, a quien cabe considerar el verdadero creador de la "memoria histórica hispana" de la Cruzada Albigense.[41] Su versión de los orígenes del *negotium pacis et fidei* (1208-1209) dice lo siguiente:

Hic [el abad del Císter y legado pontificio Arnau Amalric] pauco ante emulatione legis catholice prouocatus contra quosdam, qui in Narbonense et uicinis prouinciis blasphemare nomen Domini et Ecclesiam ore nephario presumpserunt, corda fidelium excitauit ut signo crucis contra hereticorum uersucias armarentur. Et sic factum set per Dei graciam, quod ubi contempta predicatio non profecit, falce crucis putatis heresibus fides catholica de die in diem feliciter coalescit; et destructis Biterris et Carcasona blasphemancium sanguis flama uorace et ultrici gladio est consumptus era MCCXLVI.[42]

No hay dudas aquí respecto a la posición adoptada frente a la herejía. Sin embargo, Rodrigo de Toledo no interpretó de la misma forma las consecuencias políticas del conflicto. En un capítulo anterior, explicó la muerte del rey Pedro el Católico en Muret con una fórmula que sería asumida casi sistemáticamente por la historiografía oficial hispana posterior:

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39. *Chronicon Rotense* o *Cronicón de Roda*, Archiu Capitular de Lleida, Fons de Roda, Codex nº 11, *Breviario de la Iglesia de Roda*, fols. 202v-203v, esp. 203v. Sobre esta cuestión, véase Alvira, Martín. "La Couronne d´Aragon, entre hérétiques et croisés: La Croisade albigeoise (1209-1211) selon le 'Chronicon Rotense'". *Heresis*, 38 (2003): 71-87.

40. Chronicon Dertusense II o Anals de Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular de Tortosa, Cartulari 8, f. 157v-159v. Sobre esta fuente, Salrach, Josep Maria. "Contribució dels monjos de Ripoll als orígens de la historiografia catalana; els primers cronicons", *Art i Cultura als monestirs del Ripollés. Santa Maria de Ripoll-Sant Joan de les Abadesses-Sant Pere de Camprodon". Ponencias de la 1ª. Setmana de Estudis (Sessions del 16 al 18 de setembre de 1992)*. Barcelona: Associació Amics dels Monestirs del Ripollés-Publicacions de l´Abadia de Montserrat, 1995: 28-32.

41. Alvira, Martín. "La Cruzada Albigense y la intervención de la Corona de Aragón en Occitania. El recuerdo de las crónicas hispánicas del siglo XIII". *Hispania*, 60/3, 206 (2000): 947-976, especialmente 962-968.

42. Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae…*: libro VIII, capítulo II. Sobre este autor y su crónica, véanse los estudios recogidos en Martin, George, coord. "Rodrigue Jiménez de Rada (Castille, première moitié du XIIIe siècle): Histoire, historiographie". *Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 26 (2003): 11-307.

> Nec rex Petrus, cum esset plene catholicus, in fauorem venerat blasphemorum, set, ut diximus, affinitatis debito prouocatus.[43]

5. *Albigenses*

Llegados a este punto, el dato a tener en cuenta es que aún no hayamos hecho referencia alguna a la denominación *Albigenses*. En realidad, este término sólo hemos podido constatarlo en la citada *Chronica Regum Castellae* o *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*. Este original relato histórico es atribuido a Juan, canciller del rey Fernando III de Castilla (1217-1252), que fue también abad de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid (1219-1231), obispo de Burgos y obispo de Osma (m. 1246).[44] Su versión de los primeros años de la Cruzada Albigense (1209-1213) es tan original, interesante e importante que vale la pena volver a reproducirla:

> *Papa siquidem Romanus Innocencius tercius dederat remissionem generalem peccatorum omnibus illis qui venirent super Albigenses et alios hereticos qui erant in partibus illis. Pululaverant namque hereses diverse, facies quidem habentes diversas et caudas colligatas, et multiplicabantur cotidie adeo quod periculosum erat universali eclesie amplius talia dissimulare. Catholici ergo de diversis partibus et precipue de regno Francie venientes, fere totam terram illam in modico tempore Christi fidei subiugaverunt, castra multa et civitates munitissimas, quasi inexpugnabiles, in momento temporis subvertentes, hereticos ipsos diversis penis affligentes et variis mortibus interimentes. Operabatur siquidem manifeste et miraculose virtus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est rex regum et dominus dominancium, per ministerium illustrissimi et fidelissimi comitis Simonis Montis Fortis, qui velud alter Iudas Macabeus, legem Dei zelans, viriliter et potenter bella Domini preliabatur.*
>
> *Predictum comitem Symonem Montis Fortis, cum quo erant fere quingenti milites, obsedit rex Aragonum memoratus et comes Tolosanus et alii comites cum eis et bar[o]nes et nobiles terre et populi multi in quodam castro, fiduciam habentes firmam quod possent ipsum capere. Erat autem comes vir strenuus et bellicosus et cor eius habens fiduciam firmam in Domino Iesu Christo, pro quo cotidie laborabat. Videns igitur periculum sibi et suis inminere, in virtute Domini Iesu Christi exeuntes de castro obsesso irruerunt in castra et eos per virtutem Crucis verterunt in fugam, et ipsum regem Aragonum cum multis militibus interfecerunt. Felix fuisset rex ille, si vitam finisset statim post nobile triumphum belli commissi in Navas de Tolosa contra regem Marroquitanum.*[45]

Estamos, por fin, ante una interpretación que se ajusta al "discurso de la disidencia religiosa" analizado por Jean-Louis Biget. Pero es la única, que sepamos, en todo el siglo XIII.

6. La denominación *Albigenses* como expresión de un discurso ideológico

¿Por qué esta ausencia prácticamente total del término *Albigenses* en las fuentes hispánicas del siglo XIII? ¿Por qué la excepcionalidad de la *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*?

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43. En este mismo capítulo (libro VI, capítulo IIII) empleó los términos *hereje* y *blasfemo* de forma combinada: *Demum cum uenerabilis Arnaldus Narbonensis antistes contra hereticos, qui in prouincia Narbonensi nomen Domini blasphemabant, de Galliis crucis signatorum multitudinem aduocasset, aduenit Petrus rex Aragonum in auxilium comitis Tolosani.* Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*…: (libro VI, capítulo IIII).

44. Sobre Juan de Osma y su crónica, véanse las introducciones de Charlo Brea a sus ediciones (Osma, Juan de. *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1984; Osma, Juan de. *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997) y a su traducción (Osma, Juan de. *Chronica latina Regum Castellae, español*, ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Madrid: Akal, 1999), así como los recientes estudios recogidos en Martín, George, coord. "Chronica Regum Castellae". *e-Spania. Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*. Diciembre de 2006. Université Paris- Sorbonne Paris IV. 22 de diciembre 2006 < http://e-spania.revues.org/index31.html>.

45. Osma, Juan de. *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*…1997: 66-67 (capítulo 27).

Dos razones importantes, al menos, podrían dar respuesta a estas preguntas. La primera tiene que ver con el argumento que sirve a Biget para justificar la ausencia de la denominación *Albigenses* en los autores occitanos o que escribieron sus obras en tierras occitanas: se trataba de un gentilicio local que no podía ser convertido en denominación de los herejes para quienes conocían bien "las realidades del Midi".[46] En el caso ibérico, la proximidad geográfica, histórica y cultural de las sociedades hispanas y occitanas durante estos siglos permite atribuir a los autores peninsulares —al menos a la mayoría y a los más importantes— un grado de conocimiento de la realidad occitana lo suficientemente alto como para que la misma argumentación valga también para ellos.[47] La segunda razón es de carácter ideológico-político, y tiene relación directa con la postura adoptada por la historiografía hispánica ante la Cruzada Albigense. La mayoría de los autores hispanos redujo una guerra de veinte años, con consecuencias decisivas para la evolución histórica de toda la Europa meridional, a la batalla de Muret y, en el mejor de los casos, a la gran campaña de 1209 que acabó con las conquistas de Béziers y Carcassonne. Casi todos ocultaron la existencia de la herejía. Y no pocos —ni poco importantes— justificaron, por una u otra vía, la intervención militar que había llevado al rey de Aragón a morir entre los herejes.[48]

¿Hubo algún autor hispano del siglo XIII que rompiera este esquema interpretativo? En efecto, uno, justamente el canciller y obispo castellano que escribió la *Chronica Regum Castellae*. Su visión sin matices del conflicto occitano-cátaro, su oposición a la intervención del rey de Aragón en 1213, sus elogios a la figura de Simon de Montfort, jefe militar de los cruzados, y la forma "hagiográfica" de estos elogios —la identificación con *alter Iudas Macabeus* es muy significativa— son todos ellos elementos excepcionales en los relatos hispanos de la Cruzada Albigense.[49] Y lo que es más importante, son elementos que forman parte del discurso ideológico sostenido por el partido "cruzadista" de Montfort y los prelados franco-occitanos a través de su portavoz, el cisterciense francés Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, autor de la *Hystoria Albigensis* (h. 1213-1218), obra considerada la "historia oficial" de la Cruzada.[50] El mismo discurso, en definitiva, que hizo del gentilicio *Albigenses* la denominación global aplicada a los herejes y sus cómplices.

Puede plantearse, por tanto, que fue la identificación con el "discurso cisterciense de la disidencia" lo que llevó al autor de la *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla* a utilizar la denominación *Albigenses*. Una identificación en las ideas habría llevado, lógicamente, a una identificación en las

46. Biget, Jean-Louis. "'Les Albigeois'…": 224 (trad. mía).

47. Sirvan de ejemplo las referencias a la *Gallia Gothica* de Alfonso X el Sabio en su *General Estoria* (*Alfonso X el Sabio. Prosa histórica*, ed. Benito Brancaforte. Madrid: Cátedra, 1990: 95 [cap. 558]) o, más tardíamente, de Don Juan Manuel en su *Crónica abreviada* (Juan Manuel, infante de Castilla. *Obras Completas de Don Juan Manuel*, ed. José Manuel Blecua. Madrid: Gredos, 1982-1983: II, 790 [capítulo CCXXX]). Sobre este tema, véase Alvira, Martín. "Le Jeudi de Muret: Aspects idéologiques et mentaux de la bataille de 1213", *"La Croisade albigeoise", Colloque de Carcassonne (Centre d'Études Cathares, Carcassonne - octobre 2002)*. Balma: CEC, 2004: 197-207.

48. Análisis en Alvira, Martín. "La Cruzada Albigense…": 947-976.

49. También es excepcional en la historiografía peninsular del siglo XIII su relato de los últimos años de la Cruzada (1226-1229), Osma, Juan de. *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*… 1984: 73-75.

50. Vaux-de-Cernay, Pierre des. *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin, Ernest Lyon. París: H. Champion, 1926-1930; Vaux-de-Cernay, Pierre des. *Hystoria Albigensis*, eds. Pascal Guébin, Henri Maissonnaire. París: J. Vrin, 1951: X. Pierre, monje de la abadía cisterciense de Vaux-de-Cernay, era sobrino de Guy des Vaux-de-Cernay, que fue abad de este cenobio (1184-1212), familiar del conde Simon de Montfort y luego obispo de Carcassona (1212). Sobre este autor y su obra, véanse las introducciones a las ediciones latina y francesa; Dossat, Yves. "La Croisade vue par les chroniqueurs". *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 4 (1969): 221-259, especialmente 221-233; Martel, Philippe. "Les cathares et leur historiens", *Les cathares en Occitanie*. París: Fayard, 1982: 409-483, especialmente 413-415; Alvira, Martín. *El Jueves de Muret*…: 121-123; Meschini, Marco. "Innocenzo III e il negotium pacis et fidei in Linguadoca tra il 1198 e il 1215". Atti della Academia Nazionale dei Licei, 20/2 (2007): 365-906, especialmente 730-761.

expresiones. Y es justamente el mismo argumento a la inversa —la no identificación con el discurso ideológico de los defensores a ultranza de la Cruzada Albigense—, lo que podría explicar, en buena medida, la ausencia de esta denominación en los demás autores hispanos del siglo XIII. Que la denominación *Albigenses* no aparezca ni siquiera entre quienes, como el obispo Lucas de Tuy, tuvieron una preocupación máxima por el peligro de la herejía, da mayor consistencia aún al planteamiento inicial de Biget: esto es, a la existencia de un discurso ideológico de la disidencia religiosa, estrechamente asociado al mundo cisterciense sostenedor de la Cruzada Albigense y diferenciado de la natural oposición a la herejía que compartieron todos los autores eclesiásticos de la época.

Desde principios del siglo XIII, razones de orden político e ideológico, además de la proximidad geográfico-histórico-cultural ya apuntada, explican la ausencia de la denominación *Albigenses* en los autores de la Corona de Aragón. En los reinos occidentales, en cambio, podría deberse a una cuestión de tradición historiográfica más que de identificación ideológica. La herencia de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, máxima *auctoritas* del siglo XIII en materia histórica, habría jugado aquí un papel determinante.[51] Así, mientras en otras regiones de la Europa meridional fue asumido plenamente el discurso antiherético dominante —por ejemplo en el *Liber de Temporibus et Aetatibus* de Alberto Milioli di Regio (h. 1286) o en la *Chronica* de Salimbene di Adamo (h. 1287)[52]—, los miembros del taller historiográfico de Alfonso X el Sabio siguieron utilizando la expresión *hereges* heredada del arzobispo Rodrigo de Toledo. Como la *Chronica Regum Castellae* no fue un texto utilizado por ningún compilador o cronista posterior a su redacción, la versión hispana del "discurso ideológico de la disidencia religiosa" quedó relegada de la historia oficial del siglo XIII... y, con ella, también el empleo de la denominación *Albigenses*.

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51. La importancia historiográfica de la obra de Rodrigo de Toledo es inmensa. Puede decirse que "el texto del Toledano constituye la base principal del relato histórico" elaborado en Castilla y León desde mediados del siglo XIII, Fernández Ordóñez, Isabel. "Variación en el modelo historiográfico alfonsí en el siglo XIII. Las versiones de la 'Estoria de España'", *La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV)*, George Martín, coord. Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2000: 41-74, especialmente 47. Esta influencia de Rodrigo de Toledo se proyecta, en muchos casos, hasta el siglo XV. Como afirma Jean-Pierre Jardin: "Se podría decir sin exagerar que Jiménez de Rada es el director de conciencia de los autores de sumarios del siglo XV. Es la máxima autoridad que conocen" (Jardin, Jean-Pierre. "El modelo alfonsí ante la revolución trastámara. Los sumarios de crónicas generales del siglo XV", *La historia alfonsí*…: 141-156, especialmente 145; Jardin, Jean-Pierre. "Rodrigue Jiménez de Rada comme 'auctoritas': les sommes de chroniques générales du XV^{e} siècle". *Cahiers d'études hispaniques medievales*, 26 (2003): 295-307). Para su influencia en la historiografía catalano-aragonesa, véase Coll i Alentorn, Miquel. "Roderic Ximènez de Rada i la nostra historiografia", *Historiografia*. Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991: 114-117; en la cronística navarra, Orcástegui, Carmen. "La memoria histórica de Navarra a fines de la Edad Media: la historiografía nacional". Príncipe de Viana, 2/3 (1986): 596-599; y en la cronísticas portuguesa, Barcelos, Pedro Afonso, conde de. *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Luis F. Lindley Cintra. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1951-1990; Barcelos, Pedro Afonso, Conde d. *Edición crítica del texto español de la Crónica de 1344*, ed. y trad. Diego Catalán, María Soledad de Andrés. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

52. ...*de combustione hereticorum, quam fieri fecif Francie in terra Albigensium*... (Milioli di Reggio, Alberto. "Liber de Temporibus et Aetatibus", *Monumenta Germania Historica Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 353-572, especialmente 362 (capítulo CXCVI), 453 (capítulo CLXXXXVI)); y... *ut terram Albigensium*... (di Adamo o da Parma, Salimbene. "Chronica", *Monumenta Germania Historica Scriptores*. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii, 1905-1913: XXXII, 1-95, especialmente 22).

LAS VIOLENCIAS *BANDERIZAS* EN LA SALAMANCA MEDIEVAL. ALGUNOS PROBLEMAS DE INTERPRETACIÓN

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Resumen

El presente trabajo trata de explicar las célebres luchas de bandos de Salamanca de los siglos XIV-XV distanciándose de las interpretaciones más tópicas. Los historiadores, sobre todo antiguos, enfatizaron determinados acontecimientos sangrientos, como la venganza de María de Monroy. También ha sido frecuente que las luchas de bandos hayan sido tratadas como algo unitario. Pensamos, por el contrario, que el fenómeno fue resultado de una combinación empírica de realidades diferentes: rivalidades personales, luchas por el poder o injerencias desestabilizadoras de la alta nobleza en la ciudad, entre otros factores, es decir, conflictos distintos que, sin embargo, los discursos y los propios lenguajes de la época presentaron bajo la apariencia de una realidad uniforme.

De la tradición erudita y legendaria a la actual Historia Social. Todos los niños salmantinos han oído hablar de los célebres bandos medievales de la ciudad del Tormes. Una plaza céntrica lleva ese nombre, existe en ella una casa de la segunda mitad del siglo XV que perteneció a la principal protagonista de la Historia, María "la Brava", mientras que al patrono de la ciudad, San Juan de Sahagún, que vivió en Salamanca en la época de los Reyes Católicos, entre sus dos o tres milagros más célebres, se le atribuye el de haber pacificado los famosos bandos. En el imaginario colectivo de la ciudad, a estas consolidadas y populares tradiciones se une otra más que envuelve en la leyenda un determinado espacio urbano, el llamado "Corrillo", pequeña plazuela —junto a la actual Plaza Mayor— que formaba parte entonces de la llamada Plaza de San Martín y que recibió, no se sabe muy bien desde cuándo, la denominación de "Corrillo de la Yerba". Se atribuye al nombre una causa vinculada a la tradición de los bandos: el sitio servía de delimitación a las dos mitades en que estaba dividida la ciudad: San Benito al sur, San Martín o Santo Tomé al norte. Se decía que era tan alta la tensión existente que nadie se atrevía a cruzar por esa plazuela y por ello crecía de forma silvestre la hierba en ella, pese a ser el centro geográfico de la ciudad.

Es curioso que una tradición tan arraigada, y en cierto modo muy repetida y estudiada, como la de los bandos salmantinos presente todavía grandes problemas de interpretación. Es cierto que los historiadores actuales prescindimos de prejuicios heredados e intentamos aplicar conceptualizaciones razonadas, con nuestra propia lógica, que no coincide necesariamente con las explicaciones tradicionales. Pero todavía estas últimas pesan mucho, se apoyan en no pocos fundamentos y contienen, seguramente, una buena parte de verdad histórica que cuesta mucho desmontar académicamente.

Analizaremos más adelante narraciones y documentos correspondientes al ciclo 1390-1493, que es el período que podemos historiar con mayor rigor profesional y también intentaremos explicar situaciones previas y posteriores. Pero al margen de ello, digamos que las fuentes de la época,

que nos informan sobre las luchas, no señalan un origen concreto de los bandos. Es significativo que la explicación más popular y contundente de las raíces de las tensiones banderizas, o al menos del momento cumbre y seminal de las mismas, tal como ha sido elaborada la tradición oficial de la Historia de los Bandos, sea una explicación nacida con posterioridad a partir de un relato escrito en los primeros años del siglo XVI.

El relato en concreto es el que llevó a cabo un tal Alonso Maldonado en una crónica de familia, relativa a los Monroy, donde narra un episodio referido a los antepasados del personaje protagonista de la misma, aun cuando el episodio no era el eje central de la obra. Apenas una o dos generaciones habrían trascurrido entre los hechos que nos interesa comentar y la redacción de la obra. La crónica en cuestión es la conocida como "*Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara*". Brevemente, casi en los primeros pasajes de la obra[1] refiere tales hechos, referidos a María de Monroy. Perteneciente a una de las familias más conspicuas de la ciudad, la de los Monroy, y viuda reciente del caballero Enrique Enríquez, otro de los linajes patricios de la urbe, protagonizó el siguiente suceso: tras conocer el homicidio de sus dos hijos a manos de otros dos jóvenes, los hermanos Manzano, tras una disputa inicialmente trivial, vengó la muerte de aquéllos persiguiendo en Portugal a los culpables, allí huidos, llevó a Salamanca con ella las cabezas cortadas de los homicidas y las depósito en las tumbas de sus hijos.

Interesa ahora destacar que este acontecimiento narrado por Alonso Maldonado, sobre cuyos detalles y significado volveremos más adelante[2], no fue relacionado por el cronista con las raíces de los bandos. Eso sí, por aquellos primeros años del siglo XVI el recuerdo de la venganza contra los Manzano circulaba ya en la ciudad. Lo prueba el opúsculo llamado *Triunfo Raimundino*, que Villar y Macías fechó en la primera década de ese siglo y que se atribuye a Juan Ramón de Trasmiera. Se trata de un enigmático poema centrado en la loa de la ciudad repoblada por Raimundo de Borgoña, todo un recorrido por los linajes salmantinos. Es una composición muy del gusto renacentista, que rememora las glorias de las principales familias de la ciudad, las hazañas militares o de otro tipo de sus egregios integrantes. La obra describe en ortopédicas rimas ciertas fantasías genealógicas y pseudohistóricas de los grandes hombres, así como los blasones de cada casa, formando una especie de revoltijo de apellidos, desde algunos de la alta nobleza —no ya salmantina, sino castellana— hasta otros de muy modesta condición. Pues bien, al agrupar en dos bandos las familias nobles salmantinas, como luego indicaremos, ha sido utilizado con un valor "documental" para avalar la tesis de una cerrada y redonda división de la ciudad en los dos célebres agrupamientos nobiliarios. El poema[3], que en alguno de sus manuscritos es también una joya de ilustraciones heráldicas, es de compleja interpretación y debe ser leído como obra literaria. Y lo cierto es que, en su recorrido por los apellidos ilustres, y al referirse concretamente a los Manzano, evoca líricamente el trágico

1. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara", *Memorial Histórico Español*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110. Los sucesos que nos interesan se describen concretamente en las páginas 17-19.

2. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy…": VI, 1-10.

3. Procede de un manuscrito conservado en el Colegio Mayor San Bartolomé o de Anaya. Fue editado como apéndice por Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca.* Salamanca: Graficesa, 1973-1975 (1ª edición. 1887): V, apéndice. documental XIX, 165-180. El manuscrito acabó después en la Biblioteca Nacional; citado por Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina. Historia de la ciudad en el arte de sus blasones*. Salamanca: Ayuntamiento de Salamanca-Colegio de España, 1997: 301 (1 ed., Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1966).

destino de esta familia[4], pero no dota al acontecimiento de mayor relieve fuera de la sombra del crimen de los hermanos Manzano proyectado sobre su familia, que por otra parte es una más de las numerosas casas citadas una a una en la composición[5]. No se sugiere que del hecho sangriento se avivara o naciera la enemistad entre los dos bandos de la ciudad. No hay nada de eso. Es más, los Manzano y los Monroy, en el poema mismo, forman parte del mismo bando de Santo Tomé.

En todo caso, el *Triunfo Raimundino* tuvo en su época un eco escaso. Su casi olvido ha hecho que no haya formado parte de la tradición cultural y libresca de la ciudad. En cambio, esta última tuvo su gran espaldarazo bastante tiempo después, cuando el primer historiador sistemático de la ciudad, Gil González Dávila, autor de un célebre *Theatro Eclesiástico*, escribió su *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*[6]. Los *bandos* apenas ocupan unas pocas páginas en un recorrido de más de 500 por la historia de la ciudad. González Dávila reproduce el pasaje de Alonso Maldonado de forma prácticamente literal. Pero tras narrar la historia, reseña la muerte posterior de María de Monroy, "a quien dieron los de aquel siglo renombre de Brava, por el hecho notable que auía emprendido" Y añade: "Tal fue el origen de los bandos de Salamanca, que como fueron creciendo en años, fueron también creciendo en daños, y dissensiones, heredando los odios y rencores". Esta sería su particular *inventio* del tema. Luego indica el autor que "no tomaron estos bandos nombre de sus auctores y dueños, sino de dos parroquias principales de Salamanca, Santo Tomé y San Benito"[7]. Es decir, para González Dávila, el hecho sangriento de la venganza de María de Monroy y la existencia de los bandos de Santo Tomé y San Benito, eran ya el mismo fenómeno y además el origen de los bandos.

La identificación pesaría durante siglos en la historiografía salmantina. González Dávila, en otro pasaje, otorgaba un papel relevante como pacificador de los bandos, en época de los Reyes Católicos, al agustino Juan de Sahagún, predicador en la ciudad, muerto en 1479[8], cuya festividad se

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4. Del linaje dice que estaba vinculado a Francia e integrado en el bando de Santo Tomé. Y añade:*"La sangre de los Manzano/ purpúreo al bando volvió/ cuando la muerte segó/ con guadaña los hermanos./ por las maternales manos/ Fueron sus muertes vengadas,/ De las sangrientas espadas/ negras de en sangre cercanos."*

5. Apellidos que incluye en el bando de San Benito: Fonseca, Acevedo, Maldonado, Enríquez, Anaya —varias ramas—, Cerda, Arias, Guzmán, Nieto, Figueroa, Pereira, Bonal, Dávila, Arias Maldonado, Zúñiga, Vacas, Palomeque, Godínez, Maldonado de Monleón, Paz, Sotomayor, Porras, Fontiveros, Tejeda —alguna rama—, Yáñez de Ovalle, Suárez, Mejias, Osorio, González y "Casa de Alba". Y en el bando de Santo Tomé: Guzmán —otra rama—, Manrique, Lara, Villafuerte, Rodríguez, Miranda, Fonseca —una rama—, Ferrera, Araúzo, Solís —varias ramas—, Ordóñez, Tejeda —otra rama—, Villafuerte, Monroy, Aldana, Díaz, Viedma, Ovalle, Urrea, Rodríguez, Manzano, Maldonado —una rama menor—, Paz —alguna rama—, Brochero, Corvelle, Luna y Cornejo.

6. Se publicó en 1606. Hay una edición facsímil reciente a cargo de Baltasar Cuart Moner (con una detallada y rigurosa introducción crítica): González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades de la Ciudad de Salamanca*, ed. Baltasar Cuart Moner. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca-Ediciones Diputación de Salamanca, 1994.

7. González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades*…: Libro III, capítulo XII, 316-317.

8. Parece que ya el primer biógrafo de San Juan de Sahagún, el padre Juan de Sevilla, hacia 1488 —dicha biografía fue trascrita por Tomás de Herrera— ya mencionaba este papel pacificador: *"Estando él en Salamanca en tiempos de los bandos estorbó muchas muertes de hombres y muchos males, que se causaran si él no lo estorbara"*. Referencias en Juan de Sevilla (c. 1488), *Vida de San Juan de Sahagún, prior del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca"*, por el padre Tomás Herrera, Madrid, 1652; asimismo, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 80. Pero fue González Dávila el que popularizó la figura. La *Historia* de éste parece haber coincidido con un momento de entusiasmo en torno a la figura de San Juan de Sahagún, y lo cierto es que desde entonces este egregio personaje se asocia a la Historia de los bandos salmantinos. González Dávila narra un prodigio hecho por el santo, el de apaciguar al belicoso duque de Alba haciendo que se detuvieran en seco los caballos desbocados de unos hombres del duque que pretendían agredirle, González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades*...: Libro III, capítulo XVII, 379, 385-387. Aparte de esto, se atribuyeron otros milagros a San Juan de Sahagún, como salvar la vida de un niño caído a un pozo, o contener la brutal embestida de un toro fuera de sí que corría descontrolado por las calles de la ciudad, que es otro de los milagros zoológicos atribuidos al santo. Pero fue la supuesta pacificación de los bandos la contribución más apreciada por la tradición en relación con este personaje, beatificado en

celebra en ella cada junio. Historiadores posteriores a González Dávila se remiten a la autoridad de su obra. Es el caso de la obra de Bernardo Dorado, *Compendio Histórico*, de finales del siglo XVIII[9], y de José María Quadrado, en 1884, que resume los hechos muy escuetamente[10], en una línea muy semejante a la breve descripción coetánea que dedicaba F. Araújo en su obra *La Reina del Tormes*[11].

Por entonces había aparecido un librillo de Manuel Villar y Macías, llamado *Bandos de Salamanca*, de 1883, cuyos datos revisó e incorporó a su monumental *Historia de Salamanca*, editada en 1887. Esta obra[12], por su envergadura, constituye un hito en la historiografía salmantina. Los bandos ocupan cierto relieve en el tratamiento dado al pasado medieval de Salamanca, época que resalta especialmente. Villar y Macías no se conformó con dar por buena la explicación de los bandos como producto de la célebre venganza. El autor dedicó más de veinte años a escribir esa citada *Historia de Salamanca*, consultó libros y archivos, todas las fuentes de que pudo disponer —hoy muchas imposibles de localizar— y escribió más de 1.500 páginas plagadas de fechas, nombres y comentarios. Esta obsesión empírica —que según la leyenda romántica le llevó al suicidio en 1891 al ver desmentido un dato trivial— le permitió fijar al autor la venganza de María de Monroy hacia 1464 o, como mucho, principios de 1465, ya que hay testimonios de la confiscación de bienes de los Manzano efectuada por Enrique IV en ese último año precisamente como consecuencia del asesinato de los jóvenes Enríquez. Villar y Macías concedió mucha importancia al episodio, pero le despojó de su condición de hecho seminal del conflicto banderizo. Villar y Macías tenía otras muchas referencias como para pensar que había que buscar otro origen.

El autor, en efecto, sugiere otras causas complementarias. Villar y Macías pensaba que la mención en el fuero de Salamanca a las *naturas, sesmos* o *las linages*, a las que llama "naciones repobla-

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1601 y canonizado en 1691. Puede verse una biografía del santo (que no aclara nada sobre el tema que nos ocupa) en García Abad, Albano. *San Juan de Sahagún. Fenómeno social del siglo XV*. León: Lancia, 1994.

9. Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Juan Antonio de Lasanta, 1776 (ed. facsímil, Salamanca: Europa, 1985). Resume el episodio de los jóvenes hijos de Enríquez y Monroy y su enfrentamiento con los Manzano, acaecido, dice, en un lance casual mientras jugaban a la pelota, y luego reproduce escuetamente la venganza de doña María. "Tal fue el origen de estos enardecidos y sangrientos vandos, de los que, aunque sus principales cabezas eran *Monroyes* y *Manzanos*, por odios particulares todos tenían sus sequaces" (Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca*…: capítulo XLVI, IV, 310-311).

10. Quadrado, José María. *Salamanca, Ávila y Segovia*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1979: 29-30 (1 ed., Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo, 1884). Menciona el episodio de María la Brava, las denominaciones de Santo Tomé y San Benito, la intervención de San Juan de Sahagún —sin concretar— y la división por mitad de los caballeros salmantinos "ligados con una o con otra familia, a los cuales se dice servía de línea divisoria rara vez hollada el Corrillo de la Yerba". El nombre de la Yerba, que se ha asociado luego a ese motivo banderizo es ciertamente antiguo, puesto que aparece en la documentación del XV, junto a la iglesia y plaza de San Martín, o sea, exactamente en la ubicación que se ha supuesto que era luego la divisoria banderiza.

11. Araujo y Gómez, Fernando de. *La reina del Tormes. Guía histórico-descriptiva de la ciudad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Caja Salamanca, 1984: capítulo I, XI, 75-76. (1 ed., Salamanca: Jacinto Hidalgo, 1884). Daba relieve al hecho célebre y a la leyenda de la Yerba del Corrillo, imaginando algo así como una ciudad en estado de guerra —"temerosa línea divisoria por ninguno franqueada sin exposición de muerte, convirtiendo las casas en atrincheramientos y en campos de batalla las calles, no ya un día y otro día, sino un año y otro año, hasta dejar que la yerba en el Corrillo, el Rubicón de aquellos Césares, se levantase como padrón de ignominia..."—, pero consideraba que, de no haber sido este episodio acaecido tras una riña en el juego de pelota y la "venganza de la terrible madre", la chispa de la discordia hubiese saltado: "seguros estamos de que no hubiera faltado otra ocasión, más pronto o más tarde, para encender la rivalidad", incluso sugiriendo que a finales del siglo XIV ya se insinuaba la división y la discordia en la ciudad (Araujo y Gómez, Fernando de. *La reina del Tormes*…: capítulo I, XI, 75-76.

12. Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…

doras" serían una de las causas de los bandos[13]. Pero más allá de ello, Villar y Macías vio los bandos casi como una constante en la historia de la ciudad.

Desde Villar y Macías no hubo aportaciones relevantes sobre el tema hasta muy avanzado el siglo XX. Quizá un artículo de interés especial sobre la explicación de los bandos salmantinos sea el de N. Cabrillana referido a las usurpaciones de tierras en Salamanca en pleno siglo XV. Demasiado arrimado a una explicación unilateral basada en el egoísmo economicista de los nobles salmantinos, supuso que la avidez de los aristócratas salmantinos por poseer y ocupar —legal y, sobre todo, ilegalmente— tierras y términos privativos activó las enemistades entre ellos[14].

El libro de M. González García, publicado en el año 1982, no se ocupa de forma relevante de los bandos, pero, en su recorrido —muy lineal— por la historia de Salamanca, aporta una idea que considero bastante sugerente, como luego indicaré, aun cuando no agota toda la complejidad del fenómeno banderizo. Este autor remite a las luchas entre los partidarios salmantinos de Pedro I y los de Enrique II, durante la guerra civil, el motivo y origen de los bandos[15]. Quizá la explicación sea discutible, porque parte de la premisa de conectar fenómenos que quizá no lo estaban tanto. Pero lo cierto es que la cuestión de las «parcialidades», como solemos conocer este tipo de alineamientos en torno a las cusas dinásticas en que se vieron involucrados los nobles de los siglos XIII-XV fue, sin duda, una de las expresiones que más activaron las luchas políticas en la Salamanca bajomedieval y que más contribuyeron a dar fama en el reino a los *bandos* de la ciudad.

El libro de Clara Isabel López Benito, publicado en 1983 y nacido de una tesis de licenciatura del año anterior, constituye la referencia fundamental sobre la cuestión banderiza salmantina específicamente durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos[16]. La autora tuvo en cuenta respetuosamente las opiniones de Villar y Macías y las de Cabrillana, pero se centró, como no se había hecho hasta entonces, en la identificación de los protagonistas, de los que intervinieron en las luchas de aquellos años, con nombres y apellidos, digamos, sobre todo entre las treguas de 1476 —que fueron célebres— y las nuevas tensiones surgidas hacia 1493, o incluso hasta 1507, violencias las de este año analizadas por López Benito en su libro. Para ese período ya tan tardío existe una buena información a partir de archivos —catedralicio, municipal y Simancas— y pueden fijarse bastante bien los perfiles del conflicto, como hizo la autora. El libro era además, y así estaba concebido, un estudio demográfico, económico y social de la ciudad en las décadas próximas a 1500. En cuanto a la explicación, acepta de un modo ecléctico varios motivos, entre ellos el nacimiento remoto en tiempos de la repoblación —aunque no analiza este contexto, como es lógico—, pasa de puntillas por la venganza contra los Manzano de 1464, a la que no otorga apenas importancia, y sitúa los principales acentos en la lucha por el poder municipal y en la lucha por el dominio de la tierra, factores ambos de disputas y

13. Como cada una de ellas, de procedencia geográfica distinta, (ver nota 24) tenía sus alcaldes y jurados, su zona propia, se producían tensiones constantes (Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: II, 14, 19; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 43-44).

14. Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos". *Cuadernos de Historia, Anexos de Hispania*, (1969): 255-295. Concretamente subraya "la influencia que la lucha por la posesión de la tierra tuvo en el recrudecimiento del odio entre linajes" (Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos"…: 256).

15. Lo dice expresamente: "este enfrentamiento entre Tejedas y Maldonados está en el origen de la división del patriciado salmantino en dos bandos" (González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad* Media. Salamanca: Universidad de la Salamanca, 1982: 103).

16. López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios en Salamanca al iniciarse la Edad Moderna*. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salamantinos, 1983.

pleitos entre los caballeros salmantinos[17]. Eso sí, concibe las usurpaciones de tierras concejiles como un conflicto simultáneo a las luchas de bandos. El enfoque "estructural"[18] y de "luchas de intereses" o de clases entre los miembros de la oligarquía salmantina predomina en el enfoque de la autora, lo cual se correspode con ciertas corrientes historiográficas que estaban aún en boga en 1982, cuando se hizo, pero más allá de ello la autora analiza con detenimiento y finura los problemas de la ciudad en el período tardomedieval y aporta la mayor información documental conocida hasta entonces.

Después de este libro, cabe destacar en los años siguientes la publicación de algunas fuentes, con o sin introducciones o estudios previos[19], así como la revisión historiográfica de la temática en la Nueva Historia de Salamanca, un obra colectiva publicada, en lo referente al tomo de Historia Medieval, en 1997. Personalmente, me correspondió ahí analizar la cuestión de los linajes y bandos salmantinos. Mi aportación quiso en esa *Historia de Salamanca* interpretar la cuestión[20] a partir de ciertas premisas y puntos de vista que habíamos podido plantear ya en otros estudios anteriores[21]. Suponíamos que bajo el conflicto de los bandos, que se presenta como unitario —ya se ha indicado el peso de la tradición historiográfica en esta visión— existían en realidad varias líneas de conflictividad totalmente diferentes. Incluso llegamos a sugerir que algunos de los tópicos o hechos más emblemáticos de la historia banderiza salmantina habrían sido o ajenos a las luchas entre los linajes de caballeros de la ciudad o aleatorios totalmente dentro de los alineamientos característicos. Entre estos fenómenos, nada menos que la división topográfica de la ciudad en dos mitades espaciales, las primeras ordenanzas sobre reparto de cargos entre las dos partes —las ordenanzas de 1390— o la misma venganza de

17. Expresamente la autora se refiere a los motivos del conflicto. Dice que hechos como la venganza de María de Monroy "pueden surgir, a corto plazo, por un deseo de venganza, por un ajuste de cuentas. Pero bajo móviles de tales características subyacen razones de carácter perdurable y, por ello, mucho más importantes para el historiador". Añade a continuación que "dos son, a nuestro entender, los motivos de tipo estructural que enfrentaron a la oligarquía salmantina: la posesión de la tierra y la consecución del poder municipal, con la capacidad de actuación y la influencia que ambos llevan inherente" (López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos* nobiliarios…: 127).

18. En este tipo de enfoque, aspectos como el de la crisis del siglo XIV o las luchas sociales antagónicas entre los miembros de la nobleza —sea rural, sea urbana— adquieren gran relieve. La misma Clara Isabel López Benito, que menciona también otros motivos (véase la nota anterior), destaca igualmente la crisis del siglo XIV como causa del malestar nobiliario, traducido en violencias, y asimila los comportamientos de los nobles salmantinos al de los "malhechores-feudales", López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: 162. Puede comprobarse también en un trabajo de A. Vaca sobre el asunto. Es una aportación de documentos, pero en la explicación que inicia la recopilación se pone el énfasis en estas cuestiones de enfrentamientos antagónicos entre las clases aristocráticas de la ciudad, Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio", *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos*, José Antonio Bonilla Hernández, coord. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: 433-458.

19. Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio"...: 433-458; Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "La oligarquía urbana salmantina en la Baja Edad Media. Caballeros y escuderos en pugna por los cargos del Concejo (1390-1408)". *Anales de Historia Antigua, Medieval y Moderna*, 31 (1998): 63-93; Vaca, Ángel; Bonilla, José Antonio, eds. *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Salamanca, 1989; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis. "Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa", *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos*…: 459-475.

20. Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros (en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo)", *Historia de Salamanca. Tomo II. Edad Media*, José María Mínguez, coord. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1997: 389-478; la cuestión de los bandos y linajes la abordabamos concretamente en las páginas 427 a 468 de ese capítulo.

21. Teníamos las referencias de acercamientos previos anteriores, con la óptica castellana en general, y del caso monográfico y muy desmenuzado de Alba de Tormes: Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorìo medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad política en los concejos castellanos de la Meseta durante la época del Regimiento medieval. La distribución social del poder", *Concejos y ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica: II Congreso de Estudios Medievales. León, 25 al 29 de Septiembre de 1989*. Madrid: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1990: 359-413; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

María la Brava. Luego lo veremos. Pero además de esta especie de descodificación de la problemática banderiza, intentábamos indagar en los motivos de cada tipo de enfrentamiento conocido. Siempre es difícil descifrar los móviles o causas, si se quiere, de los conflictos. Pero habíamos observado que, casi de forma unívoca, la historiografía venía explicando las luchas de bandos siempre como "efecto" de algo, de intereses económicos, de las secuelas de una repoblación determinada de la ciudad, de la lucha por los cargos, etc., olvidando quizá que la propia representación y la propia conciencia de las relaciones de parentesco, pseudoparentesco y alianza funcionó en el período como causa en sí, y no como efecto de otros factores. Y por otra parte, tampoco veíamos una conexión significativa del fenómeno de los bandos con la crisis del siglo XIV o las conductas de los "malhechores-feudales", ni por su morfología ni por su proyección, ni el momento histórico, y además en ningún caso como efecto o resultado de problemas de reproducción social de la nobleza[22]. De modo que despojábamos el conflicto banderizo salmantino del papel supletorio que, sobre todo en la historiografía más reciente, había adquirido en comparación con el peso otorgado a las crisis económicas, los intereses de clase, el régimen municipal y otro tipo de factores que venían gozando de la consideración de haber sido algo así como las "auténticas" causas del conflicto.

2. Discursos uniformes, conflictividades distintas

Por más que se haya querido ver en las *naturas* repobladoras de los siglos XI-XII, o en algunas referencias del XIII, que ahora examinaremos, motivos y fundamentos del conflicto, lo cierto es que no hay ninguna evidencia en aquellos siglos de alineamientos que podamos traducir como luchas de bandos. Pero los historiadores han interpretado de este modo[23] unas referencias en el Fuero de Salamanca donde se mencionan *bandos*. Al igual que ocurre con las menciones a las *naturas* repobladoras[24], que en algunas versiones del texto foral se llaman incluso *linajes*[25] y que han

22. Esto no quiere decir que la aristocracia urbana no empleara la fuerza y la coerción contra los campesinos en estos ámbitos del realengo salmantino. Al contrario, hemos sugerido que el comportamiento violento y agresivo de este sector social ejercido contra los modestos campesinos de las aldeas era una pauta de conducta característica, aunque a escala de "pequeñas violencias sistemáticas" en el medio rural. Puede verse nuestro trabajo: Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas de los caballeros y los pecheros en Salamanca y Ciudad Rodrigo a mediados del siglo XV. Violencias rurales y debates sobre el poder en los concejos", *Lucha política: Condena y legitimación en la España Medieval*, Isabel Alonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, coords. Lyon: ENS Editions, 2004 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16 [2004]): 237-296. Pero este tipo de actitudes las explicamos desde otra óptica y no pueden identificarse con las rivalidades y las violencias entre los bandos, con los que, en el mejor de los casos, pudieron tener leves conexiones circunstanciales.

23. Ya hemos mencionado que lo hizo Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*… Pero también otros, entre ellos, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*...: 66, 161.

24. *Fuero de Salamanca*, títulos. 290, 311, 353, 355. Utilizamos de este texto la edición reciente de José Luis Martín Rodríguez y Javier Coca: *Fuero de Salamanca*, eds. José Luis Martín, Javier Coca. Salamanca: Diputación Provincial de Salamanca, 1987, a partir de un ejemplar manuscrito de la ciudad de Salamanca. Asimismo en la clásica edición de Américo Castro y Federico Onís, en este caso a partir de dos manuscritos escurialenses y de uno salmantino, en *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, eds. Américo Castro, Federico de Onís. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1916. También el ejemplar salmantino había sido editado con anterioridad por J. Sánchez Ruano: *Fuero de Salamanca publicado ahora por primera vez con notas, apéndice y un discurso preliminar*, ed. J. Sánchez Ruano. Salamanca: Salamanca: Imp. de D. Sebastián Cerezo, 1870. Pero seguimos la edición de José Luis Martín Rodríguez. Las *naturas* en concreto son las de *serranos, castellanos, toreses, portugaleses, bregancianos, francos* y *mozárabes*. Jueces, jurados y alcaldes rotarían entre estas comunidades, según reglas explicadas en el Fuero, *F. Salamanca*, títulos. 297, 311, 312, 355 (*Fuero de Salamanca*, ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez …: títulos. 297, 311, 312, 355). Véase nuestro trabajo: Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La organización concejil en Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes (siglo XII- mediados del siglo XIII)", *Actas I Congreso de Historia de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1989)*. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: I, 365-395.

25. En concreto, una de las dos versiones conservadas en El Escorial, véase nota anterior.

podido ayudar a pensar que la existencia de linajes nobles o caballerescos podía remitirse a aquella época de organización concejil inicial, podemos pensar igualmente que la mención a la palabra *bandos* ha posibilitado que se haya hecho una especie de equivalencia, de modo que los bandos bajomedievales podían entenderse como continuación de los que menciona el Fuero. En efecto, en algún epígrafe de éste se mencionan "*bandos*", con el significado de alineamiento y desorden, y podrían tener relación con dichas comunidades repobladoras, así como también con cualquier otro motivo de discordia, algo comprensible, por otra parte, en una sociedad pionera e incipiente como era la salmantina del siglo XII[26].

Parece lógico pensar que en el contexto de grupos recién llegados a repoblar la ciudad, o que mantuvieron durante un tiempo cierta idiosincrasia —hemos supuesto que la identidad pudo durar hasta el siglo XIII—, surgieran disputas como fruto de ese tipo de solidaridades, que hemos considerado "arcaizantes" dentro de la historia de los concejos[27]. Pero la formación de estructuras familiares y suprafamiliares de corte nobiliario o afín y de tipo linajístico suponemos que fue bastante posterior a la época foral en estos concejos urbanos. La impresión que tenemos es que las estructuras de linaje se remontarían en estos medios al período 1250-1350 y, con ellas, las subsiguientes solidaridades entre sus miembros[28].

De todos modos, aun partiendo de ese marco interpretativo, el problema práctico es que desconocemos el origen de los linajes nobiliarios salmantinos. En la documentación plenomedieval —catedralicia— no aparecen las familias caballerescas salmantinas más características. A la altura del siglo XIV empiezan a salir nombres de nobles salmantinos, por ejemplo, en la cronística de la época de Alfonso XI[29] y empiezan a aparecer las primeras expresiones heráldicas conservadas de linajes nobles de la ciudad. Pero es una fecha ya avanzada, cuando la caballería urbana lleva mucho tiem-

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26. Se mencionan los *bandos* en algunos epígrafes en el contexto de violencias entre grupos de personas, como malquerencias colectivas, incitación al delito entre vecinos: *Fuero de Salamanca*, ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez …: títulos 53, 153, 273. La referencia más explícita parece referirse a unos conflictos de la época de Fernando II, si bien también se mencionan otras *iuras* en Salamanca desde que fue poblada. Otra parte de las tensiones tendría que ver con el enfrentamiento nacido entre los salmantinos y Fernando II tras la segregación de la Tierra de Salamanca de los territorios de Ledesma y Ciudad Rodrigo en 1161-1162, de la que hablan los cronistas (Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: libro VII, capítulos XX, 242; Lucas de Tuy. *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: libro IV, 79, 317). Dice el fuero: *"la iura que fue fecha en Sancta María de la Vega e todas las otras sean desfechas e mays non fagan otras iuras nin otras conpannas nin bandos nin corral mays seamos unos con buena fe e sin engano a honor de nuestro sennor el Rey don Ferrando e de todo el conceio de Salamanca"*, añadiendo luego *"si alcalles o iusticias pesquirieren que algunas naturas se levantaren por fazer bandos o iuras viédenlo los alcalles e las justicias"*, *Fuero de Salamanca*, ed. José Luís Martín Rodríguez,…: título 273.

27. Véase nuestro trabajo: Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Frontera pionera, monarquía en expansión y formación de los concejos de villa y tierra. Relaciones de poder en el realengo concejil entre el Duero y el Tajo (c. 1072-c. 1222)". *Arqueología y territorio medieval*, 10 (2003): II, 45- 126, especialmente páginas 69-72, sobre este aspecto.

28. En un trabajo de hace años intentamos explicar el nacimiento de las estructuras de linaje, la naturaleza de los alineamientos suprafamiliares y el papel del parentesco en el sistema concejil. A ese trabajo nos remitimos, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

29. A la coronación solemne de Alfonso XI en Burgos en 1331 fueron varios caballeros salmantinos: Juan Alfonso de Benavides, Diego Alvarez de Sotomayor y Juan Arias Maldonado. Probablemente eran ya familias destacadas y ennoblecidas. Algunos, como Juan Alfonso de Benavides,así como Alfonso López de Tejeda, Diego Alvarez Maldonado o Juan Rodríguez de las Varillas participarían en guerras con Alfonso XI, en el sitio de Algeciras y en otras guerras. También aparecen a mediados del siglo XIV entre las principales magistraturas de la justicia de la ciudad, entre ellos probablemente parte de los primeros miembros del Regimiento, personajes como el citado Juan Arias Maldonado, Domingo Benito, Diego Álvarez de Sotomayor y Domingo Juan de Santo Tomé. Referencias en "Crónica de Alfonso XI", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde D. Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, capítulo C, 235; capítulo CI, 235-236; capítulo CII, 237; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: II, 57, IV, 11; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*…: 103.

po respaldada por la monarquía. Los heraldistas salmantinos, al encontrarse con cientos de evidencias de blasones, que salpican palacios y rincones de la ciudad de una forma única en Castilla, han tendido a trasladar a los primeros tiempos de la repoblación, en la línea que decimos, el origen de la nobleza urbana de la ciudad. Pero tales evidencias, y otros datos, como los documentales y cronísticos[30], no nos permiten pensar que los linajes de esos tiempos tardíos se remonten al siglo XI o XII[31]. Sin descartar que en la conciencia familiar de los linajes bajomedievales pudiera darse pábulo a las viejas glorias de los antepasados repobladores, remontándose *ex post facto* el origen de la nobleza urbana nada menos que a los llegados con Raimundo de Borgoña o poco después —algo en todo caso no constatado en Salamanca[32]—, parece sin duda aventurado encontrar patrones de continuidad entre los sectores socialmente más distinguidos de los siglos XI y XII y los de los siglos XIV y XV, que son los específicamente implicados en las luchas de bandos.

A partir de estos razonamientos, ¿como interpretar una primera mención a "*la parte de San Benito*" que aparece en un documento municipal de 1290? Es una breve carta del concejo de Salamanca regulando ciertos aspectos sobre la *hueste*, estableciendo que el concejo acudiría a la llamada del rey. El compromiso concejil parece respaldado por las *dos partes*, una de ellas sin nombre explícito[33]. Ahora bien, estas *partes*, entre ellas la de San Benito, ¿son los *bandos* nobiliarios luego conocidos? Hay que ser prudentes al respecto. Es posible que para aquellas fechas existieran denominaciones de dos ámbitos de encuadramiento de la población de la ciudad asociados a delimitaciones topográficas de la misma, y que la zona o la demarcación espacial de la ciudad en torno a la parroquia o barrio de San Benito fuera una de esas *partes*, evidentemente con un cierto papel reconocido en la toma de decisiones del concejo, al menos en asuntos como el del servicio de la ciudad en la hueste real. Pero no es seguro que esas posibles zonas o circunscripciones se correspondan a los *bandos* nobiliarios, es decir, que estas *partes* fueran ya agrupaciones genuinamente de caballeros urbanos con sus seguidores y que funcionasen ya como escenarios de rivalidad entre ellos. Esto es algo que no se desprende de ese escueto documento. Es muy posible que las demarcaciones "zonales" de San Benito y San Martín nacieran antes y, sobre todo, autónomamente respecto de las luchas en-

30. Véase nota anterior.

31. En su monografía sobre los blasones de los edificios salmantinos el gran especialista J. Álvarez Villar entiende que los linajes nobles proceden de la repoblación de la ciudad, sugiriendo que la población noble vino de Castilla la Vieja y de Galicia, Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina*…: 13. Pero al describir los escudos de las principales familias plasmadas en los muros de la ciudad he observado que las referencias son siempre muy tardías, no anteriores al XIV, y muy escasas incluso las de este siglo, por lo que resulta aventurado retrotraerse varios siglos atrás.

32. Es más, en esta ciudad no tenemos indicios de peso que ahonden en la idea de que las familias aristocráticas que estaban en plenitud en la época de los Reyes Católicos esgrimieran orígenes de nobleza en *naturas* repobladoras concretas. No queremos decir que no hubiera nobles en un principio, lógicamente, sino que no podemos encontrar las raíces de los linajes tardíos en aquellos posibles pioneros. Incluso un texto de memoria genealógica como el mencionado *Triunfo Raimundino* (Villar y Macías, Manuel, ed. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, apéndice XIX, 165-180), de la primera década del siglo XVI, como dijimos, remonta la imaginaria y presunta alcurnia de familias como los Monroy, Maldonado, Solís, Enríquez, Páez, Nieto, Anaya, Acevedo, etc., a orígenes franceses, o a la sangre de los propios reyes castellanos o de la descendencia de éstos, a vínculos compostelanos, entre otros, o simplemente vincula las familias con los regimientos en la ciudad que tuvieron miembros de estas familias o a hechos de armas o mayorazgos, por supuesto ya tardíos. El poema genealógico es interesante como discurso, pero ni siquiera se arriesga a hacer una conexión entre tales linajes de su época y las *naturas* repobladoras, como sería de esperar si hubiese sido fuerte y secular un sentimiento de continuidad familiar con aquellos repobladores nobles pioneros, incluso aunque se hubiese tratado de un sentimiento basado en nexos ficticios.

33. Tras establecer la obligación de acudir a hueste y la soldada del alferez, el documento dice: "*Et nos, la parte de Sant Beneyto, otorgamos que este ordenamiento otorgamos que la fagamos otorgar a don Pelay?, quando venier. Et Otrosí, nos, la otra parte, otorgamos este mismo ordenamiento que lo fagamos otorgar a Fernánt Pérez, quando venier*", en (Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Los bandos salmantinos…": 443).

tre familias y linajes de la ciudad, aunque éstas al final acaban solapándose en parte a esa división topográfica de la ciudad.

De todos modos, hasta muy avanzado el siglo XIV no hallamos menciones a las dos *partes*, llamadas "*linajes*", es decir lo que sería «bando-linaje» o bando[34], que llevan los nombres de San Benito y San Martín. Se han querido ver relacionados con faccionalismos familiares ciertos enfrentamientos como los que llegaron a existir en la época de la guerra civil entre Pedro I y Enrique Trastámara, en concreto entre partidarios de uno y otro[35].

En realidad, no encontramos unas menciones explícitas hasta la carta de Juan I de 1390, con el llamado ordenamiento u "Ordenanzas" de Sotosalbos[36], por el lugar de concesión. Analizando esas disposiciones lo primero que se desprende es que ya existían dos "*linajes*", esto es, dos «bandos-linajes» para ser exactos. Parece que los "*caballeros, escuderos é omes buenos*" de la ciudad, o una parte de ellos, estaban alineados ya en uno de los dos bandos en que ésta se dividiría. Por lo pronto, la carta no las inaugura, como a veces se ha dicho, sino que reconoce la existencia previa de estas *partes*, presumiblemente lideradas o integradas básicamente por los caballeros principales. La carta regia reconocía los dos *linajes*, los regulaba, pero pensamos que no se escribió con esa intención.

Las Ordenanzas de Sotosalbos nacían de una reclamación, totalmente pacífica y legal, de la unión de los dos "*linages*", o bandos, con el respaldo de los pecheros, para corregir una tendencia de los regidores a disponer de los cargos menores. Se estableció en ellas que las mayordomías y

34. Entendemos que «bando-linaje» era la convergencia en una especie de gran facción o partido local de varias familias y linajes, aunque las fuentes de la época hablen de *linajes* para referirse a estos grandes agrupamientos de familias o linajes nobles, entendiendo estos linajes familiares en sentido estricto. Es decir, las fuentes llaman *linaje*, además del agrupamiento de linajes familiares, al «bando-linaje», que se parecía a un partido urbano. En cambio, en el léxico de la época "*bando*", "*bandería*" y otros sinónimos significan conflicto, desorden, etc. En algunos trabajos anteriores, a los que nos remitimos (Monsalvo, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil"…: 947-948), hemos hecho distinciones sobre todo esto. Cuando nosotros hablamos ahora de bandos, en este presente trabajo, entendemos tanto el «bando-linaje», es decir el agrupamiento máximo de los linajes nobles, como el conflicto mismo, la parcialidad, el *bando* en el léxico de la época.

35. Sin embargo, no hay prueba de que fueran tensiones que se ajustasen a la polaridad San Benito/ San Martín. Sin duda, ésta existía por entonces, pero no parece haber encauzado o dado nombre alineamientos violentos entre las familias principales de la ciudad. Hubo, eso sí, alineamientos políticos a nivel del reino entre miembros de los Tejeda y de los Maldonado. Todo empezó porque Pedro I en 1360 había mandado matar en Burgos al arcediano de Toro, Diego Arias Maldonado. Este personaje de primera fila estuvo inicialmente vinculado a don Pedro y a su padre. Esta noticia es cierta y de hecho hemos constatado que en 1350 Pedro I le ponía al frente de varios señoríos que habían pertenecido a la familia de Alfonso XI, tales como Ledesma, Granadilla, Salvatierra de Tormes, Galisteo, Miranda del Castañar y Montemayor, véase *Documentación medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, eds. Alberto Martín Expósito, José María Monsalvo Antón. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Diputación de Salamanca, 1986: docs. 39, 40, 41. No se sabe cómo, pero luego abandonó la causa petrista, pasándose a sus enemigos. De modo que Pedro I buscó otros apoyos y en el caso concreto de Salamanca se apoyó en quien había puesto como alcaide del alcázar de la ciudad, es decir, Juan Alfonso de Tejeda. Pero ni éste ni Alfonso López de Tejeda, hermano suyo, pudieron impedir que hacia 1366-1367 Salamanca se fuera decantando por la causa enriquista, que en la ciudad contaba con el apoyo del obispo —que reclutó 500 ballesteros para el Trastámara— y con familias como los Maldonado. Durante la guerra civil de 1366-1369 los hijos de Diego Arias Maldonado, esto es, Arias Diez Maldonado y Juan Arias Maldonado, apoyaban a Enrique, mientras los Tejeda —Juan Alfonso de Tejeda y su hermano Alfonso López de Tejeda— apoyaron a Pedro I. Villar y Macías supuso que Salamanca quedó dividida entre Tejedas y Maldonados, "*que tan sangriento agravio tenía que vengar*", según el autor, refiriéndose a la afrenta por el asesinato político de Diego Arias Maldonado, mandado asesinar por Pedro I. Sobre estos acontecimientos: López de Ayala, Pedro. "Crónica del rey don Pedro", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, capítulo V, 202; capítulo XXXVI, 579; "Crónica de Enrique II", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*... Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, capítulo I, 2; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 13-14, 17-19. Villar y Macías indica que los alineamientos continuaron tras la muerte del rey don Pedro. Juan Alfonso de Tejeda defendía Ciudad Rodrigo y su hermano Alfonso López era alcaide de Zamora (Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: 20); González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*…: 27. González Dávila se refiere al castigo a los Tejeda que infringió Enrique II al llegar al poder, ordenando de fueran degollados, González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades*…: Libro III, capítulo XI, 278- 279.

36. Publicadas en Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 113-115 (doc. nº XII).

otros oficios municipales menores no fueran acaparados por los regidores, sino que los caballeros y escuderos, con equidad entre las *partes* o bandos, los designarían. Y se prohibía hacer repartimientos o reclutamientos de soldados sin contar con los representantes de los pecheros. Es importante entender este aspecto porque la carta no trataba de resolver las luchas entre los bandos. Pese a lo que se ha dicho[37], en concreto que la carta de Juan I constituyó la institucionalización de los bandos y que solucionaba las desavenencias entre ellos, nosotros hemos interpretado el texto en otro sentido. Era una pretensión del estamento sin poder, en este caso representado por los *linajes*, aliados en esto con los pecheros. ante lo que estos consideraban exclusión en algunas materias que consideraban de su incumbencia y que, según ellos, acaparaban los regidores. Claro está que al fijar el ordenamiento regio las reglas de designación de oficios menores —mayordomos, fieles, etc.— se respetaba la división de *linajes*, San Benito y San Martín, y se jugaba con ella para los equilibrios, pero no era esa polaridad lo que estaba en juego. Los regidores también estaban adscritos a los *linajes*, como porción del estamento noble al que pertenecían, pero cuando intentaban acaparar cargos y monopolizar el poder concejil —que es la conducta que quería erradicar el ordenamiento de 1390— lo hacían en tanto elite de gobierno propensa a cerrarse, con independencia de su pertenencia como tales caballeros a los bandos-linajes[38].

Ahora bien, el hecho de que ya estuviesen alineados nos induce a pensar que los caballeros de la ciudad encontrarían en tales adscripciones una vía para las luchas intestinas. Tales alineamientos son conocidos para todas las ciudades del occidente medieval en los últimos siglos medievales, así como en las ciudades castellanas[39]. La estructura organizativa que proporcionaban los bandos

37. Empezando por Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 25.

38. Me remito a mi trabajo Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros (en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo", *Historia de Salamanca*…: 442-443.

39. Es casi imposible dar cuenta exhaustivamente de los trabajos que se han ocupado de las facciones y linajes en las ciudades de la Europa medieval. Por lo que respecta tan sólo a los reinos hispánicos, puede decirse que también ha sido objeto de investigaciones, y para muchas regiones y zonas. Habría que hablar de muchas monografías extensas de ciudades que han dado mucho relieve a la temática, como la de José Ramon Díaz de Durana sobre Vitoria, de Soledad Tena sobre San Sebastián, de Adeline Rucquoi sobre Valladolid, de Rafael Sánchez Saus sobre Sevilla, de Jesús Ángel Solórzano sobre Santander, de Martínez Carrillo o Denis Menjot sobre Murcia, entre otras. Pero además pueden verse, aparte de esas monografías, y a título indicativo, trabajos de Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. "Linajes, bandos y parcialidades en la vida política de las ciudades castellanas (siglos XIV y XV)", *Bandos y querellas dinásticas en España al final de la Edad Media: actas del coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca Española de París los días 15 y 16 de mayo de 1987*. París: Biblioteca Española de París, 1991: 105-134; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Estructuras sociales y familiares y papel político de la nobleza cordobesa (siglos XIV y XV)". *En la España Medieval, 3* (1982): 381-352; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Política ciudadana y jerarquización del poder. Bandos y parcialidades en Cuenca". *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997): 219-250; Fernandez-Daza Alvear, Carmen. "Linajes trujillanos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV", *La ciudad hispánica durante los siglos XIII al XVI, Coloquio sobre la ciudad hispánica, La Rábida y Sevilla, 14 al 19 de septiembre de 1981*, Emilio Sáez, Cristina Segura Graiño, Margarita Cantera Montenegro, coords. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985 (*En la España medieval*, 6 [1985]): I, 419-431; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Estructuras familiares de la nobleza urbana en la Castilla bajomedieval: los doce linajes de Soria". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 10 (1992): 47-71; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "El papel de los linajes en las estructuras de gobierno urbano en Castilla y en el Imperio alemán durante los siglos bajomedievales". *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997): 143-177; Solórzano Telechea, Jesús Ángel. "La organización interna de la oligarquía urbana y el ejercicio de poder en Santander durante la Baja Edad Media: familia, linaje y poder", *I Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria: actas del encuentro celebrado en Santander los días 16 a 19 de diciembre de 1996*. Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria-Gobierno de Cantabria-Consejería de Cultura y Deporte, 1999: 575-597; Díaz De Durana, José Ramón. "Linajes y bandos en el País Vasco durante los siglos XIV y XV", *La familia en la Edad Media. XI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 31 de Julio al 4 de agosto de 2000*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2001: 253-284; la zona del País Vasco es una de las que más atención ha suscitado en relación con los "banderizos" (aunque no siempre "banderizos" urbanos) y así lo prueban otros trabajos como los incluidos en *La Lucha de Bandos en el País Vasco: de los Parientes Mayores a la Hidalguía Universal. Guipúzcoa, de los bandos a la Provincia (siglos XIV a XVI)*, José Ramón Díaz De Durana, ed. Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del Pais Vasco-Argitalpen Zerbitzua Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 1998; Achon Insausti, José Ángel. *A voz de concejo. Linaje y corporación urbana en*

facilitaba una cierta horma o acomodo para las luchas. Pero se trata de ver en el caso salmantino cómo se concretaron dichas luchas y qué las alimentó.

La tabla cronológica adjunta resume algunos de los principales hechos y situaciones violentas que se produjeron en la ciudad y que han sido relacionados con los bandos. ¿Qué clase de violencias y qué las provocó?

Si la cuestión de los oficios municipales estaba conectada a las divisiones entre bandos, no por ello parece haber sido el desencadenante de hechos violentos. Las citadas Ordenanzas de 1390 eran reguladoras y equitativas entre las partes. El acuerdo fue ratificado en 1394 y 1397 —en el siglo siguiente en más ocasiones—; en estos años y en 1401 se puso en marcha una comisión de los dos bandos —con participación de regidores y caballeros-no regidores— para organizar el reparto de oficios menores entre ellos, como establecían las Ordenanzas. Otro documento de 1408 muestra que el acuerdo funcionaba: para ocupar una vacante de mayordomo se recurría a la matrícula de los escuderos de esa *parte*, es decir se respetaba esta atribución de los no-regidores en el nombramiento de ese oficio menor[40], es decir, justo lo que prescribían las Ordenanzas de 1390. Hay una pauta aquí, sin duda, que podríamos destacar: durante gran parte del XV, por no decir todo él, las tensiones entre *linajes* por el reparto de cargos generó tensiones, y fue un motivo de recelos, pero no encontramos hechos violentos directamente dependientes de esta circunstancia o que permitan hallar secuencias de hechos de fuerza estrictamente conectados a estas luchas por los cargos. Hay ejemplos durante buena parte del siglo XV de soluciones a problemas de reparto de cargos que se hicieron por vía de la intervención regia o por acuerdos, de modo que los consensos básicos funcionaban con fluidez y puede decirse que pacíficamente[41].

Pero la conflictividad existía, sin duda. Una referencia de Alba de Tormes de 1423 muestra que los caballeros salmantinos estaban enfrentados entre sí y protagonizaban *ruidos*[42]. No se conoce el motivo, pero el enfrentamiento era algo real. En las décadas siguientes la única evidencia de conexión entre bandos y violencias se encuentra al observar que entraron en juego alineamien-

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la constitución de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa: Los Báñez y Mondragón, siglos XIII a XVI. Bilbao: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto (microforma), 1995; Tena García, María Soledad. "Los Mans-Engómez: el linaje rector de la villa de San Sebastián en la Edad Media". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 987-1008. Fuera de la Corona de Castilla el interés por la temática ha sido también estimable. Puede verse, a título de ejemplo, la situación catalana. Es muy bien conocido el clásico estudio sobre los partidos políticos en la Barcelona del XV desde el estudio de Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Institución Milá y Fontanals-Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 1973. Pero realmente el faccionalismo en las ciudades catalanas puede considerarse una constante muy arraigada en la vida política, como lo prueba el trabajo de Sabaté, Flocel."Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV siecle", *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpiñán, 1995: 339-365.

40. Véase sobre todo esto, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 8; Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros"…: 442, 447; el documento de 1408 en Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "La oligarquía urbana salmantina"…

41. Al modo semejante al asunto de los mayordomos a que aludían las Ordenanzas de Sotosalbos. Por ejemplo, acuerdos sobre escribanías o procuradurías de Cortes, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 14-15; sobre el acuerdo acerca de las escribanías, Ordenanzas de 1440 y confirmación de Juan II de julio de 1441, Archivo Municipal de Salamanca (AMS), R/ 2985, nº 12. Ver la nota siguiente sobre el significado del acuerdo de 1493.

42. El concejo de Alba de Tormes, villa a sólo 20 kilómetros de Salamanca, se recelaba porque algunos caballeros de Salamanca, que tenían problemas o que habían sido expulsados momentáneamente de la ciudad por orden real —esto no está claro—, querían asentarse en Alba. Los regidores de esta villa veían esta posibilidad como una amenaza: "*que se querían venir aquí a la dicha villa e que, así venidos, que se podrían rrecresçer en ella grand peligro e dapño, por quanto los unos son contrarios de los otros e podrían rrebolver roydo"* en la villa tormesina, pero además porque les parecía "*feo e non onesto*" que, coincidiendo con un momento en que los caballeros de la villa estaban fuera —al servicio del señor, concretamente— viniesen "*estraños (*a) *estar en la dicha villa e la rrebolver*" (Monsalvo, José María. *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorìo medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 178).

tos por «*parcialidades*» generales, es decir compromisos de gentes de la ciudad con "partidos" o causas políticas o dinásticas que superaban los problemas locales. Esto va a ser una constante y nos revela que las «*parcialidades*» —el «bando-parcialidad», como también se conoce— fueron esenciales en la generación de violencias banderizas locales. Así, las crónicas reales relativas al reinado de Juan II indican rivalidades en relación con las disputas de familias salmantinas pero ligadas a *parcialidades* entre los *infantes de Aragón* y don Álvaro de Luna. ¿Se citan hechos violentos en la ciudad? La *Crónica de Juan II* menciona que algún personaje del bando de San Benito, en concreto el arcediano Juan Gómez de Anaya, hacia 1439, "*estaba apoderado ý en la torre de la Iglesia, donde tenía asaz gente de armas, y no consintió que el rey allí se aposentase*". El rey le exigió que abandonase la torre, "*pero él no lo quiso hacer*"[43]. La crónica sobre el condestable don Álvaro decía que eran muy sonadas las luchas de bandos en Salamanca y, refiriéndose aproximadamente a los años cuarenta del siglo XV, menciona "*muertes de hombres*" en la ciudad por este motivo, pero sin concretar ni cuantificar tales muertes[44].

La alusión a la atmósfera social generada por las luchas de bandos es un argumento que, por ejemplo, se utilizaba a mediados del siglo en relación con la violencia o las ilegalidades rurales, que en ese momento consistían en agudos intentos de usurpaciones de términos. Aunque, como hemos destacado en otras ocasiones, estas violencias e ilegalidades rurales tenían otros motivos[45], ello no es óbice para que podamos detectar que el clima de violencia banderiza interfería en las relaciones sociales y, sobre todo, en el aplicación de la justicia, en ambos casos de una manera desestabilizadora. Un testimonio, significativo, de esto, lo ofrece un testigo del pleito de términos de 1453 contra el caballero Fernando de Tejeda: decía que venían "*algunos labradores del dicho lugar*[46] *a se quexar al conçejo de la dicha çibdad para que les provea de muchas synrrazones e agravios que les faze el dicho Fernando de Texeda,* [pero] *quel dicho conçejo non les provee por rrazón de los muchos parientes que tiene en el dicho conçejo, que lo favorecen, e por las divysiones de los vandos de dicha çibdad*"[47].

A mediados del siglo las rivalidades entre bandos salmantinos eran, sin duda, conocidas en todo el reino. Esto era tan evidente que hasta las Cortes, en concreto las de Toledo de 1462, regulaban que tales rivalidades no perturbasen algo tan sensible para la corona como el orden interno en el propio Estudio General salmantino. Se dice en esas cortes: "*los estudiantes e personas que tienen cargo*

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43. " Crónica de Juan II", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*...: II, capítulo XVI, 558.

44. Dice la crónica que, estando el rey en Madrigal, "*vinieron ende nuevas del grand trabajo e muertes de honbres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recresçido; de guissa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruyr e perder sin reparo alguno, si el rey personalmente non yva a proveer en tanto daño como estaba aparejado, allende del ya passado, e a lo remediar e apaçiguar*". En otro pasaje esta *Crónica* dice que *"Dos vandos eran a la sazón en la çibdad de Salamanca, en que avía muy buenos caballeros, que tenían casas de asaz gente darmas: el un vando se dezía de San Benito, e el otro de Santo Tomé. Así los unos caballeros como los otros de estos dos vandos, e todos los otros caballeros de la çibdad, eran en su casa e vivían con él [el maestre don Enrique] (Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna: condestable de Castilla, Maestre de Santiago*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940: 253, 447). Véase referencias en Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 44; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis "Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa"…: 467; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*….: 34, 106-107.

45. Monsalvo, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas"…, sobre las pesquisas de términos de 1453 y otras; Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV"…

46. En concreto se estaba refiriendo a un lugar llamado Navarredonda, usurpado por Fernando de Tejeda, uno de los grandes implicados en las pesquisas sobre usurpaciones de aquellos años.

47. *Pesquisa sobre términos de la Tierra de Salamanca 1433-1453* (Biblioteca Nacional, Sección Manuscritos. Res 233), fol. 55v. En realidad el testimonio alude a dos situaciones. Una es la impunidad del usurpador, por ser poderoso y emparentado en la ciudad. Pero también revela la queja de que los bandos, las luchas de bandos, perjudicaban la eficacia judicial, al modo como lo hacía *la mengua de justicia*. Esto es, las luchas de bandos eran reconocidas, percibidas diríamos, como una de las causas de que nadie cortara las violencias de los poderosos.

de lo administrar e rregir las cátredas salariadas que son en el dicho Estudio, por se fazer parçiales con los vandos de la dicha çibdad e se entremeter en ellos e dar fauor e ayuda por sus personas e con los suyos e con armas e con dineros para en las cosas tocantes a los dichos vandos", a causa de lo cual "*se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*"; se prohibía en consecuencia que profesores y estudiantes tuvieran vínculos con los bandos de la ciudad, llegando las penas al apartamiento del "*gremio del dicho estudio*" y a ser "*desterrado de la dicha çibdad e de çinco leguas aderredor*"; se exigiría a los miembros de la Universidad que "*todos juren e ayan de jurar en el comienço de cada un año de no ser de vando e de guardar e conplir todo lo susodicho e cada cosa dello*"[48].

La resonancia de las luchas banderizas no haría sino incrementarse a lo largo del reinado de Enrique IV, como veremos. Pero también esta época está marcada por el acontecimiento sangriento más célebre del siglo y que, como decíamos al comienzo de estas páginas, fue considerado por los historiadores antiguos como origen de los propios bandos. Se trata de la citada acción de «María la Brava», acaecida hacia 1464: la cruenta venganza de una madre, María de Monroy, viuda del regidor Enrique Enríquez. Tanto ella como su esposo pertenecían a dos de las principales familias de la ciudad. La citada María de Monroy se hizo célebre porque fue personalmente con un puñado de hombres suyos —reclutados en un pequeño señorío rural que tenía— hasta Portugal hasta acabar con la vida de los hermanos Manzano. Los hermanos Manzano habían matado a dos hijos suyos en una pelea de jóvenes. La "puesta en escena" fue espectacular: la búsqueda durante un mes de los asesinos por posadas portuguesas, donde los homicidas se habían refugiado atemorizados, el degüello justiciero de los asesinos, la durísima cabalgada de día y medio sin parar de doña María y sus hombres desde el reino vecino hasta Salamanca, la colocación desgarrada de las cabezas cortadas de los Manzano en las tumbas de sus hijos muertos, ante espanto de toda la ciudad... Como dijimos, la historia fue narrada por Alonso Maldonado como un episodio colateral dentro de una crónica familiar escrita unas décadas después, hacia 1504[49], quizá por un autor que, si no testigo, sí estuvo próximo a los hechos narrados. Pero sólo la tradición historiográfica posterior a este relato *princeps* vincula directamente este hecho sangriento con los bandos de la ciudad, que es lo que hoy se cuenta entre las leyendas salmantinas, cuando en realidad la muerte de los Manzano por «La Brava» bien podría explicarse en clave de "venganza privada", sin conexión directa con las tensiones de los bandos salmantinos[50]. Por otra

48. Cortes de Toledo de 1462, petición nº 8, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 707-708. El texto es sobresaliente porque indica no sólo la resonancia nada menos que en las Cortes de Castilla de los enfrentamientos salmantinos sino la propia fuerza de unos alineamientos que arrastraban a profesores y estudiantes de la Universidad, perturbando una institución tan sobria como lo era entonces y que, en gran medida, solía vivir de espaldas a la ciudad y sus problemas. Comentamos esta cuestión en Monsalvo, José María. "El *Estudio* y la ciudad en el período medieval", *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. I. Trayectoria y vinculaciones*, Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002: 435-465. No olvidemos que la de Salamanca era la principal universidad de toda la Península Ibérica, entre las poquísimas que había entonces. Y que además, para el caso de Castilla, funcionaba en la práctica como la universidad oficial de la corona.

49. Véase nota 1. Parece que el licenciado Alonso Maldonado escribió la crónica hacia ese año. El autor estaba vinculado familiarmente con los Monroy. Puede verse una sucinta genealogía de este escritor y caballero salmantino en Cooper, Edward. *Castillos señoriales en la Corona de Castilla*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1991: I, 18.

50. Como hemos indicado más arriba la *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*, de Gil González Dávila, es el comienzo de esta opinión, véase notas 5 y 6. También hemos mencionado la importancia del hecho para Villar y Macías, pese a que no focaliza toda la cuestión de los bandos en el episodio, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, capítulo VII, 67-74. Algunas objeciones sobre la conexión de los hechos con las disputas entre linajes y bandos en Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros"…: 449-450, 461.

parte, el relato de Alonso Maldonado incluía muchos tópicos literarios, propios de una cronística moralizante y enfática propia del Renacimiento, y es presumible pensar que el autor acentuó los aspectos psicologistas y sentimentales[51].

La vida cotidiana, o la vida real, de las facciones salmantinas trascurría por cauces menos dramáticos. Las crónicas reales y algunos documentos mencionan alineamientos de los *linajes* con algunos partidos. Cuando se produjo una fractura dinástica entre los partidarios de Enrique IV y los de su hermanastro Alfonso (el Alfonso XII que no llegó a serlo) parece que algunos caballeros salmantinos de la parte de San Benito se aliaron con éste. Desde 1464 aparece en escena el conde de Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo. En algún momento del conflicto dinástico el conde de Alba se cambió al partido de Enrique IV, bajo la promesa de éste en 1465 de entregarle Salamanca, y es posible que arrastrara en ello a caballeros salmantinos. La *Crónica* de Alfonso de Palencia sobre el reinado menciona que en mayo de 1465, con la recién ganada lealtad al rey por parte del de Alba, que tan útil le fue inmediatamente, tras la Farsa de Ávila, se adoptaron en la ciudad de Salamanca tomas de partido en pro de dos grandes casas: "*marchó el rey a Salamanca, dividida por largas discordias y sediciosas facciones en dos bandos, uno de los cuales seguía la voz del conde de Plasencia y otro la del de Alba*"[52]. Desde 1469 es posible que don García Álvarez de Toledo tuviera bastantes partidarios en la ciudad: "*en la qual, como de grandes tiempos acá oviese bandos de la mayor parte de los cavalleros della, algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos, le servían y acataban*", como dice el *Memorial de diversas hazañas* refiriéndose a la situación en 1469. El intento frustrado del conde de Alba de hacerse con Salamanca, aunque fuera con sus hombres y *por las armas*, habría provocado un levantamiento de la ciudad contra él, con caballeros implicados en uno y otro lado[53].

No está claro cuál de los dos bandos de Salamanca y cuándo, tanto en ese momento como en los años siguientes —en ese caso ya con el enfrentamiento entre los partidarios de Isabel y los de Juana con Portugal—, seguían a cada parte. Probablemente se dieron cambios de partido. Como indicaremos inmediatamente, se conocen ciertas cartas del *linaje e bando* de Santo Tomé dirigidas al conde de Alba en 1470-1472 encomendándose al mismo[54]. Pero en las cartas últimas de sep-

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51. La propia retórica literaria: "*Quiero contar un hecho romano que hizo una destas señoras que se llamaba Doña Maria de Monrroy*", dice al comenzar a describir su historia; una viuda, que "*supo dar tan buena cuenta de sí que fué exemplo marauilloso su vida*"; una auténtica heroína de drama antiguo, que al conocer la muerte de sus hijos "*les ponia los ojos sin echar lagrima ni hazer ningun acto mugeril, mas estaua con el corazon tan fuerte que ningun varon romano se le ygualaua: asaz se paresçia en su gesto la ferocidad de su animo, y todos tomauan espanto de vella con tanto sossiego*"; resuelta a ejecutar la venganza con tanta premura que no dio tiempo a los aliados portugueses de los Manzano a impedirlo: "*porque las cabeças de los Mançanos quando ellos llegaron estauan ya en la mano yzquierda de Doña Maria de Monrroy*"; y que logró al llevar las cabezas ante las tumbas de sus hijos un golpe de efecto inigualable: "*Gran espanto puso este hecho en toda la tierra*", como termina el relato del episodio, Maldonado, Alonso de. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy…": 17-19.

52. Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Antonio Paz Melia. Madrid: Atlas, 1973: LXX/ I Década I, Libro VII, capítulo VI, 164; "Crónicas de los reyes. Crónica del rey don Enrique IV", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*…: III, 133, 142, 145; Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas*…: 34; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: capítulo LXII, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474: Crónica castellana*, ed. Maria Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: capítulo LXIIII, 156; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 16-18.

53. Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas*…: 55; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla*…: capítulo XVII, 290; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: capítulo CXVII, 271-272; Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: I, Década II, libro II, capítulo VI, 298.

54. El 5 de enero de 1470 los caballeros de Santo Tomé reafirman su alianza con el conde de Alba, *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*, eds. Ángel Vaca, José Antonio Bonilla. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1989: doc. nº 53. El 28 de septiembre de 1472 muestran los de ese bando su malestar porque no

tiembre de 1472 había una queja explícita hacia el conde de Alba, por lo que no es extraño que se rompiera por entonces la relación privilegiada. Este bando de Santo Tomé, o algunos de lo suyos, parece haberse inclinado unos años después hacia la causa portuguesa frente a Isabel, hacia los años 1474-1475, y esto acabaría de dañar aún más las relaciones con el duque de Alba, que en aquellos años respaldaba la causa de Isabel I[55]. No se sabe exactamente cómo afectó esto a la relación del duque con el bando de Santo Tomé. En documentos de 1473 o 1474[56] el duque de Alba aparece más como árbitro en la ciudad, a quien se encomiendan los caballeros de uno y otro lado, que como comprometido expresamente con uno de ellos. No obstante, es posible que luego se inclinase más por los de San Benito compartiendo alianzas isabelinas con ellos. Precisamente el declive en la ciudad de los partidarios de la causa portuguesa, que se refleja bien en la entrada triunfal de Fernando el Católico en 27 o 28 de mayo de 1475[57], pareció reforzar la situación de los de San Benito. Por su parte, el bando de Santo Tomé, que se habría ido distanciando del duque de Alba, habría sido afecto al relevante personaje de entonces Antón Núñez. Éste había sido contador de Enrique IV, se hizo un espléndido palacio en Salamanca y seguía la causa de los portugueses y de Álvaro de Estúñiga en la primavera de 1475. Según la traducción de las *Décadas*, de Alonso de Palencia, "*muchos de los principales caballeros eran sospechosos de parcialidad por el conde de Plasencia o de obediencia*" a Antón Núñez, que tenía "*el favor del bando de los tomasinos*", mientras que el Duque de Alba —a pesar de que era poco fiable en sus alianzas— tendría el apoyo de los otros *caballeros más principales* de la ciudad[58] y, entre ellos, destacarían los de San Benito.

Por encima de estos vaivenes que acabamos de citar, lo importante es que en esos años, los últimos de Enrique IV y los primeros de Isabel I, se pone de manifiesto una enorme influencia de estas fuerzas externas, es decir las familias altonobiliarias, en los alineamientos de las facciones urbanas, tanto de los Estúñiga frente a los Álvarez de Toledo o casa de Alba, primero, como de los Antón Núñez con los portugueses frente a Isabel y el duque de Alba, más tarde. Entendemos que este tipo de alianzas fue uno de los motivos que más violencias ocasionaron en la ciudad, más desgarrador y desestabilizador que la tensión por los cargos, por ejemplo. Es sintomático que algunas de las noticias de violencias banderizas en Salamanca y algunos de los momentos más tensos de las

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ha influido el conde sobre la designación de un regidor que ellos preferían. *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 56; y ese mismo día nueve firmantes del bando de Santo Tomé le pedían que hiciese lo posible por revocar la concesión de una regiduría en favor de Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera, al que encontraban dos graves inconvenientes: no era el que quería el bando y además pertenecía al bando contrario. *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 57.

55. *Documentos escogidos de la Casa de Alba*, ed. la duquesa de Berwick y Alba. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1891: 9-10, 10-11; Pulgar, Fernando del. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos: versión inédita*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943: 253.

56. En 29 de diciembre "*año de setenta e quatro*" (quizá 1473) el duque es elegido como juez y especie de árbitro para resolver disputas entre caballeros de San Benito y San Adrián (*Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*…: doc. nº 72); y en enero de 1474 ambos bandos le escogen como árbitro: "*los cavalleros e escuderos de anbos linajes de la çibdad de Salamanca, que estamos en una amistad, besamos vuestras manos e nos encomendamos en vuestra merçed*", (Vaca, Ángel; Bonilla, José A. *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 73).

57. Recibido solemnemente a la entrada de su "*muy leal e muy noble*" ciudad por 18 regidores, AMS, 2985, nº 23

58. Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: III, Década III, Libro II, capítulo VIII, 195. Cuando se le confiscan los bienes a Antón Núñez por su apoyo a los portugueses, el beneficiario no es otro que el duque de Alba, al que los Reyes Católicos conceden estos bienes, según carta de abril de 1476, (*Salamanca en la documentación de la Casa de Alba*…: doc). nº 79.

rivalidades de este tipo tuvieran lugar en un período, 1469-1477, en que la influencia de García Álvarez de Toledo —conde, y desde 1472 duque de Alba— en la ciudad fue enorme[59].

Lo cierto es que para el período comprendido entre 1469, fecha del mencionado episodio armado contra el conde de Alba, y 1493, un momento en que parece que remitieron las luchas banderizas en la ciudad, podemos contar con numerosos testimonios para valorar la violencia banderiza en Salamanca. La información se halla esencialmente en unos veinticinco documentos, bien conocidos, procedentes del Archivo de la Casa de Alba[60], del Municipal[61] o de Simancas[62], aparte de otra documentación complementaria[63]. Analizándolos, pueden valorarse para el citado período las dimensiones de la violencia banderiza y su significado.

Lo primero que llama la atención es que casi no se documentan muertes —tres concretas, documentadas en 1477, 1484, 1485, si bien hubo alguna más—, y unos pocos heridos. Y aun así, se sabe

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59. La relación de los *linajes* con la casa de Alba es la típica de los patricios urbanos con la alta nobleza, a la que daban servicio a cambio de *dinero* —*acostamientos*— y apoyos por parte de estos grandes nobles. Las crónicas mencionan esta relación (ver notas 52 y 53), pero también se ve en los documentos: "*A vuestro serviçio, besando vuestras nobles manos, nos encomendamos a vuestra merçed*", según carta de enero de 1470, *Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 53. Un par de años después se dirigen los de Santo Tomé al conde: "*en este rreyno es mucho notorio quánto este nuestro linage de Santo Tomé e todos nosotros syenpre fuemos e somos servidores de vuestra casa e avemos servido e servimos al muy noble e vertuoso señor, que aya santa gloria, vuestro padre*", (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 57).

60. Documentos citados de 5-1-1470, dos de 28 de septiembre de c. 1472, otro de 29-12-"1474" (o 1473, si la data en 29 de dic. "*año de setenta e quatro*" se refiere a "año del nacimiento"); y otro de enero del año siguiente, antes citados, *Salamanca en la documentación*…: docs. nº 53, 56, 57, 72 y 73. Además otros de 20-5-1475: compromiso de los del bando de Santo Tomé para ayudar a un agente del rey a la pacificación; 13-1-1477: tregua de 12 días entre los bandos de San Benito y San Tomé de la ciudad. *Salamanca en la documentación*…: docs. nº 75, 88.

61. Del Archivo Municipal destaca el documento más famoso de los bandos, la tregua firmada el 30 de septiembre de 1476, editado en Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, ap. doc. XIV, 146-152; así como (acompañado del facsímil) en la versión llamada *Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros de los bandos de San Benito y Santo Thomé*, ed. Florencio Marcos Rodríguez. Salamanca: Ayuntamiento, 1969 (reed.: 1983).

62. Del *Registro General del Sello* (RGS) interesan directamente a la cuestión de los bandos —dejando de lado asuntos sobre Universidad, pleitos patrimoniales y sobre delitos en los que sólo muy tangencialmente podría incidir la tensión de los bandos— varios documentos en ese intervalo temporal: pesquisa para conocer la situación de enfrentamientos que había en la ciudad, RGS, 3-2-1475, fol. 148; carta regia levantando el destierro que había sobre algunas mujeres de los *linajes* de la ciudad, RGS, 26-10-1475, fol. 665; otra pesquisa, de menor relieve que la de febrero, sobre el mismo asunto, RGS. 13-XI-1475, fol. 759; denuncia de que Alfonso Maldonado, del *linaje* de San Benito, fue herido por dos miembros del bando de Santo Tomé, a pesar de la tregua que había, RGS, 26-6-1478, fol. 132; pleito en 1478 por una merced de una renta que se llamaba "*del marco de plata*", que se cobraba por las barraganas de clérigos, equivalente casi a 2.500 mrs. y que le fue concedida a Diego de Anaya por los reyes, provocando la no aceptación por parte del bando contrario al del beneficiario (pertenecía al bando de San Benito) y por parte de personas singulares, *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS), Cámara de Castilla, Pueblos, Salamanca, Leg. 16, cuadernillo; denuncia en 1479 por la muerte dos años antes, en 1477, de un tal Alonso de Solís por un tal Gonzalo Maldonado, 9-7-1479, RGS, fol. 60; cartas de seguro otorgadas a algunas personas ante el miedo de ser agredidas, RGS, 10-2-1480, fol. 169 y 6-6-1480, fol. 207; orden de la reina para hacer una pesquisa sobre ligas y bandos que había en la ciudad, RGS, 26-4-1484, fol. 11; desafío realizado en las afueras de la ciudad entre Juan de Tejeda y Gonzalo de Monroy, siendo penalizados ellos y los que actuaron como testigos, RGS, 14-8-1484, fol. 64; alborotos en los primeros meses de 1485, con una muerte y un herido, RGS, 14-2-1485, fol. 103; asesinato en 1484 de un caballero salmantino llamado Pedro de Miranda, muerto *alevosamente* por Diego de Villafuerte y Suero Alonso, que se refugiaron luego en algunas fortalezas, RGS, 15-3-1485, fol. 114; dos pesquisas en 1485 sobre los acontecimientos precedentes, RGS, 31-7-1485, fol. 66 y 23-9-1485, fol. 240; orden para que Rodrigo de Acevedo fuera prendido, RGS, 13-4-1491; condena a criados del hijo del Doctor Maldonado de Talavera, RGS, 16-5-1492, fol. 493; carta de concordia entre los bandos de San Benito y San Tomé, 30-11-1493, AGS, Diversos de Castilla, Leg. 10, nº 36. Este último documento fue editado en López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: ap. doc. 182-187. Asimismo, López Benito,Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: 66-78.

63. En general, interesara la documentación del AMS, la de la catedral —indirectamente— así como otra documentación judicial, si bien no es decisiva. Por ejemplo, en los años ochenta del siglo XV hubo pleitos por quejas de miembros de los *linajes* de San Martín y San Benito, que habían sido expulsados de la matrícula de los mismos. Las cartas ejecutorias se hallan en *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid*, Reales Ejecutorias, Caja 10, nº 28; C.11, nº 23; C. 16, nº 4 y nº 50; C. 17, nº 5, nº 6, nº 10, nº 33; C. 22, nº 21.

que en esos casos había enemistades de fondo, pero no se conocen los motivos directos que hubo detrás, aunque podría suponerse que el telón de fondo de los bandos fue importante en ellos. Aunque pudo haber bastantes agresiones menores que no han dejado huella documental, y algún que otro crimen en esos más de veinte años, y probablemente así fue —la pesquisa de febrero de 1475 dice que "*se han seguido entre ellos muertes de onbres*", y también se conoce la muerte de un criado de un profesor de la Universidad[64], puede con todo destacarse la baja frecuencia de asesinatos o muertes violentas, máxime en una ciudad célebre ya entonces en toda Castilla por sus bandos y además grande. En efecto, Salamanca ciudad tendría entre 15.000-20.000 habitantes en ese período y, según la matrícula de caballeros y escuderos de 1484, ambos *linajes* contaban con 272 inscritos[65].

Lo que sí hubo fue una atmósfera de confrontación constante, un clima muy enrarecido en la ciudad. Ninguno de los veinticinco documentos reseñados refleja algo trivial ni extraordinario, sino todo lo contrario: más de una decena de denuncias por ataques violentos; un desafío entre dos caballeros; noticias de cinco pesquisas regias —dos en 1475, una en 1479, dos en 1485— y otra petición en esa línea para el duque de Alba; mención a destierro de varias mujeres de caballeros de la ciudad; al menos tres treguas importantes —una entre 1474 y 1475, otra en 1476 y otra en 1477—, más la concordia de 1493, que fue avalada por muchos caballeros... Da la impresión de que la ciudad estuvo sometida a presión constantemente en esos años. Y gran parte de los documentos emplean el clásico lenguaje de estos enfrentamientos: *ruidos, peleas, escándalos alborotos, bandos, questiones*, riesgo de *muertes y heridas, fuerças* y otras expresiones afines. La mención a *ligas e confederaçiones* se justifica por la acción organizada y deliberada de grupos de presión o violentos. El empleo de hombres armados —*escuderos e omes allegados*— es otro de los elementos en los que coinciden esta violencia banderiza y otras formas de violencia vertical, como la violencia contra los labradores. La concordia de 1476 menciona el tipo de armamento y protección que utilizaban los caballeros y sus hombres en estos *ruidos*: arneses, paveses, lanzas, ballestas y tiros de pólvora. La concordia de ese año y las treguas de 1477 distinguen dentro de los participantes entre los que eran "*principales*"[66] —caballeros con 30.000 mrs. de renta, así como sus hijos—, los que eran "*escuderos*" y finalmente los "*omes de pie*", o peones. Sólo los *principales* eran verdaderamente protagonistas de las acciones. Y lo eran tanto como instigadores de las agresiones como en calidad de firmantes de compromisos y treguas, que luego se cumplían o no. Ahora bien, se comprueba que esta solidaridad se hacía operativa en buena medida a título individual, o sea, implicándose el caballero y los suyos estrictamente.

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64. Se sabe que un criado del doctor Martín Dávila fue muerto por el doctor Antonio de los Ríos. Es posible que tenga alguna relación con los bandos, toda vez que, según los libros de claustros, en 1474 el doctor Martín Dávila manifestó que no se atrevía a leer sus lecciones por culpa de las enemistades banderizas, porque sus parientes del bando de San Benito no estaban entonces en la ciudad y corría peligro, Marcos Rodríguez, Florencio. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964: doc. nº 799.

65. De ellos 140 del *linaje* de San Martín y 132 del de San Benito. El dato en Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 27. La mayoría de este alto número de matriculados en los *linajes* poco tenía que ver con la minoría más conspicua de ellos, unas pocas familias de caballeros «*principales*». En el bando de San Benito destacan unos pocos apellidos de linaje: Acevedo, Maldonado, Arias Maldonado, Enríquez, Paz, Anaya, Pereira o Suárez. En el de Santo Tomé eran destacados varios apellidos: Solís, Tejeda, Varilla,Villafuerte, Vázquez Coronado, Almaraz, Monroy y Ovalle. Sobre la población total de la ciudad, un documento de Simancas de 1504 (publicado por López Benito,Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: docs. nº 191-210), revela que había unos 18.000 habitantes entre todas las parroquias de la ciudad; asimismo, Martín Martín, José Luis. "Estructura demográfica y profesional de Salamanca a finales de la Edad Media". *Provincia de Salamanca. Revista de Estudios*, 1 (1982): 15-33, que consultó y analizó el mismo documento.

66. Ver la nota anterior.

Este aspecto debe ser resaltado ya que no todo lo que se arropó con el protocolo léxico de "*bando de San Benito*" / "*bando de Santo Tomé*" tuvo un contenido de enfrentamientos y violencias entre nobles partidos en dos mitades. Sólo una minoría de los casi trescientos inscritos en la matrícula de *linajes* protagonizaba los *ruidos*, en torno a la cuarta parte[67]. Y en las treguas y concordias, por ejemplo, cada caballero estampaba su firma individualmente y respondía por sí mismo. Era el individuo y su estricto grupo familiar —parientes cercanos y sus hombres— el que quedaba comprometido y el que validaba el acuerdo, consistente en ayudar a que no hubiera conflictos ni ruidos, colaborar con la justicia a imponer el orden o bien defender a los firmantes del pacto firmado, si era necesario[68]. Incluso la célebre concordia de septiembre de 1476, en que los bandos de San Benito y Santo Tomé se comprometían a "*quitar escándalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males e dapnos de entre nosotros*"[69], fue firmada por 26 caballeros de ambas partes, 16 de los cuales pertenecían a San Benito, entre ellos siete Maldonado. El objetivo era ambicioso, y por ello solemne —"*prometemos e fazemos pleito e omenaje como omes fijosdalgo*"—, ya que el acuerdo pretendía sobreponerse a cualquier otra *confederación* o *amistad* particular que existiera previamente, obligándose todos los firmantes a actuar como una única *parentela*, a costa de cualquier *pariente* de cualquier grado, incluso un *fijo, si fiziere su bivienda apartadamente*. En el pacto se perciben las unidades más pequeñas que se daban y las solidaridades puestas en juego: alianzas entre caballeros que eran parientes y amigos —"*confederaçiones e amistades particulares y promesas que (...) entre sí unos con otros tienen fechas*"—, es decir, piezas autónomas que formaban los "bandos-linajes". Pero se respetaba la independencia del caballero no-firmante, salvaguardando su *neutralidad* aunque supeditada a la solidaridad superior de la Concordia. El resultado es que la *Concordia*, como pacto voluntario de firmantes, se ponía por encima de la solidaridad del *bando e linaje*. Quizá por haber sido firmada por pocos y haber dejado fuera expresamente a personajes importantes de Santo Tomé fracasó, pero también creo que por la falta de realismo de un ideal maximalista que pretendía no sólo erradicar los alborotos, frenar las luchas de bandos, sino sustituir las solidaridades de *linaje e bando* por esta idílica alianza contractual entre los firmantes de los dos "bando-linaje", creando una solidaridad sin tradición y casi *contra natura*: "*ser todos en una parentela*", los de uno y otro bando.

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67. López Benito contabilizó 72 individuos entre los que protagonizaron luchas y conflictos, más o menos ligados a los bandos, entre 1476 y 1505. Entre ellos había 19 Maldonado, 8 Enríquez, 9 Monroy, 6 Nieto, 8 Paz, 7 Solís, entre otros. Son las mismas familias *principales* que tenían el poder en ella, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: 103-112.

68. Y hubo pactos de gradaciones muy diferentes. En la carta de 5 de enero de 1470 se encomiendan al conde de Alba 11 caballeros, todos destacadísimos, del bando de Santo Tomé, que son los que quedaron comprometidos en esa ocasión. En unas treguas parciales, de finales de 1473, entre unos caballeros de San Benito y otros "*ansý de Sant Adrián conmo de Santo Tomé, con que están aliados o en parentela*", que tras unas *diferencias* habidas entre ellos se pusieron bajo la tutela del duque de Alba, se comprueba que los 8 caballeros firmantes se obligaban por sus bienes hasta 500.000 mrs. a no quebrantar la tregua, debiendo pagar una prenda a los adversarios si lo hacían. Pero era un acuerdo entre ellos, que no afectaba a otros integrantes de sus respectivos «bandos-linajes». De modo que la tregua en cuestión, la efectuada por las *diferencias* recíprocas habidas entre los firmantes, implicaba que ellos, y sólo ellos, obligaran sus bienes, "*cada uno por lo que fiziere él e los suyos e non de mancomún*", señala el acuerdo. Y uno de los firmantes, Alfonso Mandonado, parecía incluso que quería dejar claro que él sólo se responsabilizaría de la quiebra de la tregua si era él o alguno de los allegados el infractor, no los demás firmantes de su parte: "*que la obligación que fazía de sus bienes, que se entendiese quebrando él los dichos capítulos o persona de su casa*". O sea, solidaridad general, de «bandos-linajes», había, ciertamente, pero por debajo, también, solidaridades estrictamente familiares, particulares y alianzas de muy corto alcance (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 72). Así también, la tregua por la que algunos caballeros se comprometían a colaborar con Rodrigo de Ulloa, del Consejo Real, en la pacificación, fue firmada por 23 caballeros de Santo Tomé (*Salamanca en la documentación*…: doc. nº 75).

69. *Ajustamiento de Paz*…

Y lo mismo puede decirse de las treguas firmadas el 13 de enero de 1477[70]. En cambio, la concordia de 1493 a mi juicio tuvo más éxito. Pero no sólo porque fuera ratificada por más individuos —más de 40, pero que expresamente decían que contaban con mayor respaldo—, sino porque era algo diferente. El documento de 1493 a mi juicio era un pacto entre el *estado* de los caballeros y los *regidores*, por tanto en la tradición no de las treguas banderizas sino de los acuerdos para distribuir el poder, por lo tanto en la línea de Sotosalbos de 1390[71].

En definitiva, para concluir con la relación de los bandos salmantinos con la violencia, la impresión que tenemos es que esta última, sobre todo en una graduación grave, no explotó más que puntualmente. Sin embargo, durante todo el siglo XV la ciudad de Salamanca parece haber sido un hervidero de luchas, rencillas, peleas o agresiones menores, amenazas, ataques en callejones y plazuelas. Es la imagen de una ciudad con unas elites crispadas y enfrascadas en una atmósfera de tensión latente, o si se quiere en una subyacente violencia potencial casi en clave antropológica, que formaba parte de la mentalidad de los caballeros urbanos y que sólo en momentos muy determinados se traducía en crímenes deliberados. Es más, sugerimos que una buena parte de esta violencia, incluyendo la venganza de María de Monroy, se debió a cuestiones privadas e individuales, y no puede encuadrarse en una típica pugna entre linajes y «bandos-linajes». Además, otras rivalidades surgieron como consecuencia de trasladar a la ciudad problemas externos, muy en especial los de las «*parcialidades*» nobiliarias. A este respecto, destacábamos más arriba las injerencias del duque de Alba en la ciudad.

De modo que los enfrentamientos podían anclarse a cualquiera de los diferentes frentes de solidaridad. El problema es que todo ello —rivalidades personales, familiares, concejiles o «*parcialidades*»— creaba cruces empíricos francamente complejos[72], pero eran problemas diferentes que no pueden ser explicados por un único conflicto etiquetado convencionalmente como «luchas de bandos». La temprana celebridad que los *bandos locales* salmantinos tuvieron en la ciudad y en toda Castilla tuvo el efecto, a nuestro entender, de que muchas de las luchas, sin serlo propiamente, acabaron siendo interpretadas por los propios contemporáneos —más aún por la tradición y leyendas posteriores— como si lo fueran realmente.

A la postre se deriva de ello una cuestión de conciencia social. Las gentes de la época estaban informadas de los desórdenes constantes, aun a pequeña escala, que se venían sucediendo en Salamanca y muchas de sus acciones y móviles acabaron *a fortiori* encontrando cobertura cultural en los enormemente flexibles *bandos* de la ciudad. Lo uno, porque éstos se nutrían de la indeterminación de objetivos y fuentes de la tensión. Lo otro, y esto tampoco convendría olvidarlo, porque las luchas entrelazadas estimulaban un endiablado escenario convulso. Cualquier violencia parecía

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70. *Salamanca en la Documentación*…: doc. nº 88.

71. Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV…": 454-456. Recientemente hemos analizado la cuestión de los bandos como pactos y compromisos políticos en Monsalvo, José María, "En torno a la cultura contractual de las élites urbanas: pactos y compromisos políticos (linajes y bandos de Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo y Alba de Tormes"), *El contrato político en la Corona de Castilla. Cultura y sociedad política entre los siglos X al XVI*, François Foronda, Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, dirs. Madrid: Dykinson, 2008: 159-209.

72. Los propios protagonistas se veían envueltos en la mixtificación, que afectaba a la propia estructura de la solidaridad y naturalmente a las mismas luchas. Por eso en el enfrentamiento en 1478 —sobre la merced del marco de plata— entre Diego de Anaya y Alfonso de Almaraz, que pertenecían a bandos distintos —San Benito y Santo Tomé respectivamente—, aquél insistía en que a la rivalidad de bando se unía la rivalidad personal o familiar, es decir, la que afectaba a la unidad más pequeña. Pero se veía obligado a decirlo: "*como enemigo capitál mío e de mis parientes, no solamente de bando a bando como se acostumbraba hacer en la dicha çibdad, mas de su persona e casa a la persona e casa de mi padre han tenido e tienen grandes enemistades*", (AGS, CC-Pueblos (Salamanca), Leg. 16, fols. 11v-13v. Véase López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*…: 73).

por ello más factible bajo la sensación de anarquía que podía brotar en cualquier momento, "*por las divisiones de los bandos*" de la ciudad, como decía aquel testimonio citado de mediados del siglo XV[73]. Este es otro efecto relevante de los bandos, de los salmantinos y de otros, esto es, haber ayudado a fabricar un ambiente crónico de inseguridad, ofreciendo al mismo tiempo una coartada casi a cualquier problema. El discurso unitario de los bandos ocultaba su verdadera polivalencia y retroalimentaba una visión única para conductas que tenían orígenes y claves muy diferentes, que respondían a fuentes de conflictividad distintas.

3. Acontecimientos y tensiones que se han relacionado con los *linajes* y *bandos* salmantinos

1366-1369. Pugnas entre partidarios de don Enrique (familia Maldonado) y Pedro I (familia Tejeda) en Salamanca.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, 18-20.

1390, agosto, 17. "Ordenanzas de Sotosalbos", dadas por Juan I, consideradas instrumento de pacificación entre bandos.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: IV, apartado XII 113-115. Confirmadas en 1394, 1437, 1440, 1483, 1496.

1401, mayo, 31. Enrique III encarga a dos regidores de cada bando (por el *linaje* de San Martín a los regidores Pedro Rodríguez de las Varillas y Fernán Rodríguez de Monroy, y por el de San Benito a Juan Alvarez Maldonado y a Gómez González de Anaya) que pongan orden en el reparto de cargos, ante las disputas que se estaban produciendo por el reparto de oficios municipales.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 8, 44.

1423, mayo, 7. Preocupación en Alba de Tormes por la posible difusión en la villa de las tensiones entre los bandos salmantinos.

Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes, Libros de Acuerdos (LAC), fols. 20v-21.

1439. Juan Gómez de Anaya, partidario de los infantes de Aragón, llega a tomar la estancia (unas casas y torres pertenecientes a la Iglesia de Salamanca) donde iba a estar el rey en Salamanca, impidiendo que se aposentaran en ella los enviados del rey, entre ellos el Halconero Mayor, Pedro Carrillo.

"Crónica de Juan II", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla: desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rossell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, 558; *Crónica del Halconero*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1946: 309.

1440. El poder real, a través de la "reina doña María" pactaba con el concejo de Salamanca la designación por éste de dos comisarios por cada bando-linaje, con el fin de que escogiesen los veinte escribanos que debía haber en la ciudad.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 14.

1449, febrero, 20. Carta de Juan II ordenando al corregidor de Salamanca que impida a Alfonso de Solís hacer casa fuerte junto a la iglesia de Santo Tomé, porque se podrían producir altercados entre los bandos de la ciudad.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 45.

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73. Ver nota 47.

c. 1445-1450. La *Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna* menciona graves problemas en Salamanca originadas por las disensiones entre los bandos de Santo Tomé y San Benito de la ciudad: "*grand trabajo e muertes de honbres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recresçido; de guissa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruyr e perder sin reparo alguno*". La *Crónica* especificaba quiénes eran los líderes de cada bando y cómo servían, unos y otros, la causa de don Enrique de Aragón, rival de Álvaro de Luna.

Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna…: 253, 447.

1452, abril, 17. Carta de Pedro de Estúñiga, justicia mayor de Castilla, a los caballeros del bando de Santo Tomé sobre el apaciguamiento de las discordias con los de San Benito.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…:V, 45.

1455. Discordias entre los dos bandos por la designación de procuradores para las cortes de 1455.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 15.

1458. Noticias de que se han reclutado hombres —el conde de Alba o su hijo don García Álvarez de Toledo— en el señorío de Valdecorneja para intervenir en Salamanca: "*quando mandaron yr la gente a los vandos de Salamanca*".

Archivo Municipal de Piedrahíta, Libro de Cuentas 1453-1466, fol. 71.

1462. Las Cortes de Toledo prohíben que catedráticos y estudiantes de la Universidad se involucren en banderías de la ciudad: "*de cada día se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*"

Cortes de Toledo de 1462, (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 708 (petición nº 8).

1463-1464. Caballeros del bando de San Benito ayudan a los nobles sublevados en pro de don Alfonso y contra Enrique IV, entre ellos Pedro González de Hontiveros. Se producen muertes e incendios en la ciudad.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 16.

1464-principios de 1465. Venganza de María de Monroy, esposa del regidor Enrique Enríquez: venga la muerte de sus hijos a manos de los hermanos Manzano. María de Monroy cortó las cabezas de éstos en Portugal, donde habían huido los homicidas, y las depositó ante las tumba de sus hijos.

Maldonado, Alonso, "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara", *Memorial Histórico Español*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110, especialmente 17-19; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 47, 68, 75.

1465, marzo, 28. Cédula real que contiene la confiscación de bienes de Gómez y Alfonso Manzano por haber dado muerte a los hermanos Enríquez.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca*…: V, 47, 75.

1465, primavera. Alineamientos de los caballeros de la ciudad en torno al conde de Alba, partidario de Enrique IV, por una parte, y de los enemigos de ellos, personificados en la ciudad por los partidarios del conde de Plasencia, por otro. Todas las crónicas (Galíndez, *Anónima*, Palencia) apuntan esta polarización pero sin especificar los apoyo de uno y otro conde.

Palencia, Alonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: I, Década I, Libro VII, capítulo VI, 164. Crónica de Enrique IV, ed. Juan Torres Fontes, *Estudio sobre la "Crónica de Enrique IV" del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal*, Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Jerónimo Zuerta-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946, capítulo 62, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de*

Castilla, 1454-1474), ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra, Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991, I capítol LXIIII, p. 156.

1465, junio. Tras la Farsa de Ávila, el conde de Alba, con varios centenares de hombres armados, se hace con el control de Salamanca, apoyado por los caballeros partidarios que tenía en la ciudad.

Crónicas de los reyes, *Crónica del rey don Enrique IV*, Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla…: III, 145.

1469. Aprovechándose de las adhesiones de los bandos de la ciudad —"*algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos le servian y acataban*"—, don García Álvarez de Toledo, conde de Alba, intenta tomar por las armas la ciudad, alegando que se le había concedido por Enrique IV. Pero los caballeros reaccionaron y, ayudados por mucha gente en armas, le hicieron desistir: "*los del un bando y del otro se juntaron en gran número de gente y tomaron las armas contra el conde. Pelearon con él de tal manera que hubo de salir de la ciudad, con gran perdida y daño suyo y de sus gentes*".

Valera, Diego de. "Memorial de diversas hazañas", *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*...: III, 55; "Crónica de Enrique IV, atribuida a Galíndez de Carvajal"... chapter 117, 271-272; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla*... II, capítulo XVII, 290; Palencia, Alonso de, *Crónica de Enrique IV*...: I, Década II, libro II, capítulo VI, 298.

1470, enero, 5. Carta de los caballeros del bando de Santo Tomé de Salamanca al conde de Alba reafirmando los compromisos adquiridos con él.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 1989, doc. 53, 139-140.

c. 1470- 1472. Los miembros del bando de Santo Tomé reprochan al conde de Alba que no haya favorecido —se supone que ejerciendo influencia en el entorno del rey— la concesión de un regimiento a uno de los que ellos proponían. Por el contrario, García Álvarez de Toledo había propiciado que fuera nombrado como regidor salmantino el doctor Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera, que además era del bando de San Benito, con lo que los de Santo Tomé pensaban que el conde pretendía "*fazer menos a nuestro linaje e bando para lo dar e acreçentar al bando contrario*".

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 142-145 (docs. nº 56, 57).

1473, diciembre 29. Tregua acordada entre varios caballeros de San Benito con rivales suyos, comprometiendo bienes de cada parte. Se establecen comisionados para resolver otras posibles disputas: "*todas las otras cosas de diferençias, de daños, e debates e otras cosas que son entre los dichos cavalleros e bandos, que los vean dos cavalleros, uno de cada linaje, e los determinen*". En caso de no ponerse de acuerdo, se acuerda que intervenga el duque de Alba.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 158- 161 (doc. nº 72).

1474, enero, 14. Carta del bando de Santo Tomé de la ciudad de Salamanca al duque de Alba para que encargue una pesquisa en relación con disputas entre *linajes* y bandos.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 161-162 (doc. nº 73).

1474, noviembre. El doctor Martín Dávila, profesor de la Universidad, expuso que tenía gran temor de acudir a impartir sus clases porque tenía enemistades con Pedro Suárez de Solís y, al estar sus parientes del bando de San Benito fuera de la ciudad, por lo que "*sus enemigos tienen libertad de andar por este barrio e por do quieren, dende se le sigue gand peligro de su persona*".

Florencio Marcos Rodríguez. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*, Salamanca, 1964, doc. nº 799.

1475, febrero, 3. Envío de un pesquisidor a Salamanca para que averigüe quienes eran culpables de los ruidos y alborotos que había en la ciudad, que habían incluido "*peleas e ruidos e otros debates e questiones de que se han seguido entre ellos muertes de hombres e otros inconvenientes*.

AGS, RGS, 1475, fol. 148.

1475, primavera. Al iniciarse la guerra con Portugal se sospechaba que los bandos de la ciudad de alinearían con algunos destacados miembros, en concreto que el bando de Santo Tomé siguiera al conde de Plasencia o a Antón Núñez de Ciudad Rodrigo, en apoyo de Portugal, si bien el conde de Alba contaba con apoyos del bando de San Benito.

Palencia, Alfonso de, *Crónica de Enrique IV*…: II, Década III, Libro II, capítulo VIII, 195.

1475, mayo 20. Escritura suscrita entre Rodrigo de Ulloa, contador mayor del rey, y los caballeros del *linaje* y bando de Santo Torné de Salamanca.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba…: 163-164.

1475, octubre, 26. Alzamiento del destierro de algunas mujeres de Salamanca por su implicación en los desórdenes de los bandos.

AGS, RGS, 1475, fol. 665.

1475, noviembre, 13. Carta enviada al corregidor Diego Osorio para que realice una pesquisa sobre los desórdenes de la ciudad

AGS, RGS, 1475, fol. 759.

1476, septiembre. 30. Tregua o concordia entre los caballeros de los bandos de San Benito y Santo Tomé de Salamanca, hecha por "*el bien y pas y sosyego desta çibdad, e por quitar escandalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males y dapnos de entre nosotros*"

Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros de los bandos de San Benito y Santo Thomé, ed. Florencio. Marcos Rodríguez, Salamanca, 1969 (reed. 1983); *Historia de Salamanca* (1887), ed. Manuel Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, V, ap. 147-151 (doc. nº 14).

1477, enero 13. Tregua acordada por los caballeros de los bandos de Santo Tomé y San Benito de la ciudad de Salamanca.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba doc. 88, 192-196.

1484, abril, 26. Comisión al corregidor de Salamanca para informar sobre las ligas de caballeros y escuderos de la ciudad que, pese a estar prohibidas, han seguido haciéndose.

AGS, RGS, 1484, fol. 11.

1493, noviembre, 30- diciembre, 2.

Carta de concordia entre los bandos de San Benito y Santo Tomé de Salamanca.

AGS., Diversos de Castilla, L. 10, 36. López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios*...: 182-187.

TRES MANUSCRITOS CASTELLANOS DE ARITMÉTICA MERCANTIL. SUS PROBLEMAS DE ALEACIONES

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Resumen

El objeto de este trabajo es dar a conocer la existencia de tres manuscritos castellanos de aritmética mercantil, todos del siglo XIV. El primero, que es además el más general y completo, es el denominado *Libro de Arismética*, y se custodia en la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (ms.46). Puede ser considerado como el primer libro de aritmética mercantil escrito en castellano, y adelanta unos 100 años la fecha que hasta el momento se manejaba para hablar de tratados de aritmética mercantil peninsulares. Contiene una larga colección de ejemplos prácticos, en total 192. De ellos, 23, son de aleaciones, un 12%.

Un segundo manuscrito, se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sección Raros. Está truncado y sin título, y nos ofrece un total de 76 problemas. De ellos, 13, son de aleaciones, un 16%.

El tercer ejemplar analizado, *De Arismetica*, se conserva en la Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, encuadernado en una miscelánea titulada *Escritos Diversos*. Creemos que está incompleto, aunque forma un todo coherente y perfectamente inteligible. Prescinde de todos los aspectos generales y después de advertirnos que su fin es enseñar a operar con fracciones, comienza directamente con una colección de problemas —48— de los que solamente dos, son de aleaciones, un 4%.

Tres son los manuscritos castellanos de aritmética comercial en los que hemos centrado nuestra atención para elaborar el presente trabajo[1]. Los tres aparecen elaborados en el siglo XIV.Lo temprano de esta fecha, y la lengua en que están escritos —castellano— les confieren un importante valor y entidad. Nos permite superar la idea de la inexistencia en los reinos hispánicos bajomedievales de una literatura técnica sobre las aplicaciones al campo del comercio de la nueva aritmética (algoritmo)[2], y nos muestran también como en la Corona de Castilla, la actividad técnica se ponía al servicio de la actividad comercial.

El primero, y considerado más importante es el *Libro de Arismética* que se custodia en el fondo manuscrito de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León (manuscrito 46). Su estudio, presentado

1. Este trabajo ha sido elaborado en el marco del proyecto de investigación HUM 2007- 63856, *La transmisión del saber técnico y profesional: literatura técnica en la España Medieval,* subvencionado por el Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología.

2. Ninguna de las monografías existentes en el momento de la publicación del trabajo, *El Arte del Alguarismo: un libro de aritmética commercial y de ensayo de moneda del siglo XIV*, eds. Betsabé Caunedo del Potro, Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave. Salamanca: Consejería de Educació y Cultura, Junta de Castilla y León- Caja Duero, 2000, recogían la existencia en los reinos hispánicos bajomedievales —ni en la Corona de Castilla ni en la Corona de Aragón— de esa literatura técnica. Esta nueva aritmética se difundió por Europa desde principio del siglo XIII como consecuencia del contacto entre el mundo musulmán y la Europa Latina. La gran vía de comunicación fue el Mediterráneo.

ya en el año 2000[3], nos permitió adelantar en más de 100 años, la fecha que hasta ese momento se manejaba para hablar de tratados de aritmética mercantil peninsulares[4] y empezar a cubrir un importante vacío historiográfico. El ejemplar conservado y analizado es una copia manuscrita del siglo XVI de un escrito fechado en 1393, cuyo contenido recoge lo expuesto en manuscritos anteriores, perdidos por ahora, que se remontan a comienzos del siglo XIV.

El conocimiento de la existencia de este manuscrito y su estudio, nos obligó también a preguntarnos seriamente si no serían más los trabajos de este tipo que yacían en el olvido en los diferentes archivos castellanos y a los que el historiador no había prestado todavía la suficiente atención. Se mostraban conformes con la idea de que la primera aritmética comercial detectada en los reinos hispánicos era la de Francesc Santcliment, un impreso de la primera imprenta catalana (1482)[5]. La antigua pregunta de ¿cómo había sido posible que la intensa actividad comercial detectada en los reinos hispánicos no contase con una literatura técnica propia y o traducida, cuando, el contacto con el mundo italiano y la existencia de una rica tradición andalusí inducía a pensar en la existencia y circulación de este tipo de literatura?, nos la formulamos con más claridad tras el estudio del manuscrito 46. Esa misma pregunta nos animó a la búsqueda de este tipo de documentos. La labor no resultó infructuosa, pues en apenas tres años hemos localizado otros dos manuscritos de esta disciplina, creemos que también del siglo XIV, que hacen que el *Libro de Arismética* no sea sólo un ejemplar magnífico, sí, pero raro, curioso y por tanto, excepcional[6]. Los tres tratados constituyen buenos ejemplos de una auténtica literatura técnica y de la existencia de una actividad didáctica en Castilla puesta al servicio de un comercio activo y floreciente como lo fue el comercio castellano bajomedieval.

Los otros dos manuscritos que vamos a presentar se localizan en Madrid. El segundo, titulado *De Arismetica*, se conserva en muy buen estado en la Real Academia Española, Ms. 155, encuadernado en una miscelánea titulada *Escritos Diversos*: *Dichos de sabios y filósofos; Libro del regimiento de la salud; Regimiento para conservar la salud de los omes; Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*… entre los que se intercalan, muy brevemente, unas *notas sobre las estaciones, recetas médicas, Sentencias de Salomón, notas sobre el componente de oro y plata en diferentes monedas* y *sobre algunos signos del zodíaco y sus características*[7]. Y el

3. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo. Un libro castellano de aritmética comercial y ensayo de moneda del siglo XIV. Estudio, edición, glosario e índices*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000.

4. La primacía hasta ese momento le correspondía a la *Summa de l´árt d´Aritmètica*, de Francesc Santcliment, escrito en catalán, en 1482, que no obstante sigue siendo el primer texto impreso de esta disciplina. Ver una edición crítica del mismo. Santcliment, Francesc. *Summa de l´art l´Aritmética*, ed. Antoni Malet. Vic: Eumo, 1988.

5. Ver nota anterior.

6. Un avance de los mismos hicimos en nuestro trabajo Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé. "Usos y prácticas mercantiles a fines de la Edad Media", *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico, siglos XIII – XV, Jornadas celebradas en Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003*, Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero Camacho, eds. Sevilla – Cádiz: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales – Diputación de Cádiz, 2006: 35-55.

7. Real Academia Española, Ms. 145. El tratado *De Arismetica*, como todos los demás escritos, están foliados con numeración arábiga moderna en el margen superior derecho. Ocupa los folios 144r – 164r. Ofrecemos también la foliación de los otros escritos: fols. 1 – 86v, *Dichos de sabios y filósofos*; fols. 92r – 119r, *Regimiento para conservar la salud de los omes*, elaborado según recoge el propio escrito en el fol 109 por el médico sevillano Estéfano de Sevilla; fols. 121r- 143r. *Glosas sobre el tratado de Domingo con las respuestas dirigidas al muy magnífico señor D. Diego Furtado de Mendoça, marqués de Santillana, conde del Real, acabado por metro y prosa*. A continuación inserta el tratado *De Arismética*. En medio, fol. 86v. *Apuntes sobre los nacimientos de Pedro (1947) y Diego de Molina (1451) hechos por su padre*; fol. 87r. – 88r. *Notas sobre estaciones*; fol. 88r – 89v. *Regimiento de salud*; fols. 89v – 90r. *Varias recetas médicas*; fols. 90v – 91r. *Sentencias de Salomón*; fol. 91v *notas sobre el componente de oro y plata de diferentes monedas*; y fols. 120r– v *notas sobre los signos del zodiaco*. Fue Bartolomé José Gallardo a través de sus *Ensayos de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* quien nos ofreció una primera noticia de la existencia de este interesante documento. Gallardo, Bartolomé José. *Ensayos de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*. Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipa de M. Rivadeneyra, 1863: I, doc. nº 758. He realizado un pequeño trabajo sobre el mismo, "De Arismética. Un manual de aritmética para mercaderes", *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 78,(2003-2004): 35-46.

tercero, sin título, se cobija en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sección Raros, manuscrito 10.106[8]. De su existencia da noticia el trabajo de José María Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca catedral de Toledo*[9], donde ya consta que está encuadernado con un *Libro de Agricultura*, título que se lee en su lomo.

Los tres cumplieron la clara finalidad de proporcionar a los mercaderes castellanos una formación aritmética adecuada y reclamada vivamente por unas técnicas comerciales que se enriquecían, evolucionaban y también se complicaban. Ellos, partícipes también de la denominada "revolución comercial", de la que habían sido artífices los italianos, estimularon y demandaron un cierto desarrollo técnico, pues la buena marcha de los negocios exigía, cada vez más claramente, una mejor preparación e instrucción. Los nuevos hombres de negocios necesitaban un aprendizaje eficaz y rápido, por lo que empezaron a elaborar una auténtica "cultura mercantil y financiera" que sobrepasaba el simple nivel de las tradiciones orales o de las prácticas empíricas —que nunca se desecharían— y que se fijó por escrito. Los *Manuales de Mercaduria* y los de *Aritmética Mercantil*, son el mejor exponente de esas nuevas necesidades de instrucción, puestas al servicio de una técnica mercantil cada vez más depurada. A través de ellos, los futuros mercaderes aprendían los rudimentos teóricos de su profesión, que luego completarían con el ejercicio práctico de la misma en la tienda, taller o factoría. Una acertada combinación de ambos ingredientes: teoría y práctica en su formación, podrían facilitar el anhelado éxito profesional. Una buena enseñanza se ofrecía como garantía del mismo, ya que tres eran las condiciones que necesitaban reunir quienes quisiesen dedicarse al comercio según el creer de la época: dinero o patrimonio, destreza en el cálculo mercantil y conocimientos contables[10]. Estas dos últimas, aluden claramente a la formación. Los Manuales de Aritmética, la ofrecían, o por lo menos ayudaban a conseguirla. Los mercaderes fueron, pues, los principales usuarios, pero no los únicos, ya que otros muchos hombres de ciudad necesitaban también, cada vez más, de unos cálculos precisos para poder desarrollar su actividad[11]. Así, los arrendadores de impuestos, banqueros, artesanos... y particularmente, aquellos que practicaban oficios relacionados con la acuñación de moneda, pues debían conocer los metales, la forma de alearlos y también los cálculos precisos para obtener las proporciones adecuadas y requeridas por la normativa existente. También ellos, ejercieron una demanda particular sobre las matemáticas de la época y desarrollaron ciertos temas de índole práctico. En casi todos los denominados manuales de aritmética mercantil, incluso también en algunos de los llamados "manuales de mercadería"[12], nos encontramos entre sus ejercicios los llamados "problemas de aleaciones" con objeto de enseñar estos conceptos. Y esto ocurre en los tres manuscritos castellanos en los que vamos a centrar nuestra atención. Incluso uno de ellos, *El arte del alguarismo*, da un paso más, pues introduciendo el grueso de los ejercicios prácticos sobre aleaciones, inserta un manual técnico sobre afinación de la plata y

8. Biblioteca Nacional (BN), Raros, Ms. 10, 106.

9. Millás Vallicrosa, José María. *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Toledo*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1942: 91.

10. Son éstas las que presenta Luca Paccioli en su *Summa Aritmética geometria proportioni et proportionalità*, publicada en Venecia en 1494, y que causó una enorme sensación en los medios intelectuales italianos. Ver Hernández Esteve, Esteban. *De las Cuentas y las escrituras*. Madrid: AECA e Ilustre Colegio Oficial de Titulados Mercantiles y Empresariales de Madrid, 1994: 172.

11. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, 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. Tratamos en este trabajo como la sociedad urbana bajomedieval, con unos requerimientos económicos determinados, exige y propicia nuevos desafios técnicos.

12. Ricardo Córdoba hace un recorrido por algunos de los mejor conocidos en: Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda", *El arte del Alguarismo...*: 86-88.

fabricación de moneda, *Libro que enseña ensayar qualquier moneda*, tratado que constituye a juicio de Ricardo Córdoba un auténtico *Manual de ensayadores y maestros de moneda*[13].

1. Los primeros pasos

¿Dónde podemos buscar los orígenes de estos buenos ejemplos de literatura técnica puesta al servicio de la actividad comercial y en general de la expansión urbana?. Una primera respuesta, fácil, cómoda y sin grandes posibilidades de error, nos conduce a la dominación musulmana de la península y al florecimiento cultural andalusí. Nadie duda de la grandiosa aportación del saber árabe y de su importante irrupción en Occidente con todo un caudal de conocimientos más rico que el que aquí se había conservado, y que por tanto, oscurecía por completo el substrato occidental. El término "alguarismo", el sistema de numeración, y el estilo de los trabajos —tratado de aritmética mercantil, *Al-Muawalat*, así lo evidencian. Nadie duda tampoco de la aportación judaica, por lo menos, se destaca su papel como buenos cultivadores y difusores de la disciplina que ahora nos ocupa. Sin embargo, presentamos estos manuscritos como frutos de una doble y fecunda tradición: una tradición latina y una tradición arábiga, elaboradas en un marco incomparable para ello, La Península Ibérica, donde dos culturas: la latina y la árabe —de la que participan también cristianos (mozárabes) y judíos— se enlazan, desarrollan y enriquecen. Y queremos destacar el eslabón más humilde en la cadena de transmisión sobre el que se produciría la gran irrupción de la ciencia árabe, eslabón que fue, el elemento cristiano —latino, visible por lo menos, en el primero de los textos en los que fijaremos nuestra atención. Destaquemos dos nombres: Boecio y Beda el Venerable. Con Boecio (435-480) llegó una primera tradición clásica en el campo de la matemática. Utilizando fuentes griegas compiló selecciones latinas de tratados elementales sobre aritmética, geometría y astronomía. Escribió *Institutio Aritmética*[14], una traducción resumen de la *Introductio Aritmética* de Nicómaco. Su bajo nivel en matemáticas, descendió todavía más en compilaciones posteriores de Casiodoro (475-570)[15] e Isidoro de Sevilla (560-636), que especialmente nos interesa señalar, ya que su obra *Las Etimologías*, dedica el libro III al estudio de las cuatro ciencias matemáticas. Tras una breve definición de las mismas, menciona a los "investigadores" de la matemática para centrarse en la definición del número, en su importancia y en sus tipos. Concluye con diferentes anotaciones geométricas. Se coloca en la posición de los filósofos antiguos cuando expone la doctrina de los números para estudiarlos como manifestación del plan del Creador[16].

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13. Este manual resulta sumamente interesante, ya que rara vez nos encontramos en época medieval con manuales que "enseñen" a realizar un trabajo, estando acostumbrados a la trasmisión oral de los conocimientos. Lo ha estudiado en: Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda", *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 83-128.

14. Boethius, Anicio Maulio Torcuato Severino. *Institutio Arithmetica*, ed. Jean Yves Guillaumin. París: Les Belles lettres, 1995, en cuya introducción analiza el valor del número para Boecio y Nicómaco, y la consideración del estudio de la aritmética como fase que precede a otros estudios superiores.

15. Boethius, Anicio Maulio Torcuato Severino. *Institutio Arithmetica*… Jean Yves Guillaumin, nos presenta una primera difusión del texto, convertida en manual para los monjes de Vivarium y después para los de Bobbio. Su presencia en estas bibliotecas y en la de Letrán sería importante para su difusión por toda Europa.

16. Sevilla, Isidoro de. *Las Etimologias*, eds. José Oroz Reta, Manuel Marcos Casquero. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982, con una introducción general de Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz. Además de este libro III de *Las Etimologias, Acerca de las Matemáticas*, se le ha atribuido a San Isidoro un *Libro de los Números*, tratado con el que vuelve al estudio bíblico para aplicar interpretaciones místicas a todas las menciones numéricas de los libros sagrados (Sevilla, Isidoro de. *Las Etimologías*…: 129-130.)

Esta obra tuvo una enorme y rápida difusión antes del siglo IX, resultando posible su localización en casi todos los monasterios medievales[17]. Esta importante presencia iba a asegurar la transmisión de una herencia que la obra recogía, conservaba y exponía. Además, en muchos de estos cenobios, no se limitaban solamente a conservar, se estudiaba concienzudamente, aunque con objetivos diferentes a los buscados en el siglo XIII y XIV. Uno de éstos, que estimuló el cultivo de la aritmética, fue la determinación del calendario litúrgico, ya que la mayoría de las fiestas religiosas, movibles, se fijarían a partir de la celebración de la Pascua de Resurrección, según había determinado el Concilio de Nicea[18]. Superada la controversia religiosa —dogmática, su establecimiento exigía solamente unos conocimientos aritméticos que lo hiciesen posible. Algunos monjes se afanaron en adquirirlos y transmitirlos. Tal es el caso de Beda el Venerable (673-735), el llamado monje historiador de Jarrow[19], quien elaboró seis obras de cronología. En una de ellas, *De Temporum ratione*, escrita en el año 725, calculó las tablas de Pascua para el período comprendido entre los años 532 y 1063, y también intentó, por primera vez, una cronología del mundo hasta el reinado del emperador bizantino de su época, León el Isaurio[20]. Pero no debemos insistir en estos aspectos ya conocidos, tampoco en como los cálculos, *Computus*, que permitían establecer con precisión el año litúrgico siguieron cultivándose en Occidente, pero si queremos llamar la atención sobre una pequeña obra aritmética de Beda, *De Arithmeticis Propositionibus*[21] en la que intenta resolver situaciones que pudiesen presentarse en la vida diaria, y sobre todo, en la obra de Alcuino de York, *Prepositiones ad acuendos juvenes*[22], en la que encontramos un ejercicio que nos puede servir como punto de partida de los que aquí vamos a tratar. La obra contiene una pequeña colección de problemas aritméticos y geométricos precedidos por anotaciones sobre los números, y está destinada, según el autor "desarrollar el ingenio de los jóvenes"[23], Es necesario resaltar, que varios de sus ejercicios se repiten con el mismo enunciado o con escasísimas variaciones —adecuaciones de tiempo y lugar— en trabajos aritméticos posteriores, en concreto en muchos de los que se engloban en el término de aritmética recreativa, integrados a su vez, en la aritmética comercial medieval y renacentista. Es probable que fuesen ya clásicos en tiempos de Alcuíno, dado el origen griego, indio y chino apuntado para algunos de ellos[24], y se podría pensar en la posibilidad de que

17. Sevilla, Isidoro de. *Las Etimologías*…: 200–222 nos ofrece un completo esquema de la propagación de la obra antes del siglo IX.

18. Muñoz Box, Fernando. "El tiempo y la medida del tiempo", *Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Corona de Castilla, II. Edad Media*, Luis García Ballester, dir. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002: 539-550, vuelve a insistir en que fueron los monjes los que hicieron avanzar las ciencias de la cronología y de la horología.

19. La obra fundamental de Beda quizá sea la *Historia Eclesiástica gentis anglorum*, fuente principal para la historia de la iglesia de este país y que le ha granjeado a su autor el apelativo de monje historiador. Una edición reciente de la obra: Beda. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, eds. John Allen Giles, John Stevens, Vida Dutton Scudder. Londres: Denton, 1935.

20. Whitrow, Gerald James. *El tiempo en la historia. La evolución de nuestro sentido del tiempo y de la perspectiva temporal*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990: 102.

21. Sobre el valor matemático de la obra insiste Menso Folkerts en su completísimo trabajo: Folkerts, Menso. " *De Arithmeticis Propositionibus*. A Mathematical Treatise Ascribed to the Venerable Beda", *Essay son Early Medieval Mathematics. The Latin Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003: 12-30.

22. Folkerts, Menso. "*The proposiciones ad acuendos iuvenes* Ascribed to Alcuin", *Essay son Early Medieval Mathematics*...: 31 – 76.

23. Alcuino enunció 55 problemas, solucionó 32, dejando, por tanto, sin resolver, 23. Eran éstos, los que debían facilitar el desarrollo del ingenio "las demás soluciones son deseadas, puede, sin embargo, cualquiera resolver esas proposiciones, utilizando la aritmética, de tal manera, que los omitidos valgan para ejecutar el ingenio".

24. Singmaster, David. "Some early soures in recreational mathematics", *Mathematics from Manuscript to Print, (1300-1600)*, Cynthia Hay, dir. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988: 195-208, apunta a unos orígenes indios y chinos para muchos

éste, independientemente de sus contactos con el mundo musulmán, se hubiese inspirado directamente en Beda, cuya obra le resultaba muy conocida, incluso familiar. Al margen de sus posibles conexiones y engarces, magníficamente estudiados por Menso Folkers[25], queremos resaltar, como ya hemos mencionado, uno de los ejercicios insertos en la colección, ya que podemos considerarlo como posible modelo en Occidente de los denominados "problemas de aleaciones". Por lo menos su vinculación es clara. Alcuíno lo plantea en los siguientes términos:

> Se tiene un disco de metal que pesa 30 libras y vale 600 sólidos. El disco está formado por una aleación de oro, plata, cobre y estaño. Por cada parte de oro tiene tres de plata. Por cada parte de plata tiene tres de cobre. Por cada parte de cobre tiene tres de estaño. Diga quién pueda, ¿Cúanto hay de cada metal?[26].

La solución que nos ofrece Alcuíno es la siguiente:

Metal	En peso	En moneda
Oro	9 onzas	15 sólidos
Plata	2 libras, 3 onzas	45 sólidos
Cobre	6 libras, 9 onzas	135 sólidos
Estaño	20 libras, 3 onzas	405 sólidos
TOTAL	30 libras	600 sólidos

de estos problemas. Algunos aparecen en colecciones de Mohavira (850) y Abu Kamil (900) e insiste en que tuvo que haber trabajos árabes anteriores que los introdujesen.
El gracioso problema de una liebre que huía perseguida por un perro que aparece en la colección de Beda, lo hacía ya en el que puede considerarse como uno de los textos matemáticos más antiguos del mundo (primeros años de nuestra era), y el más influyente de todos los textos matemáticos chinos, el *Chin Chang Suan Shu o los Nueve Capítulos sobre las artes matemáticas*. Esta obra integrada por 246 problemas distribuidos en nueve secciones o capítulos, lo incorpora en el capítulo 6, "Justos impuestos", en el que aparecen ejercicios que tratan de la distribución de la carga de impuestos entre diferentes sectores de población y otros sobre el tiempo requerido para transportar el grano (impuesto) desde diferentes aldeas a la capital. Aquí incluye los del "tipo de persecución", que podemos comprobar que llegaron a Europa antes de la repetida introducción arábiga. Copiamos el enunciado del problema, "*una liebre lleva a un galgo 50 pu (pasos) de ventaja. El perro persigue a la liebre 150 pu, pero la liebre aún está 30 pu por delante. ¿Al cabo de cuántos pu el perro alcanzará a la liebre*" (Joseph, George. *La cresta del pavo real. Las matemáticas y sus raíces no europeas*. Madrid: Pirámide, 1996: 236).

25. En los trabajos mencionados en las notas 20 y 21, hace una magnífica relación de las diferentes copias conservadas, de sus analogías y diferencias.

26. Hemos traducido el enunciado del problema del trabajo de Folkerts, Menso. "*The Prepositiones...*": 48-499. (7) PRO-*POSITIO DE DISCO PENSANTE LIBRAS XXX.*
Est discus qui pensat libras XXX, sive solidus DC, habens in se aurum, argentum, auricalcum et stagnum. Quantum habet auri, ter tantum, habet argenti; quantum habet argenti, ter tantum auricalci; quantum auricalci, ter tantum stagni. Dicat, qui potest, quantum unaquaeque species penset.
SOLUTIO DE DISCO
Aurum pensat uncias novem. Argentum pensat ter VIIII uncias, id est libras duas et tres uncias. Auricalcum pensat ter libras duas et ter III uncias, id est libras VI et uncias VIIII.Stagnum pensat ter librasVI et ter VIIII uncias, hoc est libras XX et III uncias. VIIII unciae et II librae cum III unciis, et VI librae cum VIIII unciis, et XX librae cum III unciis adunatae XXX libras efficiunt.
Item aliter ad solidos. Aurum pensat solidos argenteos XV. Argentum ter XV, id est XLV. Auriaclcum ter XLV, id est CXXXV. Stannum ter CXXXV, hoc est CCCCV. Iunge CCCCV et CXXXV et XLV et XV, et iuvenies solidos DC, qui sunt librae XXX.

2. Textos castellanos. Sus características

El texto más completo de los que vamos a comentar es como hemos dichos el titulado *El Arte del Alguarismo*, manuscrito 46 del fondo de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León. Sigue en su organización general el plan común de toda la literatura aritmética de la época, en donde después de un índice o resumen en el que se exponen los aspectos más generales y básicos de las distintas operaciones, se procede a la descripción y somera explicación de cada una y a la inserción de una colección más o menos larga de ejemplos prácticos. Se trata de una organización orientada por el carácter práctico de estas obras que se revela en la brevedad y aparente sencillez de la exposición. Se eliminan citas y cualquier disgregación para centrarse en lo que realmente se cree que interesa al mercader, al hombre de negocios y a todo aquel que quiera aprender el noble arte de la aritmética.

En concreto, nuestro texto comienza con la preceptiva invocación religiosa en la que tras una alusión al misterio de la Trinidad y a la grandeza del Creador que nos concedió *entendimiento* para que pudiésemos aprender las ciencias, hace un comentario sobre las siete artes liberales y ensalza el valor de la aritmética. A continuación pasa a describir el sistema de numeración indo —árabe, para describir después, una a una, las siete operaciones aritméticas que se consideraban fundamentales: suma, resta, multiplicación, división, reparto proporcional, regla de tres y fracciones, y que el autor denomina *especias*. El sistema de numeración utilizado en el manuscrito, es como hemos dicho, el indo —arábigo, denominando a los símbolos utilizados, hoy cifras, 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 *letras del alguarismo*; no así el 0, que recibe la categoría de *cifra*. El valor de cada una de las actuales cifras, que depende de su posición, es nombrado en el manuscrito como *presçio* de lo que valen las *letras del alguarismo*.

El texto incluye también una abundante colección de problemas, 192, que integran la mayor parte del manuscrito[27], y que están resueltos correctamente, tanto en su procedimiento matemático como en sus resultados[28]. El tipo de problemas, en una colección tan abundante es muy variado: cálculo, agilidad mental, resolución de situaciones que tienen asociados números, precios de productos, tiempo transcurrido en la ocurrencia de sucesos, reparto de dinero o productos, intereses, geometría simple... y aleaciones, que son los que especialmente nos interesa destacar ahora. Son éstos 23, un 12% del total de la colección, y los resuelve todos utilizando operaciones fundamentales[29]. Estos 23, que se encuentran ordenados de menor a mayor dificultad, los podríamos clasificar en los siguientes tipos, destacando que hacen referencia exclusivamente a la plata no al oro:

- cálculos para rebajar la ley, para obtener plata de calidad inferior, con más alto contenido de cobre.
- cálculos para obtener plata de una ley intermedia a partir de dos platas de leyes diferentes.
- cálculos para determinar la ley que resulta de mezclar tres o más platas de leyes diferentes.

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27. Se van desarrollando desde el folio 22r en el que finaliza la explicación de las *especias* hasta el final de la obra, sin otra interrupción que tres breves cortes. El primero lo aprovecha el autor para mostrarnos cómo se simplifican fracciones (fols. 59v – 61r), el segundo cómo se calculan raíces (fols. 106v – 107r), y el tercero, el más largo es áquel en el que nos enseña a fundir metales (fols. 118v – 137r), Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la LLave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...

28. No obstante, existen los lógicos errores de copia, que en su mayoría pueden ser obviados, ya que simplemente por abstracción de las operaciones matemáticas realizadas por el autor, se pueden obtener los datos correctos. Ver Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 76.

29. Si resumimos la clasificación de problemas en función del procedimiento matemático utilizado en su resolución nos encontramos: operaciones elementales: 52 (27%); regla de tres: 28 (14%); proporciones:16 (8%); fracciones 67 (35%); aleaciones:2 (12%); raíz cuadrada: 5 (3%) y habilidad mental 1 (1%). Ver, Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 76.

Estos 23 problemas de aleaciones están todos resueltos correctamente[30], utilizando como hemos dicho operaciones elementales. Resulta muy curioso destacar que el autor ha sistematizado su solución con procedimientos específicos, explicados sutilmente en dos de ellos[31], y que se completa con un gráfico que de forma fácil e inmediata nos permite conocer cómo realizar una aleación para obtener la ley que necesitamos. Un dibujo aclara el texto y proporciona una regla de resolución.

> si te dixeren, el rey manda labrar a 7 dineros de ley e tenemos aquí dos platas, que es la una de ley de 11 dineros e la otra de ley de 2 dineros, ¿qué tomaremos de cada una destas platas para que nos venga aleado a ley de 7 dineros?. Primeramente faz tu fegura segund aquí está e di, de 7 sacando 2, quedan estos 5, ponlos de yuso del 11 y estos 5 marcos as de tomar de la plata que es a ley de 11 dineros e di otra vez, de 11 sacar 7 quedan 4, los quales 4 se an de poner de yuso del 2 y estos 4 marcos as de tomar de la plata que es a ley de 2 dineros, asy que de la una tomaríamos 5 marcos de la que es a ley de 11 dineros e de la que es a ley de 2 dineros tomaríamos 4 marcos, asy que 4 y 5 son 9 marcos, estos 9 marcos son aleados a ley de 7 dineros e para fazer la prueva, multiplica el 7, que está ençima del 9 con el mismo e serán 63 e multiplica agora el 2, que está ençima del 4 con el mismo e son 8 e multiplica agora eso mismo, el 5 con el 11 que está ençima e son 55 e añádeles los 8 e serán 63, que es tanto lo uno como lo otro, asý que esta cuenta es bien fecha e provada[32]

Si a 7 (es la orden de aleación) restamos 2, quedan 5, que coloca debajo del 11 (que es una de las platas disponibles); por otra parte, si de 11 restamos 7, quedan 4 que colocamos debajo del 2. Como 5 + 4 = 9, la respuesta es que para fabricar 9 marcos de plata de ley de 7 dineros, tiene que tomar 5 marcos de ley de 11 dineros y 4 marcos de ley de 2 dineros.

En los últimos folios del manuscrito se da un listado que contiene la ley de diferentes monedas: real, tornés, barcelonés... y concluye con algunas definiciones que se refieren a nociones musicales y unos pentagramas con notas[33].

Creemos que el tratado, que aparece titulado, *De Arismetica*, está incompleto, aunque forma un todo coherente y perfectamente inteligible. No se inicia como es habitual, con una invocación religiosa. Tampoco se presenta la obra ni se especifica su uso, valor y utilidad. Le falta un pequeño índice o resumen y otra parte muy importante en estos manuales, una exposición general del sistema de numeración indo–arábigo —que por supuesto es el que utiliza en la obra—, del valor de posición, y una somera explicación de cada una de las operaciones fundamentales. Prescinde, pues, de todos estos aspectos generales, y comienza directamente con una colección de problemas, que si

30. Algunas incorrecciones en la copia pueden parecer a primera vista error, pero no lo son, ya que simplemente se trata de desorden. Los problemas de aleaciones se describen en los folios 112r – 118v y 137v – 141v, mientras que los folios 119v, 120r-v, están ocupados por dos problemas de aleaciones que conectan con los planteados con anterioridad. Así el problema que ocupa el fol. 119v. En el que se explica el procedimiento para disminuir la ley de una aleación, que en apariencia no tiene principio ni fin, pero se une con el que queda interrumpido en el folio 116, al que ofrece la solución. Algo similar ocurre con el problema que ocupa los folios 120r-v, modo de llevar a cabo una aleación determinada tomando plata de dos leyes distintas, una de mayor valor y otra de menor valor que la requerida. Parece que no tiene conclusión, pero se inserta en el problema planteado en el folio 118r, Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Cálculo, Técnica y Moneda…": 191.

31. Problemas números 160 y 164, fols. 112r-v, fols. 114-115r, Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 209-210.

32. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 210.

33. La definición de *mutança es mandamiento de dos bozes* se incluye en el fol. 159v, después de una alusión a que ya se saben las notas musicales *después que señor supisteis los signos aveys señor de saber e venir a las mutanzas e saber qué cosa es mutança*. El folio 160v nos ofrece unos pentagramas con notas. Los folios 161v y 173v faltan, y los folios 174r y 175v vuelven a ofrecernos pentagramas con notas. Caunedo del Potro, Betsabé; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. *El arte del Alguarismo*...: 78.

bien no es muy numerosa en cuanto a cantidad se refiere —consta de 48 problemas— sí podemos afirmar, sin embargo, que posee una calidad extraordinaria en cuanto al contenido y resolución de los problemas planteados. Con un enfoque muy predefinido ya al comienzo del libro, se nos indica *Este libro es muy bueno y muy provechoso para saber partir e multiplicar enteros e rotos*.[34]..., deja muy claro que el objetivo del mismo será conferir al lector unos conocimientos apropiados de las operaciones con fracciones, para inmediatamente ser aplicados a las operaciones de cambio y mercaderías, insistiendo en su utilidad para un mercader.

El objetivo de la obra de transmitir de una manera concisa conocimientos de las operaciones con fracciones, claramente se cumple, pues de los 48 problemas de la colección, dos (un 4%), se resuelven utilizando operaciones elementales (suma, resta, multiplicación y división), cuatro (un 8%) con proporciones y 42 (un 88%) con fracciones. En ellos además, muestra el autor una considerable maestría, planteando los problemas con procedimientos adecuados, cortos y directos que permiten llegar rápidamente a las soluciones. También nos añade la facilidad de la "prueba", de la comprobación, que él realiza en aquellos problemas de mayor complejidad en los que podríamos tener alguna duda de la veracidad del resultado.

Encontramos, pues, en la colección, dos problemas de aleaciones, que reflejan una de las aplicaciones más características de las operaciones con fracciones. Aunque sin entrar a fondo en problemas complejos de aleaciones, que requieren conocimientos específicos para determinar la pureza de los metales, el autor nos anima a entrar en la problemática de las mismas iniciándonos en los casos de aleaciones simples que se pueden resolver fácilmente con los conocimientos de fracciones. Correcto enfoque y resultados, como ya nos tiene acostumbrados el autor.

> E si te dixeren, yo tengo de tres suertes plata, la una suerte es de 1 marco, 7 onças 1/3 de onça de plata fina e la otra suerte de 6 onças e ¼ de plata fina e la otra de 7 onças ½ de plata fina, e de todas estas 3 suertes tengo 348 marcos tanto de uno como de otro, quiero yo afinar esta plata para saber quanto ha en ella de plata fina, primeramente farás en esta manera, ayuntarás las 3 suertes que dichas son que tienen de plata fina la 1 7 1/3 e la otra 6 1/4, la otra 7 1/2 que fasen por todos ayuntados los 21 /// 1/12, estos 21 1/12 partirás por 3 por quanto son 3 suertes de plata e salen a la parte 7 1/36 de marco por 348, que es todo[35].

En el segundo ejercicio, muy similar la que hemos enunciado, ya que se trata así mismo de determinar la ley que resulta de mezclar tres platas de leyes diferentes, faltan datos, precisamente los que caracterizan los tipos de plata, aunque también resuelve el problema[36].

El manuscrito concluye con la inserción de unas tablas de multiplicar, con el fin de facilitar su aprendizaje, su memorización. El autor diferencia entre *Tabla menor* y *tablas mayores*[37]. La *tabla me-*

34. Real Academia Española, Ms. 145, fol. 145r.

35. Real Academia Española, Ms. 145, fol. 151r-v.

36. Real Acedemia Española, Ms. 145, fols. 150v -151r. Regla para saber allegar la plata. Pongamos que tengas de tres suertes de plata, la primera plata que sea de 15 marcos, 7 onças, de ley /// de 11 dineros, 8 granos e la segunda (blanco en el doc.), e la terçera (blanco en el doc.) e quieres fundir toda esta plata en uno e saber de qué ley será. Primeramente ayuntarás los marcos e las honças de la dicha plata en uno quel ??? 49 marcos e 1 onça, que son 49 1/8 por quanto 8 onças fasen el marco, estos 49 1/8 es el tu partidor, después tomarás la ley de la primera plata que es 11 dineros,8 granos, que son 11 ¼, e este 11 ¼ marcarás por el peso de los marcos que pesava la dicha plata, que son 12 marcos, 4 onças, que es 12 marcos e ½, por quanto 8 onças es un marco como dicho es, agora multiplica 11 ¼ por 12 ½ e salen 140 5/8 la plata e sálente 2448 4/9, éstas son onças, agora pártelos por 8 e lo que saliere serán marcos e fallarás que estos 2448 4/9 partidos por 8, como dicho es, que salen 306 1/8 e tantos marcos de plata fina serán en toda esta plata.

37. Real Academia Española, Ms. 145, fols. 161r–164r.

nor consiste en una simple relación de las tablas del 1 al 9; mientras que las *tablas mayores*, además de incluir las anteriores, nos presentan la de números más elevados: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 41, 43, 47, 51, 53, 57, 59, 61 en las que también aparecen resultados de multiplicar números superiores a 10, que igualmente debían memorizarse.

El tercero de los manuscritos, se conserva en buen estado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sección Raros[38]. De su existencia da noticia el trabajo de José María Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, donde ya consta que está encuadernado con un *Libro de Agricultura*, título que se lee en su lomo. Su formato es pues, de libro (275 * 207 mm) y consta de 81 folios no numerados y 65 con numeración arábiga, a lápiz, en el margen superior derecho. Está escrito en papel, con tinta negra, a no ser las letras iniciales en colores rojo y violeta, y las iniciales de capítulos, algunos epígrafes y los calderones, en rojo. Encuadernado en tabla, forrado en piel, se cierra con dos pequeños broches.

A lo largo de los 81 folios se pueden observar algunas alteraciones como la falta de varios de ellos —el texto comienza truncado— y la dislocación de otros en su orden actual. Así, por ejemplo, el folio 13 v. está escrito al revés y al final del folio 16 v. aparecen dos líneas escritas también al revés, y que constituyen el primer problema de la colección. A partir del folio 17 r. aparece lo que sería, según Millás, otro tratado, escrito de mano diferente del anterior. La escritura de dos manos sí resulta bastante evidente —la copia que manejamos está escrita en letra cortesana procesada— pero no podríamos afirmar con seguridad que constituyan dos tratados diferentes, o simplemente continúa el mismo, con un nuevo problema y tras un espacio en blanco.

Este tercer texto está incompleto —ya hemos dicho que comienza truncado— por lo que tampoco sigue totalmente el esquema propio de este tipo de manuscritos, aunque si debía ajustarse al mismo en su formato original a juzgar por lo que se conserva. Se inicia con una muy somera explicación del sistema de numeración indoarábigo y del valor de posición, explicando cómo se deben leer los nuevos caracteres, *feguras*. No comenta el valor del 0, pero al señalar el valor de posición de las *feguras* muestra su equivalencia con la numeración romana, haciendo ver la mayor facilidad y ventajas operativas del nuevo sistema[39]. Estas aclaraciones son muy breves y escuetas, ya que alude a haberlo hecho con anterioridad[40].

Introduce inmediatamente después una *cuarta regla*, que es operar con fracciones[41], clara muestra de la pérdida de las primeras páginas del manuscrito, y expone a continuación diversos casos de división de fracciones: fracciones entre sí o con números enteros y también mixtos. Tras 27 ejercicios de este tipo, incorpora dos que podemos asignarlos a lo que hoy conocemos como progresiones aritméticas. En los mismos, se indican procedimientos matemáticos, perfectamente válidos, para

38. BN. Raros, Ms. 10.106. De su existencia da noticia el trabajo de Millás Vallicrosa, José María. *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Arias Montano, 1942: 91.

39. El inicio del texto aritmético es *"segunt que ya avemos dicho una figura sola sinifica unidat, así como 1 senefica uno, e dos feguras en uno así puestas sinifica veynte e uno"*... A partir de las centenas anota las cantidades con numeración romana *"tres figuras asy puestas sinifican 321,III XXI, otrosí quatro feguras asy fechas 4321 sinifican IIII M CCC XXI, otrosi çinco figuras así puestas 54321 sinifican L IIII M CCC XXI..., otrosí nueve feguras e tales 987654321 sinifican IX LXXX VII MM DC IIII M XXI...* (BN, Raros, Ms. 10106).

40. El inicio del texto aritmético es *"segunt que ya avemos dicho…*

41. *Capitulo de la quarta de la postrimera regla abba, eso es partir por rotos e por enteros segunt que luego se sigue...* (BN. Raros, Ms. 10106).

calcular la suma de los términos de las progresiones aritméticas formados por los números pares en un ejercicio e impares en el otro[42].

Al final, y como suele resultar habitual, incorpora diferentes enunciados de problemas, hasta completar el total de 76 que componen la colección, con ejercicios en los que aplica fundamentalmente la regla de tres y las proporciones. Sus enunciados reflejan una clara proyección mercantil del documento, más marcada que en el caso de los dos manuscritos anteriores, encaminados también a ser útiles a otros sectores urbanos, interesados por la práctica aritmética que le pudiesen proporcionar unos manuales útiles y sencillos escritos en lengua vulgar. Si nos fijamos en el enunciado y contenido de sus 76 problemas, vemos que no aparece ninguno de los que se pueden calificar con la etiqueta común de aritmética recreativa. No se formula ninguno de los denominados "problemas de aves", ni "de cisterna", ni de repartos testamentarios. Tampoco de geometría simple ni de cálculo de edades... ni aquellos que pueden calificarse de habilidad mental ya que no utilizan ningún tipo de operación para su resolución. Se centra y resuelve, sin embargo, problemas de índole comercial, aquellos que suponen conversión de moneda, compraventa de mercancías utilizando unidades de peso y medidas diferentes pero vigentes en los distintos mercados frecuentados, reparto de beneficios… observando en sus enunciados una orientación típicamente mediterránea, orientación más clara que en los dos manuscritos anteriores. Mediterráneas son las ciudades que se reflejan, mediterráneas también las monedas y las mercancías. Venecia, Acre, Pisa, Marsella y Valencia son las ciudades y denominaciones más repetidas; Acre —Venecia y Sicilia— Venecia son los trayectos por los que circulan la mayor parte de las mercancías que aparecen mencionadas: sedas, paños de Pisa, paños de Marsella, aceite, pimienta y clavo… que se pagarán con un sin fin de monedas entre las que junto a las habituales en los mercados castellanos del momento, no faltan los besantes, quirates, tarines, torneses o barceloneses.

Este tercer manuscrito con su inédita y peculiar colección de problemas, nos ofrece también una muy interesante aportación al conocimiento de los problemas de aleaciones, resultando ser uno de los repertorios más claros y concisos que conocemos, al menos en cuanto al tema de aleaciones de oro se refiere. A pesar de no ser muy elevado su número —son 10 problemas de un total de 76— debemos destacar que resulta muy notable el interés del autor por evitar la repetición de enunciados planteados, efectuando una selección de gran calidad y máximo aprovechamiento didáctico. Además de resolver todos los problemas de aleaciones de forma impecable[43], realiza las operaciones matemáticas con aparente gran sencillez, describiendo los cálculos de forma minuciosa y detallada, sólo propia de autores que dominan la materia que tratan. Probablemente también conocía las dificultades que podía tener el alumno o lector en adentrarse en este tipo de problemas —no olvidemos que se trata de una aritmética para mercaderes— por lo que se esmera profundamente en

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42. Podríamos decir que son progresiones aritméticas de razón 2, lo que singnifica que cada número de la progresión se obtiene sumando dos unidades al anterior. "*Otrosi sy quisieres asumar todos los nombres*
pares de 1 fasta en 20 asy como 2 junto con 4 et 6 et con 8, asi por esta via fasta en 2/ que non metas y ningun dispar, aquesta es la regla, toma la meytad de 20 que es 10 et /// por1 mas de 10 eso es por 11, agora multiplica 10 por 11 fasen 110 tantos son los nonbres pares de 1 fasta en 20 et si el nonbre mayor era de 1 fasta 23 et quisieres asumar todas las partes que son de 1 fasta en 23 toma la mayor meytad entrega que es 11, multiplicala por 1 mas eso es por 12, ende multiplica 11 con 12 fasen 132 tantos son los pares que son de 1 fasta, 23 et por aquesta regla faras de quantas tu quieras". *Otrosi si quisieres asumar todos los nonbres dispares que son de 1 fasta en 20 asi como 1 junto con 3 e con 7 e con 9, que noy metas ningun nonbre par, aquesta es la regla, toma la meytad de 20 que es 10 e multiplicala en sy mesma, ende dy 10 con 10 fasen 100 e a tantos son los dispares de 1 fasta en 20 et sy el nonbre mayor era dispar, asi como 23, et quisieres asumar todos los dispares, toma la mayor parte eso es la mayor parte entrega ques 12 e multiplícalo ensy mesmo,12 con 12 fasen 144 et a tantos son ayuntados todos los dispares que son de 1 fasta en 23, e por esta regla lo puedes faser de tantos como tu quieres*" (BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol. 4r-v).

43. Los escasísimos errores encontrados en los mismos, son atribuibles a su copia.

facilitar su comprensión y aprendizaje, evitando innumerables repeticiones, inútiles y tediosas, que en muchos casos redundaría en su peor aprovechamiento. Realmente, nos asombra su selección, pues no resulta fácil resumir de una forma tan completa y nítida la problemática de las aleaciones, de gran dificultad además para el mercader.

Podríamos clasificar esta interesante colección, atendiendo al problema planteado en cada uno de ellos, de la siguiente manera:

- En tres problemas se efectúan los cálculos necesarios para afinar oro o disminuir su pureza. En dos de ellos, se parte de oro de 17 quilates y se quiere afinar para obtener oro de 22 quilates en un caso y de 24 en otro. En el tercero, se quiere reducir la pureza de un oro de 24 quilates a 17, realizándose el correspondiente cálculo de onzas a añadir[44].

- En dos problemas mezclan cinco y tres tipos de oro y se calculan los quilates resultantes, mientras que en otros dos, se mezclan dos tipos de oro o plata con un tercero en cantidad desconocida y se calcula cómo obtener oro de un precio determinado[45].

- Un problema resuelve cómo mezclar tres tipos de oro para obtener oro de un precio determinado[46], mientras que otro realiza la mezcla de dos tipos de oro calculando las cantidades necesarias de cada uno de ellos para obtener oro de una determinada pureza[47]. Por último, señalamos que también se ha resuelto en un caso, el problema de encontrar la proporción de cada metal en una aleación de tres metales[48].

En cuanto a las operaciones realizadas, podemos concluir que se utilizan de manera amplia las fracciones, así como las operaciones elementales de suma, resta, multiplicación y división.

> (1) Un ome a oro de 17 quilates et quierélo meter en çemitre, eso es al fuego, et quiérelo afinar fasta que sea de 24 quilates et es a saber ¿quánto se querrá aminuar el marco que es 8 onças?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar a los quilates postrimeros, eso es a saber, aquellos que querras tornar el oro, el qual es 24, et dirás si 24 quilates valen 8 onças, eso es, 1 marco, ¿ quánto valdran 17 quilates?, multiplica 8 onças con 17, parte por 24, et viénele 5 2/3 de 1 onça 2 tornará el marco a 5 onças 2/3 de 1 onça et será aminuado 2 honças 1/3 de honça[49].

> (2) Otrosí, 1 ome a 10 marcos, 5 honças ½ de oro, que es de liga de 17 quilates 1 grano ½ et quiérelo meter en çemitre para afinar, a tanto que sea de liga de 22 quilates 1 grano ½, di ¿quánto le aminuará todo el sobre dicho?. Aquesta es la regla, tu pornás 10 marcos 51/82, otrosy pornás 17 quilates 3/8, otrosy pornás 22 3/8 et pues guarda a los quilates a que quieres tornar el oro, eso es 22 quilates 3/8 et dirás, si 22 3/8 valen 10 marcos 51/82 ¿qué valdrán 17 3/8? et por tal que partirás por entrego 8, redresa 22 3/8 con 10 51/82 et multiplica 22 quilates por 8, junta 3 et la suma por la segunda verga, et eso es por 8 et la suma por 2 fasen 2864 quilates, otrosí multiplica 10 marcos por 8, junta 5 e la suma por 2, junta 1 e la suma por la primera verga eso es por 8 et fasen 1368 marcos et así as que 2684 quilates valen 1368 marcos, aminúa eso que podrás amos a dos los nombres et fallarás finalmente que 358 quilates valdrán 171 marcos, ende que valdrán los 17 quilates 3/8 con los 171 marcos et fasen 2907 marcos, ponlos aparte pues los 3/8 de 171 marcos que son 64 et 1 onça, júntalo con 2907 et será 2971 marcos et 1 onça, pártelos por los 358 et viénele 8 marcos 2

44. Los hemos numerado con numeración arábiga entre paréntesis. Números (1), (2), (3).

45. Son los problemas nº (4),(5),(6) y (7).

46. Es el problema nº (8).

47. Es el problema nº (9).

48. Es el problema nº (10).

49. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol.14r–v.

onças 140/358 de honça e tanto tornarán los 10 marcos e 5 onças ½ et así será aminuado todo 2 marcos, 3 onças, 38/358 de onça[50].

(3) Otrosí sy quisieres desir que oro que sea de 24 quilates ¿quánto querrás meter que torne a 17 quilates?, tu dirás sy 17 valen 8 onças ¿quánto valdrán 24?, multiplica 8 con 24, son 192, parte por 17 et viénelen 11 5/17 de onça et así sería çrecido el marco 3 onças 5/17 de honça et tanto querrás ayuntar al marco et es fecha la rasón[51].
(4) Otrosí un ome a oro de 5 maneras, primeramente ha 7 marcos de 22 quilates, otrosí 6 marcos de 20 quilates, otrosí 9 marcos de 18 quilates, otrosy 7 marcos de 15 quilates, otrosy 5 marcos de 13 quilates et quiere todo este oro meter en un troçel et fundir en uno, di ¿quándo todo este oro fuere mesclado de quántos quilates saldrá?, aquesta es la regla, por la qual /// regla lo podrás faser de quantas maneras de oro como tu quieras, tu deves multiplicar todos los marcos por los sus quilates cada uno e ayuntar la suma de todos en uno e partirlos as por la suma de los marcos, que es 34 marcos, et verná la rasón fecha, ende tu deves multiplicar 7 con 22 quilates que fasen 254, otrosí multiplica 6 con 20 quilates e fasen 120, otrosy multiplica 9 por 18 quilates que fasen 162, otrosy multiplica 7 por 15 et fasen 105 quilates, otrosí multiplica 5 marcos con 13 e fasen 65 quilates, agora ayunta en uno todas las sumas de los quilates, eso es 154 et 120 e 162 e 105 et 65 et fasen 606 quilates, agora toma la suma de los marcos, eso es 7, e 6 e 9 e 7,5 marcos que son 34, et parte la suma de los quilates por los marcos et viénele 17 quilates e 3 granos et 5/17 de 1 grano et de tantos quilates saldrá todo el dicho oro mezclado. Por aquesta regla farás todas las semejantes rasones de quantas maneras de leyes de oro fuese.

7 marcos de 22 quilates 154 quilates

6 marcos de 20 quilates 120 quilates

9 marcos de 18 quilates 162 quilates

7 marcos de 15 quilates 105 quilates

5 marcos de 13 quilates 65 quilates

mayor 606 quilates

parte 606 quilates por 34

et viénele 17 quilates 3 granos 5/17 de grano[52].

(5) Otrosí un ome ha 3 maneras de oro, primeramente a 3 marcos 3 onças ½ de oro de 21 quilates, 1 grano ½, otrosí 5 marcos 1 onça de oro de 17 quilates 2 granos, otrosí 7 marcos 5 onças de ley de 17 quilates ½ et quiere todo aqueste oro fondir e mesclar en uno, dy ¿de quántos quilates saldrá aqueste oro quando sea mesclado en uno?. Aquesta es la regla semejante a la sobre dicha, tu pornás 7 marcos 5/8 de 17 quilates ½ et multiplica los marcos con sus quilates, eso es, a saber, 3 31/82 con 21 quilates 11/42 et fasen 73 quilates 61/128 de quilate /// et ponlo aparte, otrosí multiplica 5 1/8 con 19 quilates ½ et fasen 89 quilates 11/16, ponlos con la otra suma de los quilates, otrosí multiplica 7 quilates 5/8 con 17 quilates ½ e fasen 133 quilates 7/16 et ponlo con las otras sumas de los quilates, agora ayunta en uno las 3 sumas de los quilates, fasen 296 445/428, pues ayunta todos los marcos en uno, eso es 3 7/16 e 5 marcos 1/8 et 7 marcos 5/8 et fasen 16 3/16, agora parte los 296 quilates por la suma de los marcos, eso es por 16 3/16 et faslo por la regla de partir sanos por sanos e rotos et venirle a 17 quilates 45/67 de quilate, o si quieres puedes desir que le viene 17 quilates et 2 granos et 46/67 de 1 grano de tantos quilates será el oro todo quando fuese mesclado.

3 marcos 7/16 de 21 quilates 3/8 73 61/128

5 marcos 1/8 de 17 quilates ½ 89 11/16

50. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol.13v.

51. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol.13v.

52. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fols. 13v-14r.

7 marcos 5/8 de 17 quilates ½ 133 7/16

mayor 296

parte 296 por 16 3/16, viénele 17 quilates

2 granos 46/67 de 1 grano 53.

(6) Otrosí un ome a oro o plata de 3 maneras, a 10 marcos ½ que vale el marco 10 libras, otrosí a 6 marcos que vale el marco 8 libras, otrosí de otro que non digo quánto es de que vale el marco, 3 libras, e de aqueste que no vale sino 3 libras el marco, quiere mesclar con todo el oro de los 2 preçios sobre dichos, que quando sea mesclado no venga a costar el marco sino 7 libras uno con otro. Agora demando ¿quánto querra de aquel de 3 libras el marco, en guisa que todo lo otro de los otros preçios non cueste con aqueste en uno sino 7 libras el marco?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar la deferençia que es de 7 fasta en 10 et es la deferençia 3 et aqueste 3 multiplícalo con 10 marcos ½, fasen 31 marcos ½, otrosí toma la deferençia que es de 7 fasta e 8, que es 1, et multiplica 1 por 6 et fasen 6 marcos, ayunta en uno los marcos, eso es 31 ½ 6 marcos, et serán 37 marcos ½, aquestos 37 marcos ½ se quieren partir por la deferencia, que es de 7 fasta en 3, el qual es 4, agora parte 31 marcos ½ por 4 et viénele 9 marcos et 3/8 de 1 marco, que son 9 marcos e 3 onças et tantos marcos et tantas honças de aquel oro de 3 libras el marco querrá mesclar con todo el oro de los 2 preçios et verná mesclado et costará 7 libras el marco apunto. E por aquesta regla puedes faser las semejantes rasones de quantos preçios como tu quieras[54].

(7) Otrosí es un ome que a plata de 3 preçios, a 5 marcos que cuestan a rasón de 12 libras el marco, otrosí a 8 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 3 libras el marco, otrosí a de otra plata e no digo quántos marcos, que le cuesta a rasón de 2 libras el marco. Agora demando ¿quánta plata de aquesta de 2 libras quieres mesclar con todo lo otro sobre dicho de los 2 preçios en guisa quel marco no le venga a costar sino 5 libras?. Aquesta es la regla, toma la deferençia que es de 5 libras a que lo quieres tornar fasta en 12, e es 7, multiplícalos por los marcos del preçio de 12 libras, eso es por 5, fasen 35 marcos, otrosy toma la deferençia que es de 5 a 3, que es 2 e multiplica 2 con 8, fasen 16 marcos, et por eso como 5 libras aquel quieres tornar en mayor preçio 93 libras que es preçio del primero, tu deves abatir aquestos 16 marcos de 35 marcos que avias puesto et fincaran 19 marcos, aquestos 19 marcos se deven partir por la deferençia que es de 5 a 2, que es 3, onde parte 19 marcos por 3 et viénele 6 marcos et 1/3 et tantos marcos del preçio de 2 libras querrás mesclar con todo lo otro. Et por esta regla podrás faser las semejantes rasones de tantos preçios como tu quieras.

5 marcos a rasón de 12 libras

8 marcos a rasón de 3 libras

otra plata a rasón de 2 libras

et quierese tornar a rasón de libras

e deferençia de 5 a 12, es 7

e multiplica 7 por 5, fasen 35

e deferençia de 5 a 3, es 2

e multiplica 2 con 8, fasen 16

abate 16 de 35, fincan 19

e quiérese partir por deferençia de 5 a 2, que es 3

et viénele 6 marcos 1/3 de marco55.

(8) Otrosí un ome ha oro de 3 preçios, a 5 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 50 libras el marco, otrosí a 7 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 47 libras el marco, otrosy ha 9 marcos que le cuestan a rasón de 43 libras el marco, et aqueste ome quiere fondir todo aqueste oro en uno e quiérele faser

53. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fols. 14v-15r.

54. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol.15r.

55. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol. 16r.

tanta mescla o sea de cobre o de plata quel marco no le venga a costar syno a rason de 35 libras el marco, dime ¿quánta mescla se querrá faser en todo aqueste oro?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves asumar todos los marcos, eso es, 5 e 7 e 9 et son 21 marcos et guarda quanto costaron todos los marcos de la primera compra et multiplica cada uno por el su preçio, eso es, 5 por 50, fasen 250 et ponlo aparte. Otrosí, multiplica 7 con 47, fasen 329, ponlo la otra suma. Otrosí, multiplica 9 por 43 et fasen 387 et ponlo con las otras sumas, agora ayunta en uno 250 et 329 e 387 et fasen todos 966 libras, así as que 21 marcos costaron 966 /// libras, agora guarda 21 marcos a rasón de 35 libras el marco montaran et multiplica 21 con 35 libras, fasen 735 onde (…)[56] el señor del oro quiere que et (…) son que le costava 966 libras que le tornen a 735 libras por que guarda la deferencia, que es de 735 fasta en 966 libras et ay 231 libras porque tomarás (…) otros tantos marcos como es la deferençia dellos, eso es 231 marcos et parte por el preçio a que quieres tornar el 1 marco, eso es por 35 e viénele 6 marcos, 4 onças 4/7 de onça et tanto querrán juntar omes con lo (…) en todos los 21 marcos. Et por aquesta regla lo podrás faser de a tantos preçios et de a tantos marcos como tu quieras[57].

(9) Otrosí, un ome a 2 maneras de oro, eso es, de 22 quilates et de 13 quilates et quiere tomar de aquestas 2 maneras de oro 1 marco que sea de 16 quilates quando sea mesclado, dy ¿quánto quieres tomar del 1 oro e quánto del otro?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves guardar la deferençia que es de 16 a 22 et es 6 et pues /// toma la deferençia que es de 13 a 16 que es 3, pues ayunta en uno las deferencias, eso es, 6 e 3 son 9, aqueste 9 será colonia, pues toma la deferençia de los 22 quilates, que es 6, et dirás si 9 es venido de 6 ¿onde verná 1 marco?. Multiplica 6 con 1 marco, fasen 6 marcos, et parte por 9, viénele 5 honças 1/3 de 1 onça et tanto quiere del oro de 13 quilates, et pues tomarás la otra deferençia que es de 3 e dyrás sy 9 es venido de 3 ¿ende verná 1 marco?. Multiplica 3 por 1 marco e fasen 3 marcos et pártelos por 9 et viénele 2 honças 2/3 de 1 onça et tanto quieres del oro de 22 quilates, et así quiere del oro de 13 quilates 5 onças 1/3 et del oro de 22 quilates 2 onças 2/3 et sy quisieres di si 8 honças, eso es, 1 marco tienen 22 quilates a 2 onças 2/3, multiplica 2 2/3 con 22 quilates e la suma pártela por 8, viénele 7 1/3 e tantos quilates las 2 onças 2/3. Otrosy 8 honças tienen 13 quilates ¿quánto tienen las 5 onças 1/3?,multiplica 5 1/3 con 13 quilates e la suma parte por 8, viénele 8 2/3 et tantos quilates tienen las 5 onças 1/3 et asy las honças son bien 8 et los quilates son 16 et asy podras faser las semejantes rasones[58].

(10) Es una copa que es de 3 metales e pesa toda 14 onças, de que son de plata 4 honças et 3 onças de cobre et 7 onças de oro fino et de aquesta copa se quebró 1 pieça que pesó 6 honças, dy ¿quánta plata e quánto cobre e quaáto oro avrá en la pieça quebrada?. Aquesta es la regla, tu deves tomar la suma deso que pesa toda la copa, que son 14 onças et aquestos 14 serán colonia et pues guarda quanta era toda la plata que era en la copa, que era 4 onças, et multiplícalo con el pedaço quebrado, eso es por 6, et fasen 24, parte por 14, viénele 1 5/7 e tanta plata avra en la pieça quebrada. Otrosí toma el peso del cobre, que son 3 honças, multiplica por 6 fasen 18, parte por 14 e viénele 1 2/7 et tanto cobre avrá. Otrosí, toma el preçio del oro que son 7 onças e multiplica por 6, fasen 42, parte por 14 et viénele 3 onças et tanto oro avrá et así avía de plata 1 onça 5/7 et de cobre 1 2/7 et de oro 3 onças[59].

Resulta evidente la finalidad práctica de los manuales de aritmética mercantil medievales. El desafío lanzado por el notable desarrollo del comercio había sido extraordinario; extraordinaria iba a ser también la respuesta, pues la sociedad medieval y los profesionales del comercio supieron desarrollar todo un conjunto de procedimientos y recursos que les sirvieron para desempeñar con éxito su actividad. Una formación aritmética básica les resultó imprescindible. Para adquirirla surgieron los manuales de aritmética mercantil de los que los mercaderes fueron los principales

56. Ha sido imposible leer la palabra.

57. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol. 16r.

58. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fol. 16r-v.

59. BN. Raros, Ms. 10106, fols. 16v–17r.

pero no únicos usuarios. Otros muchos oficios urbanos: diferentes artesanos, cambistas, recaudadores de impuestos… necesitaron también una mejor preparación aritmética para el ejercicio de su actividad. Entre todos ellos debemos mencionar los relacionados con la acuñación y el cambio de moneda, pues a ellos estuvieron especialmente dedicados los "problemas de aleaciones" que aquí presentamos. En éstos se les explica con claridad qué cálculos debían realizarse para obtener una adecuada proporción de plata —cobre o plata— oro presente en las aleaciones con que se fabricaban las monedas, y también aquellos otros que necesitaron para preparar los ponderales con que se controlaba su peso y talla. Cálculos tan imprescindibles en "su" oficio como en el del comercio. De ahí que debiesen formar parte de su amplia y especializada formación.

GRAN COMERÇ I PETIT COMERÇ A LA CORONA D'ARAGÓ. L'EXEMPLE DE VALÈNCIA A LA BAIXA EDAT MITJANA

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Resum

L'article analitza el debat historiogràfic sobre les relacions entre el gran comerç i el petit comerç durant el darrer període de l'Edat Mitjana. I ho fa reivindicant tant el paper social i econòmic del petit comerç, com els elements d'integració i coordinació existents entre ambdues categories del mercat. Amb aquest objectiu, el text pren com a marc espacial de referència la Corona d'Aragó i, en particular, la ciutat i el regne de València entre els segles XIII i XV. Al voltant del territori valencià s'estudien dos tipus d'intercanvis, de caràcter marítim: el de cabotatge i de curt radi mantingut entre els ports del regne i la capital; i el de llarga distància internacional que connectava València amb països com Itàlia o Portugal.

1. Un debat historiogràfic i el cas del comerç marítim valencià

El debat sobre les relacions entre el gran comerç i el petit comerç marca, des de fa temps, una part de la historiografia sobre el món mercantil de la Baixa Edat Mitjana europea i mediterrània. És evident que, en principi, la diferenciació entre els dos tipus de comerç pot partir de la distància física —llarga o curta— sobre la qual es projectaven els intercanvis. Però també és conegut que, de manera més o menys conscient, la investigació ha utilitzat altres elements per atorgar un significat ple a ambdós sectors econòmics[1].

Així, tot i que siga simplificadament, és molt habitual que la fórmula "gran comerç" reculla les realitats del comerç exterior i l'economia internacional (sobretot l'articulada a través de les rutes marítimes), de les elits mercantils europees, de les grans inversions i les tècniques de negoci més perfeccionades, de les dinàmiques capitalistes i, en definitiva, dels àmbits més avançats entre els que determinaven el creixement i el canvi de la societat. Mentrestant, el "petit comerç" sol lligar-se més al comerç interior i l'economia local (especialment la desenvolupada per via terrestre), als agents locals que moltes vegades no s'especialitzaven en els tràfics, als negocis menors, a la variable feudal i als terrenys d'actuació considerats més endarrerits, vinculats normalment a l'univers rural i camperol[2].

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1. Aquest treball forma part dels estudis desenvolupats per l'autor dins el projecte d'investigació "Migraciones, élites económicas e identidades culturales en la Corona de Aragón (1350-1500)", dirigit des de la Universitat de València pel Prof. Dr. Paulino Iradiel Murugarren i finançat entre 2005 i 2008 pel Ministeri d'Educació i Ciència (referència HUM2005-04804/HIST).

2. Vegeu el debat i la caracterització historiogràfica del "gran comerç" i el "petit comerç" en diversos articles del professor Iradiel Murugarren: Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana", *XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella: "La historia medieval en España. Un balance historiográfico (1968-1998)"*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999: 603-658; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530", *Congreso*

Sense entrar en la polèmica, també promoguda en aquest context, sobre l'impacte real que l'un sector o l'altre tingueren en l'evolució de les estructures econòmiques, el cert és que l'expressió radical de la separació entre gran comerç i petit comerç ha provocat en ocasions una determinada "lògica de confrontació" —historiogràfica i històrica— entre ambdós. Tanmateix, d'uns quants anys ençà, diferents autors propugnen matisar o rebaixar aquesta confrontació, per raons que deriven tant de la constatació empírica com de la reflexió teòrica. I això ha tingut un reflex particular en els territoris de l'antiga Corona d'Aragó.

Segons el meu parer, aquest fet es relaciona almenys amb dues circumstàncies. La primera podria resumir-se en el que crec que és una certa reivindicació del paper social i econòmic del petit comerç. Segurament, aquest és menys vistós que el comerç internacional, presenta dificultats majors d'estudi per qüestions heurístiques, i ha estat marginat per la recerca en nombroses oportunitats[3]. Però res d'això no evita que s'haja pogut observar ja que el petit comerç resultava decisiu per al manteniment de l'economia baix-medieval, perquè afectava milers de famílies cada vegada més connectades amb el mercat[4].

En aquestes darreres afirmacions apareix implícita la percepció, per exemple, que és en els corrents menors d'intercanvi on es forjava freqüentment la base inicial de grans fortunes comercials[5], o que, en general, el principi i la fi del moviment mercantil —fins i tot d'aquell que circulava per rutes marítimes— es trobava al món rural (agrícola i terrestre) i als circuits locals i regionals, les característiques dels quals repercutien de forma directa en els comportaments més profunds de l'economia[6]. Però, a més, en les idees mencionades també està implícita la comprovació del progrés experimentat pel comerç local des de mitjan segle XIV i al llarg del Quatre-cents. A partir de situacions detectades aleshores a Barcelona, València, Sicília i Nàpols, entre altres, David Abulafia ha definit el progrés esmentat com a "expansió" o "creixent intensificació" de les relacions de

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Internacional "De la unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V", Ernest Belenguer Cebriá, coord. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001: I, 85-116; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino."Nápoles en el mercado mediterráneo de la Corona de Aragón", *El reino de Nápoles y la monarquía de España. Entre agregación y conquista (1485-1535)*, Giuseppe Galasso, Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, eds. Madrid: Real Academia de España en Roma, 2004: 265-289; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes", *Comercio y hombres de negocios en Castilla y Europa en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, Hilaño Casado Alonso, Antonio García-Baquero, eds. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2007: 123-150. La bibliografia citada en aquests treballs m'estalvia de repetir-la ací, encara que potser convé recordar el protagonisme en la discussió d'alguns especialistes ben destacats, com Abulafia, Aymard, Epstein o Petralia, per exemple.

3. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: commercio locale e commercio internazionale nell'età di Alfonso il Magnanimo", *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: "La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo"*, Guido D'Agostino, Giulia Buffardi, eds. Nàpols: Paparo, 2000: II, 1027, 1034, 1043; Epstein, Stephan R. *Potere e mercati in Sicilia. Secoli XIII-XVI*. Torí: Giulio Einaudi Ed., 1996: 3-23.

4. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 106-107; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media (Reflexiones para abrir una Semana de Estudios Medievales)", *XVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera: "El comercio en la Edad Media"*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logronyo: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2006: 15-38.

5. Riera Melis, Antoni. "El comerç català a la Baixa Edat Mitjana. I: El segle XIV", *Annals de la Segona Universitat d'Estiu: La Baixa Edat Mitjana*. Andorra: Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura, 1984: 197.

6. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media…": 19; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución en los espacios interiores de la Corona de Aragón: materias primas y productos básicos", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó: La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII-XVI e. VII Centenari de la Sentència Arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004*, Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, ed. València: Universitat de València, 2005: I, 918.

distància mitjana o curta, i això fa que aquest mateix autor titule l'època que s'acaba d'assenyalar com una autèntica "edat d'or del mercat local"[7].

La segona circumstància que permet matisar el contrast entre les dues categories de comerç que analitze ací té a veure amb la comprensió no sols de les interaccions que es produïen entre elles, sinó també de l'emergència de xarxes intermèdies de mercat, ben consistents a escala regional, com les verificades en àrees que concentraven la producció d'aliments o de primeres matèries per a l'exportació. Fins a un cert punt, aquestes xarxes converteixen en fictícia la dicotomia absoluta entre el gran tràfic internacional i els petits intercanvis locals, en benefici d'una visió més reticular i equilibrada dels espais comercials[8].

En aquesta línia, sempre dins la Corona d'Aragó, els estudis han emfasitzat ja el pes major o menor dels factors institucionals (com la creació de fires, mercats o carregadors costaners) a l'hora de vertebrar les relacions entre els diversos nivells comercials[9]. Però també han subratllat les funcions que, al respecte, desenvolupaven els diferents operadors econòmics, entre els quals trobem mercaders estrangers, mercaders locals, empresaris grans i mitjans vinculats a la indústria, mestres d'oficis, productors rurals i agents autòctons de menor volada[10]. I aquestes funcions, unides a altres realitats materials o polítiques, podien conduir a una determinada integració de les múltiples accions que es manifestaven a l'entorn del mercat.

Per exemple, si ens fixem només en els itineraris del comerç marítim, és veritat que a vegades resulta difícil entendre el lligam existent entre els circuits llargs i curts[11]. Això no obstant, la difusió i les característiques de les rutes més breus, així com llur relació amb les altres, es comprenen millor si atenem a algunes claus de la seua existència, com jo mateix he argumentat per a València: el desplegament de feines subsidiàries respecte als grans combois, amb la intenció d'abastir-los i d'afavorir la distribució dels productes transportats; la concreció de jerarquies econòmiques entre ports principals i ports secundaris, acompanyada en ocasions per elements d'especialització productiva regional o comarcal, que provocava que la connexió de vies llargues i curtes fóra bàsica per reduir costos i evitar pèrdues de temps; i, finalment, les condicions infraestructurals de molts ports

7. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo…": 1025; Abulafia, David. "Mercati e mercanti nella Corona d'Aragona: Il ruolo degli imprenditori estranieri", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*…: I, 803, 810-811.

8. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana"…: 646-647; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución …": 918.

9. Entre altres possibles referències, vegeu Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della trentaduesima Settimana di Studi, 8, 12 maggio 2000*. Prato-Florència: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Económica 'F. Datini'-Le Monnier, 2001, sobretot els articles de María Dolores López Pérez sobre Catalunya (pàgines 309-333) i de José Hinojosa Montalvo sobre València (pàgines 597-607). A banda, consulteu també Batlle, Carme. *Fires i mercats, factors de dinamisme econòmic i centres de sociabilitat (segles XI a XV)*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2004; Igual Luis, David. "Política y economía durante la Baja Edad Media. El papel de la monarquía en el comercio exterior valenciano", *Los cimientos del Estado en la Edad Media. Cancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la Edad Media*, Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, ed. Alcoi: Editorial Marfil, 2004: 249-278.

10. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Metrópolis y hombres de negocios (siglos XIV y XV)", *XXIX Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella: Las sociedades urbanas en la España medieval*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2003: 309-310; Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos en el Mediterráneo y en Europa occidental en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna", *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della trentaduesima Settimana di Studi*…: 489-490.

11. Abulafia, David. "L'economia mercantile nel Mediterraneo…": 1043.

mediterranis, i la necessitat de disposar de petites embarcacions de cabotatge per tal de facilitar-hi l'accés de qualsevol tipus de navegació[12].

Si del litoral passem terra endins, la imatge que José Ángel Sesma ofereix sobre els contactes entre el regne d'Aragó i l'interior de Catalunya i València torna a ser força significativa de la interacció (o la "convergència", segons l'anomena ell) dels àmbits gran i petit, internacional i local, del comerç. A partir dels trets que assumí el desenvolupament econòmic d'aquestes zones i l'intercanvi entre elles de productes com la llana, el blat, el safrà o les pells, que es destinaven moltes vegades a l'exportació a altres indrets, Sesma conclou que, especialment des de les acaballes del segle XIV, s'inicià ací una etapa definida alhora per la complementarietat, la competència i la concurrència en un mateix espai dels moviments mercantils. I això, perquè aquests moviments no incloïen tan sols les operacions de més magnitud. En realitat, al costat d'aquests negocis, un nombre elevat de petits mercaders, fins i tot els mateixos productors rurals, solien aprofitar els elements que agilitaven els vincles entre Aragó, Catalunya i València i emprenien expedicions periòdiques per itineraris coneguts, de manera que podien arribar als mercats costaners per portar-hi productes de l'interior i endur-se'n d'altres. Així s'activava un tràfic constant de mercaderies en totes les direccions, gràcies al qual un comerç terrestre de radi curt es convertia en interregional i, com a màxim, connectava amb les necessitats i els efectes del comerç marítim d'abast fins i tot internacional[13].

No cal prolongar la casuística. Les situacions que he sintetitzat il·lustren que, més enllà de la "lògica de confrontació" mencionada abans, en l'estudi del gran comerç i del petit comerç és possible trobar factors d'integració i coordinació, la qual cosa permet explicar que les transformacions en la intensitat, els objectius i la natura de l'un influïen en el desenvolupament de l'altre, i que tots els nivells humans, tècnics i geogràfics en què el comerç en general s'articulava eren decisius i importants, cadascú —això sí— a la seua escala[14]. El resultat de tot açò podia ser el d'una estratificació de les diverses categories de l'intercanvi entre els àmbits local i internacional o, també, tal com Paulino Iradiel ha adduït per a la València del segle XV, el d'una superposició de circuits sobre territoris estructurats amb bases complexes i jerarquitzades[15].

Justament, les interpretacions sobre l'organització del comerç valencià durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana[16] insisteixen a presentar un model que potenciava les oportunitats oferides per l'evolució i la racionalització de les institucions polítiques i administratives internes, i justificava l'auge d'una economia vertebrada a escala regional. Les demandes interna i externa contribuïren progressiva-

12. Igual Luis, David. "Itinerarios comerciales en el espacio meridional mediterráneo de la Baja Edad Media", *Itinerarios medievales e identidad hispánica: XXVII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 17 a 21 de Julio 2000*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2001: 150-158.

13. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Centros de producción y redes de distribución…": 915-919; Vegeu també Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Producción para el mercado, comercio y desarrollo mercantil en espacios interiores (1250-1350): el modelo del sur de Aragón", *Europa en los umbrales de la crisis (1250-1350). XXI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 18 a 22 de Julio de 1994*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995: 205-246.

14. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "Ciudades, comercio y economía artesana"...: 646-647; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 106-107; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "El comercio en la Edad Media…": 27-28, 35-37.

15. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes"…: 149.

16. Algunes de les darreres síntesis interpretatives sobre aquest comerç valencià baix-medieval són: Abulafia, David. "Mercati e mercanti nella Corona d'Aragona: Il ruolo degli imprenditori estranieri"...: 805-811; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano", *El comercio y el Mediterráneo. Valencia y la cultura del mar*, Inmaculada Aguilar Civera, coord. València: Generalitat Valenciana, 2006: 111-129.

ment a desenvolupar les relacions mercantils, atesa la necessitat de mantenir tant l'aprovisionament d'aliments com l'especialització exportadora local. En aquest context, el tràfic curt o mitjà de productes de baix cost i de primeres matèries anà creixent, i el comerç local o regional arribà a compensar les oscil·lacions del comerç internacional. En qualsevol cas, l'eclosió de València com a protagonista dels fluxos més variats d'intercanvi fou una de les novetats més rellevants a la Mediterrània occidental de l'època. I com és ben sabut, aquest fenomen es va refermar al Quatre-cents, tot i que posseïa bases anteriors.

Des de la conquesta cristiana del segle XIII, l'espai valencià començà un procés de construcció política, social i econòmica, on destacà ben aviat la centralitat assolida pel comerç, sobretot pel que fa a la circulació de dos conjunts de mercaderies: d'una banda, les collites agrícoles, que manifestaven en dates primerenques un alt grau de comercialització i fins i tot de tracte especulatiu, i sobre les quals, per exemple, en el cas dels cereals, l'escassa variació de preus al llarg del regne demostrava ja en el mateix Dos-cents que hi existia una mena de mercat integrat del gra; d'altra banda, els productes tèxtils locals o importats que, particularment des de la primera meitat del segle XIV, quedaren fixats en un intercanvi a tres nivells (local, comarcal i regional), d'acord amb la qualitat i el valor dels articles negociats i, també, segons el ritme de l'expansió coetània d'aquesta indústria a la ciutat de València[17].

Abans de 1350, aquestes realitats foren animades per la presència al territori —fonamentalment a la seua capital— de grups mercantils autòctons o forans més o menys consistents i especialitzats. I tot això, a la vegada, ajudà a difondre mecanismes de contractació i de finançament o formació de companyies comercials, com la "comanda"[18]. Les conseqüències d'aquesta suma d'elements es deixaren sentir sobre unes rutes de transport cada volta més consolidades. De fet, en referència als itineraris navals, les anàlisis recents que s'han realitzat sobre els primers decennis del Tres-cents mostren que València i altres ports del regne estaven ja introduïts en vies que enllaçaven entre si les pròpies costes valencianes, però que també connectaven preferentment amb el nord d'Àfrica, amb Mallorca, Sicília i Sardenya, amb Catalunya i el sud de l'actual França, i fins i tot amb l'Andalusia atlàntica[19].

En aquest esquema de relacions marítimes, altres contactes (com els mantinguts amb Flandes, la Itàlia peninsular o la Mediterrània oriental) semblen ser encara molt esporàdics a la primeria del XIV. Haurem d'esperar a la fi del segle, una vegada passades les cèlebres conjuntures crítiques de la centúria i produït l'impuls qualitatiu i quantitatiu que la historiografia ha distingit en el comerç urbà des de 1375, perquè s'accelere l'encaix de València en els tràfics que portaven vers el nord ita-

17. García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio*. València: Universitat de València, 2002: 23-29; Bordes García, José. *Desarrollo industrial textil y artesanado en Valencia de la conquista a la crisis (1238-1350)*. València: Comité Econòmic i Social de la Comunitat Valenciana, 2006: 248-254.

18. Mira Jódar, Antonio José. "Circuitos marítimos de intercambio y comandas mercantiles en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*...: II, 1369-1393.

19. Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. *Métodos comerciales y redes mercantiles marítimas en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant (treball d'investigació), 2004; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y el Norte de África en la primera mitad del siglo XIV". Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, 27-28 (2003-2004): 125-157; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Intercambiar y vincularse económicamente en el Mediterráneo Occidental: un ejemplo a través del estudio de redes comerciales entre Valencia y Mallorca durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV", *III Simposio Internacional de Jóvenes Medievalistas: Lorca 2006*, Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Jorge Ortuño Molina, Juan Leonardo Soler Milla, eds. Lorca: Ayutamiento de Lorca-Fundación Cajamurcia-Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio-Lorcatur-Universidad de Murcia-Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2008: 177-195. Vegeu també Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim de les comarques castellonenques (segles XIII-XV)". *Millars. Espai i Història*, 29 (2006): 93-132.

lià o els països atlàntics, per exemple[20]. Així, al voltant de 1400, el manteniment i el creixement de les rutes tradicionals i la incorporació significativa d'altres intercanvis permeteren la plena inserció del regne valencià en una economia comercial marítima caracteritzada per l'enorme diversificació d'iniciatives, totes elles enquadrables dins la superposició de circuits mercantils (des dels grans fins als petits) que ja he comentat. I les característiques d'aquestes iniciatives, a partir d'aquests moments i durant la resta del segle XV, poden observar-se bé gràcies a l'exposició d'alguns casos concrets.

2. Els carregadors del regne i els itineraris cap a la ciutat de València

Malgrat el lideratge del port de la ciutat de València, l'activitat marítima del regne es nodria en realitat amb els moviments canalitzats també a través de la resta de punts d'embarcament del territori. Almenys una quarantena de llocs de càrrega i descàrrega de mercaderies es distribuïren per la costa valenciana entre els segles XIII i XVI, bé d'una manera constant, bé agrupant-se en determinats moments sobretot de la fi d'aquest període. Tots ells, junt amb el de la capital, constituïen quelcom paregut a un "sistema portuari", en el sentit que les dinàmiques polítiques i econòmiques ajudaren a establir jerarquies al si d'aquest conjunt de "carregadors", segons els anomena la documentació, i que entre ells arribaren a definir-se situacions d'interdependència[21]. Amb tot, a banda de la pròpia València, el coneixement que es té d'aquesta xarxa d'escales i de la seua funció quant al comerç naval és força desigual.

Si comencem pel sud, el litoral alacantí apareix ben integrat al Quatre-cents en itineraris d'abast mitjà o llarg. Els intercanvis realitzats amb el nord d'Àfrica, Mallorca o altres platges de la península Ibèrica podien recalar ací, com també ho feien certes rutes de major projecció geogràfica. Si mencionem només alguns ports d'aquestes comarques, als de Dénia, Xàbia o Alacant pararen ocasionalment les famoses flotes de galeres venecianes o florentines que recorrien nombroses parts de la Mediterrània amb més o menys regularitat i que, després, podien encaminar-se cap a l'Atlàntic[22]. Ja fóra per a aquests desplaçaments o per a altres més restringits i centrats en el comerç amb Flandes o amb els espais italians, el paper que desenvolupaven els tres nuclis esmentats era molt important per a l'exportació de productes locals com la fruita seca o assecada (ametlles o panses, per exemple). I això, no tan sols perquè en ells desembocaven les collites de l'interior rural, sinó també perquè a vegades la navegació que hi fondejava establia una relació específica amb trajectes més curts que arribaven de València: a Dénia o a Xàbia solien parar les naus grans amb destinació a Flandes, especialment, mentre que de València podien salpar petites barques que duien als ports

20. Igual Luis, David; Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Relazioni economiche tra Valenza e l'Italia nel Basso Medioevo". *Medioevo. Saggi e rassegne*, 20 (1995): 61-97.

21. Igual Luis, David. "*'Non ha portto alcuno, ma sola spiaggia'*. La actividad marítima valenciana en el siglo XV", *Seminario Internacional "Las ciudades portuarias en el proceso de desarrollo económico italiano y español entre la Edad Media y la Edad Moderna (1400-1600) (Valencia, novembre 2002)"*. València: Universitat de València, en premsa.

22. Guiral-Hadziiossif, Jacqueline. *Valencia, puerto mediterráneo en el siglo XV (1410-1525)*. València: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1989: 29; Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Alicante: polo de crecimiento en el tránsito de los siglos XV al XVI", *1490, en el umbral de la Modernidad. El Mediterráneo europeo y las ciudades en el tránsito de los siglos XV-XVI*, José Hinojosa Montalvo, Jesús Pradells Nadal, eds. València: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994: 79.

alacantins els carregaments que s'havien de traslladar a l'estranger i que els operadors urbans havien emmagatzemat durant mesos[23].

Aquesta és una mostra concreta de les interaccions que es donaven en algunes oportunitats entre els diferents tipus de tràfics que solcaven la mar valenciana. Però també és una prova dels vincles funcionals existents entre els mateixos carregadors del regne. En aquest sentit, ja fa temps que Jacqueline Guiral va atribuir a Dénia i Alacant el caràcter de veritables "avantports" de València, des del moment que els contractes de transport podien estipular que fóra allí on es lliuraren les ordres de desembarcament de les mercaderies[24]. També Cullera, un poc més al nord, en la desembocadura del riu Xúquer, ha rebut el mateix qualificatiu per part d'alguns autors, encara que per altres motius: aquest lloc es convertí durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana en espai freqüent d'ancoratge i refugi dels vaixells que es dirigien a València, probablement a causa de les males condicions naturals que posseïa aleshores el port de la capital[25].

Siguen més o menys adequades unes definicions semblants, el cert és que, si tornem a la situació dels carregadors alacantins al segle XV, la relació entre aquests i València tenia transcendència quant a la inclusió del territori en rutes marítimes internacionals, com s'ha vist. Una inclusió on València acostumava a fer valer la seua posició com a centre director dels negocis, mentre que les comarques meridionals reproduïen missions operatives[26]. Ara bé: a banda d'aquest significat, el contacte entre aquestes mateixes comarques i la ciutat valenciana podia reflectir en paral·lel una lògica més exclusivament bilateral i consagrada sobretot a l'abastament alimentari, industrial i sumptuari dels grups urbans, la qual solia articular-se mitjançant breus itineraris amb embarcacions menudes provinents del sud del regne.

En 1494, la documentació fiscal del "manifest" o "peatge de mar" —una mena de registre duaner de les embarcacions que arribaven cada dia al port de València— permet localitzar fins a trenta-tres desplaçaments des de Dénia. Segons Guiral, dinou d'aquests desplaçaments serien pròpiament de cabotatge i de nexe directe i restringit entre ambdues poblacions. Per contra, els catorze restants s'integrarien en periples més complexos i llunyans[27]. En realitat, però, amb aquesta font no sempre és fàcil separar uns circuits dels altres. La tipologia de les embarcacions que hi apareixen inscrites ajuda a distingir-los, com fa José Hinojosa quan, en referir-se als viatges a València des del port d'Alacant, diferencia el petit tràfic que utilitzava barques, llaguts o sagètes, per exemple, de les gran línies de navegació que empraven preferentment la nau. Tanmateix, l'assumpte es complica quan observem que, fins i tot en les circulacions més curtes amb embarcacions menors, poden apreciar-se els efectes de les transaccions internacionals. D'acord amb el mencionat professor Hinojosa, que analitza els "manifests de mar" de 1488 i 1491, les arribades d'Alacant a la capital declararen portar quasi una trentena de productes originaris de la zona meridional del regne, entre

23. Cruselles Gómez, Enrique. "La organización del transporte marítimo en la Valencia de la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 24 (1994): 172. Sobre el comerç de fruita seca i assecada, consulteu també Ferrer i Mallol, Maria Teresa. "Fruita seca i fruita assecada, una especialitat de l'àrea econòmica catalana-valenciana-balear". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/2 (2001): 883-943.

24. Auffray, Yves; Guiral, Jacqueline. "Les péages du Royaume de Valence (1494)". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 12 (1976): 147-149.

25. Díaz Borrás, Andrés; Pons i Pons, Anaclet; Serna Alonso, Justo. *La construcción del puerto de Valencia. Problemas y métodos (1283-1880)*. València: Ajuntament de València, 1986: 11.

26. Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental*. Castelló: Bancaixa-Comité Econòmic i Social de la Comunitat Valenciana, 1998: 316-317.

27. Auffray, Yves; Guiral, Jacqueline. "Les péages du Royaume de Valence (1494)"…: 148.

els quals destaquen els cereals i la fruita seca i assecada, al costat d'una gran quantitat de petites partides d'altres gèneres alimentaris i industrials. Amb tot, a vegades, les embarcacions menudes o mitjanes també transportaven carregaments italians o flamencs (draps, tints, metalls, etc.) que, primer, s'havien desembarcat a Alacant. Així, aquest nucli actuava com a punt d'exportació, com a escala inicial, final o intermèdia d'itineraris llargs i com a centre redistribuïdor, i les tres funcions repercutiren en les relacions mantingudes amb València almenys a les acaballes del Quatre-cents[28].

Per als ports de la meitat septentrional valenciana, també s'ha subratllat ja la varietat de rutes internes o externes al regne on aquests acabaren quedant inserits: és el que passa amb Sagunt[29] o amb els carregadors castellonencs, tot i que aquest darrer cas mereix alguna matisació. És innegable que, del segle XIII al XV, sovintegen les notícies sobre el comerç de les comarques de Castelló amb altres indrets regionals o internacionals, normalment limitats a l'àmbit de la Mediterrània occidental. Però a banda del problema d'interpretar el pes que tingueren aquestes connexions —especialment les de més projecció— dins les economies castellonenques, a tall d'hipòtesi i en una perspectiva comparada no sembla que l'aturada en aquestes poblacions fóra essencial per als circuits marítims majors. Pel que se sap fins ara, només trencarien un tant aquesta tendència les iniciatives que afectaren en certes èpoques ports com els de Moncofa, Borriana, Castelló i Benicarló amb l'objectiu d'exportar, sobretot, mercaderies locals d'origen agrícola o ramader. Tanmateix, si hi ha una excepció rellevant, aquesta és la de Peníscola[30].

Durant la segona meitat del Dos-cents, trobem Peníscola integrada ja —per molt esporàdicament que fóra aleshores— en recorreguts que enllaçaven terres ibèriques amb el nord italià. Però, a partir de la mateixa cronologia i fins als primers decennis del XIV, les fonts disponibles col·loquen la base de l'intercanvi marítim penisclà en l'exportació dels excedents cerealístics d'àrees interiors com la dels Ports de Morella, i en el consegüent abastament de mercats urbans relativament propers com el de Barcelona. L'evolució posterior confirma aquesta important funció regional de Peníscola, en relació tant amb Catalunya com amb Mallorca o la pròpia València[31]. Això no obstant, des de mitjan segle XIV, la major novetat fou la consolidació del rol internacional d'aquest carregador, a través de l'assumpció de la tasca d'exportar les llanes valencianes del Maestrat i els Ports que, just en aquest instant, començaven a penetrar en el comerç europeu, particularment el dirigit a Itàlia i controlat per les mateixes companyies mercantils italianes. De fet, i per a la transició entre els segles XIV i XV, Melis arribà a pensar que Peníscola podria definir-se com el major port exportador de llanes de la Mediterrània[32].

Les conseqüències d'aquestes realitats es mantingueren fins al voltant de 1450, tal com ha explicitat Carles Rabassa. En el període que acabe d'assenyalar, Peníscola es va convertir en punt de confluència entre els àmbits local i internacional del comerç, ja que allí convergien els mercaders

28. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Alicante: polo de crecimiento en el tránsito de los siglos XV al XVI"…: 85-89.

29. Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una villa medieval volcada al Mediterráno: Morvedre en los itinerarios mercantiles locales e internacionales durante la Baja Edad Media (ss. XIII-XV)", *Catálogo de la exposición "De Murbiter a Morvedre"*. València: Bancaixa, 2006: 171-185.

30. Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim…": 95-104.

31. Rabassa i Vaquer, Carles. "Funcions econòmiques del port de Peníscola durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*...: II, 1271, 1277-1278, 1280, 1283.

32. Melis, Federigo. "La llana de l'Espanya mediterrània i de la Berberia occidental en els segles XIV-XV", *València, un mercat medieval*, Antoni Furió, ed. València: Diputació de València, 1985: 69-70; Melis, Federigo. "L'area catalano-aragonese nel sistema economico del Mediterraneo occidentale", *I mercanti italiani nell'Europa medievale e rinascimentale*, Luciana Frangioni, ed. Prato: Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", 1990: 228.

de llana dels pobles de l'interior, i allí la recollien els agents del gran tràfic marítim. I al costat de la llana, altres articles de la zona entraren en els canals mercantils com a càrrega complementària (mel, pells o draps, per exemple). Amb tot, res d'açò no implica que Peníscola arribara a desenvolupar-se com a gran centre comercial o a posseir una classe potent de mercaders. Per contra, la vila fou normalment una mera plaça de trànsit de productes, la qual cosa —això sí— va poder afavorir l'existència d'un grup propi de professionals del transport naval (patrons de nau o mariners), aliens al control dels intercanvis[33].

Més enllà de la significació de les activitats entorn de Peníscola i de les altres iniciatives esmentades en ports castellonencs, les investigacions reflecteixen millor la participació del conjunt dels carregadors d'aquestes comarques en les rutes interiors del regne, sobretot les dirigides a la capital valenciana, com quasi sempre. De nou, l'estudi dels "manifests de mar" ofereix dades força transcendents al respecte per a la segona meitat del segle XV, l'única etapa medieval per a la qual existeix parcialment aquesta font, la qual —ho recorde— posseeix un caràcter fiscal. Doncs bé: en els manifests conservats de 1451, 1459, 1488, 1491 i 1494 compareixen naus arribades a València procedents de tretze llocs d'embarcament castellonencs. I l'anàlisi global de totes les informacions derivades permet extraure diverses conclusions[34].

La primera té a veure amb la quantitat de desplaçaments testimoniats per aquesta documentació. En tres anys complets, discontinus però relativament propers (1488, 1491 i 1494), la font inclou al voltant de tres-centes circulacions d'embarcacions entre la costa castellonenca i València, cent trenta-cinc de les quals corresponen només a un any (1488). Els números són importants, però no s'ha d'oblidar que la densitat i la freqüència d'un determinat corrent de transaccions no guarda sempre relació directa amb el seu pes dins els mercats afectats o, en general, dins el sistema d'intercanvis. A més, el repartiment d'aquests contactes es distribuí amb desequilibris entre els diferents espais de Castelló, ja que el predomini de les inscripcions aranzelàries va pertànyer sempre a les naus salpades del Castelló centre-septentrional (entre Vinaròs i Cabanes) i, molt especialment, a la tríada constituïda per Vinaròs, Benicarló i Peníscola.

El gènere de flota que vertebrava els viatges a València entraria dins els estols de tonatge petit o mitjà que ancoraven llavors al port de la capital del regne: novament segons els manifests de 1488, 1491 i 1494, els tipus nàutics més comuns serien els llaguts (la majoria), les barques i uns pocs esquifs. Era habitual que les mateixes naus (o, almenys, els mateixos senyors o patrons de naus) acudiren moltes voltes a València al llarg d'un any, i també a vegades sembla que els diversos llaguts i barques conformaven combois que els permetien atracar-hi agrupats, en una navegació conjunta que no era estranya a la Mediterrània baix-medieval i que pot jutjar-se com una precaució defensiva davant els nombrosos perills de la mar. Tot plegat assegurava una periodicitat d'arribades que, en la contemplació global dels carregadors de Castelló, s'accelerava durant els darrers mesos de cada any o, com a màxim, durant tota l'etapa hivernal. Un ritme semblant pot relacionar-se amb els cicles agraris i amb les necessitats del subministrament urbà, sobretot si tenim en compte que entre les mercaderies transportades a València pels vaixells castellonencs abundaven, i molt, els productes rurals.

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33. Rabassa i Vaquer, Carles. "Funcions econòmiques del port de Peníscola durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana"…: 1277-1278, 1283, 1285.

34. L'anàlisi i les conclusions de les notícies dels *manifests de mar* relatives a Castelló consten exposades detalladament en Igual Luis, David; Soler Milla, Juan Leonardo. "Una aproximació al comerç marítim…": 104-116. En les línies que segueixen em limitaré a mostrar-ne un resum.

La llista d'aquestes mercaderies en els cinc manifests estudiats de 1451 a 1494 inclou prop d'un centenar de veus, les quals reprodueixen un catàleg molt marcat on el propi detallisme terminològic dels documents posa l'èmfasi en els articles alimentaris de base fonamentalment agrària (com cereals, lleguminoses, fruits i hortalisses), però també en alguns derivats de l'explotació ramadera, forestal o mineral. Amb tot, si precisem més amb un exemple concret (el de 1488), en realitat són només sis els productes que acumulen la xifra més elevada de notícies: aquests són, de menor a major, la civada, les faves, la mel, l'oli, l'ordi i el forment. En qualsevol cas, la majoria dels objectes era originària hipotèticament de les pròpies terres de Castelló o de zones més interiors que projectaven els excedents cap a la costa, i es traslladava a València en forma de modestes partides mercantils, les quals semblen allunyar-se d'una potencial comercialització posterior. I és que les lògiques d'intercanvi que es dedueixen de les dades dels manifests solen comprendre el simple gir de mercaderies entre un exportador i un importador, els tràfics que tocaven València en trànsit cap a altres destinacions, o les transaccions que pareixen veritables redistribucions de recursos dins una família, empresa o institució. En definitiva, les lògiques que podrien considerar-se típiques d'un comerç, com he dit, sostingut per productes rurals i que tenia la finalitat bàsica d'abastir un centre urbà com el valencià.

Més difícil és esbrinar la condició social i professional de la gran quantitat de gent que, sempre d'acord amb els "manifests de mar" de la fi del segle XV, s'encarregava de gestionar la conducció per via marítima dels lots comercials entre Castelló i València. La font acostuma a oferir pocs detalls al respecte, més enllà de la menció dels noms dels individus que actuaven com a propietaris de les partides en els llocs de sortida i com a consignataris d'elles al port d'arribada. Tanmateix, les escasses informacions dels manifests i l'examen comparat d'altres documents permeten apreciar un protagonisme compartit entre sectors privilegiats o d'elit de les comunitats (nobles, eclesiàstics i autoritats locals), experts del transport naval, membres d'oficis de tipus fins i tot artesanal, i mercaders que gaudirien de nivells econòmics força diversos: s'ha de suposar, almenys com a definició mitjana, que no seria el mateix un mercader d'ascendència rural o semiurbana com molts dels operadors de les comarques castellonenques, que un mercader de la gran urbs de València. I al costat de tots aquests grups, no és descartable la participació en els itineraris de persones d'altres àmbits que podien interessar-se per aquests circuits de manera més o menys excepcional. Així, els camins del comerç marítim entre Castelló i València quedarien articulats per una gran varietat d'actors, la majoria d'origen local castellonenc o valencià i molts d'ells no especialitzats ni de bon tros en el moviment mercantil.

Si els arguments sobre els carregadors d'Alacant servien per a destacar les interaccions i interferències ocasionals que es donaven entre els tràfics grans i petits, les coses que acabem de veure en parlar dels ports castellonencs són útils per a mostrar dues qüestions, com a mínim: que les rutes navals eren molt més denses i estaven més concorregudes en la proximitat del litoral que mar endins, una situació que es corrobora a bastament per al conjunt de circulacions —castellonenques i no castellonenques— que tocaren la ciutat de València almenys des de la segona meitat del segle XV[35]; i que vies com les que consentien la relació d'aquests ports amb la capital solien ser l'escenari del transport majoritari de mercaderies humils, en general de volum i valor reduïts, encara que contractades en quantitats que anaren adquirint una importància considerable gràcies a l'animació

35. Salvador Esteban, Emilia. "Valencia, puerto del Mediterráneo", *Catálogo de la exposición "Los Reyes Católicos y la monarquía de España"*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2004: 147-148.

de les xarxes internes del territori i a la funció de l'extensa trama portuària del regne. Tot açò era el resultat de les especialitzacions productives locals i de les necessitats urbanes d'aprovisionament, però també podia ser-ho de l'augment de la capacitat de consum de les poblacions costaneres i de canvis en els esquemes de la demanda[36].

3. El tràfic internacional a través dels exemples italià i portuguès

A banda de les característiques que reunia el petit comerç, sempre a escala valenciana s'ha emfasitzat en paral·lel que el funcionament de les grans rutes facilitava la inserció profitosa dels agents i els productes del regne en espais mercantils molt freqüentats i competitius. Les iniciatives desenvolupades en aquests segons trajectes destacaven, més que pel volum dels negocis per si mateix, pels avantatges comparatius i els beneficis induïts que provocaven, així com per la intervenció en elles de mercaders autòctons i estrangers que eren capaços de construir xarxes de comerç basades en un model comú d'estratègies, el qual solia articular-se al voltant d'elements com el parentiu, l'origen geogràfic o ètnic, i àdhuc la identitat religiosa[37].

En un moment anterior de l'article he assenyalat com, cap a 1400, es produí la plena integració del territori valencià en l'economia mercantil marítima, dins la qual la funció del port de la capital ultrapassava ja aleshores el simple intercanvi entre béns de producció local i carregaments destinats únicament al consum intern[38]. Aquesta integració es mantingué sòlida —i fins i tot amb una diversificació creixent— al llarg del segle XV, tot i que fóra amb daltabaixos conjunturals i amb algunes evolucions diferenciades en els tràfics[39]. I fou una solidesa que expressà de manera constant la doble perspectiva de projecció del litoral cap a la Mediterrània, d'una banda, i cap a l'Atlàntic, de l'altra, àmbits per als quals València arribà a jugar missions de convergència (o de tancament econòmic) de diversos corrents del comerç naval.

Cap a la Mediterrània, alguns dels itineraris que han merescut major atenció són els dirigits als espais italians, on es constituïren relacions que figuren entre les més fecundes de les establides per València durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana. De fet, en referència particular als vincles amb la Itàlia peninsular del centre i del nord, si indiquem només dues fites historiogràfiques, des que als anys trenta del segle passat es va destacar el tràfic llaner organitzat entre les comarques septentrionals valencianes i la Toscana des de les acaballes del XIV[40], fins a la recent edició d'una sèrie de cartes mercantils de la famosa empresa Datini entre 1395 i 1398 que ha permés ressaltar —una vegada

36. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo catalano-aragonés: espacios y redes"…: 147-148.

37. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano"…: 120-122, 125.

38. Orlandi, Angela. "Estudi introductori", *Mercaderies i diners: La correspondència catalana entre València i Mallorca (1395-1398)*, Angela Orlandi, ed. València: Universitat de València, 2008: 42, 57.

39. Daltabaixos i evolucions que jo mateix he destacat ja en alguns casos concrets a través de diverses publicacions. Per exemple Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia*…: 31-76, 403-418; Igual Luis, David. "Navegación y comercio entre Valencia y el Norte de África durante el siglo XV", *Relaciones entre el Mediterráneo cristiano y el Norte de África en época medieval y moderna*, Carmen Trillo San José, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2004: 227-286; i, en col·laboració amb Paulino Iradiel Murugarren: Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico. Mercaderes, productos y empresas italianas entre Valencia y Portugal (1450-1520)", *Portogallo mediterraneo*, Luis Adão da Fonseca, Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, dirs. Càller: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2001: 143-194.

40. Levi, Ezio. "I fiorentini nel Maestrazgo al tramonto del Medio Evo". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 10 (1929): 17-29; Levi, Ezio. "Pittori e mercanti in terra di pastori". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 13 (1932): 39-48.

més— la significació i les modalitats operatives de la presència de mercaders forans a València[41], una àmplia tradició d'estudis ha vingut subratllant els nombrosos efectes que els contactes italians tingueren sobre la política i l'economia de la ciutat i el regne de València, però també sobre altres aspectes molt variats de la vida diària local.

Justament, si centrem l'observació d'aquests contactes en els mantinguts per via marítima amb l'esmentada Itàlia del centre i del nord, les anàlisis que se n'han fet per a la segona meitat del segle XV aporten imatges d'interés[42]. En principi, respecte a la vertebració material del comerç, cal dir que aquest manifesta ara la situació d'una València relacionada amb tres zones molt determinades: la Ligúria (que replegava també les projeccions vers l'interior cap a la Llombardia i el Piemont), la Toscana i el Laci, i el Vènet. Amb elles, les rutes de transport no sols tocaven en un sentit o en l'altre les platges valencianes o italianes directament afectades, sinó que també passaven per costes alienes. Així, els itineraris localitzats des de 1450 demostren la circulació habitual dels combois per Múrcia i Andalusia, per Catalunya i el sud de França, per les Balears, Sicília i Sardenya, per Nàpols, pel nord d'Àfrica i, fins i tot, encara que més excepcionalment, per espais atlàntics de Portugal, França i les illes britàniques.

Dues són les conseqüències d'aquesta realitat. La primera, que les connexions València-Itàlia, lluny d'adquirir un significat bilateral exclusiu, s'emmarcaven en un context més ampli i integrador que abastava, com a mínim, bona part de la Mediterrània occidental gràcies al disseny de rutes heterogènies i multilaterals en les quals, com és obvi, predominava el cabotatge. La segona, que aquest fenomen —que no es donava tan sols dins les citades connexions, sinó que era freqüent en altres intercanvis també internacionals concretats al llarg dels litorals europeus i mediterranis— converteix en un tant artificiosa la distinció que a vegades s'ha volgut establir entre navegació de cabotatge i navegació d'altura, en assimilar sota ambdós conceptes respectivament una diferenciació entre petit comerç i gran comerç. I és que, tant en desplaçaments llargs com curts, vorejar la costa i passar de port a port acostumaren a ser quasi sempre durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana els mètodes preferents de navegació[43].

En qualsevol cas, la mar entre València i la Itàlia del centre-nord fou recorreguda per embarcacions amb una intensitat sobre la qual disposem d'algunes xifres, de nou per al període 1450-1500. Pel que fa a les exportacions valencianes acordades a la capital mitjançant contractes de noliejament, s'ha pogut testimoniar una mitjana màxima d'entre sis i set viatges anuals de 1495 a 1499, dirigits sobretot als ports genovesos, toscans i romans. En direcció contrària, les fonts del "manifest de mar" de 1488, 1491 i 1494 permeten examinar vint-i-cinc arribades a València d'embarcacions procedents de Gènova, Savona, Pisa, Livorno, Piombino, Civitavecchia i Venècia. El número queda ben lluny de l'entorn de les tres-centes circulacions que, com he mencionat abans, es produïren els mateixos anys i segons la mateixa documentació entre els carregadors castellonencs i València. Amb tot, el pes dels tràfics italians dins l'economia valenciana estava molt per sobre del que semblaria a primera vista per aquestes quantitats.

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41. És l'edició feta per Angela Orlandi de les cartes corresponents a la comunicació mantinguda pels agents datinians de València i Mallorca entre les dates assenyalades (Orlandi, Angela, ed. *Mercaderies i diners...*).

42. Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia...*: 319-418. Llevat dels casos en què s'anotarà alguna altra referència, vegeu aquesta citació per a totes les informacions que segueixen en el text sobre el comerç marítim entre València i la Itàlia del centre-nord entre 1450 i 1500.

43. Igual Luis, David. "Itinerarios comerciales en el espacio …": 138.

Al respecte, convé recordar la important repercussió fiscal d'aquests tràfics —almenys en el seu vessant importador— quant als ingressos del peatge reial. Açò ajuda a entendre la preocupació constant demostrada per les autoritats ja des del segle XIII pel tractament aranzelari del comerç italià (i dels italians), en la qual s'entrellaçaven lògiques econòmiques, polítiques i socials[44]. També és força simptomàtica del pes que argumente alguna altra dada concreta. Segons les assegurances marítimes valencianes investigades per Enrique Cruselles entre 1488 i 1520, les corresponents a la Itàlia del centre-nord només sumen anualment entre el vuit i el vint per cent de tots els negocis estudiats, unes magnituds col·locades per sota dels contractes que es referien a Nàpols, Sicília i Sardenya i als territoris ibèrics de la Corona d'Aragó. Tanmateix, si analitzem el preu d'aquestes assegurances, és a dir, els diners en què s'avaluaven els productes transportats i que es relacionaven totalment o parcialment amb el cost comercial, la jerarquia s'altera i queda encapçalada ara pels ports lígurs, toscans, romans i venecians[45].

Sens dubte, situacions com aquesta eren el resultat de diversos factors. D'entrada, del fet que les embarcacions que transitaven per les rutes entre València i la Itàlia del centre-nord eren de les més grans que es troben, a les darreries del Quatre-cents, al port de la capital valenciana: són sobretot naus, galeres i caravel·les. És fàcil imaginar la major capacitat de càrrega d'aquesta flota al costat d'altres gèneres navals més petits. Però gairebé és més important assenyalar l'enorme heterogeneïtat, en tipologia i valor, dels productes que viatjaven amb aquestes mateixes embarcacions. Així, entre 1451 i 1509, l'anàlisi dels "manifests de mar" del centre i del nord d'Itàlia i d'altra documentació fiscal valenciana relativa al comerç genovés importador i exportador ha registrat més de sis-cents termes de mercaderies diferents. Lògicament, entre ells figuren tot tipus d'objectes i amb els orígens geogràfics més variats, el que és fruit de l'esmentada multilateralitat dels contactes València-Itàlia i del fet que, tant l'una banda com l'altra dels intercanvis, actuaven com a focus redistribuïdors d'articles aliens. Amb tot, enmig d'aquest cúmul de referències poden destacar-se dos elements: el primer, que tres grups clàssics del comerç internacional (llana, teixits i tints) constituïen encara, malgrat la diversificació dels mercats, negocis essencials i ben vius, força adaptables a les transformacions de la demanda i la conjuntura; i el segon, que això es produïa mentre, a la València de l'època, les connexions italianes i les fixades amb altres espais permetien experimentar en general l'augment de la circulació de manufactures i primeres matèries industrials i de productes atlàntics[46].

Quan mencione els productes atlàntics no em referisc tant als que es coneixien a València per mitjà del comerç amb Flandes, per exemple. Un comerç que, ja en 1450, pot considerar-se tradicional i que s'havia caracteritzat pràcticament des del seu inici, tal com ho continuarà fent fins a 1500, per la fluïdesa dels vincles, per la varietat d'operadors mercantils i navals implicats, i pel pes de l'exportació de l'agricultura valenciana i de la importació d'elaboracions tèxtils europees[47]. Més

44. Com es veu reiteradament en Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia*...: 31-175, i també en Igual Luis, David. "Política y economía durante la Baja Edad Media…": 264-267.

45. Cruselles Gómez, Enrique. *Comercio y mercado en tiempo de crisis (Los mercaderes valencianos y su Mediterráneo frente a la época de los Descubrimientos)*. València: Universitat de València (treball d'investigació inèdit), 1991.

46. Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos en el Mediterráneo…": 479-489; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El comercio en el Mediterráneo entre 1490 y 1530"…: 105.

47. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Intercambios y relaciones entre Valencia y las ciudades marítimas del norte europeo", *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media hispánica. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín*, Carlos María Reglero de la Fuente, coord. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2002: II, 998-1003; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "El siglo de oro del comercio valenciano"…: 115, 121-122.

aviat parle dels productes que arribaven de Portugal, Andalusia, les illes Canàries i de Madeira i l'Occident africà, un món que —com és ben sabut— s'enlairà a partir de mitjan segle XV des de la perspectiva del comerç europeu. I aquest enlairament afavorí oportunitats de negoci noves i abundants, segons ho indiquen casos particulars com el de les relacions econòmiques establides entre la pròpia València i Portugal.

Com moltes altres línies de transacció, aquest comerç, a banda de posseir un significat bilateral, s'inseria en xarxes mercantils més complexes que es prolongaven cap a la Baixa Andalusia, Galícia o l'Atlàntic septentrional i que, fins i tot, en un cert moment, començà a enllaçar bàsicament des de Lisboa amb els productes africans i asiàtics que hi confluïen gràcies a l'èxit de l'obertura de noves rutes dirigides a l'oceà meridional i a l'Índia. Sense oblidar això, els eixos d'intercanvi marítim entre València i Portugal fins a 1450 semblen fonamentar-se en el transport de cuiros i peixos atlàntics i de draps valencians de qualitat mitjana i baixa, el que no evità la presència en els itineraris d'una gamma molt més àmplia de mercaderies, tot i que d'escassa transcendència quantitativa. L'estructura comercial descrita es va mantenir també després, més enllà de la influència que tingueren conjuntures crítiques com la que provocà la creació a València de l'anomenat "dret portugués" en 1464. Però, a partir de les dècades centrals del Quatre-cents, sobre aquest contacte valenciano-portugués es deixaren sentir els efectes del citat progrés comercial de l'Atlàntic del centre i del sud, sobretot amb la penetració en els tractes de productes com el sucre, l'or, els esclaus i les espècies[48].

Justament, durant els anys finals del segle XV, l'estudi comparat de diverses fonts fiscals i notarials valencianes permet albirar la possibilitat que les relacions entre València i Portugal s'escindiren en una mena de doble circuit de comerç per a les importacions: l'un, tradicional, controlat pels propis operadors portuguesos al voltant del peix i el cuiro; i l'altre, més recent, desenvolupat a l'entorn dels esclaus i el sucre i que, encara que observà també la participació portuguesa, pareix que fou dominat més en realitat per companyies mercantils italianes i, amb una menor intervenció, valencianes. A vegades sembla que aquesta divisió es corresponga, també, amb una separació d'estratègies econòmiques entre els sectors on predominaven mercaders i transportistes individuals que difícilment superaven els límits del petit negoci de curta durada i fàcil de controlar, enfront de formes d'empresa més evolucionades i estables[49].

Tanmateix, fins i tot si es comprovara la plena validesa d'aquesta hipòtesi, la fragmentació ressenyada de circuits no s'hauria d'agafar en un sentit absolut. De fet, la visió general dels intercanvis entre València i Portugal al llarg del Quatre-cents, amb les múltiples implicacions espacials i de grups negociadors que contenien, mostra que els elements de competència, desigualtat i jerarquització coexistiren amb els factors de cooperació i integració a tots els nivells. En el seu moment, per exemple, ja Federigo Melis va assenyalar la feliç combinació que es produí a la Baixa Edat Mitjana entre italians i portuguesos en el camp de la navegació: a causa de les seues necessitats

48. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "De Valencia a Portugal y Flandes. Relaciones durante la Edad Media". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 1 (1982): 149-168; Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Intercambios comerciales entre Portugal y Valencia a fines del siglo XV: el 'Dret Portugués'", *II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação, 1990: II, 759-779; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 143-169.

49. Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Navarro Espinach, Germán; Igual Luis, David. "El comercio de importación portugués en Valencia, 1487-1488", *Os Reinos Ibéricos na Idade Média. Livro de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*, Luis Adão da Fonseca, Luís Carlos Amaral, María Fernanda Ferreira Santos, coords. Porto: Livraria Civilização Ed., 2004: III, 1121-1131.

econòmiques i de transport, aquests italians (especialment els toscans) contribuïren a multiplicar les embarcacions portugueses, llur capacitat i el seu ús en activitats concretes[50]. Doncs bé: a banda que l'esmentada combinació pot trobar reflex microanalític a València, les accions d'italians, portuguesos i valencians —sempre des del mateix observatori valencià— dibuixen xarxes denses de tràfic que, insistisc, mesclant competència i integració, permetien no tan sols els processos d'exportació i importació marítima, sinó també la interrelació d'aquests processos amb la projecció des de (o cap a) l'interior dels territoris[51].

Açò darrer no significa una altra cosa més que el fet que, òbviament, tota realitat de vinculació exterior del regne valencià necessitava encaixar d'alguna manera amb els corrents mercantils interns, per tal de canalitzar vers la costa els articles que s'havien d'exportar o de distribuir en sentit contrari les importacions. I el que és més important: aquest encaix podia produir-se a través d'una divisió del treball entre diferents grups d'operadors o, en ocasions, gràcies a l'assumpció de part de les funcions dels dos àmbits del comerç (intern i extern) per un mateix mercader o per una única companyia mercantil. Al respecte, i de nou al voltant de les relacions València-Portugal, és força interessant la trajectòria seguida per un personatge que ha merescut ja diverses aproximacions prosopogràfiques: Cesare di Barzi[52].

Aquest era un home de negocis florentí que visqué a la ciutat de València entre 1473 i 1519. Des d'ací, Barzi es va inserir en un polígon d'itineraris que enllaçava, primer, Florència amb la península Ibèrica; després, dins el territori ibèric, València amb Sevilla i Lisboa; i a l'últim, com a conseqüència bàsica del vincle portugués, la mateixa península amb Àfrica i, fins i tot, l'Índia. Aquesta varietat de zones d'interés fou el resultat de la incorporació del toscà a un conjunt empresarial que tenia la seu principal a Lisboa, des d'on estenia la seua influència cap a Andalusia i les altres àrees que he mencionat. En qualsevol cas, l'obertura dels espais d'acció comercial permeté a Barzi estar present en els tràfics marítims que paraven al port de València i, per tant, desenvolupar-hi tasques d'exportador i importador. Però, simultàniament, ell i els delegats i empleats de la seua companyia participaren també a la capital valenciana en la compravenda a gran o a petita escala de nombrosos productes, emmarcats ja fóra en les dinàmiques d'exportació i d'importació, ja fóra hipotèticament en la simple circulació local. Açò ens dibuixa un mercader ben introduït en els circuits valencians d'intercanvi i, a més, ben connectat amb altres operadors presents al mercat urbà com a subministradors i/o consumidors[53].

Pense que aquest cas concret es un magnífic exemple d'almenys dues situacions que, tant a València com en altres indrets, s'han manifestat ja molt habituals a la fi de l'Edat Mitjana. La

50. Melis, Federigo. "Di alcune figure di operatori economici fiorentini attivi nel Portogallo, nel XV secolo", *Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Hermann Kellenbenz, ed. Colònia: Böhlau, 1970: 66-67.

51. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 154, 166, 192; Igual Luis, David. "La difusión de productos...": 489-490.

52. Hinojosa Montalvo, José. "Cesaro Barchi y otros mercaderes florentinos en la ciudad de Valencia en el tránsito del Medievo a la Modernidad", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed età Moderna. Studi Storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Càller: Bulzoni Editore 1993: III, 231-249; Igual Luis, David. "De la tienda a la banca: Los agentes del comercio mediterráneo medieval", Los vendedores y las civilizaciones, Felip Masé Ferrer, coord. Barcelona: Würth, 2007: 148-152; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino; Igual Luis, David. "Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico...": 178-189.

53. En relació amb el que acabe d'assenyalar, és simptomàtic el comportament de Barzi dins el mercat d'esclaus. Ja s'ha fet famós el fet que, entre 1489 i 1497, el toscà declarà a les autoritats valencianes la importació de més de dos mil esclaus negres africans, el que el converteix en el mercader esclavista més important de València a la fi del segle XV. Una vegada ací, Barzi podia reexportar els captius a altres llocs o redistribuir-los dins la ciutat, segons indica la cinquantena de contractes que l'italià reproduí davant dos notaris locals de 1488 a 1497, i pels quals va vendre més de setanta esclaus a mercaders, artesans, nobles i eclesiàstics hispànics i estrangers.

primera, que la distinció entre mercat al detall i mercat a l'engròs només solia ser perceptible a nivell dels agents més petits. En el cas d'empreses comercials com la de Cesare di Barzi, una i altra activitat eren desenvolupades pels mateixos negociadors, la qual cosa significa que els membres de les companyies, personalment o amb l'ajut de mitjancers, actuaven allà on fóra possible i per qualsevol quantitat de producte[54]. La segona, que és possible que els protagonistes de les transaccions internacionals —encara més si eren estrangers en una plaça com la valenciana— oferiren a aquest gran comerç un pes essencial en els seus balanços econòmics, i que això els conduïra a una atenció preferent per aquest sector d'operacions. Però tal realitat no exclou que aquests mateixos protagonistes pogueren intervenir de forma més o menys intensa en els circuits locals, a vegades fins i tot allunyats totalment o parcialment de les xarxes mercantils majors[55]. I crec que açò tornaria a insistir en les imatges d'interacció i d'integració entre el gran comerç i el petit comerç que he anat apuntant al llarg de l'article.

54. Orlandi, Angela. "Estudi introductori"...: 42.

55. Abulafia, David. "Gli italiani fuori d'Italia", *Gli orizzonti aperti. Profili del mercante medievale*, Gabriella Airaldi, ed. Torí: Scriptorium, 1997: 197-198.

LOS CAMPESINOS EN ANDALUCÍA DURANTE LA BAJA EDAD MEDIA. UN ESTADO DE LA CUESTIÓN EN EL REINO DE SEVILLA

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Resumen

Resulta evidente que el campesinado tuvo un gran peso en la sociedad medieval. Constituía la base del edificio social y el segmento encargado de trabajar en las actividades relacionadas con la tierra, la fuente de trabajo de la época. Su estudio, por tanto, se antoja imprescindible para el correcto conocimiento de la época. El objeto de este trabajo es presentar el estado de la cuestión en Andalucía durante los siglos bajomedievales. El marco geográfico está marcado por el reino de Sevilla, un territorio conquistado por la corona de Castilla entre mediados del siglo XIII y mediados del XV. La evolución seguida por ese espacio durante los siglos bajomedievales permite comprender la consolidación y configuración de este grupo social.

1. Introducción

> Para tratar de las formas y oficios de las gentes del pueblo, empezaremos por el primer oficio popular, puesto en el haz de los peones a la diestra del rey. Está situado delante del roque, que está a la derecha, porque pertenece al vicario del rey. A este peón, que proveerá al reino con todo lo necesario, llamémosle labrador. Fue figurado de la siguiente manera y por largo pertenece a la especie humana: en la mano derecha tiene una azada con la cual cava la tierra. En la izquierda lleva una vara para guiar los ganados y animales, y del cinto cuelga una hoz con la que poda viñas y árboles. Estas herramientas representan a las tres labores a que se reduce toda la agricultura1.

El dominico lombardo Jacobo de Cessolis escribía el *Liber de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludum scacchorum* entre los años 1300 y 1330. Tomando como referencia el juego del ajedrez, reflexionaba sobre los diferentes grupos sociales equiparándolos a las diferentes piezas, la ubicación de los escaques que ocupaban en relación con el del monarca, dando detallada cuenta de sus movimientos sobre el tablero y explicando sus correspondientes símbolos. La obra —escrita en latín y traducida al alemán, francés, inglés, neerlandés, catalán y castellano —alcanzó una gran difusión en los siglos XV y XVI. Su contenido, equiparable a otros muchos incluidos en crónicas, obras literarias o textos jurídicos, está centrado en el papel desempeñado por cada grupo social. Para el caso que nos ocupa, el texto reproducido descansa en una mitificación de la figura del labrador a través del uso de las herramientas que le identificaba ideológicamente y que sostenían a la sociedad: la azada, la vara y la hoz.

1. Cessolis, Jacobo de. *El juego de ajedrez: o dechado de Fortuna*, ed. María-José Lemarchand. Madrid: Siruela, 1991: 57.

El ejemplo sirve de preámbulo a este trabajo sobre este grupo social en el reino de Sevilla durante los siglos bajomedievales. Un segmento que desempeñó un importante papel en una sociedad definida y caracterizada por Marc Bloch o Georges Duby por su ruralidad. El tema, por tanto, aborda una problemática que entendemos básica para conocer el mecanismo de funcionamiento de las sociedades medievales europeas[2]. El nivel de información que poseemos sobre los sistemas de explotación, las propiedades agrarias o las grandes instituciones propietarias constituye el marco adecuado para analizar el campesinado.

Al compás de esos avances, en los últimos treinta años la historiografía relativa a la España medieval también ha realizado notables progresos cuantitativos y cualitativos sobre esas cuestiones y, al mismo tiempo, sobre ese sector de la sociedad. Una corriente investigadora —de la que puede encontrarse una amplia bibliografía en la versión escrita de la ponencia defendida por Emilio Cabrera en la XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales celebrada en Estella en julio de 1998 y que ha continuado en años posteriores[3]— en la que continúa siendo fundamental el estudio de José Ángel García de Cortázar centrado en la sociedad rural medieval[4]. En Andalucía, sobresalen las líneas de investigación abiertas por el propio Emilio Cabrera, para el reino de Córdoba, y Mercedes Borrero, para el Aljarafe y la Tierra de Sevilla[5].

Partiendo de esos presupuestos, tras una breve síntesis sobre la constitución del reino de Sevilla, hemos centrado la reconstrucción de la "realidad histórica" del campesinado en Andalucía poniendo especial énfasis en ese territorio durante los siglos bajomedievales. Estructurado el trabajo en dos partes, los objetivos planteados permiten conocer, de forma diacrónica, su evolución desde mediados del XIII hasta el primer cuarto del XVI y analizar las diferentes categorías que integraban ese

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2. Bloch, Marc. *La Historia rural francesa: caracteres originales*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1978; Duby, Georges. *Economía rural y vida campesina en el Occidente Medieval*. Barcelona: Altaya, 1999; Shanin, Teodor. *Campesinos y sociedades campesinas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979. Un estado de la cuestión sobre la historiografía del mundo rural europeo en la Edad Media en los números monográficos de: *Historia Agraria. Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural*, 31 (2003): 11-83; *Historia Agraria. Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural*, 33 (2004): 13-103.

3. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Población y poblamiento, Historia Agraria, Sociedad Rural", *La Historia Medieval en España. Un balance historiográfico (1968-1998). XXV Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 14 a 18 julio 1998*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999: 659-745, en especial 724-726; Valdeón Barruque, Julio. "El mundo rural", *La Baja Edad Media Peninsular. Siglos XIII al XV. La población, la economía, la sociedad. Historia de España Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Julio Valdeón Baruque, José Luis Martín Rodríguez, dirs. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1996: 165-191; Clemente Ramos, Julián. *La economía campesina en la Corona de Castilla (1000-1300)*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2004; Martín Cea, Juan Carlos. *El mundo rural castellano a fines de la Edad Media. El ejemplo de Paredes de Nava en el siglo XV*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1991; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La comunitat pagesa", *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans. II, Edat Mitjana*, Josep Maria Salrach, coord. Barcelona: Fundació Catalana per a la recerca-Universitat dels Països catalans, 2004; Salrach, Josep Maria. "Sociedad rural y mercados en la Cataluña medieval". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 4 (2001): 83-111.

4. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural en la España medieval*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1990.

5. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, repoblación y estructuras agrarias en el sector Occidental de Los Pedroches (Siglos XIII al XV)". *Cuadernos de Historia. Anexos de la Revista Hispania. Andalucía de la Edad Media a la Moderna*, 7 (1977): 1-31, especialmente 23-26; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "La gran propiedad en Carmona en la Baja Edad Media", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Carmona: Edad Media, Congreso conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la conquista de la ciudad de Carmona por Fernando III, 1247*. Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, Área de Cultura y Ecología, 1998: 225-251, especialmente 244; 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. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 2003*, Juan Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna. La violencia antiseñorial en el siglo XV*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo. De la explotación de la tierra a las relaciones laborales en el campo andaluz (siglos XIII-XVI)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003; Borrero, Mercedes. *Los campesinos en la sociedad medieval*. Madrid: Arcos/Libros, 1999; Borrero, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural: los agricultores", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica. La sociedad castellana a finales del siglo XV*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, coord. Madrid: Dykinson, 2004: 195-217.

grupo. Para ello, analizamos al campesinado como "sujeto de la historia y no como objeto pasivo, primitivo e indiferenciado del proceso histórico"[6].

2. La Constitución y afianzamiento de un espacio

Aunque el sujeto de este estudio es el campesinado, dedicamos algunas líneas preliminares a la constitución del territorio porque, en última instancia, es ahí donde los campesinos desarrollaron sus vidas. En su libro sobre las grandes transformaciones que se están produciendo en la sociedad actual desde el último cuarto del siglo XX, el sociólogo Manuel Castells sostiene que "el espacio es la expresión de la sociedad". Esa afirmación implica que una estructura social determinada —vertebrada en torno a la dialéctica establecida entre el discurso oficial y las formas de oposición —ha ido diseñando los diversos procesos espaciales, cada uno de ellos con su propia herencia, derivada de épocas pretéritas[7]. Un modelo interpretativo aplicable a una época como la bajomedieval cuyo sistema también experimentó profundos cambios.

Con carácter general para la Historia Medieval en la Península Ibérica, los conceptos de "Reconquista y Repoblación" han servido para marcar los ritmos de un proceso caracterizado por la sustitución de la población musulmana por la cristiana. En la reunión de historiadores celebrada en la localidad oscense de Jaca en 1947, con un valor que trasciende el mero acto simbólico, se fijaron las grandes fases del poblamiento asociadas a los avances de la conquista cristiana[8].

La conquista de Andalucía Occidental fue un proceso diacrónico —entre mediados del siglo XIII y principios del XV —y acumulativo en el que la corona, los señores laicos y eclesiásticos o las ciudades actuaron como agentes organizadores del territorio. El reino de Sevilla —que integraba las actuales provincias de Cádiz, Huelva y Sevilla —abarcaba una superficie aproximada de 30.000 km^2, en el que las ciudades de Sevilla, Écija y Jerez de la Frontera actuaron como centros articuladores de sus respectivos alfoces. En ese entramado sobresalía Sevilla con jurisdicción sobre un territorio de 12.000 km^2, prácticamente la mitad de la superficie total del reino. En un segmento inferior, destacaban los núcleos secundarios situados en el interior —por ejemplo, Carmona, Fregenal de la Sierra, Utrera, o Medina Sidonia —que actuaban sobre sus recursos agropecuarios y otros ubicados en la costa —como Sanlúcar de Barrameda, El Puerto de Santa María o Cádiz —que operaban sobre los pesqueros[9].

El reino de Sevilla no fue siempre un espacio periférico dentro del sistema económico del Occidente Medieval. Su situación geográfica —en las proximidades del Estrecho de Gibraltar —junto con su vertebración en torno al río Guadalquivir provocó que las relaciones comerciales fuesen aumentando durante los siglos bajomedievales, al compás de una progresiva especialización de productos en sus respectivas áreas geográficas. Un índice de ese valor lo constituyeron las colonias de comerciantes extranjeras, especialmente genovesas, asentadas en los núcleos más importantes

6. Freedman, Paul H. "La resistencia campesina y la historiografía de la Europa Medieval". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 17-37, especialmente 21.

7. Castells, Manuel. *La era de la información: economía, sociedad y cultura*. I, *La sociedad red*. Madrid: Alianza, 1999: 488.

8. *La Reconquista española y la repoblación del país: cursos del Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos*. Zaragoza-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos-Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951. Valoraciones actuales, con bibliografía oportuna, en: García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "Introducción", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII al XV*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 11-42.

9. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media. Estructuras. Valores. Sucesos*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1999: 15-27.

del reino como, por ejemplo, en Sevilla, Jerez de la Frontera, El Puerto de Santa María, Sanlúcar de Barrameda o Cádiz[10].

El estado actual de la cuestión sobre el territorio puede seguirse a través de diferentes esquemas interpretativos[11]. Conceptos como "espacio controlado" o "espacio ocupado", acuñados y desarrollados por García de Cortázar, constituyen las premisas para su posterior valoración de la "organización social del espacio". Por su parte, los estudios de Estepa Díaz se han centrado en el análisis de la "organización territorial" vinculada a la evolución seguida por las estructuras sociales, donde el poder político implanta una organización sobre el territorio y los campesinos. Esta problemática también ha sido abordada desde perspectivas diferentes, como los trabajos de Malpica Cuello que inciden en los cambios producidos desde la llegada de los musulmanes hasta la instalación de los cristianos[12].

3. Reflexiones sobre la instalación del campesinado en las tierras andaluzas en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII

La entidad numérica del campesinado y, sobre todo, su evolución en tan corto espacio de tiempo, ejemplifica perfectamente las dificultades encontradas por la corona castellana a la hora de organizar los espacios conquistados desde mediados del siglo XIII. La necesidad de hacer atractiva la ocupación efectiva del territorio posibilitó la creación de unas condiciones favorables para su instalación. Las repercusiones sociales derivadas de ese movimiento afectaron a ese grupo social, convertido en agente activo durante las fases del proceso repoblador.

La sociedad andaluza, surgida tras las conquistas territoriales del siglo XIII, se asentaba sobre unas premisas que contemplaban la presencia de la alta nobleza laica y eclesiástica junto con un lugar muy destacado para los medianos y pequeños propietarios. Los estudios realizados durante los años setenta y principios de los ochenta del siglo XX han eliminado la visión que se tenía sobre el predominio de la gran propiedad y, por consiguiente, de los grandes propietarios tras los repartimientos de tierras y casas del siglo XIII[13].

El modelo empleado por Fernando III en los repartos de tierras en Baeza, Úbeda, Jaén, Arjona y Córdoba muestran, a modo de anticipo, las características de los repartimientos posteriores del

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10. Igual Luis, David; Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Los genoveses en España en el tránsito del siglo XV al XVI". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 24 (1997): 261-332, especialmente 264-280.

11. Asenjo González, María. "Las ciudades medievales castellanas. Balance y perspectivas de su desarrollo historiográfico (1990-2004)". *En la España Medieval*, 28 (2005): 415-453, especialmente 418-420.

12. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "Introducción", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval*…: 11-42; García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "La organización del territorio en la España de la Reconquista en los siglos XIII al XV", *Poteri economici e poteri politici, secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della Trentesima Settimana di Studi, 27 aprile-1 maggio 1988*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed. Prato-Florencia: Istituto Internazionale de Storia Económica 'F. Datini'-Le Monnier, 1999: 274-301; García de Cortázar, José Ángel, ed. *Del Cantábrico al Duero. Trece estudios sobre organización social del espacio en los siglos VIII al XIII*. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1999; Estepa Díaz, Carlos. "Formación y consolidación del feudalismo en Castilla y León", *En torno al feudalismo hispánico: I Congreso de Estudios Medievales, (León, 21 al 25 de septiembre de 1987)*. Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1989: 157-256; Estepa Díaz, Carlos. "El realengo y el señorío jurisdiccional concejil en Castilla y León (siglos XIII-XV)", *Concejos y ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica: II Congresos de Estudios Medievales (León, 25 al 29 de septiembre de 1989)*. Madrid: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1990: 465-506; Álavarez Borge, Ignacio. *Monarquía feudal y organización territorial. Alfoces y merindades en Castilla (siglos X-XIV)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993; Malpica Cuello, Antonio. *Medio físico y poblamiento en el delta del Guadalfeo. Salobreña y su territorio en época medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996.

13. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes de Andalucía. La repoblación del siglo XIII*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1988: 31-50.

reino de Sevilla realizados por Alfonso X. En relación con el reino de Córdoba, hay que aludir a las dificultades de Fernando III a la hora de organizar el territorio recién conquistado. La ausencia de concejos de realengo, exceptuando el de la propia ciudad de Córdoba, y el desarrollo de señoríos en el reino, marcaron diferencias significativas con los de Jaén y Sevilla[14]. Aunque sabemos que el monarca se había reservado una parte de las tierras cultivadas —la tercera parte en Baeza, la cuarta en Úbeda y la tercera en Córdoba— desconocemos la "entidad de los heredamientos otorgados por los concejos a los pobladores". Esta carencia documental ha impedido conocer cómo fueron distribuidos los pobladores y ha generado especulaciones en torno a su agrupamiento, si en "caballeros" y "peones", como sostenía Julio González, o en "caballeros hidalgos, ciudadanos" y "peones", como piensa González Jiménez a partir de los modelos de repartimientos del reino de Sevilla[15].

La cuestión a dilucidar gira en torno a si las categorías particulares de "caballeros ciudadanos" y "peones" se equiparaban a la general de campesinos. Mientras que el primer término se usaba para referirse a la caballería villana con explotaciones agropecuarias y ganado[16], el segundo poseía un significado mucho más amplio. Así, en el "Tesoro de la lengua castellana" de Covarrubias se incluye una doble acepción: mientras que se usaba para aquellos "que en las obras mercenarias trabaja por su jornal, también se utilizaba para nombrar al soldado de a pie"[17]. Lo verdaderamente importante es que la categoría socio-militar se convirtió en un argumento reiterado en los Libros de Repartimiento[18]. A partir del estudio comparado de esos textos, los campesinos constituían un segmento numéricamente relevante en la sociedad andaluza. Jurídicamente libres, fueron asentados en núcleos rurales —aldeas, alquerías, machares— y en ciudades. Encargados, como el resto de pobladores, de la defensa del territorio, recibieron casas y lotes de tierras.

Así pues, constatamos la formación de una sociedad compuesta por diferentes grupos, constituidos de forma cerrada y jerárquica, y ensamblados entre sí. Esta idea encuentra fácil acomodo en los modelos explicativos de la estructura de la propiedad. A partir, pues, de la documentación emanada por el monasterio de San Clemente de Sevilla, se ha observado cómo las fincas de pequeñas o medianas dimensiones estaban vinculadas a las grandes explotaciones. De hecho, se ha hablado de un proyecto político cuyo objetivo principal consistió en crear una "estructurada jerarquía de

14. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, organización territorial y restauración eclesiástica en el reino de Córdoba en la época de Fernando III". *Archivo Hispalense*, 234-236 (1994): 313-333, especialmente 319-323, 327-328.

15. *Repartimiento de Sevilla. Estudio y edición*, ed. Julio González. Sevilla: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Sevilla, 1993: 237-238; González Jiménez, Manuel. "La obra repobladora de Fernando III en los reinos de Jaén y Córdoba". *Archivo Hispalense*, 234-236 (1994): 287-312, especialmente 310.

16. Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa Occidental, 1250-1520*. Valencia-Granada: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2005: 29-66; Asenjo González, María. "Labradores Ricos: nacimiento de una oligarquía rural en la Segovia del siglo XV". *En La España Medieval, 4* (1984): I, 63-85, especialmente 64, 68.

17. Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Felipe C. R. Maldonado, revisión de Manuel Camarero. Madrid: Castalia, 1995: 813.

18. Para el reino de Sevilla: *Repartimiento de Sevilla…*; *El Libro del Repartimiento de Jerez de la Frontera: estudio y edición*, eds. Manuel González Jiménez, Antonio González Gómez. Cádiz: Instituto de Estudios Gaditanos, 1980; Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel; González Jiménez, Manuel. "La población en la Frontera de Gibraltar y el Repartimiento de Vejer (Siglos XIII y XIV)". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 4 (1977): 199-316; González Jiménez, Manuel. "Repartimiento de Carmona. Estudio y edición". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 8 (1981): 59-94; *Repartimiento de El Puerto de Santa María*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Sevilla-El Puerto de Santa María: Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla, 2002; Sanz Fuentes, María José. "Repartimiento de Écija". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 3 (1976): 531-551. Para el reino de Córdoba: Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. "El Libro de diezmo de donadíos de la catedral de Córdoba". *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 4/5 (1979): 157-162.

propiedades territoriales"[19]. Un proceso económico que llevaba aparejado, como venimos sosteniendo, su correspondencia social oportuna. Sobre el particular, los trabajos de Mercedes Borrero han ido subrayando los sistemas de explotación agrarios como un factor básico en el análisis del campesinado, marcando la línea entre la propiedad y el trabajo[20].

Aquella organización social del territorio que empezaba a dibujarse en Andalucía no llegó a cristalizar por los problemas surgidos con los mudéjares, en el interior del reino, y con Granada y Fez, en el exterior. Sin entrar en detalles, la teoría del *Fracaso de la Repoblación Oficial* aporta las claves para entender ese fenómeno y comprender sus consecuencias: expulsión de la población mudéjar, abandono de las tierras repartidas y establecimiento de la Frontera[21]. Esas dificultades de índole político con el reino de Granada y las consecuencias ocasionadas por las penetraciones de los benimerines desde el Norte de África, patentes desde los años setenta y ochenta del siglo XIII, fueron generando un cambio significativo en el papel del campesinado en las tierras andaluzas. Una nueva identidad que llevaba aparejada atributos y funciones a añadir al esquema ideológico de la sociedad castellana. Y así, por ejemplo, durante el primer cuarto del siglo XIV, don Juan Manuel atribuía a los labradores las funciones acordes con su posición social que, de forma brillante, vinculaba a la defensa de "la tierra por armas et por sus manos"[22].

A partir de esas nuevas condiciones fue emergiendo una nueva realidad para la sociedad andaluza, en general, y para el campesinado, en particular. Una nueva realidad que fue tomando carta de naturaleza a través de transacciones económicas. Fue en ese mercado de la tierra donde aquellas propiedades que nacieron tras esos repartos sufrieron una serie de cambios de titularidad. Por ejemplo, en 1255 Alfonso X ordenaba al almirante Ruy López de Mendoza a los alcaldes de Sevilla Gonzalo Martínez y Rodrigo Esteban y al alguacil de esa ciudad Domingo Muñoz que, una vez conocidas "todas las casas e los heredamientos que dexan aquéllos que se van de Seuilla, las recabdedes e que los dedes a buenos pobladores, así cuemo fueren viniendo"[23]. Un fenómeno similar estaba ocurriendo en el reino de Córdoba. El *Libro de las Tablas*, con datos sobre los diezmos pagados por los donadíos de Córdoba al cabildo catedral y a las iglesias parroquiales, informa sobre el proceso seguido en la transmisión de la propiedad entre la primera y segunda generación de pobladores. Al analizar este texto, se ha incidido en el peso alcanzado por los casos de compraventas —26 sobre un total de 40— de donadíos[24].

En definitiva, el sistema inicial creado por la corona castellana fue desapareciendo en sus grandes líneas debido al abandono y liquidación de las propiedades del repartimiento y por las circunstancias económicas y demográficas del momento[25]. Por ejemplo, en 1284 Alfonso X concedía a

19. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo*…: 23-45; González Jiménez, Manuel; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes; Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. "Origen y desarrollo del latifundismo en Andalucía (Siglos XIII-XV)". *Economia e Sociologia*, 45/46 (1988): 41-61.

20. Borerro Fernández, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural…": 198-199.

21. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 83-90; González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación de la zona de Sevilla durante el siglo XIV*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1993: 23-33.

22. Manuel, Don Juan. *El Libro de los Estados*, eds. Ian R. Macpherson, Robert Brian Tate. Madrid: Castalia, 1991: 279.

23. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 167, doc. nº 1.

24. Nieto Cumplido, Manuel. "El libro de diezmo de los donadíos…": 125-162; González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 30-33.

25. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Las transformaciones de la estructura de la propiedad de la tierra en la Baja Andalucía en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII", *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492): Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía*, Emilio Cabrera, coord. Córdoba: Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1988: 191-208, especialmente 194, 205.

Pero Sánchez varias propiedades en Sanlúcar de Alpechín. Entre los bienes rústicos, se encontraba un antiguo viñedo que había sido abandonado, tierras para majuelos y 16 aranzadas de olivar. Lo mismo ocurrió en otras zonas de Andalucía. Así, en el reino de Córdoba en marzo de 1242 Domingo Lozano vendía al alcaide de Córdoba don Alfonso Téllez 9 caballerías de tierra en la Torre de Miguel de Zorita, antiguo cortijo de Abén Hud, explotación que, junto con el cortijo de Diezma Ayusa, acabarían en poder de la Catedral de Córdoba en abril de ese año. Situación similar a la ocurrida en el reino de Jaén, donde los primeros repobladores fueron trasvasando la propiedad a favor de los grandes patrimonios laicos y eclesiásticos[26].

Esos ejemplos que acabamos de exponer y que podrían multiplicarse con relativa facilidad, muestran la generalización de ese fenómeno y su intensidad. Ahora bien, ese proceso no llegó a excluir a los pequeños labradores agrícolas, porque, de hecho, la corona, los señoríos jurisdiccionales y los grandes propietarios con intereses económicos en las ciudades fueron creando los marcos territoriales óptimos para su mantenimiento[27]. La consecuencia más notable fue el inicio de un movimiento tendente hacia la bipolarización de la sociedad rural andaluza, caracterizada por una mayor implantación de grandes propietarios laicos y eclesiásticos y por el mantenimiento de pequeños campesinos.

Recapitulando, a finales del siglo XIII el binomio social formado por "señores" y "campesinos" aparece reforzado y como el agente principal de la defensa y puesta en explotación de los territorios conquistados. Un ejemplo entre muchos, en 1281 Alfonso X otorgaba términos y heredades a los pobladores de la localidad sevillana de Guillena. Tras dotar a la villa con sus términos y unas 750 hectáreas de labor en concepto de donadíos —con la condición "que tenga sus casas pobladas en Guillena de sus omes con armas en el arrabal"— aprobaba el repartimiento de tierras realizado entre "veinte omes de caballo e quarenta de pie, vesinos e moradores dentro en el castiello e villa de Guillena e fuera en el arrabal"[28].

4. Las reordenaciones territoriales y sociales del siglo XIV en Andalucía. Incidencias sobre el campesinado

El siglo XIV se presenta como una época en la que se manifestó una profunda regresión económica en la que la historiografía europea ha centrado buena parte de sus esfuerzos[29]. Aunque los reinos peninsulares también sufrieron las consecuencias de la crisis del siglo XIV en sus territorios, ese modelo interpretativo resulta difícil de aplicar mecánicamente a los de Jaén, Córdoba y Sevilla. Andalucía era un lugar periférico, recientemente conquistado y que, por esa razón, estaba en una

26. Alfonso X el Sabio. *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Sevilla: El Monte Caja de Huelva y Sevilla, 1991: doc. nº 523; González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 181-183, doc. nº 1; Rodríguez Molina, José. *El Reino de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media. Aspectos demográficos y económicos*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1978: 202-203.

27. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo*…: 43-45.

28. Alfonso X el Sabio. *Diplomatario andaluz*…: 508-509, doc. nº 480.

29. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión Medieval: siglos XIV-XV. El precedente de una crisis sistémica*. Madrid-València: Biblioteca Nueva-Universitat de València, 2001: 91-98; Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "La crisis bajomedieval, un tiempo de conflictos", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 4 al 8 de agosto de 2003*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 13-48.

coyuntura específica, con problemas y vías de solución particulares[30]. A pesar de ellos, ese carácter periférico no debe ser esgrimido como un argumento absoluto, justificador de interpretaciones singulares, entre otras razones, precisamente, por ese carácter coyuntural.

El desarrollo del señorío jurisdiccional y la consolidación de grandes concejos de realengo constituyen los marcos de reflexión tradicionales para acercarse a la sociedad andaluza del siglo XIV. Las investigaciones para el período comprendido entre 1312 y 1350 muestran cómo los agentes repobladores fueron los concejos (48,61%), la Nobleza (23,38%), las Órdenes Militares (15,27%) y la Iglesia (9,72%)[31].

El proceso repoblador de esa centuria consolidó a los pequeños campesinos con lotes de tierras que trabajaban sujetos a una serie de obligaciones genéricas —mantenimiento de la explotación, transmisión de la propiedad— y otras de carácter señorial —como la entrega de tributos, prestaciones, como la martiniega o el yantar— que traducían y resaltaban su vinculación a los señores[32].

En efecto, los datos del Cuadro 2 —que muestran una casuística variada en el poblamiento— revelan la necesidad de analizar en cada espacio la incidencia que la actuación de los agentes repobladores tuvo sobre el campesinado andaluz. Para lograr ese objetivo hay que atender el complicado espectro de ese grupo social durante el siglo XIV. Ello implica que no debe ser interpretado como un conjunto homogéneo que respondiese de forma uniforme ante una serie de cambios políticos. Variables como los marcos jurisdiccionales, la extensión de las tierras recibidas o la incidencia de la guerra deben ser tenidas en cuenta a la hora de captar la "realidad histórica" del campesinado andaluz durante esa centuria.

4.1 La consolidación de los grandes concejos de realengo

Con el objeto de fortalecer la presencia castellana en los alfoces vinculados a los grandes concejos de realengo —Sevilla, Carmona, Écija o Jerez de la Frontera— se arbitraron medidas tendentes a la instalación de nuevos pobladores. Ese esfuerzo fue generando una nueva realidad social en la que los campesinos fueron adquiriendo un perfil cada vez más definido.

Al igual que ya se venía desarrollando desde las últimas décadas del siglo XIII, durante el XIV se fue acentuando la presión ejercida por miembros de las oligarquías urbanas hacia los campesinos. El sector sur de la campiña sevillana —que incluía a Los Molares, Torre del Bao, Coronil, Gómez Cardeña, Los Palacios, Villafranca, Cabezas de San Juan, Torre Alocaz y castillo de Cote— experimentó una reactivación del poblamiento durante los reinados de Alfonso XI y Enrique II, siendo los linajes más importantes de la nobleza urbana de Sevilla sus promotores. Por ejemplo, en 1371 Enrique II autorizaba a doña Leonor Pérez, viuda de Francisco Fernández de Sevilla para que poblase la Torre de Gómez Cardeña en la campiña sevillana con 20 vasallos. Para favorecer su

30. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV. Economía y sociedad*. Madrid: Síntesis, 2003: 161-174.

31. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Tierras realengas y tierras de señorío en Córdoba a finales de la Edad Media. Distribución geográfica y niveles de población", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, diciembre de 1976. Tomo 2, Andalucía Medieval*. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978: 295-308; Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Los Señoríos andaluces. Análisis de su evolución territorial en la Edad Media". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 6 (1979): 89-112; García Ferández, Manuel. *El reino de Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso XI (1312-1350)*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989: 77-118; González Jiménez, Manuel. "Colonización agraria en los Reinos de Córdoba y Sevilla", *La Andalucía Medieval: Actas de las I Jornadas de Historia Rural y Medio Ambiente (Almonte, 23-25 de Mayo de 2000)*, Javier Pérez-Embid, ed. Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva, 2002: 231-248, especialmente 245.

32. González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 92-93.

instalación, esos campesinos estaban libres de varios impuestos, excepto el de la moneda forera, y "de toda hueste e armada e de galeas". Sin embargo, la cercana presencia de la Frontera provocó su despoblación inmediata, entre el último cuarto del siglo XIV y el primero del XV[33].

Con un resultado parecido aunque con motivaciones bien diferentes, se encontraba el binomio formado por el concejo de Jerez y el castillo de Tempul. Conquistado ese enclave estratégico en 1309, fue cedido definitivamente a la ciudad por Alfonso XI en 1333. Aunque en el documento de cesión se explicitaba la necesidad de repoblar la zona, el concejo siempre se mostró reacio a ello. Si en un principio apostó por crear una zona de nadie para mantener alejada la Frontera de la Campiña, posteriormente esa decisión se fue convirtiendo en un argumento recurrente esgrimido por los señores de ganado atentos a sus intereses pecuarios[34]. La preponderancia, pues, de las actividades militares se fue imponiendo a las intenciones de los agentes repobladores, interesados en potenciar el poblamiento a través del desarrollo de la agricultura.

4.2 La instalación y consolidación del señorío jurisdiccional

Según indicábamos con anterioridad, el 33,10% de las empresas repobladoras emprendidas en Andalucía durante el siglo XIV correspondían a señores laicos y eclesiásticos. La Carta-Puebla constituía un instrumento jurídico frecuentemente utilizado. Su uso y funcionamiento por parte del cabildo catedral de Sevilla ha sido estudiado siguiendo los ejemplos de Sanlúcar de Albaida en 1302, Gatos en 1332 y Chillas en 1370. El cabildo generaba unas condiciones óptimas con la cesión de tierras y solares para la instalación de nuevos pobladores[35]. A través de ese mecanismo jurídico los grandes propietarios asentaban a los campesinos en sus tierras, mediante la entrega de pequeñas parcelas a perpetuidad a cambio de unas rentas en dinero y especie. Por ejemplo, el 5 de noviembre de 1313 el arzobispo de Sevilla don Fernando concedía una "carta puebla" a los pobladores de la aldea de Umbrete, en el Aljarafe. Los campesinos estaban obligados a plantar viñas "e figuerales de nueuo quanto más pudierdes labrar e poner", pagando la novena parte "de toda quanta huua ouierdes en las vinnas que pusierdes"[36].

El 7 de mayo de 1302, el cabildo catedralicio de Sevilla daba la aldea de Sanlúcar de Albaida en el Aljarafe a 28 pobladores. Aunque el documento impide conocer la categoría social de cada uno de ellos, es muy probable que procediesen de los sectores inferiores de la sociedad. Mientras que los campesinos recibían lotes de tierras de pan, olivar y viñas, el cabildo se reservaba una "suerte de la tierra de pan", el olivar de la cañada, la viña del Cabildo y las huertas. Junto a esos espacios, controlaba la carnicería, hornos, tabernas, tiendas, medidas y todo lo relativo al almojarifazgo. Además de la utilización de casas y establos, los nuevos pobladores podían construir edificios para asentarse.

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33. García Fernández, Manuel. "Nuevos datos sobre la Repoblación del sector sur de la campiña sevillana durante el siglo XIV", *La campiña sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV). Estudios sobre poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 31-48, especialmente 38, 43, 45-46 (doc. nº 1).

34. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural de Jerez de la Frontera. Territorio durante la Baja Edad Media*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2003: 120-134.

35. Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. *Propiedad y explotación de la tierra en la Sevilla de la Baja Edad Media. El patrimonio del Cabildo-Catedral*. Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1988: 322-334.

36. González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 112-114 (doc. nº 4); González Jiménez, Manuel. "Colonización agraria…": 244.

La vinculación entre el cabildo de la Catedral y los nuevos pobladores quedaba fijada mediante pagos en especies de los frutos obtenidos. En las tierras de pan, "el diezmo que deue auer la eglesia e el dozeno por terradgo de quanto Dios y diere". Por mantener y aumentar el olivar —a razón de "çinquenta pies de nueuo oliuar o de figueral" en cada suerte— el tercio del aceite que se hubiese extraído y la tercera parte de los higos recogidos, "passados en el almixar". El cabildo cedía un molino de aceite durante "este anno primero" y se comprometía, si fuese necesario, a aumentarlos a dos. Por trabajar en las viñas, que habían sido repartidas a razón de 2 aranzadas por cada campesino, pagarían "de la vua el diezmo de la eglesia, forro de toda costa, en el lagar e el dozeno por terradgo en el lagar". Además de todo lo anterior, debían satisfacer el diezmo *e todas las cosas que criáredes* y 150 maravedíes anuales "para vna yantar". Aparte de estas tierras, podían acudir con sus ganados a la dehesa "para los bueyes e exido para las bestias"[37]. Los campesinos eran usufructuarios de lotes de tierras y pagaban un canon de los frutos obtenidos, no podían acceder a los molinos de aceite y lagares. Las condiciones fijadas exigían no sólo el mantenimiento de los espacios cultivados sino también la roturación de nuevas zonas.

Otra zona geográfica, con sus particularidades, fue la villa de Medina Sidonia en la campiña gaditana. Los dos repartimientos de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, permiten conocer una realidad diferente y distintas soluciones que buscaban el mismo objetivo: asentar a la población y poner en explotación un espacio rural[38].

El reparto de 1346 fue auspiciado por doña Leonor de Guzmán y estaba vinculado al proceso repoblador y organizador que afectó a esta localidad entre 1344 y 1348. Los pobladores —que aparecían encuadrados en "ciudadanos, ballesteros y peones"— debían atender la defensa de la villa y de su alfoz. Desde ese punto de vista, el repartimiento mantenía la misma tónica que los realizados durante la segunda mitad del XIII. El texto —que arroja un volumen de 310 pobladores— ilustra la jerarquización social en la distribución de riqueza de la época: en las tierras de pan, los "ciudadanos" recibieron entre 2 y 3 yugadas, los "ballesteros", entre 1 y 2 y los "peones", 1. Por su parte, el reparto del viñedo mantenía la misma división: 4 aranzadas para los "ciudadanos", 2 para los "ballesteros" y 1,5 para los "peones".

La presencia cercana de la Frontera en las tierras gaditanas explica sobradamente el predominio de una estructura social tan militarizada. El 43,93% de la población se incluía dentro de la categoría sociomilitar de los peones, que, además de cumplir con las funciones defensivas, se dedicaban a trabajos rurales.

El segundo reparto se realizaba en 1379, cuando la villa de Medina Sidonia pertenecía al infante don Enrique, hijo bastardo del monarca Enrique II y doña Juana de Souza. En esa ocasión se registraron 91 pobladores que recibieron tierras ubicadas en zonas que no habían sido roturadas en el reparto anterior. Se distribuyeron 3.655,83 hectáreas de pan sin que se repartiesen viñas. Se mantenían las divisiones jerárquicas en función de las categorías socio-militares de los pobladores. Así, mientras que los "ciudadanos" recibieron 3 yugadas de tierras y 2 los "ballesteros", el peón adquiría 1.

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37. González Jiménez, Manuel. *La repoblación*…: 94-98; Ostos, Pilar; Pardo, María Luisa. *Documentos y notarios de Sevilla en el siglo XIV (1301-1350)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003: 74-80 (doc. nº 7).

38. Aunque ha desaparecido el que tuvo que realizarse en los años sesenta del siglo XIII, para el XIV se han conservado los de 1346, 1379 y, para el XV, el de 1459: *El Libro del Repartimiento de Medina Sidonia. Estudio y edición*, eds. Laureano Rodríguez Liáñez, Ana María Anasagasti Valderrama. Cádiz: Caja de Ahorro, 1987: 34-35, 61.

Aunque en este segundo reparto se mantenía el mismo esquema social, merece, la pena reseñar el sensible incremento experimentado por el grupo de los peones, que constituía el 58,92% de los pobladores que recibieron tierras. La explicación vuelve a incidir en la necesidad de buscar fórmulas para afianzar el proceso repoblador, acentuado por la obligación de defender el espacio mediante las armas.

4.3 La Frontera con el reino de Granada

La Frontera se presenta al medievalista como un factor determinante a la hora de estudiar la "realidad histórica" del campesinado andaluz durante el siglo XIV, ya que el reino de Sevilla soportó las consecuencias derivadas de los conflictos bélicos, materializadas en asaltos a los recursos económicos[39].

La Frontera ejerció un poder de atracción ante las posibilidades de mejora social y, al mismo tiempo, fue motivo de abandono ante los peligros existentes. Planteado en esos términos, su presencia no debe ser interpretada en una única dirección sino como un escenario con una dinámica propia en el que hay que reflexionar sobre el impacto real que la guerra tuvo en las condiciones de vida del campesinado. Nuevamente hay que considerar las peculiaridades de cada zona y relacionarlas con períodos concretos. Así, conforme un espacio se encuentra más alejado de la Frontera, las devastaciones y prestaciones militares que debían satisfacer los campesinos se irían atenuando, siendo, en algunas ocasiones, mínimas o, incluso, nulas. Por el contrario, si prestamos atención a localidades ubicadas en sus cercanías, observamos que esos factores no sólo fueron significativos sino que se convirtieron en el eje principal sobre el que gravitó la repoblación. Fue en ese contexto donde cuajaron los privilegios recibidos por varios concejos andaluces con el objeto de garantizar y afianzar su poblamiento. La carta-puebla de El Puerto de Santa María (1281) inauguraba un modelo del que derivaron las de Tarifa (1295), Gibraltar (1310) y Olvera (1327); se trataba del llamado "derecho de frontera". Esa línea de actuación desembocaba en 1333 cuando Alfonso XI —"por razón que la nuestra villa de Tarifa está muy cerca de los moros e ha menester muchas gentes para defendimiento de ella"— concedía el privilegio de perdón para los homicidas y delincuentes que fuesen a servir y morar en ella durante "un anno e un día todavía continuadamente"[40].

En esas ocasiones, las funciones eminentemente militares del campesinado afloraban con relativa frecuencia en la documentación. La militarización de la sociedad andaluza, en general, y del campesinado, en particular, tuvo unos efectos directos en las condiciones de vida de los campesinos que habitaban los territorios más próximos y, por tanto, peligrosos al reino de Granada. Ya hemos analizado su incidencia mediante el ejemplo fallido de repoblación en la Torre de Gómez Cardeña o de los repartos efectuados en la villa de Medina Sidonia.

La presencia de la Frontera y su incidencia sobre el poblamiento aún se mantenía vigente en las primeras décadas del siglo XV. Por ejemplo, hace unos años se publicaba un ajuste de cuentas del recaudador de las alcabalas de pan y aceite de Sevilla. El texto gira en torno a los maravedíes de rentas recibidos de las alcabalas de Aroche, Constantina, Aljarafe y Ribera y de las monedas procedentes de esos lugares durante los años 1402-1403 y 1408-1410. El importe de esas cantidades

39. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 157.

40. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. "Privilegios y franquicias de Tarifa". *Hispania*, 16 (1957): 3-78 (doc. nº 4), 22-24, 31-35 (doc. nº 10); González Jiménez, Manuel. "La creación del derecho local y territorial andaluz. De Alfonso X a los Reyes Católicos". *Initium*, 9 (2004): 127-222, especialmente 146-165.

fue distribuido en las pagas del vecindario de las localidades de Tarifa y Teba[41]. Con posterioridad y a partir de esa información, se ha valorado el papel de los "pobladores-soldados" en esas villas fronterizas en los primeros años del siglo XV. Los datos muestran una estructura social claramente volcada hacia las actividades militares. Por ejemplo, en los años 1402 y 1403 la estructura social de Tarifa —con una población de 500 vecinos— se desglosaba en 80 vecinos de "a caballo", 200 ballesteros y 220 lanceros[42]. Situación que, evidentemente, no debe sorprender si se relaciona, por un lado, con la cercana presencia de la Frontera de Granada y, por otro, si se tiene en cuenta la tradicional funcionalidad militar que había tenido ese enclave desde 1292.

4.4 El perfil del campesinado andaluz durante el siglo XIV

El proceso repoblador y la aplicación de diversas fórmulas de explotación de la tierra fue generando una nueva realidad social en la que el perfil del campesino fue adquiriendo un papel cada vez más nítido. Así, mientras que en espacios sensiblemente fronterizos, como por ejemplo Medina Sidonia o Tarifa, el componente militar continuaba prevaleciendo en la vida diaria de ese grupo social, en otras zonas del reino de Sevilla, con una situación política más estable, iban emergiendo diferentes categorías en función de las actividades rurales desarrolladas.

En los años centrales del siglo XIV el veinticuatro sevillano Fernán García de Santillán era el propietario del donadío de Santillán en la campiña. Gracias al cuaderno de cuentas de su hacienda, que abarca desde 1358 a 1366, sabemos que los campesinos estaban divididos entre los que vivían en la explotación y los que acudían al donadío en determinadas épocas del año y que residían en las Casas de "Cogederas y Gañanes". Las expresiones utilizadas —"hombres a soldada y a jornal"— ya denotaban relaciones contractuales en los trabajos rurales. Cobraban en metálico y en especie, mientras que las aniagas se hacían efectivas en trigo y aceite, fundamentalmente. Aparecían catalogados en función de la actividad agraria que realizaban. Mientras que los "gañanes" se dedicaban a faenas diversas en la explotación, los "boyeros" se empleaban fundamentalmente en trabajos relacionados con la labranza. Junto a ellos, los "caseros" se encargaban de las actividades vinculadas con la propiedad, los "aperadores" y "mesegueros", vigilaban las tierras de cereal e impedían la entrada del ganado, los "encapachadores" o los "engrasadores" atendían las labores propias en los molinos de aceite. Aun siendo muy escasa la información relativa al instrumental agrario, si se exceptuamos el arado, las menciones aludían, de forma genérica, a "herramientas", "aperos" o "pertrechos"[43].

5. Las transformaciones del campesinado durante el siglo XV

Según Guy Bois tres grandes argumentos deben primar en la interpretación de la vertiente social de la Gran Depresión bajomedieval: la fractura social provocada por la marginación de la

41. Vilaplana, María Asunción. "Un ajuste de cuentas del alcabalero mayor de Sevilla Pedro Ortiz (1420)". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 1 (1974): 417-501.

42. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *La Frontera entre los Reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 330-331.

43. Collantes De Terán, Antonio. "Un modelo andaluz de explotación agraria bajomedieval", *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas: celebradas en Santiago de Compostela del 24 al 27 de abril de 1973*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1975: II, 135-154, 136-140.

pobreza, el debilitamiento de las funciones tradicionales de las élites rectoras y la creciente precarización del mundo laboral. Esa situación motivó que el edificio social, asentado en un "cierto consenso" se fuese progresivamente diluyendo y que hubiese un "repliegue de cada capa social a sus propios intereses. Y la violencia, naturalmente, encuentra ahí su mejor terreno"[44].

Andalucía Occidental, por su posición cercana al Estrecho de Gibraltar, se encuentra en un lugar privilegiado para el desarrollo de actividades comerciales. El triángulo comercial constituido por Sevilla, Sanlúcar de Barrameda y la Bahía de Cádiz propició la consolidación e instalación de colonias de comerciantes extranjeros, especialmente genoveses, en aquellos núcleos de población[45]. Ese proceso fue generando una importante renovación económica, especialmente llamativa en los mercados y la tierra. Las inversiones de esos comerciantes en la compra de tierras relacionadas con los cultivos especulativos constituyen un buen índice para cuantificar su magnitud, en la medida de lo posible.

El campesinado no se mantuvo al margen de esa efervescencia económica y social experimentando cambios en su relación con los estratos superiores y, también, en su composición. Jacques Le Goff ha llamado la atención sobre los importantes efectos sociales derivados de la movilidad de la mano de obra y de la libertad de trabajo constatable desde el siglo XI[46]. Movilidad, tensiones, empobrecimiento, caracterizaron el amplio espectro del campesinado andaluz durante esa centuria. Mientras que el desarrollo del viñedo había posibilitado la consolidación de un campesinado que fue encontrando en ese cultivo una base desde la que afrontar la situación, los sectores más desfavorecidos sufrieron los efectos de las crisis agrarias y paulatinamente fueron aumentando los niveles de pobreza y engrosando las filas de los descontentos en las ciudades y villas andaluzas.

5.1 Las nuevas poblaciones: los repartos y roturaciones de tierras

Desde finales del XV a finales del XVI se ha observado un movimiento constante de campesinos desde el centro hacia la periferia[47]. Una movilidad que debe ser valorada en su justa medida y que constituye un signo de identidad de las tierras andaluzas. La creación de nuevas poblaciones permite visualizar esa dinámica mediante la instalación de campesinos. Si para el XIV sobresalen Luque y Villafranca, en el reino de Córdoba, Aldehuela e Iruela, en el de Jaén, y Robaina, Los Palacios, Palos o el Coronil en el de Sevilla, la nómina se acrecienta considerablemente en el siglo XV. Se han documentado nuevas poblaciones en el reino de Jaén —como las de Pegalajar y Puerto de Muradal, aunque este último no llegase a prosperar— en el de Córdoba —entre las que cabe recordar las de Villanueva del Duque, Blázquez, Granjuela, Valsequillo, Doña Mencía, Monturque o Posadas— y en el de Sevilla —integrada por Villamartín, El Garrobo, San Juan del Puerto, Hinojales, Puente

44. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 119.

45. Heers, Jacques. "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV: orígenes, grupos, solidaridades", *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. Sevilla 8/10 de abril de 1981*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1982: 419-444; D´Arienzo, Luisa. "Le relaçión tra Genova e Códice fra il XIII e il XV secolo", *La Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico: siglos XIII-XV. Jornadas celebradas en Cádiz, 1-4 de abril de 2003*, Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, eds. Cádiz-Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación de Cádiz-Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006: 733-745; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Nuevos datos sobre la población y los genoveses en la ciudad de Cádiz. Una relectura del padrón de vecinos de 1467". *En la España Medieval*, 29 (2006): 187-223.

46. Le Goff, Jacques; Schmitt, Jean Claude, eds. *Diccionario razonado del Occidente Medieval*. Tres Cantos: Akal, 2003: 781-789, especialmente 748.

47. Ruiz, Teófilo F. *Historia social de España, 1400-1600*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2002: 53.

de Viar, Campillos, Puerto Real, Pero Mingo, Tejada, Villafranca de la Marisma, Fuentecubierta, Paradas, El Almendro, Villarasa, Valverde, Puebla de Guzmán, Chipiona, Cartaya, San Miguel del Arca del Buey, Puebla de Cazalla, Aljaraque y Paterna de Rivera—[48].

En algunas ocasiones los "sistemas concejiles" se limitaron a corregir y, en otras muchas, a alentar una dinámica pobladora forjada en el seno de grupos de campesinos. En la campiña gaditana, en 1483 un número indeterminado de "presonas estranjeras, asy commo pescadores commo otros" se estaban instalando en las inmediaciones del molino de Juan de Xerez, cerca del Guadalete, para poblar ese espacio y edificar casas. Aunque la información es escueta, parece tratarse de un movimiento protagonizado por los segmentos inferiores de la sociedad. La política desplegada por el concejo jerezano, más preocupado por salvaguardar los intereses pecuarios, impidió que ese núcleo llegase a prosperar[49].

Un resultado que contrasta con otros movimientos campesinos en otras zonas andaluzas. Así, por ejemplo, en el condado de Niebla los señores "siguieron una política muy activa de repoblación interior" durante el siglo XV. Ésta —materializada en Villarrasa, Rociana, Campo de Andévalo, La Puebla de Guzmán y Villanueva de las Cruces— gravitó en torno a la defensa y crecimiento de cada uno de los alfoces, al desarrollo de las actividades pecuarias y a la apuesta por el viñedo[50].

Durante el siglo XV hubo un acusado crecimiento de la agricultura en la corona de Castilla[51]. Tanto los repartos como las roturaciones de tierras constituyeron un amplio proceso, iniciado durante el siglo XIV y mantenido en el siguiente, con notables repercusiones para el campesinado. En Andalucía, algunos ejemplos conocidos y bien estudiados aportan información valiosa al respecto y muestran las transformaciones ocasionadas por el cultivo del cereal en zonas destinadas hasta entonces a pastos o bosques. En la campiña jienense, en 1508 la corona castellana había iniciado un interesante proceso repoblador —Campillo de Arenas, Valdepeñas, Los Villares, La Mancha y Ortiñar— que, en su conjunto, llegó a movilizar a 800 campesinos instalados en 7 poblaciones, algunas de ellas de nueva creación[52]. En la Bahía de Cádiz, la villa de Puerto Real, núcleo de población fundado por los Reyes Católicos en el alfoz jerezano en 1483, constituye un caso paradigmático. Los campesinos que acudieron, recibieron tierras para plantar árboles y viñas. "E quien no lo fysiere" —según la carta de fundación de los Reyes Católicos fechada en el año 1483— "que pierda los suelos e se pueda dar e den a otros con las mismas condiciones". A esos bienes también había que añadir los 200 tajos de salinas que recibieron en concepto de heredamiento[53].

En relación con las roturaciones de tierras, aportan las claves, junto con las usurpaciones de comunales, para entender el incremento de la producción de cereal, con el consiguiente aumento

48. Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Nuevas poblaciones del siglo XV en el Reino de Sevilla". *Cuadernos de Historia*, 7 (1977): 283-336, especialmente 286-287, 319-320; Collantes de Terán, Antonio. "Los efectivos humanos", *Historia de Andalucía. III, Andalucía del Medievo a la Modernidad (1350-1504)*, Manuel González Jiménez, José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, eds. Madrid-Barcelona: Cupsa-Planeta, 1980: 90-91.

49. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural*…: 160-161.

50. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Niebla de Reino a Condado. Noticias sobre el Algarbe andaluz en la Baja Edad Media*. Huelva: Diputación Provincial, 1992: 73-79.

51. García De Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural*…: 212-223; Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía a fines*…: 29-36. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. *La Baja Edad Media*…: 186-191.

52. Rodríguez Molina, José. *El Reino de Jaén*…: 29; Quesada Quesada, Tomás. *El paisaje rural de la campiña de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media según los Libros de las dehesas*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1994: 39-49.

53. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La identidad rural*…: 160-166; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Salinas y explotaciones salineras en la Bahía de Cádiz a finales de la Edad Media", *Congreso Internacional Las Salinas de interior en la Historia: economía, medioambiente y sociedad. Sigüenza (Guadalajara), 6-10 de Septiembre 2006*, en prensa.

de la población, en la Andalucía del siglo XV. De manera oficial o clandestina, todos los sectores de la sociedad bajomedieval castellana participaron de forma activa en ese proceso[54]. Vinculado a ello se encuentran los repartos de tierras efectuados entre la población campesina. Un proceso que resulta importante por el volumen de tierras entregadas, según se desprende de los datos que conocemos. En la campiña jerezana se ha conservado documentación de finales del siglo XV sobre el mecanismo seguido, lo que permite profundizar en su desarrollo. Como se aprecia en el Cuadro 4, en 1496 se repartieron 83 caballerías de tierras —alrededor de 4.980 aranzadas, unas 2.191,2 hectáreas— entre 43 campesinos, a razón de 2 caballerías de tierras por individuo. Cada campesino recibía un lote de tierra con una superficie que oscilaba entre 110 y 120 aranzadas.

Cuatro años después, 41 campesinos también recibían lotes de tierras. Se trataba de un importante esfuerzo roturador de zonas con un alto valor pecuario, ya que se trataban de los "echos" de Torrecera, Adelfoso, Doña Benita, Fuente del Rey, Ojo de Adelfoso y Guadalbacar[55].

Tras la incorporación de Gibraltar a la jurisdicción realenga, la corona castellana preparó un repartimiento de tierras. Con una población estimada de 320 ó 330 vecinos, se elaboró un proyecto que incluía 500 nuevos pobladores entre los que se distribuyó "parte de los echos e términos que tiene la dicha çibdad". El reparto incluía 150 caballeros y 350 labradores, ganaderos y hombres de mar. Mientras que al caballero se le asignaba 1 caballería, equivalente a 40 fanegas de tierra, el peón recibía ½ caballería. Junto al suelo en la ciudad para construir vivienda, se permitía que plantasen viñas y huertas en los baldíos[56].

5.2 El desarrollo de la ganadería

Sabemos que las actividades ganaderas experimentaron un crecimiento significativo en muchas regiones del Occidente europeo durante el siglo XV. Su desarrollo corrió de forma pareja a la consolidación de la nobleza como fuerza económica y el establecimiento de la Frontera facilitó una actividad que resultaba más fácil de proteger ante los peligros de las incursiones procedentes del reino de Granada[57].

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54. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel; González Jiménez, Manuel. *Diezmo eclesiástico y producción de cereales en el reino de Sevilla (1408-1503)*. Sevilla: Departamento de Historia Medieval de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1979; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Los derechos sobre la tierra en el sector centro-oriental de la Extremadura Castellana. Uso y abuso a fines de la Edad Media". *Meridies. Revista de Historia Medieval*, 3 (1996): 29-49, especialmente 40-48; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Usurpaciones de comunales: conflicto social y disputa legal en Ávila y su Tierra durante la Baja Edad Media". *Historia Agraria*, 24 (2001): 89-122, especialmente 92-101; González Jiménez, Manuel. "Andalucía Bética", *Organización social del espacio en la España Medieval. La Corona de Castilla en los siglos VIII a XV*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 188-189; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La demografía en el sur peninsular durante el siglo XV: Andalucía Occidental, un área en expansión". *Studia*, 47 (1989): 169-179, especialmente 170, 178-179; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La organización del paisaje rural durante la Baja Edad Media. El ejemplo de Jerez de la Frontera*. Sevilla-Cádiz: Universidad de Sevilla-Universidad de Cádiz, 2004: 118-123.

55. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *El mundo rural jerezano a fines de la Edad Media*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz (tesis doctoral): 20.

56. Cano De Gardoqui, José L.; Bethencourt, Antonio de. "Incorporación de Gibraltar a la corona de Castilla (1436-1508)". *Hispania*, 103 (1966): 325-381, especialmente 344, 365-367 (doc. nº 1).

57. Mínguez Fernández, José María. "Ganadería, aristocracia y Reconquista en la Edad Media castellana". *Hispania*, 151 (1982): 341-354, especialmente 352-353; Mínguez Fernández, José María. "Feudalismo y concejos. Aproximación metodológica al análisis de las relaciones sociales en los concejos medievales castellanos-leoneses". *En la España Medieval*, 2 (1982): 109-122, especialmente 112-113; Mínguez Fernández, José María. *Las sociedades feudales. 1. Antecedentes, formación y expansión (siglos VI al XIII)*. Madrid: Nerea, 1994: 291-292; Gerbet, Marie-Claude. *La ganadería medieval en la Península Ibérica*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2003: 34-37; Gerbet, Marie-Claude. "Noblesse et élevage dans la Couronne de Castille a la fin du Moyen-Age", *La Nobleza Peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales*. Ávila: Funda-

El estudio de los sectores sociales que trabajaban en la ganadería aporta claves para profundizar en la estructura social del campesinado. Incluso se ha elaborado modelos sociales a partir de la posesión de cabezas de ganado como criterio para agrupar a la población campesina en Andalucía. Así, mientras el ganado boyal y asnal estaban muy extendidos por su utilidad en las labores agrícolas, el ganado menor estaba menos distribuido entre la población pechera. Normalmente lo poseía un sector de la sociedad que disponía de recursos económicos suficientes para su cría y posterior comercialización[58].

Sin embargo, otras investigaciones arrojan datos que proponen otro esquema al anteriormente dibujado. Resultan interesantes las reflexiones vertidas sobre el papel y las "situaciones contradictorias" de los pequeños propietarios de ganado estante en los reinos de Jaén y Córdoba. Por ejemplo, mientras que en la pesquisa realizada en 1511 por el concejo de Jaén entre un grupo de pequeños y medianos campesinos con el objeto de incluirlos en el grupo de los caballeros de cuantía, no se ha localizado ganado en los inventarios de sus propiedades, la documentación notarial de Úbeda muestra varios ejemplos de transacciones económicas en la que participaron pequeños ganaderos[59]. Nuevamente, por tanto, constatamos la necesidad de manejar conclusiones fundamentadas en la variedad y pluralidad territorial de Andalucía.

Obviamente, un segmento incluido dentro del grupo de los "Peones" se dedicaba a actividades pecuarias. Según el estudio comparativo de las Ordenanzas Municipales, los pastores, vinculados a un rabadán o conocedor de ganado[60], eran trabajadores que cuidaban de un rebaño, una actividad que se equiparaba a la de cabrero, vaquero o ganadero[61]. Las Ordenanzas promulgadas por el duque de Medina Sidonia para Huelva y el condado de Niebla en 1504, regulaban las actividades de la comunidad de pastores[62]. En algunas zonas se les prohibía llevar "caldera que sea sana" entre los días de San Juan y San Cebrián[63].

Los contratos de "guarda e pastoradgo" aportan información sobre este grupo social[64]. En la campiña jerezana y en relación con el ganado vacuno, el tiempo de los contratos era de un año, si se firmaba en julio o agosto, y seis meses, si se escrituraba en noviembre o diciembre. Durante ese

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ción Sánchez Albornoz, 1999: 171-196, especialmente 173-174; Asenjo González, María. *Espacio y sociedad en la Soria Medieval (Siglos XIII-XV)*. Soria: Diputación Provincial de Soria, 1999: 259-261; Rodríguez-Picavea, Enrique. *La formación del feudalismo en la meseta meridional castellana. Los señoríos de la Orden de Calatrava en los siglos XII-XIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1994: 8-13, 176-188; Argente Del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval andaluza. Siglos XIII-XVI (Reinos de Jaén y Córdoba)*. Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 1991: II, 362; Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. *La ganadería en el Reino de Sevilla durante la Baja Edad Media*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1998: 99-105; López Martínez, Antonio Luis. *Ganaderías de lidia y ganaderos. Historia y economía de los toros de lidia en España*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002: 177-178, 251-255; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La organización del paisaje rural…*

58. Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. *La ganadería…*: 346-347; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Pastores, carreteros y arrieros", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica. La sociedad castellana a finales del siglo XV*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, coord. Madrid: Dykinson, 2004: 219-227.

59. Argente Del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval…*: I, 219-225.

60. Galán Parra, Isabel. "Las Ordenanzas de 1504 para Huelva y el Condado de Niebla". *Huelva en su Historia. Miscelánea Histórica*, 3 (1990): 107-174, especialmente 167-168.

61. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena 1528. Estudio y edición*, ed. Mercedes Borrero Fernández, Manuel García Fernández. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla-Área de Cultura, Archivo y Biblioteca del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2001: 97-98 (título IV, 4), 110-111 (título VIII, 3), 112 (título VIII, 6), 113 (título VIII, 7), 126-127 (título XI, 1); *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer (1538)*, ed. María Luisa Pardo Rodríguez. Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2003: 59 (título LXI).

62. Galán Parra, Isabel. "Las Ordenanzas de 1504…": 167-168.

63. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena…*: 137 (título XV, 2).

64. Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Pastores…": 220-222.

tiempo, los vaqueros agrupaban varios hatos: así, por ejemplo, en 1414 el vaquero Antón Martín de Sanlúcar, acordaba con varios "labradores" la guarda de sus animales: en concreto 128 cabezas de ganado de Francisca Martínez, mujer de Bartolomé Martínez de Alcalá, 37 de Fernando Gutiérrez de Alcalá y 13 de García, hijo de Pedro Díaz de Villanueva[65].

5.3 El desarrollo del viñedo

Una de las características principales del siglo XIV fue el inicio de la expansión de las viñas en Andalucía occidental[66]. La asociación entre campesinos y viñedo constituye un proceso diacrónico que, iniciado en la segunda mitad del XIII y mantenido en los siglos siguientes, tuvo como efecto la adquisición de pequeñas parcelas, ya sea a través de los repartimientos reales o concejiles, ya sea a través de contratos de plantación. Los pequeños propietarios —que desde la época de los grandes repartos poseían explotaciones integradas por algunas aranzadas de olivar, viña y cereal, con una extensión media entre 60 y 180 fanegas en Sevilla— pusieron en explotación sus tierras de forma directa y personal[67]. Y también, de forma directa y personal, tuvieron que soportar las consecuencias del "Fracaso de la Repoblación Oficial". Por otro lado, mediante la aplicación de contratos de plantación, algunas instituciones, como los monasterios sevillanos, contrataban a campesinos que no habían conseguido tierras en los repartos sevillanos pero que poseían capacidad suficiente para sufragar parte de los gastos del trabajo y utillaje de la explotación[68].

En el siglo XV se asistió a un proceso de consolidación de la gran propiedad a manos de la nobleza titulada, instituciones eclesiásticas y aristocracias urbanas[69]. En ese contexto la pequeña propiedad vitivinícola y el perfil tipo del campesinado propietario se vieron alterados por particiones testamentarias, ventas de tierras y fuerte endeudamiento campesino, que tuvo como resultado una "disminución de la extensión media de esos minifundios". Según Mercedes Borrero "el 70% de la población rural de la zona [sevillana] es propietaria de tierras de viña, aunque el conjunto de las mismas no superan las 2.000 hectáreas". Los estudios realizados sobre el particular, han estimado en 1,5 aranzadas la superficie media de esas explotaciones minifundistas vinícolas. En algunas ocasiones los campesinos poseían esas tierras en plena propiedad derivadas de repartos concejiles o compra-ventas. En otras, éstos sólo tenían las propiedades útiles o usufructuarias, entregadas por un propietario mediante un censo enfitéutico. Las diferencias sociales entre ambos tipos de campesinos derivadas de esos regímenes jurídicos eran nulas[70].

En la bahía gaditana se produjo un importante esfuerzo roturador centrado en el viñedo fechado desde el último cuarto del siglo XV y principios del XVI. En un extenso informe conservado en el Archivo General de Simancas, que cubre el período entre 1505 y 1511, se argumentaba que, debido a la abundancia de tierras baldías en el alfoz jerezano, se debía optar por "dar lugar para

65. Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera (AMJF), Protocolos Notariales (PN), Escribano Juan Martínez, Año 1414, fols. 173r; 173r-173v; 173v-174r; 174v.

66. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía durante la Baja Edad Media", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003: 239-284, especialmente 249.

67. González Jiménez, Manuel. *En torno a los orígenes*…: 120.

68. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía…": 251-252.

69. Montes Romero-Camacho, Isabel. *El paisaje rural sevillano en la Baja Edad Media*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1989; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Gran propiedad y estructura económica campesina. La Baja Andalucía entre el siglo XV y el XVI", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*…: 355-388, especialmente 359-360.

70. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La viña en Andalucía…": 255, 258, 259.

plantar vinnas" —dice el texto— "como se faze en tierra de Seuilla e Córodua o otras partes". En ese documento se indicaba que la extensión del viñedo en Jerez alcanzaba las 10.000 aranzadas, alrededor de 4.400 hectáreas[71]. Esa apuesta por el viñedo también se produjo en El Puerto de Santa María. Entre 1512 y 1523, por ejemplo, el veinticuatro jerezano Luis Ortiz de Gática dedicaba 205 aranzadas de tierra calma "para poner de viñas" en el haza de Santa María[72] o en 1512 la jerezana Leonor de Orbaneja, mujer de Juan Jiménez de Gática, había destinado 109 aranzadas para viñas en el pago de Los Tercios[73].

En Jerez de la Frontera hemos analizado 412 contratos de censos enfiteúticos durante el XV y el primer cuarto del XVI. El 77,42% de los contratos analizados se referían a propiedades con una superficie entre 1 y 4 aranzadas. Dos casos —las viñas de Antón de Cuenca y María de Argumedo— sirven de ejemplos para analizar esa zona. Antón de Cuenca y su mujer Juana Sánchez de Cuenca poseían 54 aranzadas, alrededor de 24 hectáreas, distribuidas entre la campiña jerezana y portuense. Las vinculaciones entre esos propietarios y sus campesinos tomaban carta de naturaleza mediante la emisión de censos enfitéuticos[74].

En el testamento de María de Argumedo, fechado el 23 de noviembre de 1522, se ordenaba que se constituyese una capellanía en la iglesia de San Lucas, "con çiertos vínculos e obligaciones". Los bienes que dejaba para el sostenimiento de esa capellanía fueron 2,5 aranzadas de olivar, en el pago de la Fuente de Pedro Díaz, y unas huertas, en Picadueñas[75]. El viñedo se desglosaba de la siguiente forma:

Como puede observarse en los Cuadros 5 y 6, la estructura de la propiedad de la tierra tenía su correlato en la relación entre el propietario y los grupos de campesinos. En efecto, los campesinos explotaban pequeños lotes de tierras y estaban vinculados al propietario mediante el pago de un censo o tributo en metálico. En un porcentaje elevado constituían minifundios de carácter familiar, lo que exigía desempeñar otra actividad o buscar una complementariedad económica. Así, el cuadro 6 aporta algunas indicaciones: de los 8 campesinos que figuran en la relación, 4 aparecen con su oficio, aguador, trabajador, molinero y hortelano. Una imagen que refuerza aún más el aspecto social de ese cultivo y su carácter complementario en las economías campesinas bajomedievales.

5.4 Los levantamientos campesinos

Los enfrentamientos entre señores y campesinos se produjeron en una época que conoció una situación económica especialmente dramática. En la *Historia de Xerez de la Frontera* de fray Esteban

71. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La crisis de 1503-1507 en Andalucía. Reflexiones a partir de Jerez de la Frontera", *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, Pere Benito i Monclús, eds. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007: 277-302.

72. AMJF. PN, Escribano Giraldo de Medina, Año 1512, fols. 470v-472r. Escribano Bartolomé Gil de Palencia, Año 1516, fols. 321r-323v; 325v-328r; 328r-331r; 376r-378r; 378v-379v; 380r-382r; 382r-384v; 385r-387r; 388r-391r; 391v-393v; s. f. Escribano Antón de Alarcón, Año 1516, fols.214r-214v; 261v-266r; 313r-314r; 322r-324v; 325v-328r; 329r-331r; 385r-387v; 376r-378r; 378v-380v; 381r-382r; 388r-390r; 391r-393v; 409r-411r. Escribano Rodrigo de Cazorla, Año 1516, fols. 409r-411r. Escribano Luis de Llanos, Año 1523, fols. 436v-439r.

73. AMJF. PN, Escribano Giraldo de Medina, Año 1512, fols. 3v-7v; 7v-10r; 11v-14r; 18r-22r; 35v-37v; 38v-40r; 40r-43v; 53r-56v; 57v-59r; 82r-84v; 85v-87r; 173v-175r.

74. Sobre Antón de Cuenca: Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales de Jerez de la Frontera*. Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 1996: I, 58; AMJF, PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, fols. 980r-981v; PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos Año 1513, s/f.

75. AMJF. PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, fols. 819r-822r, 859v-863r.

Rallón se describe la situación social de esa ciudad en 1463[76]. El relato de los hechos se sustenta en una relación de causalidad entre las crisis agrarias y los levantamientos populares. Un levantamiento social en una ciudad de realengo con un importante alfoz, dirigido por un tal Gómez e integrado por individuos, cuyos perfiles mal dibujados —por "gente", dice fray Esteban Rallón, "de pocas obligaciones"— apenas podemos intuir como procedentes de los niveles inferiores de la sociedad y en el que tuvieron que participar, también, los sectores más desfavorecidos del campesinado. En frente, el corregidor don Gonzalo de Ávila que, con la inestimable ayuda de "los caballeros, gente honrada y los oficiales del cabildo", supo frenar, sin aparente dificultad, el levantamiento.

Desde los estudios de Abel en Alemania o Postan y Hilton en Inglaterra, se ha insistido en que la economía agraria atravesó una etapa de contracción o fase B durante ese período. Con carácter general para Occidente, sus características han sido identificadas: descenso de la población, reducción del espacio cultivado, caída general de la producción y hundimiento de las rentas señoriales[77]. La *Gran Depresión* constituye el referente indispensable en el que insertar las transformaciones sustanciales experimentadas por la sociedad[78].

En ese nuevo escenario, los levantamientos campesinos bajomedievales tuvieron rasgos comunes que gravitaron en torno a cuestiones de libertad y servidumbre, a la capacidad de los campesinos para aprovechar las oportunidades generadas por las tensiones y a la formulación de demandas al amparo de la ideología imperante[79].

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76. "Por este tiempo no estaba nuestra ciudad menos inquieta. Era el año trabajoso, había mucha falta de pan, que suele dar atrevimiento a los que no lo tienen, para buscarlo y quitarlo de donde lo haya, aunque sea con violencia. Habíase criado en Xerez un mozo de demasiados alientos, muy valiente y de grande ánimo, llamado Gómez, cristiano viejo y de buena gente. Éste, forzado de la necesidad, levantó el pueblo, hizo junta de hambrientos a quien la necesidad oprimía, dióle nombre de Hermandad y juntos con esta cabeza, sacaban trigo de donde lo hallaban. Y como era gente de pocas obligaciones, se desmandó fácilmente a robar todo lo que se hallaban por delante, con violencia y poco respeto y aunque fuese en las casas principales. Con lo cual estaba la ciudad escandalizada y fue necesario que la nobleza se juntase con la justicia para ponerle remedio. El corregidor don Gonzalo de Ávila los acaudillaba y junto con los caballeros, gente honrada y los oficiales del cabildo, salieron con intento de prenderlos a todo riesgo. Supieron que estaban en la plaza del Arenal y caminando a ella apenas desembocaron por la Puerta del Real cuando la Hermandad se deshizo. Y luego cada uno por su parte, como gente de pocas obligaciones, unos por un lado y otros por otros, sin que quedaran ninguno. Gómez se retiró a San Miguel a retraerse. De allí le sacaron y luego le ahorcaron, pagando él por todos. Y lo hicieron cuartos. Y la ciudad quedó pacífica." Rallón, Fray Esteban. *Historia de la ciudad e Xerez de la Frontera y de los reyes que la dominaron desde su primera fundación*, ed. Emilio Martín Gutiérrez. Cádiz-Jérez de la Frontera: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz-Ayuntamiento de Jerez de la Frontera, 1997-2003: II, 289.

77. Abel, Wilhelm. *Crises agraires en Europe: XIIIe-XXe siècles*. París: Flammarion, 1973; Postan, Michael. *Ensayos sobre agricultura y problemas generales de la economía medieval*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1981, en el que se incluyen los trabajos más significativos de este autor; Hilton, Rodney. "Una crisis en el feudalismo", *El debate Brenner. Estructura de clases agrarias y desarrollo económico de la Europa preindustrial*, Trevor Henry Aston, Charles Harding Philpin, eds. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988: 144-163; Hilton, Rodney. *Conflicto de clases y crisis del feudalismo*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988; Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "Recesión económica y crisis social de Castilla en el siglo XIV", *Las crisis en la Historia. Sextas Jornadas de Estudios Históricos organizados por el Departamento de Historia Medieval, Moderna y Contemporánea de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1995: 33-55, especialmente 33; Brenner, Robert. "Estructura de clases agraria y desarrollo económico en la Europa Preindustrial", *El debate Brenner*…: 21-81; Bois, Guy. "Contra la ortodoxia neomalthusiana", *El debate Brenner*…: 131-143.

78. Iradiel Murugarren, Paulino. "La crisis bajomedieval…": 13-48; Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo*…: 172-198. El capítulo *La conciencia de clase*, es una reedición de su artículo: Astarita, Carlos. "¿Tuvo conciencia de clase el campesinado medieval?". *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 89-113; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Conflictos en el mundo rural…", *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV. Actas de la XIV Semana de Estudios Medievales. Nájera, 2003*, Juan Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2004: 49-80, especialmente 50; Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. *Justicia contra Señores. El mundo rural y la política en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial de la Universidad de Valladolid, 2004.

79. Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 35; Hilton, Rodney. *Siervos y liberados. Los movimientos campesinos medievales y el levantamiento inglés de 1381*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1984.

Aún no se ha realizado una catalogación sistemática de los levantamientos campesinos en Andalucía a pesar de constatarse varios ciclos de crisis agrarias —1463-1467, 1471-1474, 1503-1507 y 1521-1523— cuyas consecuencias afectaron a todos los sectores de la sociedad en mayor o menor medida. Un vacío que impide mostrar sus manifestaciones y conocer los vehículos de expresión utilizados. En cualquier caso, sabemos que las protestas campesinas fueron dirigidas y encauzadas por la élite del núcleo de población. Así, se han interpretado los movimientos surgidos en núcleos de realengo que progresivamente fueron señorializados o fueron segregadas de su alfoz y pasaron a la jurisdicción señorial, como fue el caso de Fuenteovejuna vinculada a Córdoba[80]. Por ejemplo, la política organizativa llevada a cabo por don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera en su señorío jurisdiccional durante el primer cuarto del siglo XVI se fue encontrando con la oposición, progresiva y sistemática, de los "sistemas concejiles" de Bornos, Alcalá de los Gazules, Espera y Tarifa. Enfrentamientos que desembocaron en acuerdos puntuales con los representantes de las comunidades campesinas[81]. Parece lógico, pues, pensar en la participación activa de grupos que defendían unos intereses, de alguna manera, perdidos tras la señorialización. Pero también, cabe especular sobre grupos de campesinos que actuaban como auténticos portavoces de los objetivos comunes a la comunidad campesina.

Varias líneas de investigaciones han centrando sus esfuerzos en analizar las "rebeliones de pequeña escala", lo que ha permitido matizar la interpretación sobre la efervescencia social en el Norte y Sur de Europa[82]. Un nuevo campo de análisis gira en torno a la conciencia crítica del campesinado que, actuando al margen del discurso dominante, se manifestaba mediante procedimientos de evasión, demoras deliberadas o sabotajes; en definitiva, según Paul Freedman, en movimientos de "no-cooperación que constituyen formas cotidianas de la resistencia campesina"[83]. Sin trasladamos ese modelo interpretativo a las tierras gaditanas, observamos cómo la pesquisa del marqués de Tarifa, iniciada el 7 de marzo de 1527, ya se había intentado con anterioridad pero sin mucho éxito. En efecto, "pareçe" —afirma el texto— "que començastes a haser lo contenido en mi mandamiento y que solamente reçibystes la declaraçión de diez y ocho vesinos desa dicha villa de los labradores y de treynta y çinco de los otros vesinos que no labran nin sienbran". Así pues, en un principio solamente 53 vecinos —el 8,64% de la población total estimada— acudieron a la llamada de su señor. Con independencia de ese contratiempo, su interés por conocer la predisposición de la villa sobre esta materia, generó una dinámica en la que quería involucrar a todos los sectores

80. Se trata de las villas de Gahete, Hinojosa, La Rambla, véase: Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna…*: 20-26.

81. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "La villa de Espera en la Baja Edad Media", *Estudios de la Universidad de Cádiz ofrecidos a la memoria del profesor Braulio Justel Calabozo*, Joaquín Bustamante Costa, Javier Martín Castellanos, Fernando Nicolás Velásquez Lasanta, eds. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz-Grupo de Investigación "Al-Andalus-Magreb", 1998: 455-476; Franco Silva, Alfonso. "La villa gaditana de Bornos en la Baja Edad Media", *En la Baja Edad Media (Estudios sobre señoríos y otros aspectos de la sociedad castellana entre los siglos XIV al XVI)*. Jaén: Servio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Jaén, 2000: 297-332; Fernández Gómez, Manuel. *Alcalá de los Gazules en las Ordenanzas del Marqués de Tarifa. Un estudio de legislación local en el Antiguo Régimen*. Alcaclá de los Gazules: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997; Cabral Chamorro, Antonio. *Propiedad comunal y repartos de tierras en Cádiz (siglos XV-XIX)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1995; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La configuración territorial del alfoz de Tarifa durante los siglos bajomedievales", *Tarifa en la Edad Media: Actas I Congreso de Historia Local, celebrado en Tarifa (Cádiz) del 9 al 11 de diciembre de 2004*. Tarifa: Publicaciones Ayuntamiento de Tarifa, 2005: 127-145, especialmente 135-138.

82. Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 22; Valdeón Baruque, Julio. *Los conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1975; Pastor, Reyna. *Resistencias y luchas campesinas…*; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio; Moros, Andrés. *Fuenteovejuna…*

83. Freedman, Paul. "La resistencia campesina…": 24; Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. *Justicia contra Señores…*: 35-180, especialmente 135-136.

con objeto de que "todos los vesinos desa villa digan y declaren en esto lo que les pareçe que será más provechoso de la comunidad desa villa". A pesar de su intención, solamente participaron 272 vecinos, alrededor de 1.360 habitantes. Sin embargo, la realidad debía ser otra ya que el conjunto de la población estaba integrado por 613 vecinos, unos 3.065 habitantes en 1534[84]. Por tanto, sólo llegaron a participar en la encuesta el 44,37% del total. Diferencias numéricas en tan corto margen de tiempo sólo explicables por la existencia de grupos opuestos al programa político desplegado por el marqués de Tarifa contrarios a participar en la investigación.

5.5 La relevancia de los grupos marginales

Determinadas bolsas de campesinos —incluidos, de forma genérica, en la categoría de "Peones"— resultaban incómodas a la corona y autoridades de los "sistemas concejiles" y fueron generando recelo y miedo en el imaginario colectivo de la sociedad[85]. Son muchas las alusiones a grupos de vagabundos en las ciudades y campos de Europa Occidental. Según Geremek, el desarrollo de los intercambios mercantiles-monetarios y las ciudades tuvieron una repercusión directa sobre las formas de pobreza e influyeron en "los procesos de diferenciación interna de la sociedad y sobre todo en la depauperación de algunos grupos"[86]. Un ejemplo entre muchos: en 1466 el concejo jerezano aprobaba unas Ordenanzas relativas a los campesinos sin propiedades en las que se les exigía que "se cojan a soldada e entren en ofiçios o se vayan desta çibdad" en un plazo máximo de tres días, reiterando que los que permaneciesen en la ciudad "biuan cada vno en su afán e serviçio"[87].

Un segmento, marginado socialmente, que fue en aumento y que se fue nutriendo con individuos procedentes de los sectores inferiores del campesinado debido a su intensa proletarización. Guy Bois ha reflexionado sobre la incidencia que la generalización de la pobreza tuvo en la fractura social durante *Gran Depresión Medieval*. Los mecanismos de pauperización procedían, en el orden económico, del "paro endémico" y, en el orden fiscal, del incremento del sistema impositivo vinculado a la guerra. Una nueva pobreza caracterizada por la amplitud del fenómeno, por su exclusión social debido a la relajación de los mecanismos de asistencia, por la confluencia con grupos violentos y por la oposición manifestada por el poder[88]. Además, durante el siglo XV y el primer cuarto del XVI hubo un fuerte proceso de endeudamiento de la sociedad campesina debido a las malas cosechas y al alza de los precios. Su presencia contribuyó a polarizar la sociedad, entre los "labradores ricos", que actuaban como acreedores, y los "campesinos pobres", que aparecían como deudores[89].

La situación de empobrecimiento del campesinado en Andalucía ha sido puesta de relieve en varias investigaciones[90]. Por ejemplo, entre 1316 y 1347 el alcalde de Sevilla Pedro Martínez, com-

84. Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. "La población del reino de Sevilla en 1534". *Cuadernos de Historia. Anexos de la Revista Hispania. Andalucía, de la Edad Media a la Moderna*, 7 (1977): 337-355, especialmente 350-351.

85. Delumeau, Jean. *El miedo en Occidente. (Siglos XIV-XVIII). Una ciudad sitiada*. Madrid: Taurus, 2001: 296-304.

86. Geremek, Bronislaw. *La piedad y la horca. Historia de la miseria y de la caridad en Europa*. Madrid: Alianza, 1989: 23-134, especialmente 87; Geremek, Bronislaw. *La estirpe de Caín. La imagen de los vagabundos y de los pobres en las literaturas europeas de los siglos XV al XVII*. Madrid: Mondadori, 1991: 295-368.

87. AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1466, fol. 41r.

88. Bois, Guy. *La Gran Depresión*…: 119-128.

89. Spufford, Meter. *Dinero y moneda en la Europa Medieval*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991: 434.

90. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "Reconquista, repoblación…": 23-26; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "La gran propiedad en Carmona…": 244.

praba pequeños lotes de tierras de cereal a campesinos empobrecidos de la aldea de Torre Alocaz[91]. Mercedes Borrero ha estudiado la falta de liquidez del campesinado sevillano entre finales del XV y comienzos del XVI. Así, según se desprende de los datos de las declaraciones fiscales, "el nivel económico más débil, que declara cuantías entre 1.000 y 10.000 maravedíes, concentra en la década de los años 80 del siglo XV a poco más de un tercio de la población, mientras que en las primeras décadas del XVI agrupa nada menos que al 80% de la misma"[92]. Los efectos de la subida de los precios del trigo en 1502 en Jerez de la Frontera había provocado que "los pobres e miserables presonas resçiben mucha fatiga. Y para mantener sus mugeres e fijos les convenía aver de vender sus faziendas"[93].

Una realidad social, que desde un punto de vista cualitativo, también se desprendía en las declaraciones de los testigos que participaron en la pesquisa del marqués de Tarifa en 1527 deslizándose valoraciones sobre ese endeudamiento[94].

6. Categorías sociales del campesinado a finales de la Edad Media

Este estudio, atento a la variedad de espacios y regiones, no puede esconder la multiplicidad de realidades asociadas al concepto genérico de "labrador", que, de forma automática, asociamos al de campesino, un término que no llegó a cristalizar hasta el siglo XVIII en la lengua castellana[95].

El estudio comparativo de las Ordenanzas Municipales permite una primera aproximación a la realidad económica que se escondía tras este concepto. Sabemos que los *Labradores* eran propietarios de eras y cortijos[96], heredades y "panes"[97], dehesas[98], riciales[99] y tierras en general[100]. Pero, también, que ese vocablo aludía a los propietarios de "ganados mayores"[101], como el ganado vacuno[102], bueyes, yeguas, rocines[103] y puercos[104]. Junto a esos bienes, poseían herramientas de trabajo,

91. García Fernández, Manuel. *El reino de Sevilla*…: 315.

92. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Efectos del cambio económico en el ámbito rural. Los sistemas de crédito en el campo sevillano (Fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI)", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003: 27-63, especialmente 34.

93. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La crisis de 1503-1507…", en prensa.

94. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Grupos e identidades campesinas a finales de la Edad Media. La pesquisa del Marqués de Tarifa del año 1527", en prensa.

95. Fontana, Joseph. "Los campesinos en la Historia: reflexiones sobre un concepto y unos prejuicios". *Historia Social*, 28 (1997): 3-11.

96. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 100 (título V, 3).

97. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras Ordenanzas del Puerto de Santa María", *Estudios sobre Ordenanzas Municipales (Siglos XIV-XVI)*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1998: 221-245, especialmente 235.

98. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 126-127 (título XI, 1); *Ordenanzas de Espera 1527*: 100 (título LV).

99. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 134 (título XIII, 6).

100. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *Olvera en la Baja Edad Media (Siglos XIV-XV)*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1988: 204-224, 215-216 (LXXVIII).

101. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras Ordenanzas del Puerto…": 236-237.

102. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: (título XI, 3).

103. *Ordenanzas Municipales de la villa de Cantillana (1550)*, ed. María Antonia Carmona Ruiz. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Cantillana-Concejalía de Cultura, 1996: 51 (capítulo XLIV); *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer*…: 62 (título LXXII).

104. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *Olvera*…: XI, 206.

como los arados[105]. Ese indiscutible predominio económico, les permitía contratar a segadores y jornaleros[106]. Incluso, algunas Ordenanzas Municipales aludían a que tenían privilegio en el almotacenazgo[107].

Entendemos, pues, que el término genérico de "labrador" se fue dotando de contenido conforme la sociedad medieval fue creciendo económica y socialmente, al mismo tiempo que fue consolidando las vinculaciones verticales y horizontes entre sus diferentes grupos[108]. Así, por ejemplo, en 1527 los vecinos de Tarifa —obligados a acudir a declarar ante una comisión sobre si convenía "en el criar de los puercos" utilizar "trigo o çevada o otras semillas"— aparecían divididos en labradores y no labradores[109]. De hecho, la paulatina especialización de los trabajos rurales tuvo su lógica traslación en la documentación escrita y en una progresiva ampliación de vocablos que designaban diversas realidades económicas de grupos y subgrupos. Creemos, por tanto, que el conocimiento adecuado de este grupo social exige planteamientos que, combinando la sincronía y diacronía, permitan evaluar su dinamismo en el seno de la sociedad medieval[110].

La principal dificultad estriba en precisar esa realidad social y económica. Para ello hay que desentrañar qué se escondía tras el término de campesino y valorar cada uno de los segmentos que componía un conjunto que integraba al 80% de la población[111].

6.1 Perfiles del campesinado andaluz bajomedieval

Werner Rösener ha reflexionado sobre si ha existido un campesinado europeo con una serie de características propias y exclusivas, sin obviar, evidentemente, sus múltiples particularidades. Con un planteamiento diacrónico no duda en afirmar que "la sociedad campesina" se mantuvo en Europa desde la organización dominical en el reino franco hasta el siglo XIX. Sensible a las interpretaciones vertidas desde posiciones teóricas sociológicas, establece los rasgos genuinos del campesino ideal. Desde el punto de vista de la forma de economía y la organización del trabajo, aparece como aquel que cultiva y cría ganado, consigue sus productos en el marco de una unidad económica autosuficiente, utiliza el arado como instrumento fundamental para el cultivo, explota el terrazgo con sus propias manos y constituye una unidad económica junto con su familia[112].

A partir de esa reflexión, que marca los parámetros generales de la "sociedad campesina", el medievalista debe profundizar en el perfil de los diferentes segmentos que la integraban en función del desarrollo político, económico, social o cultural de cada uno de los espacios donde estuvie-

105. *Ordenanzas de Espera. Una villa gaditana al final del medievo y principios de la modernidad*, ed. Manuel Garrucho Jurado. Cádiz: Tréveris, 2003: 99 (título LV).

106. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 138 (título XVI, 1), 139 (título XVI, 5).

107. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 155 (título XXVIII, 3).

108. Rösener, Werner. *Los campesinos en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1990: 221.

109. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Grupos e identidades…", en prensa.

110. Fontana, Josep. "Los campesinos en la Historia…": 5; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "La sociedad rural: los agricultores", *El mundo social de Isabel la Católica*…: 195-217, especialmente 202-214; Salrach, Josep Maria. "La comunitat pagesa", *Història Agrària dels Països Catalans. 2: Edat Mitjana*, Emili Giralt i Raventós, dir. Barcelona: Fundació Catalana per a la Recerca-Universitat dels Països Catalans, 2004: 505-539.

111. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *Andalucía*…: 155-159; García De Cortázar, José Ángel. *La sociedad rural*…: 237-242; Ruiz, Teófilo. *Historia social*…: 54-55.

112. Rösener, Werner. *Los campesinos*…: 24-40.

ron instalados[113] y en virtud del impacto de la economía mercantil y monetaria[114]. Reyna Pastor, basándose en los estudios de Rodney Hilton, delimitaba el perfil de ese grupo social mediante la posesión, que no la propiedad, de los medios de producción, la organización del proceso de trabajo en torno a la familia como unidad productiva de base, la asociación en aldeas dotadas con bienes comunales o derechos colectivos, la presencia en su seno de jornaleros o artesanos rurales y la vinculación económica a la clase dominante. Conceptos válidos para definir —"con un cierto grado de imprecisión", como la propia medievalista se encargaba de afirmar— al campesinado medieval[115].

Julio Valdeón ha esbozado tres rasgos identificativos de este grupo social en la Corona de Castilla durante los siglos bajomedievales. El primero, la progresiva aparición de un reducido grupo de "labradores ricos" en distintas zonas de la corona de Castilla. Propietarios de explotaciones y reses, emergieron en ciudades y villas de realengo, actuando, al mismo tiempo, como arrendatarios de explotaciones ajenas. Con frecuencia se hallaba en condiciones de alcanzar la caballería popular y la hidalguía. El segundo, que el grueso de ese sector social estaba integrado por los campesinos dependientes, vinculados a los señores, tanto laicos como eclesiásticos. Tenían cabida un amplio abanico de realidades sociales que incluía desde los campesinos solariegos, pasando por los hombres de behetría hasta integrar a los instalados en zonas realengas y que progresivamente fueron entrando en la órbita señorial. El tercero, la importancia creciente que los jornaleros fueron desempeñando en las actividades agrarias. Grupo ciertamente abundante en el antiguo reino de Toledo y en la Andalucía Bética, se trataba de un sector social que se veía obligado a vender su fuerza de trabajo a cambio de una remuneración[116].

Tres rasgos fundamentales centrados en la corona de Castilla que permiten una primera aproximación a su composición, tres rasgos que aportan las claves para entender el polifacético significado social y económico del término genérico de campesino a finales de la Edad Media; tres rasgos, en definitiva, que tienen como denominador común su vinculación, en cualquiera de sus niveles, con las actividades rurales[117].

A partir de esos parámetros, se han realizado intentos por perfilar las características esenciales de la "explotación media" campesina. Para Julián Clemente estaba integrada por tierras de cereal, viñas, huertas, animales de labor, ganado, tanto ovino como bovino, y derechos sobre zonas comunales. Esa "explotación ideal" debía mantener un equilibrio entre las necesidades de consumo de una familia campesina de 4 ó 5 miembros y sus posibilidades laborales[118]. Aun aceptando ese esquema, entendemos que los componentes de esa "explotación media" que, básicamente, incluía tanto a las tierras como al ganado, deben ser flexibles y atender todas las posibles realidades económicas. Así, por ejemplo, en algunas zonas, como en la Bahía de Cádiz, la participación en labores salineras también constituía una aportación a la economía familiar[119]. Pero, lo que es aún

113. Oliva Herrer, Hipólito Rafael. "Sobre los niveles de vida en Tierra de Campos a fines del medievo". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 3 (2000): 175-226.

114. Salrach, Josep Maria. "Sociedad rural y mercados…": 87; Ruiz, Teófilo. *Historia social*…: 50.

115. Pastor, Reyna. *Resistencias y luchas campesinas en la época del crecimiento y consolidación de la formación feudal. Castilla y León, siglo X – XIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1990: 5-6; Hilton, Rodney. *The English peasantry in the later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1975: 13; Hilton, Rodney. *Conflicto de clases y crisis del feudalismo*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1988: 15-19.

116. Valdeón Baruque, Julio. "El mundo rural…": 172-181.

117. Dyer, Christopher. *Niveles de vida en la Baja Edad Media: cambios sociales en Inglaterra, c. 1200 – 1520*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991: 41.

118. Clemente Ramos, Julián. *La economía campesina*…: 39-102.

119. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Salinas y explotaciones…", en prensa.

más importante, esa "explotación media" fue dotándose y alterándose a lo largo del tiempo como consecuencia de la evolución del territorio.

La conservación de una documentación excepcional para la zona de Sevilla ha permitido estudiar esa problemática desde parámetros exclusivamente fiscales. En los "Padrones de Bienes" —se han conservado 54 entre 1483 y 1493 y 30 entre 1511 y 1538 en el Archivo Municipal de Sevilla— se incluían la hacienda de cada vecino y, en algunas ocasiones, una descripción de los bienes tasados. A partir del análisis de ese tipo de fuente, se ha estudiado la población campesina de las zonas del Aljarafe-Ribera y se ha agrupado a sus miembros en cuatro niveles: "Mayores, Medianos, Menores y Pobres"[120].

A partir de la posesión del ganado estante, también se ha analizado la estructura social de los pecheros en los reinos de Jaén y Córdoba. El resultado de esas investigaciones ha llevado ha establecer cuatro grupos: "Labradores Acomodados" —con una notable cabaña de ganado— "Propietarios Agrícolas" —individuos de cierta entidad y que poseían menos de cien animales— "Personas Asalariadas" —grupo donde hay que introducir a los pastores, tanto ajenos como propios, y que tenían algunas cabezas de ganado y, finalmente, "los Vecinos" —ya fuesen pastores o gentes pobres que poseían ganado a renta —[121].

Como puede observarse, son modelos interpretativos, de claro contenido económico, que incorporan tipologías ricas en sus variantes y en sus denominaciones. Agrupado por el caudal de bienes, atiende y responde a diferentes situaciones económico-sociales. Tomando esos datos e incluyendo aquéllos procedentes de las tierras gaditanas, proponemos tres categorías: "Labradores Ricos" con explotaciones agropecuarias, cabaña ganadera y equipamientos de transformación, "Labradores Medianos", que poseían tierras y ganados en menor cuantía, y "Peones", que englobaban distintas realidades económicas, desde los que poseían pocas tierras y ganado hasta los que carecían de bienes y estaban obligados a trabajar a cuenta de algún propietario.

6.1.1 Labradores ricos

Los datos sobre Tarifa a finales de la Edad Media aportan algunas calificaciones interesantes sobre esta cuestión. Según se desprende de la declaración efectuada por el regidor Antonio de Mendoza en la pesquisa de 1527, en la villa —que en torno a 1536 poseía 613 vecinos— había "veynte e çinco personas ricas que no labran, las quales gastan más trigo e çevada que los que crían e se escusan de labrar porque lo tyenen por granjería". En ese caso, se trataba de un sector que aglutinaba al 4,07% del conjunto de la sociedad[122]. En el Aljarafe ese segmento recibía la denominación de "Campesinos Mayores" o "Labradores Acomodados", con cuantías superiores a 50.000 maravedíes[123]. Eran individuos con una economía fuerte, propietarios de tierras de olivar, cereal y viña, que poseían un número importante de cabezas de ganado y controlaban parte de las instalaciones de transformación.

120. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

121. Argente Del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. *La ganadería medieval*…: I, 221-222.

122. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "La configuración territorial…": 127-145.

123. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

Como ocurría en otros espacios, en Jerez de la Frontera este grupo social utilizaba la caballería de cuantía para adquirir hábitos de vida propios de los caballeros de origen hidalgo[124]. Aunque podemos analizar varios casos, centramos su estudio en dos ejemplos. El primero está protagonizado por Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio, conocido con el significativo apelativo del *Rico*, y casado con doña Teresa de Suazo. En 1507 fundaba el mayorazgo de Barbaina en su nieto Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio al que adjudicaba las casas situadas en la collación de San Mateo y el donadío de Barbaina con una superficie de 86 caballerías, 5.160 aranzadas, e integrado por tierras de labor, viñas, arboledas, tierras de pastos, montes, casas, chozas[125]. Gracias a la documentación notarial, hemos profundizado en su nivel de riqueza agropecuaria. Poseía 13 aranzadas y ¾ de olivar en la campiña jerezana[126]. La inversión económica en bienes fundiarios también se dejó sentir en el viñedo —distribuido en pequeños lotes sobrepasaban las 50 aranzadas— se extendía por los alfoces de Jerez, Medina Sidonia y El Puerto de Santa María[127]. La cabaña ganadera estaba integrada por 553 vacas, 108 paridas, 307 vacías, 59 hembras, 23 machos, 31 novillos cuatreños y 25 novillos utreros y 23 reses vacunas, 4 paridas, 13 vacías, 2 hembras, 1 macho y 3 novillos cuatreños[128].

El segundo gira en torno a los bienes que poseía el jurado Martín Dávila. Según el inventario de 1502 poseía 26 ¼ caballerías de tierras, alrededor de 1.014 hectáreas, 65 ¾ aranzadas de olivar y la huerta que tenía en el pago de Sidueña. A ello había que sumar una notable cabaña ganadera, integrada por 108 vacas paridas, 150 vacas vacías, 59 eralas, 50 erales, 42 utreros, 3 cuatreños, 103 añojos, 6 toros, 55 bueyes domados, 16 bueyes cuatreños, 19 yeguas paridas, 7 yeguas vacías, 7 tusonas, 9 tusones, 4 potros, 2 yeguas de hato, 7 caballos, 2 burras, 1 asno, 673 ovejas, 310 corderos, 16 moruecos y 80 colmenas[129].

Ambos fundamentaban su poderío económico en las tierras y, sobre todo, en la posesión de ganado. Al respecto, conviene prestar atención al reparto de "echos" efectuado en Jerez en 1519, que incluye un listado nominal de los propietarios de ganado vacuno[130]. Presentaba a los ganaderos divididos en dos grandes grupos: aquellos que poseían una cabaña de 300 vacas, mínimo exigido para optar a un "echo", y el resto, que careciendo de ese número de cabezas, debían asociarse para alcanzar esa cifra. La relación constituye una guía segura para conocer los miembros que integra-

124. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. "La singularidad de Jerez a la luz del proceso de formación de su nobleza (siglos XIII al XV)". *Trivium. Anuario de Estudios Humanísticos*, 9 (1997): 179-194, especialmente 183.

125. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales…*: I, 227.

126. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Poder, paisaje, estructura de la propiedad y sistemas de explotación. Las tierras de olivar en Jerez de la Frontera durante el siglo XV y primer cuarto del XVI", *Primer Congreso de la Cultura del Olivo. Jaén. Octubre, 2005*, en prensa.

127. AMJF. PN, Escribano Antón Franco, Año 1501, fol. 356v; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1508, fols. 93r-94r, 193v-194v, 195r-195v, fol. 209r, fols. 209v-210r, fols. 215r-216v; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1509, fols. 15v-16v, fols, 384r-385r, fols. 495v-496r; Escribano Sebastián Gaitán, Año 1510, fols. 94r-95r.

128. AMJF. PN, Escribano Juan Román, Año 1505, fols. 296r-296v.

129. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. "De los patrimonios nobiliarios en la Andalucía del siglo XV: los bienes del caballero jerezano Martín Dávila (+1502)". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 18 (1988): 469-485, especialmente 476-479.

130. Los *echos* eran excelentes zonas de pastos que cada tres años eran distribuidos entre los propietarios de ganado bovino, ovino y caprino para que introdujesen —*echasen*— en ellos sus hatos. Durante ese espacio de tiempo, el concejo garantizaba el disfrute de los pastizales y se comprometía a realizar un esfuerzo económico materializado en la construcción de pozos y abrevaderos para el ganado. Los únicos ejemplos conocidos son los repartos de los años 1485 y 1519. Carmona Ruiz, María Antonia. "La reglamentación de los echos jerezanos en el siglo XV". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 23 (1996): 159-172; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Aprovechamiento de los espacios pecuarios. Los echos en el reino de Sevilla durante la Baja Edad Media" (en prensa).

ban el segmento de los "Labradores Ricos" en Jerez, como fue el caso del jurado Antón Benítez que aparecía con nada despreciable suma de 1.000 cabezas de ganado vacuno[131].

Evidentemente esa misma realidad económico-social existía en otras localidades, como Puerto Real. En esa ocasión el elemento diferenciador se encontraba en la posesión de ganado. Aunque los datos que tenemos son escasos, tenemos algunos datos sobre esos campesinos[132].

La posesión de animales de labor era la llave económica para la obtención de tierras en la nueva villa y constituía un índice de su nivel económico. Por ejemplo, sabemos que Alvar García, que aportaba 4 bueyes y 2 novillos, había recibido tierras e hizo en ellas "vn pegajar de dos fanegas e media de sementera en vn baruecho que conpró". La mayoría de esos "Labradores Ricos" —que estaban avecindados en Puerto Real, exceptuando el caso del jerezano Diego Ruiz —integraban el segmento social superior de ese núcleo rural.

El poder político, manifestado socialmente con la ocupación de los órganos rectores de los "sistemas concejiles", se ejercía a través del control económico sobre otros campesinos. Por ejemplo, en las ordenanzas aprobadas por el marqués de Tarifa para su villa de Espera en 1527, se recogía que aquellos labradores que "quisieren ayudar a otros con sus arados e bueyes en tienpo de barvechazón e sementera, que lo puedan fazer syn pena aunque sea en otra dehesa"[133]. Se trataba de un claro caso en que, gracias a ese poder económico, se permitía la cesión temporal de la fuerza de tracción y del instrumental agrario. Aunque no se especifican la cuantía económica ni las prestaciones obtenidas a cambio, es indudable que el texto presenta un esquema de funcionamiento en una villa señorial en la que el marqués de Tarifa se apoyaba en el segmento de los "Labradores Ricos".

6.1.2 Labradores Medianos

En otros lugares recibían la denominación de "Propietarios Agrícolas". Eran campesinos propietarios con cuantías que oscilaban entre 5.000 y 50.000 maravedíes, según estimaciones realizadas a partir de la documentación sevillana[134]. El denominador común de este amplio sector era que poseían tierras y ganado suficiente para el mantenimiento de una familia. El amplio espectro de este grupo provoca que, según las zonas, existiesen casos en los que su nivel económico los liberase de buscar trabajos complementarios y otros en los que estuvieron obligados a realizar labores agrícolas en explotaciones ajenas.

En el Aljarafe se ha estimado que en torno al 80% de la población vecinal era propietaria de pequeñas parcelas de viña. La presencia de este tipo de campesinado aparece con más claridad aún en la campiña sevillana, donde tenían tierras de viña y cereal. Esto era así porque mientras en el Aljarafe el "mercado de la tierra prácticamente se había cerrado, en la Campiña el proceso de conformación de la estructura de la propiedad seguía abierto"[135]. En un contexto más amplio, no deja de ser significativo que durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV el 32% de los propietarios de viñas en Córdoba eran artesanos y arrendatarios de fincas de cereal, olivar y huertas. Un sector social

131. AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1519, fols. 136r-147v.

132. AMJF. Actas Capitulares, Año 1500, fols. 130r-131r.

133. *Ordenanzas de Espera*…: 99.

134. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

135. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Gran propiedad y estructura…": 366.

con una clara vocación hacia las actividades agrarias e interesado en invertir en tierras el producto de sus ganancias[136].

Dentro de la categoría de "Labradores Medianos" había individuos con suficiente riqueza agropecuaria y que estaban vinculados al segmento superior por lazos económicos. Por ejemplo, según el inventario de Gonzalo González de Granado de 13 de agosto de 1522, poseía 5 aranzadas de viñas en el pago de la Cabeza del Pelado con cargo de 1.000 maravedíes que se pagaban a los herederos del veinticuatro Pedro de Hinojosa, linaje jerezano vinculado a la Casa de Medina Sidonia[137]. Además gestionaba 12 aranzadas de olivar en el pago de Barbadillo. Su cabaña ganadera estaba integrada por 40 vacas "chicas e grandes" que incluía 3 vacas paridas, 5 bueyes de arada, 2 novillos bravos, 5 yeguas, 1 asno, 1 burro y 1 caballo[138].

En la campiña jerezana hemos estudiado la complementariedad de los trabajos realizados en propiedades agrarias y la posesión de animales. De los 202 contratos de arrendamiento de bueyes, 199 tenían por objeto arar la tierra y los 3 restantes eran para "carretear". Algunos de esos campesinos acudían con sus bueyes y arados a las tierras de olivar, lo que evidencia un nivel económico suficiente. Por ejemplo, si en 1508 Juan Martínez arrendaba sus bueyes para arar, dos años después se comprometía a arar con sus bueyes 25 ó 26 aranzadas de olivar de Alonso Gil[139]. En octubre de 1517, Pedro Díaz de Vargas a través del jerezano Alonso Romero contrataba al labrador Alonso de Castro para domar 6 novillos desde el primer día de noviembre hasta el primer día de enero, "e me servir e aprovechar dellos en todo el tienpo de la dicha sementera en aquellas cosas que buenamente puedan haser e conplir". Acabado el contrato se comprometía a devolver los animales en una "boyada de la legua adentro desta çibdad, buenos e sanos e bivos e en pie". Cada uno de los novillos fue valorado en 3.000 maravedíes[140].

6.1.3 Peones

Esta denominación encuentra acomodo en las referencias localizadas en varias zonas de Andalucía a través del estudio comparativo de las Ordenanzas Municipales. En esos textos los "Peones" estaban asociados a segadores[141], jornaleros y cavadores[142]. Con ese perfil, es evidente que ese segmento —que en otras zonas andaluzas han recibido la denominación de "Labradores Menores, Pobres, Personas Asalariadas" o "Vecinos"— incluía un amplio espectro donde había campesinos minifundistas, braceros y jornaleros. En la zona sevillana este grupo social ha sido identificado con campesinos con cuantías inferiores a 5.000 maravedíes[143]. Sus escasos bienes —integrados por algún pedazo de viña y alguna cabeza de ganado, asnal o boyal— los abocaban a realizar trabajos agrícolas en otras propiedades.

En las Ordenanzas de Carmona se dedica un capítulo a definir las condiciones de trabajo de los "Peones", aquellos que siegan, cavan o realizan "otras cosas que se fazen a jornal". Una legislación

136. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 183-184.

137. Sánchez Saus, Rafael. *Linajes medievales*…: I, 104-105.

138. AMJF. PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, Año 1522, fols. 650r-652v.

139. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Poder, paisaje…", en prensa.

140. AMJF. PN, Escribano Antón García del Pecho, Año 1517, fols. 534v-535r.

141. *Las Ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 138-139 (título XVI, 1-7).

142. *Las Ordenanzas de Moguer*…: 55 (título LII).

143. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *El mundo rural sevillano*…: 124-125, 342-346.

atenta al cumplimiento del contrato escriturado o apalabrado, que insistía en la necesidad de pagar lo acordado. Se fijaban las jornadas de trabajo en la siega —desde el alba hasta el mediodía— y en las viñas —de sol a sol—. Se indicaba que durante la "barvechazón" —desde el 1 de enero hasta el 30 de abril— nadie podía llevar vino a los trabajadores "que anduviesen barbechando". Una medida, sin embargo, no aplicable a los "aran olivares y cavan y fazen otros serviçios"[144].

La amplia casuística de este grupo dificulta su estudio y exige, en consecuencia, una división en virtud de las explotaciones donde trabajaban y conocer los tipos de contratos temporales. Se ha estudiado su tipología y desarrollo en la zona sevillana del Aljarafe y Ribera y en las campiñas cordobesa y gaditana[145]. Con el objeto de definir los perfiles de esos campesinos, abordamos su estudio en función de la zona especializada en un cultivo.

Las investigaciones centradas en los contratos de siega en los reinos de Sevilla y Córdoba aportan una información muy valiosa sobre los jornaleros, en general, y los segadores, en particular. Mientras que los primero eran trabajadores del campo que estaban a sueldo de un labrador[146], los segundos se dedicaban a la siega de cereal[147]. La legislación concejil centró parte de sus esfuerzos en impedir que los segadores abandonasen las tierras y se fuesen a trabajar a otros lugares. Por ejemplo, en las ordenanzas municipales de Cañete de las Torres en Córdoba se ordenaba que "ningún vezino ni morador desta villa sea osado de yr a segar fuera desta villa en tanto que oviere en ella panes que segar, e sy no qualquier que fuere fuera parte a segar, como dicho es, pague seysçientos maravedís"[148].

Los segadores que acudían a la campiña de Córdoba desde Medellín y Guadalajara o a la campiña de Jerez de la Frontera desde poblaciones ubicadas en Ávila, Salamanca o Badajoz, ejemplifican una migración de largo radio vinculado al ciclo agrícola[149].

Estaban constituidos en cuadrillas —número que en la campiña jerezana hemos estimado entre 1 y 16— y compartían, en algunas ocasiones, lazos familiares entre ellos. Así, por ejemplo, las cuadrillas integradas por Alfonso Álvarez y su hijo Francisco o Pedro Franco y su hermano Francisco Gómez[150].

La demanda laboral en el olivar aljarafeño estaba vinculada a la oferta asentada en la estructura social campesina de la zona. Las labores de arada se realizaban, básicamente, mediante la contratación de gañanes lo que obligaba a los propietarios a facilitar los bueyes y yuntas o mediante el establecimiento de acuerdos con los vecinos que poseían el instrumental y el ganado. Esta última

144. *Ordenanzas del concejo de Carmona. Edición y estudio preliminar*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1972: 144-146.

145. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios y el mercado de trabajo en el campo sevillano bajomedieval", *Mundo rural y vida campesina en la Andalucía Medieval*. Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Granada, 2003: 103-171; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 195-196; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega en Jerez de la Frontera en la Baja Edad Media". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 26 (1999): 280-317.

146. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena…*: 139 (título XVI, 5).

147. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena…*: 138-139 (título XVI, 1-7).

148. Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Ordenanzas municipales de Cañete de las Torres (Córdoba). 1520-1532". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 2 (1975): 483-521, especialmente 507.

149. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo…*; Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "El campesinado y los sistemas de propiedad…": 194-196; Collantes De Terán, Antonio. "La tierra realenga de Huelva en el siglo XV", *Huelva en la Andalucía del siglo XV: II Jornadas de Estudios Medievales en Andalucía, 22 a 24 de abril de 1976*. Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva, 1986: 37-65, especialmente 62-63; Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega…": 300.

150. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. "Los contratos de siega…": 300.

vía fue la más frecuente en el Aljarafe donde se ponía en relación a los propietarios olivareros con los campesinos minifundistas viticultores[151].

La recogida de la aceituna exigía una importante mano de obra. Se trataba de los famosos contratos de cogederas —en los que las mujeres desempeñaron un papel notable aunque no exclusivo, ya que en muchas ocasiones éstas iban acompañadas de sus niños menores o de jóvenes— que aportaban una identidad social a la inmigración temporal. Entre los años 1500 y 1516, acudieron a la localidad sevillana de Pilas cogederas procedentes de diferentes zonas de Andalucía y Extremadura[152].

En relación con el viñedo en la Bahía de Cádiz, los contratos de trabajo aportan datos sobre las condiciones de vida de los peones. En agosto de 1517 el jerezano Fernando de Utrera Rendón contrataba al trabajador Juan Rendón para que durante un año "sirua en nuestra hazienda para cavar e agostar e en todas las otras cosas que convienere" a la explotación. Durante ese tiempo, Fernando de Utrera daba de comer y beber a Juan Rendón y pagaba una soldada de 6.000 maravedíes en dos plazos[153].

Una ciudad como Jerez de la Frontera, en la que el cultivo de la vid empezaba a desarrollarse con cierta intensidad desde finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI, exigía la contratación de mano de obra para trasladar la uva desde los pagos hacia los lagares situados en la ciudad. El 81,08% de los carreteros estaban avecindados en Jerez, un porcentaje elevado asentado en la fuerza adquirida por la cabaña ganadera en la zona. El 18,91% restante, procedía de Lebrija, Alcalá de los Gazules, Bornos, Vejer y Utrera. Se trataba, por tanto, de una migración de corto radio que se desplazaba en las semanas previas a la vendimia para recoger la uva y, en algunas ocasiones, las botas de vino. Mientras que en el 64,86% de los casos registrados el oficio de esos trabajadores era el de carreteros y el 2,70% carpinteros, en el 32,34% restante no se les reconocía otra ocupación. Sin embargo, esta última cifra puede ocultar o transformar la realidad considerablemente ya que era muy probable que compareciesen con el instrumental necesario para su trabajo. Así, por ejemplo, en 1517 Alfonso de Palma se hacía con los servicios del carpintero Antón Martín, que se comprometía "traer con mis carretas" toda la uva existente[154].

Con independencia de esas labores agrícolas, el conocimiento de la realidad campesina en sus segmentos inferiores no se circunscribía exclusivamente a las actividades agrarias y pecuarias más o menos regladas. El monte y el bosque desempeñaron un papel notable en la economía de las sociedades medievales aportando un complemento a las familias campesinas. Un ejemplo, entre muchos, eran las tierras comunales de Lomo Pardo en el alfoz jerezano usadas por los labradores, criadores y pobres ya que "allí se cojen palmitos y espárragos y orégano e poleo" y podían coger "leña para traer a vender a esta çibdad para la provisión della e para los hornos de cozer pan"[155].

Quizá por el afán de regular las economías concejiles, esas realidades también fueron aflorando en las Ordenanzas Municipales durante los siglos XV y XVI. Por ejemplo, en las de El Puerto de Santa María al aludir a la costumbre de que "muchas personas traen carrasca e madroño e retama"

151. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. *La organización del trabajo…*: 226-229; Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios…": 121-125.

152. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Los contratos de servicios agrarios…": 130-135.

153. AMJF. PN, Escribano Luis de Llanos, Año 1517, fols. 574v-575r.

154. AMJF. PN, Escribano Lucas Martínez, Año 1517, fols. 689v-690v.

155. AGS. Consejo Real, Legajo 24, fol. 11, Años 1505 -1511, Probanza realizada por Alonso de Herrera, diputado por el concejo de Jerez, ante el corregidor Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes y ante el alcalde mayor el licenciado Villalba, contra una representación de los vecinos sin tierra de la ciudad, que habían presentado una carta a la reina Juana I, defendiendo la necesidad de plantar viñas en el Lomo Pardo.

del "monte desta villa", se trataba de evitar esas actividades y se condenaba con penas económicas esas acciones[156]. En las Ordenanzas de Marchena, los mozos de soldada, campesinos que trabajaban a sueldo de un señor en diversas actividades, cortaban y recogían leña en los montes del concejo[157].

Ejemplos sueltos, que pueden multiplicarse con facilidad, que sirven para ilustrar ese otro componente de la economía familiar de los "Peones". Así, el 20 de febrero de 1518 Llorente Jiménez se comprometía a "traer e acarrear con mis bestias e con carretas" 300 corchos de carbón de brezo que el calderero Gaspar Hernández había comprado al carbonero Diego Simón. El transporte —desde la Sierra de la Jardilla hacia la ciudad de Jerez— debía realizarse desde la fecha de la carta hasta el día de San Juan Bautista. La remuneración, fijada en 10 maravedíes por cada "trayda de cada vn corcho del dicho carbón", se efectuaba "commo vos fuere trayendo el dicho carbón", de tal forma que "acabado de traer, sea acabado de pagar de todos los marauedíes que montare". Si se incumplía lo estipulado, Gaspar Hernández podía contratar a otro carretero y Llorente Jiménez estaba obligado a pagar la diferencia en el precio[158].

7. Consideraciones finales

Con independencia de lo mucho que se ha avanzado, futuras investigaciones deben ahondar en varias facetas del campesinado andaluz durante los siglos bajomedievales. Un proyecto de análisis, centrado exclusivamente en este grupo social, que tenga como objetivos profundizar en los perfiles económicos y estudiar los políticos o culturales. Demostrar, en última instancia, el dinamismo social alcanzado por los campesinos entre los siglos XIII y XVI. A partir, pues, de esa reflexión, proponemos, agrupadas en tres bloques, algunas posibles líneas de esa investigación.

1. Realizar un estudio sistemático y comparativo del papel de los campesinos en las Ordenanzas Municipales. Como consecuencia de ese estudio, se antoja necesario elaborar un glosario de las actividades realizadas en el campo, incluyendo las agrarias y pecuarias.

2. Profundizar en los distintos niveles económicos que configuraban la categoría social del campesinado. Aunque en muchas ocasiones la documentación no permite establecer baremos cuantitativos en la composición y naturaleza de las diversas categorías, sí hay información cualitativa sobre cada uno de ellos. También hay que perfilar la vinculación política entre los "Labradores Ricos, Labradores Medianos" y "Peones". Cuando la documentación lo permita, sería interesante realizar análisis prosopográficos de las familias campesinas.

3. Sin prescindir del marco jurisdiccional donde se produjeron, hay que catalogar los conflictos sociales en los que los campesinos se vieron envueltos, analizar las formas de organización o los cauces de expresión.

156. Franco Silva, Alfonso. "Las primeras ordenanzas del Puerto…": 237.

157. *Las ordenanzas de la villa de Marchena*…: 107-108 (título VII, 10).

158. AMJF. PN, Año 1518, Escribano Luis de Llanos, fols. 171v-172v.

LA LUNGA SOPRAVVIVENZA DELLA CAVALLERIA MEDIEVALE. UN VIAGGIO A RITROSO NELLA CULTURA E NEL GUSTO DELL'OCCIDENTE

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ESTRATTO

Il medioevo cavalleresco continua oggi a essere la cifra predominante di ogni riproposizione di quell'età per la persistente continuità della visione romantica ottocentesca. Ma l'Ottocento aveva a sua volta ricevuto in eredità dal secolo precedente materiali che rielaborò e selezionò secondo le esigenze della propria sensibilità fino all'invenzione letteraria e sociale del "suo" medioevo: fu infatti nel corso del Settecento che l'erudizione storica, il dibattito politico, la letteratura e la rievocazione architettonica contribuirono a costruire quel clima emotivo che avrebbe caratterizzato in seguito la rievocazione del medioevo. Fu allora ricuperata l'elaborazione tardomedievale dell'identità cavalleresca come "religione" della nobiltà, non solo di diritto ma soprattutto d'animo, grazie anche alla trasformazione avvenuta nel Rinascomento del cavaliere in gentiluomo.

1. La percezione del medioevo nel mondo di oggi

Nessuna età storica come il medioevo conobbe e conosce tuttora una perdurante fortuna rievocativa che va ben al di là dell'ambito circoscritto degli studi storici per investire le varie manifestazioni dell'intera società occidentale. La riproposizione del medioevo è infatti presente in mezzo a noi come elemento consueto del nostro paesaggio antropologico-culturale, al punto che le motivazioni della sua manifestazione appaiono talvolta difficili non solo da interpretare, ma addirittura da individuare, dirette come sono al patrimonio di diffusa "preconoscenza" comunemente condiviso. E', in altre parole, un appello al (per così dire) "medioevo inconscio" di tutti e di ciascuno quello che —per esempio— spinge i pubblicitari a ricorrere a immagini dirette (e decontestualizzate) di simboli medievali per promuovere un prodotto[1].

1. Alcuni esempi tratti dalla pubblicità comparsa recentemente su riviste e quotidiani italiani: a) donna con usbergo, corazza, scudo crociato e spada (sul genere Giovanna d'Arco) per reclamizzare Euclorina Bracco: "protegge dall'attacco di germi e batteri" (settimanale "Anna", diversi numeri del 1999): b) elmo a pentola, scudo crociato contro cui si scagliano spade da cavaliere, un'azza snodata, una scure: "anti provider. Facciamo valere i nostri diritti. Come tutelarci dai disservizi" (copertina del mensile "Internet Magazine", febbraio 2001); c) ingresso di castello difeso da due torri cilindriche e merlate, sul portone panoplia con scudo sopra due lance con banderuole incrociate, scritta "Lord Kyron" per pubblicizzare "Kyron. Il principe dei SUV" (quotidiano "La Stampa", 25 novembre 2005); d) articolata base a scaglie e maglia di ferro su cui si innesta il pomolo di un cambio automobilistico, per promuovere il cambio automatico dell'Alfa 159: "Scopri una guida più moderna" (quotidiano "La Stampa, 14 settembre 2007). Si tratta di quattro esempi – ma l'elenco potrebbe continuare a lungo —che trasmettono messaggi diversi, accomunati dal ricorso a simboli medievali. Per a) e b) la presenza di scudo e corazza suggeriscono l'idea di difesa: in un caso dall'attacco dei microbi, nell'altro dall'attacco da parte di chi attenta ai nostri diritti, esplicitato dall'allusione alle armi di offesa. Diverso messaggio è invece comunicato dalla presenza del castello e della panoplia (c): il SUV appare promozionale per lo stile di vita di chi lo guida, l'aristocrazia (Lord, principe) è segnalata dalla dimora del nobile medievale. Infine, con d) il complesso aggeggio di sapore

Esiste tuttavia al giorno d'oggi anche un medioevo coscientemente riproposto dai mezzi di comunicazione, nella letteratura popolare e nel fumetto, nel cinema e alla televisione. Si tratta cioè di storie ambientate nel medioevo di sicura presa sul pubblico proprio per un particolare carattere avventuroso. Che l'avventura sia territorio di evasione in cui proiettare pulsioni e desideri frustrati dalla contemporaneità appare constatazione così ovvia da non avere bisogno di esemplificazione; l'avventura infatti non è "solo" medioevo: dal genere western al filone "archeologico" all'Indiana Jones, per limitarci a due generi, i meccanismi ripercorrono le medesime dinamiche dell'azione, della suspence, della soluzione catartica. Ma l'avventura medievale ha senza dubbio qualche cosa in più, connesso con l'ambientazione in un tempo lontano, ma non sentito come estraneo —a differenza, per esempio, della Romanità, di scarsa fortuna popolare—, che consente il distacco dalla realtà presente, ma non dalle sue emozioni, grazie a preconoscenze che comparivano come intuitive già nei simboli della pubblicità.

Non si spiegherebbe altrimenti la grande fortuna riscossa in Francia e all'estero dalla saga a fumetti *Les tours de Bois-Maury*, undici volumi usciti tra il 1984 e il 1998 in cui il soggettista e disegnatore Hermann (al secolo Hermann Huppert) narra le avventure, ambientate tra l'XI e il XII secolo, del cavaliere Aymar de Bois-Maury e del suo scudiero. Il disegno è realistico e la ricostruzione appare accurata: sulla scia di Hermann si sono poi moltiplicate storie a fumetti che hanno come protagonisti personaggi di fantasia che talvolta interagiscono anche con vere figure storiche, rappresentate con singolare aderenza alle fonti. Siamo dunque lontani, come risultato complessivo, dal *pastiche* medievaleggiante di Prince Valiant, il cavaliere di Artù dei *comics* di Hal Foster che tanto successo riscosse a partire dagli anni Trenta, ma —nonostante un certo aggiornamento iconologico e storiografico del fumetto francese contemporaneo e dei suoi epigoni— il medioevo evocato dalle *bandes dessinées* rimane pur sempre quello cavalleresco: se oggi si può parlare a ragion veduta di "romanzo storico a fumetti", il modello remoto continua comunque a essere il romanzo ottocentesco alla Walter Scott[2].

Proprio a Scott —d'altra parte— anche il cinema, specie quello americano, è stato debitore di gran parte dei suoi soggetti, a partire dai primissimi *silent movies* dedicati ai personaggi di Ivanohe e di Robin Hood fino agli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso, quando a Hollywood si era andato definendo un comune *décor* medievale, ispirato un po' genericamente ai costumi del XII-XIII secolo (... e ai fumetti di Hal Foster), buono per ogni soggetto collocato nel medioevo, non ultimi i cavalieri della Tavola Rotonda. Rispetto a questa visione romantica ed edulcorata del medioevo, una svolta sembra avvenire negli anni Ottanta con lo spettacolare *Excalibur* di John Boorman (1981): più crudo e realistico dei precedenti, il film allo stesso tempo denuncia visibili richiami alla fantasy di

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medievale (ma d'invenzione) indica la tecnologia del passato, superata dal cambio automatico. In conclusione, in due casi il medioevo è usato per suggerire in modo plastico la difesa (da pericoli fisici o sociali), nel terzo per evocare l'idea di prestigio aristocratico, solo nell'ultimo svolge in negativo una funzione di confronto e rappresenta l'antitesi del progresso. Al medioevo dunque i creativi, interpretando la reazione del pubblico, in questi casi attribuiscono l'evocazione della lotta all'arma bianca (offesa-difesa), dell'aristocrazia, del passato retrogrado: si può dire che il "medioevo inconscio" è territorio di avventura, cavalleria e nobiltà, anche se appartenenti a un'età superata, ma non meno suggestiva. Chi usa il prodotto pubblicizzato combatte contro le aggressioni o vive nobilmente "come nel medioevo", anche se il medioevo è finito per sempre.

2. Un attento esame della produzione di Hermann si trova in Casavecchia, F. *L'immagine del medioevo nella narrativa disegnata. Bandes dessinées, Comics, Fumetto*. Torino: Dipartimento Storia dell'Università di Torino, 2001: 81-120; sulla produzione del disegnatore Hal Foster e sul "romanzo storico a fumetti" si veda Bordone, Renato. "Editoria tra '800 e '900. Fumetto", *Arti e Storia nel Medioevo. 4. Il Medioevo al passato e al presente*, Enrico Castelnuovo, Giuseppe Sergi, dirs. Torino: Einaudi, 2004: 711-735.

spada e magia, venuta di moda in quegli anni presso il pubblico americano dei "giochi di ruolo"[3]. Nella nuova stagione del medioevo hollywoodiano i generi tendono così a contaminarsi, in quanto le suggestioni cavalleresche si riversarono sulla fantascienza e sulla fantasy; alla fantascienza appartiene infatti la saga di *Guerre Stellari* che trasporta in un lontano futuro il mondo della Tavola Rotonda e dei suoi cavalieri, mentre alla fantasy rimanda soprattutto la trasposizione cinematografica della saga tolkienana de *Il Signore Degli Anelli* del neozelandese Peter Jackson (dal 2001 al 2003) che reinventa un medioevo di pura immaginazione, ambientando le vicende della "Compagnia dell'Anello" in un mondo dalle caratteristiche marcatamente medievali[4]. Recentissimo (2008), infine, è il caso analogo del film *Prince Caspian*, secondo capitolo della saga di *Narnia*, tratto dal ciclo di C.S. Lewis, dove il *décor* complessivo appare ancora una volta medievaleggiante, contribuendo alla circolazione del modello iconografico in voga.

All'origine di questo nuovo medioevo cinematografico c'era stato certamente il romanzo *The Lords of the Rings* di J. R. R. Tolkien che, ispirandosi alle epopee medievali, tra il 1940 e il 1954 seppe delineare il complesso affresco di un mondo di pura invenzione, dove l'eterna lotta fra il Bene e il Male è combattuta fra esseri fiabeschi (hobbit, nani, elfi, orchetti, draghi, cavalieri neri etc) e uomini, affrontando una serie di avventure secondo il tipico percorso dei romanzi cavallereschi. Ma la fortuna di Tolkien risale agli anni Sessanta, quando negli Stati Uniti comparve l'edizione tascabile del romanzo che subito vendette centinaia di migliaia di copie, e il successo va probabilmente attribuito alla prospettiva di totale alterità di quel mondo inventato rispetto al sistema contemporaneo —Tolkien stesso, d'altra parte, ebbe a scrivere (in *Tree and Leaf* del 1964) che "la fiaba è evasione dal transitorio"— che rispondeva alle esigenze di evasione di una generazione inquieta e insoddisfatta del presente[5]. La Terra di Mezzo rispecchiava così l'Età di Mezzo senza tuttavia identificarsi del tutto. Negli stessi anni, tuttavia, si andò sviluppando presso fasce più acculturate del pubblico europeo anche un vivace interesse per un certo tipo di medioevo che la ricerca stava mettendo in luce nello spirito delle "Annales" francesi. Libri come *Montaillou* di Le Roy Ladurie (1975) ebbero un inaspettato successo editoriale per lo spazio da protagonisti che riservavano alle categorie subalterne, emarginate dalla "grande storia" tradizionale, e per l'attenzione rivolta ai costumi sessuali, alla gestualità, alla condizione femminile, alla devianza e alla povertà, tutti temi che consuonavano allora con i fermenti suscitati dalla rivoluzione sessuale, dal femminismo, dai movimenti di contestazione. La ricaduta della curiosità per il "medioevo dei poveri" (o dei contadini) portò poi alla raccolta di oggetti del lavoro agricolo, alla riproposizione (e talvolta all'invenzione) di tradizioni scomparse, all'esecuzione di canti e melodie popolari; tutte iniziative intese a riscoprire le espressioni di una "cultura popolare", collocata in prevalenza senza profondità prospettica e appiattita su un nebuloso "lungo medioevo" che andava dal Trecento al primo Novecento[6].

A trent'anni di distanza, l'eredità di quella duplice immagine —fantastica e popolare— si coniuga nella percezione corrente del medioevo in modo apparentemente contraddittorio: accanto al perdurare del modello cavalleresco-fiabesco del cinema, si assiste al tempo stesso alla messa in scena sempre più diffusa di "feste medievali" popolari, organizzate da gruppi folklorici e da

3. Si veda al proposito Sanfilippo, Matteo. *Camelot, Sherwood, Hollywood*. Roma: Cooper, 2006.

4. Bordone, Renato. "Cinema e medioevo", *Lezioni sul medioevo*, Daniela Romagnoli, dir. Guastalla: Comune de Guastalla-Cominato per il XI concilio di Piere di Guastalla, 2006: 82-84.

5. Bordone, Renato. "Medioevo oggi", *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo. 1. Il Medioevo latino, IV, L'attualizzazione del testo*. Roma: Salerno editore, 1997: 273-276.

6. Bordone, Renato. "Medioevo oggi"...: 269-271.

amministrazioni locali, che talvolta rievocano in costume episodi o personaggi della storia locale, talaltra si limitano a ricreare atmosfere genericamente medievali; in entrambi i tipi parte integrante dell'evento è costituita dall'allestimento di una "cena medievale", desunta nei casi migliori da studi scientifici sulla cucina medievale, ma che in alcune occasioni può fatalmente cadere in incresciosi anacronismi (... come l'uso di patate o pomodori). Si tratta spesso del tentativo da parte di nuovi gruppi sociali residenti in provincia —ma in parte defluiti dai poli urbani— di trovare momenti di individuazione collettiva ricorrendo alla storia locale, ma soprattutto alle presunte radici identitarie delle comunità, rintracciabili nel medioevo[7].

Quando non rappresenta una vera e propria invenzione della tradizione —come nella maggioranza dei casi—, la "rievocazione storica" tenta di rivitalizzare feste patronali che venivano celebrate in passato, oggi ricorrendo però al mascheramento in panni "storici", cioè prevalentemente medievali. Questa medievalizzazione della festa appare senz'altro determinata dalla logica dello spettacolo, perché l'occasione festiva, a differenza di quanto accadeva in passato, deve diventare anche (o soprattutto?) un'attrazione per i turisti che affluiscono numerosi alla manifestazione e al banchetto. E' proprio in questa prospettiva che si risolvono dunque le contraddizioni apparenti fra medioevo fantastico e medioevo di ascendenza più filologica, perché l'evento-merce deve rispondere alle aspettative di un pubblico dalle elementari preconoscenze sul medioevo: e allora, accanto ai contadini medievali e ai cibi correttamente preparati, ecco comparire di nuovo cavalieri e dame, streghe e giullari, secondo i modelli accolti dal cinema e dalla pubblicità.

Insomma, l'immagine perdurante è ancora quella tradizionale, nonostante gli scambi "colti" avvenuti in un passato recente che, lungi dal rinnovare la percezione corrente del medioevo, sono stati omologati in un contesto conservativo. Il medioevo avventuroso-cavalleresco continua a essere dunque la cifra predominante, confermando in un certo senso l'esperienza infantile che un tempo derivava dall'ascolto prescolare prima e poi dalla lettura scolastica dei racconti delle fiabe. A esse pare non a caso imparentarsi proprio la verniciatura fantasy di ascendenza cinematografica, con tutte le conseguenti implicazioni "magiche", che il concetto corrente di medioevo di recente ha subito: il che forse ne spiega l'immediata adozione. E' ben noto infatti come il meccanismo di identificazione ambientale del "tempo delle fate" con il medioevo risalga all'interpretazione data dai primi romantici del medioevo come "culla" della letteratura popolare; la cifra medievale finì dunque per connotare gran parte della loro produzione, anche la riscrittura delle fiabe popolari che andavano raccogliendo, qualunque ne fosse stata la vera origine storica: castelli, cavalieri, principesse, fate e orchi non potevano che essere collocati nel medioevo. Sarebbe interessante verificare quanto i bambini di oggi leggano ancora le fiabe o ne guardino le versioni televisive; stando alle attuali inchieste giornalistiche (aprile 2008), pare in ogni caso che, "malgrado l'alto numero di prodotti e serie televisive con supereroi e personaggi fantastici, la vera passione dei più piccoli siano ancora i classici cavalieri"[8]. Un discorso a parte meriterebbero infine gli innumerevoli esempi di

7. Bordone, Renato. "La medievalizzazione del tempo festivo", *Il teatro della vita, le feste tradicionali in Piemonte*, Piercaslo Grimaldi, Luciano Natine, dirs. Torino: Omega, 2008: 97-106.

8. Libri e giochi per l'infanzia offrono oggi in Italia numerose proposte per imparare tutto quanto c'è da sapere sul mondo dei cavalieri e su come entrare a farne parte. *Come diventare cavaliere. Manuale per scudieri* (Dugald, Steer. *Come diventare cavaliere. Manuale per scudieri.* Milano: Fabbri, 2007) è il significativo titolo di un libro per ragazzi pubblicato da Fabbri editori che introduce alla cavalleria medievale, descrivendone le regole; *Cavalieri e castelli* della De Agostini (Dixon, Philip. *Cavalieri e castelli*. Novara, 2008) ricorre invece a illustrazioni tridimensionali per guidare i piccoli lettori attraverso gli ambienti di un castello, dalla costruzione alla vita in tempo di pace e di guerra; dello stesso editore è disponibile anche un libro con CD nel quale vengono narrate le più note fiabe di ambientazione cavalleresca -*Maghi, draghi e cavalieri*-. (Melis, Alberto. *Maghi, draghi e cavalier.* Novara: De Agostini, 2003). Suggerimenti, infine, per costruirsi elmo e spada

giochi per adulti di tipo elettronico (*computer game*) o di giochi di ruolo che hanno come soggetto il medioevo —o più spesso la fantasy medievaleggiante— la cui vasta diffusione conferma il successo per tutte le età del mondo della cavalleria.

2. Le radici romantiche della rivisitazione cavalleresca del medioevo

In tutti i casi considerati, l'evocazione di un medioevo 'cavalleresco' dunque appare pressoché l'unico modo di "pensare" quell'età lontana che, come ben sappiamo, pure conteneva in sé tanti altri aspetti che in buona parte hanno inciso sugli sviluppi dei tempi successivi, dalla politica all'economia, dalla religione alla società. Eppure la cavalleria resta davvero il principale modello sopravvissuto nella percezione diffusa dell'età di mezzo. La responsabilità diretta di una selezione di questo genere, fra i tanti aspetti che potevano essere rievocati, va certamente attribuita in gran parte alla persistente continuità della visione romantica ottocentesca.

L'intero Ottocento, nel corso del suo sviluppo, aveva infatti coscientemente prescelto il medioevo come età di riferimento e di confronto, trasformando un concetto storiografico in metafora esistenziale, applicabile a tutte le manifestazioni della società. Se la Rivoluzione Francese ne aveva di fatto decretato la fine storica, la "scomparsa del medioevo" (politica, sociale, economica) non era stata una scomparsa né indolore né definitiva, in quanto aveva lasciato un'eredità immateriale —ma non meno tangibile— che fu presto rivendicata a diversi livelli. Così sul piano politico il richiamo al medioevo rientrava in un generale processo di elaborazione propagandistica, usato tanto dalle monarchie di Restaurazione che, in polemica con la Rivoluzione, proponevano un ritorno all'antico regime facendo ampio ricorso ai segni del medioevo cattolico e feudale, fondante della loro legittimità, quanto dai movimenti nazionalistici e progressisti europei che ricorsero al medioevo come tempo della libertà, come fece il Risorgimento italiano, caricandosi di simboli tratti dalla storia medievale, da Pontida a Legnano, fino a identificare gli austriaci con i tedeschi del Barbarossa[9].

Sarebbe tuttavia fuorviante considerare l'"invenzione del medioevo" da parte dell'Ottocento esclusivamente come mezzo di una battaglia ideologica, circoscrivendo a questa unica dimensione la riscoperta, la rievocazione e l'impatto che ebbe sulla società del XIX secolo. La scelta dell'uso strumentale del medioevo appare piuttosto la conseguenza di una cultura diffusa che non la causa della diffusione di un costume. La generazione che per tutto il secolo XIX ricorreva con naturalezza al medioevo come metafora consueta dimostra infatti di avere ormai acquisito un rapporto di grande familiarità con la rievocazione di quel periodo storico. L'imitazione del passato —e in particolare di un passato genericamente medievale— nelle manifestazioni della vita quotidiana costituiva infatti l'estrema conseguenza di un processo mimetico che, a partire dalle espressioni artistiche, si era andato allargando a macchia d'olio all'intera società europea.

Propagatori di tale fortuna in principio erano stati in gran parte gli intellettuali del movimento romantico che individuarono le origini delle nazioni dell'Europa nel fecondo incontro del

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si trovano nel volume *Cose da fare con castelli e cavalieri* (Pratt, Leonie. *Cose da fere con castelli e cavalieri*. Milano: Edizione Usborne, 2008), mentre nel campo dei giochi continua la fortuna dei classici pupazzetti medievali Playmobil, dotati di accessori completo, e di quelli, non meno consolidati, della Lego che ha recentemente affiancato alla serie "Lego Castle" la serie speciale "Knight's Kingdom" (da "Leggo", 29 aprile 2008).

9. Si veda Bordone, Renato. "Il medioevo nell'immaginario dell'Ottocento italiano", *Studi medievali e immagine del medioevo fra Ottocento e Novecento*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo,1997 (*Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo*, 100 [1997]): 109-149.

germanesimo con il cristianesimo, perfettamente realizzato, secondo Friedrich Schlegel, con la creazione dell'impero carolingio[10]. In questo clima la riproposizione ex novo della cavalleria medievale costituì da quel momento un fenomeno generale, comune a tutta la cultura europea; i cavalieri divennero infatti i protagonisti preferiti della nuova letteratura romantica: dal cupo dramma di Goethe *Goetz von Berlichengen* del 1799 all'evocazione ideologico-emotiva del *Génie du Christianisme* di Chateaubriand (del 1802) che nel capitolo *Del vivere e dei costumi cavallereschi* descriveva il comportamento dei cavalieri medievali esemplificandolo col ricorso a personaggi della tarda età cavalleresca come Giovanna d'Arco o Bertrand Duguesclin, presto diventati soggetto della pittura *troubadour* in Francia, dove si diffusero decorazioni ispirate al mondo cavalleresco addirittura negli oggetti domestici[11]. Fino, naturalmente, alla grande epopea costruita dai romanzi storici di Walter Scott, non a caso traduttore del *Goetz von Berlichengen* e, soprattutto, responsabile della costruzione del castello neogotico di Abbotsford che ospitava una ricca collezione di armi e armature medievali[12].

La diffusione del mondo cavalleresco romantico infatti passava anche attraverso la "messa in scena" del medioevo per il prepotente il bisogno di dare corpo e sangue al sogno della cavalleria. L'attrazione per la raccolta delle armature coinvolse tutti i ceti sociali che potevano permetterselo, dai borghesi che cercavano snobisticamente di imitare i modi aristocratici venuti di moda, ai nobili che approfittavano del loro patrimonio avito per rinverdire il blasone, fino ai monarchi di Restaurazione che intendevano fondare la loro legittimità restituita con espliciti riferimenti al medioevo cavalleresco. E' stato infatti da tempo segnalato l'emblematico acquarello di Olivier, datato 1815, che raffigura "l'imperatore d'Austria, quello di Russia e il re di Prussia che, in armature medievali, si prestano reciproco giuramento di fedeltà all'interno della cattedrale gotica di Francoforte"[13], né meno nota è la particolare propensione del re Carlo Alberto di Savoia-Carignano per il mondo cavalleresco, manifestato tra l'altro dalla costituzione a Torino nel 1837 dell'Armeria Reale, descritta da un giornalista contemporaneo come "spettacolo magnifico e sorprendente quale doveva essere quello presentato altre volte dalle pompe cavalleresche"[14].

Presso la corte sabauda l'apogeo della rievocazione cavalleresca fu raggiunto nel 1842 con i festeggiamenti per le nozze del figlio di Carlo Alberto, quando a Torino fu allestito un grandioso torneo con l'esibizione di oltre cento cavalli, montati dal fior fiore della nobiltà e dei quadri dell'esercito sardo. La rinascita dei tornei aveva già avuto luogo nel mondo anglosassone, dove nel 1839 il giovane lord Eglinton, entusiasta del mondo evocato da Walter Scott, organizzò presso il suo castello scozzese (neogotico!) un vero torneo in costume medievale con cavalieri e scudieri alla presenza di un numero incredibile di folla. Non stupisce poi di trovare fra i numerosi spettatori stranieri anche l'esule Luigi Bonaparte che sappiamo essere stato amico di Eugène E. Viollet-le-

10. Citato da Artifoni, Enrico. "Il medioevo nel Romanticismo. Forme della storiografia tra sette e ottocento", *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*...: 194.

11. Come nel caso dei curiosi servizi di Sèvres recanti le immagini di Bertrand Duguesclin e dei più famosi guerrieri suoi contemporanei ricordati da Renaud, Philippe. "Le décor à la cathédrale», *Le «Gothique» retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, exposition a l'Hôtel de Sully, 31 octobre 1979-17 février 1980)*. Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1979: 155.

12. Villari, Enrica. "Introduzione", *Cavalleria*, Walter Scott. Torino: Bollanti Boringhieri, 1991: XX-XXI.

13. Castelnuovo, Enrico. "Hautecombe: un paradigma del 'Gothique troubadour'", *Giuseppe Jappelli e il suo tempo*, Giuliana Mazzi, dir. Padova: Liviana, 1982: I, 136.

14. Citato da Bordone, Renato. *Lo specchio di Shalott. L'invenzione del medioevo nella cultura dell'Ottocento*. Napoli: Liguori, 1993: 87.

Duc, chiamato nel 1851 per organizzargli la cerimonia dell'incoronazione imperiale, ma soprattutto da lui incaricato nel 1857 del fantasioso restauro del castello di Pierrefonds, dove l'architetto ricreerà la "sala dei prodi cavalieri", destinandola all'esposizione delle armature di cui Napoleone III, come Carlo Alberto, era collezionista[15].

L'idea del torneo come suprema manifestazione dello spirito cavalleresco sollecitò per tutto il secolo i romantici e non solo presso i circoli degli appassionati europei, dall'Inghilterra alle corti sabauda e francese, ma se ne ebbero esempi anche al di là dell'oceano. Se la profonda influenza di Walter Scott nella prima metà del secolo aveva infatti favorito la nascita negli stati americani del Nord di un'architettura castellana che imitava i modelli residenziali europei, fu soprattutto il Sud a riproporre veri tornei, come accadde, per esempio, in Virginia nel 1857, in occasione delle nozze di una gentildonna[16]. D'altra parte la cultura degli aristocratici meridionali, a differenza dei ceti industriali nordisti, si ispirava direttamente ai valori dell'Umanesimo, identificati nell'educazione del gentiluomo, e perseguiva uno stile di vita cavalleresco, improntato al senso dell'onore, non senza quei riflessi apertamente "gotici" che si ritrovano nelle opere del sudista Allan Edgard Poe. La stessa entrata in guerra della Confederazione è stata interpretata recentemente —con convincenti argomentazioni— come conseguenza della "tradizione combattiva, bellicosa, pronta, nelle questioni in cui sembrasse in gioco l'onore, a scendere sul terreno"[17]. Dopo la sconfitta, sarà infine un altro scrittore sudista, l'umorista Mark Twain, a ironizzare sul fatto che al Sud tutti continuassero ancora a credersi cavalieri medievali[18] e infine a stigmatizzare nel 1889 il vano mito consolatorio nel famoso (e amaro) *A Connecticut Yankee at King's Arthur Court* che attaccava l'intero medievalismo americano.

Anche di qua dell'Atlantico, dove quel mito era sorto e aveva prosperato, le conseguenze più rilevanti si manifestarono sul piano dei comportamenti sociali, come denuncia il fortunato trattato dell'inglese Kenelm Henry Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour* —sottotitolato come "le regole per il gentiluomo inglese" o, in una seguente edizione, "il vero senso e la pratica della cavalleria"—, opera che, uscita negli anni Venti, conobbe ampliamenti e riedizioni fino alla seconda metà del secolo. Le virtù distintive del cavaliere dovevano essere per Digby la fede in Dio, la generosità, il senso dell'onore, la lealtà verso gli amici e i capi, l'ardimento, la cortesia, la modestia, l'umanità e il rispetto per le donne: in questa prospettiva la cavalleria acquistava un valore prevalentemente etico-sociale, pur senza perdere la dimensione estetica che l'aveva caratterizzata nel corso del primo revival romantico. Ma da qui, soprattutto, nasceva la figura del *gentleman* inglese, erede del cavaliere medievale e modello per comportamenti che, a partire dall'età vittoriana investirono l'intera società, perdurando ancora a lungo nel secolo successivo in ambiti diversi. Così nel mondo dello sport si impose un codice che prevedeva comportamenti leali e cavallereschi nei confronti degli avversari e si mutuava dal medioevo persino il linguaggio sportivo (tornei, scendere in liza, colori distintivi e stemmi per le squadre, conquista dello "scudetto"), mentre nell'educazione della gioventù venivano impartiti insegnamenti di buone maniere e di spirito di servizio secondo

15. Sul torneo di Eglinton si veda Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven-Londra: Yale University Press, 1981; sull' intervento di Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène E. "Le Château de Pierrefonds", *Eugène E. Viollet-le-Duc 1814-1879*. Paris: Academy Editions, 1980: 64-69.

16. Sull'architettura neogotica americana si veda Bordone, Renato. *Lo specchio di Shalott...*: 170-171; il torneo del 1857 è citato da Domenichelli, Mario. *Cavaliere e gentiluomo. Saggio sulla cultura aristocratica in Europa*. Roma: Bulzoni, 2002: 578.

17. Luraghi, Raimondo. *La spada e le magnolie. Il Sud nella storia degli Stati Uniti*. Roma: Donzelli, 2007: 73.

18. Gorlier, C. "*Lo spirito della cavalleria. Tutti eroi fino a Wayne*". *La Stampa*, sabato 18 gennaio 1991: 17.

il codice elaborato da Digby, applicato da Robert Baden-Powell all'organizzazione dei boy-scouts, probabilmente ispirata all'associazione giovanile americana gli "Knight of King Arthur" [19].

Il "Return to Camelot" —cioè la straordinaria produzione di opere artistiche di tema arturiano dei Preraffaelliti e dei loro continuatori[20]— degli artisti vittoriani della seconda metà dell'Ottocento appare dunque come complessa metafora del presente, ma al tempo stesso come insegnamento capillare ad affrontare lo spaesamento di una generazioni di anime sensibili di fronte all'incalzare della logica mercantilistica e industriale rifugiandosi nei "valori" di una rinata cavalleria, proprio come sosteneva il trattato di Digby. La letteratura e l'arte rivestivano poi questo atteggiamento con panni arturiani trasformando anche visivamente la metafora in analogia fra cavalieri antichi e *gentlemen* moderni, secondo una procedura consueta nel secolo romantico dove il medioevo veniva usato anzitutto come forma di metalinguaggio. Quell'immagine visiva del medioevo vittoriano avrebbe tuttavia condizionato a lungo la percezione del mondo medievale in senso cavalleresco non solo in Inghilterra, ma più in generale in tutta la cultura occidentale.

3. Le anticipazioni della riscoperta del Medioevo nel Settecento

Se al Romanticismo, specie nella sua declinazione vittoriana, si deve dunque l'immagine di un medioevo esclusivamente (o quasi) cavalleresco in grado di riproporsi con continuità nel corso del Novecento per approdare infine nel bagaglio delle preconoscenze contemporanee, è necessario tuttavia ripercorrere i modi e le forme attraverso cui quel modello era a sua volta pervenuto nella cultura ottocentesca, affermandosi poi come un archetipo permanente della rievocazione medievale. E' stato ormai accertato che l'Ottocento romantico ricevette in eredità dal secolo precedente materiali che rielaborò e selezionò secondo le esigenze della propria sensibilità fino all'invenzione —letteraria e sociale— del "suo" medioevo, ma l'interesse per l'età di mezzo si era già compiutamente manifestato nel corso del XVIII secolo, fin d'allora oltrepassando i confini dell'accertamento scientifico-erudito[21].

Quando il romantico Chateaubriand evocava i "tempi cavallereschi" come "i soli tempi poetici della nostra storia"[22], nel descrivere il comportamento dei cavalieri medievali in realtà non faceva altro che parafrasare alla lettera il testo dei *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* che Jean Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, membro del l'"Académie des Inscriptions" di Parigi e in contatto col Muratori, aveva pubblicato nel 1751 riscuotendo immediato ed enorme successo non solo in Francia

19. Si veda al proposito Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot*...: 56-86.

20. La riproposizione del ciclo arturiano, mediato dalla lettura di Malory, è già presente nelle prime opere di Scott, ma sarà soprattutto Tennyson a concentrarsi, a partire dagli anni Trenta, sulla rievocazione malinconica di quel mondo – fin dalla *Lady of Shalott* che è del 1832 -, suscitando successivamente l'interesse dei Preraffaelliti che vi dedicarono un numero elevatissimo di rappresentazioni, anche illustrando nel 1857 l'edizione moxoniana degli *Idylls of the King*, la cui ristampa nel 1862 fu dedicata all'allora appena scomparso principe Alberto, individuato come nuovo Artù, Bordone, Renato. "Cavalleria e romanticismo", *La civiltà cavalleresca e l'Europa. Ripensare la storia della cavalleria*. Atti del I Convegno internazionale di studi, San Gimignano, Sala Tamagni, 3-4 giugno 2006, Franco Cardini, Isabella Gagliardi, eds. Ospedaletto: Pacini, 2007: 254.

21. Bordone, Renato. "Le radici della rivisitazione ottocentesca del medioevo", *Medioevo reale Medioevo immaginario. Confronti e percorsi culturali tra regioni d'Europa, Atti del Convegno Torino 26-27 May 2000*, Danielle Jalla, ed. Torino: Città di Torino, 2002: 11-18.

22. Chateaubriand, Réne de. *Genio del Cristianesimo*. Torino: Fontana, 1843: 521.

ma anche nel resto dell'Europa[23]. La riscoperta settecentesca della cavalleria medievale si collocava dunque all'interno di quella fervida stagione dell'erudizione antiquaria tesa, già dai tempi del Mabillon, alla pubblicazione delle fonti e al loro studio. Ma fin d'allora il paradigma-medioevo usciva dalle sale silenziose delle accademie e dei gabinetti di studio degli eruditi per assumere il ruolo di modello alternativo sul piano politico e culturale, secondo una "vocazione" all'uso strumentale del concetto che, come si è visto, si affermerà nel secolo successivo in modo pressoché totalizzante. Già durante la monarchia del Re Sole proprio l'"Académie des Inscriptions" aveva infatti preso netta posizione in favore dei "moderni" che si opponevano agli "antichi" nella nota *querelle* letteraria, dove i "moderni" erano gli autori del medioevo antagonisti del classicismo "di corte". D'altra parte, proprio un eminente rappresentante dell'Académie, Henry de Boulainviller (morto nel 1722), integrando gli interessi letterari con quelli istituzionali, aveva "riscoperto" i Parlamenti del regno di Francia e l'insieme del sistema che nel medioevo dava spazio alla nobiltà e agli sviluppi particolari delle singole province, in netto contrasto con l'assolutismo monarchico dell'età a lui contemporanea[24].

L'opera del de Sainte-Palaye, che riprendeva le ricerche sulla cavalleria avviate dallo stesso de Boulainviller, rientrava nei programmi di ricerca dell' Acadèmie che nel 1727, nel clima classificatorio dell'imminente Illuminismo, proponevano articolati studi su monumenti, iscrizioni, monete, usi, costumi e leggi del medioevo francese, in stretto contatto con la prosecuzione dell'attività editoriale dei Maurini. Dal 1729 al 1733 Bernard de Montfaucon pubblicò così cinque volumi corredati da oltre trecento tavole di *Monuments de la monarchie française*[25] e nel 1751, come si è visto, uscirono i *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* che descrivevano in modo pittoresco gli usi e i costumi degli antichi cavalieri, sottolineando il valore morale dell'istituzione cavalleresca, riproposta come essenziale supporto a una monarchia 'illuminata', un argomento particolarmente gradito tanto ai membri della nobiltà "di sangue" quanto a quelli nobilitati dal servizio civile.

Le istituzioni medievali nel dibattito settecentesco sulla natura delle leggi divennero così paradigma di comportamento politico: Montesquieu e il suo discepolo svizzero Paul-Henri Mallet glorificavano le "antiche libertà dei Goti", mentre in Inghilterra si consolidava il mito delle "libertà sassoni", già sorto al tempo della Grande Rivoluzione del 1640-1660, funzionale all'ideologia della "costituzione mista" e del parlamentarismo[26]. Secondo tale interpretazione, infatti, prima della conquista normanna nobiltà e popolo concorrevano insieme all'elezione del re sassone, dopo l'invasione straniera i baroni e il popolo, tanto che a Johnatan Swift il Parlamento appariva come una saggia "istituzione gotica"[27]. Non deve dunque stupire se su questi materiali eruditi cento anni dopo il romantico Walter Scott individuerà il tema della contrapposizione sassoni-normanni come asse portante del romanzo storico *Ivanhoe*.

Nella quasi frenetica produzione di documenti relativi alla società del medioevo, mentre l'erudizione francese valorizzava un codice cavalleresco mutuato dagli esempi storici dell'ultima stagio-

23. Gossman, Lionel. *Medievalism and the ideologies of the Enlightenment. The world and work of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1968: 273.

24. Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*. Saint-Pierre-de-Salerne: Gérard Monfort, 1991: 88.

25. Ne sottolinea l'importanza Rossi Pinelli, Orietta. *Il secolo della ragione e delle rivoluzioni. La cultura visiva nel settecento europeo*. Torino: UTET, 2000: 224-225.

26. Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*...: 84-86; il riferimento a Montesquieu e a Mallet è in Gossman, Lionel. *Medievalism and the ideologies*…: 285.

27. Citato da Baridon, Michel; Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken. *Le gothique des Lumières*...: 85.

ne medievale, proponendo personaggi "sans tache et sans reproche", come Baiardo e Duguesclin (non a caso ripresi dal Chateaubriand), gli studiosi inglesi si volgevano piuttosto al versante delle fonti poetiche, pubblicando negli anni Sessanta del XVIII secolo opere come le *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* di Richard Hurd (1762) e le *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* di Thomas Percy (1765) che riproponevano il romanzo cavalleresco di ambientazione arturiana che tanta fortuna avrà nel secondo Romanticismo. Ma è proprio in questi anni che dallo studio erudito si passa anche alla rielaborazione letteraria: ben prima della comparsa del romanzo storico romantico, il medioevo cavalleresco diventa infatti oggetto e ambiente di rielaborazione di fantasia nel romanzo di Thomas Leland *Longsword*, pubblicato nel 1762 con l'eloquente sottotitolo *A Tale of Chivalry, Love and Religion*. Di appena due dopo, del 1764, è il ben più noto *The Castle of Otranto* di Horace Walpole, progenitore del "romanzo gotico" dove il medioevo acquistava una valenza di mistero e di terrore, certo assecondando quell'estetica del sublime celebrata nel 1756 dall'*Enquiry* di Edmund Burke, ma assumendo al tempo stesso un carattere di cui difficilmente riuscirà a liberarsi in seguito e che in parte perdura fino ai giorni nostri[28].

In questo caso il protagonista indiscusso è senz'altro il castello, ma occorre subito rilevare come il nesso fra castello e cavalleria apparisse molto stretto fin dai decenni precedenti, specie nelle rievocazioni del medioevo di tipo architettonico e decorativo. Al Walpole stesso, infatti, si deve la costruzione del "castello" di Strawberry Hill, dimora fantasiosamente neogotica fatta edificare a partire dal 1750 come sede delle sue collezioni di armature e di ogni altro genere di curiosità[29]; si trattava della riproposizione non solo ideale ma fisicamente reale di un medioevo, identificato con la cavalleria, in cui calarsi in una sorta di mimesi con il mondo sognato e desiderato. Ulteriore —e non certo secondaria— anticipazione settecentesca di quanto avverrà nella rievocazione del medioevo nel secolo successivo.

Proprio in Inghilterra, d'altra parte, fin dal principio del secolo XVIII, sulla scia del consolidato mito delle "libertà sassoni", molti nobili di provincia, intendendo esaltare la propria tradizionale autonomia dal sovrano, commissionavano ad architetti come Vanbrugh castelli e ville in uno stile genericamente evocativo del medioevo, un gotico di volta in volta "palladiano" o "rocaille", più decorativo che filologico, ma che nel corso del secolo avrebbe assunto un significato più coinvolgente, collegandosi con la parallela rivoluzione dell'arte dei giardini, ispirata anch'essa alla libertà —la libertà della natura contrapposta al giardino formale—, mentre andava sbiadendo l'originale spinta politico-ideologica nel recupero architettonico del medioevo[30]. Insomma, nel corso del Settecento l'erudizione, il dibattito politico, la letteratura e la rievocazione architettonica stavano costruendo intorno al medioevo quel clima emotivo che ne avrebbe caratterizzato in seguito ogni tipo di rievocazione.

4. La cavalleria come "religione della nobiltà"

Giunti a questo punto, c'è da porsi la domanda fondamentale per comprendere la fortuna perdurante di quello che possiamo definire il mito della cavalleria nella cultura europea degli ultimi

28. Si veda al proposito Bordone, Renato. *Lo specchio di Shalott*...: 164-166.

29. Franci, Giovanni. "Il piacere effimero del collezionare", *Strawberry-Hill*, Horace Walpole. Palermo: Sellenio, 1330: 17.

30. Sulle relazioni fra giardini all'inglese e architettura neogotica si veda Bordone, Renato. "Origine del gusto medievale nell'architettura dei giardini", *Presenze medievali nell'architettura di età moderna e contemporanea*, Giorgio Simoncini, ed. Milano: Guerini e Ass, 1997: 215-226.

tre secoli. Da dove proveniva quell'insieme di riti e di comportamenti che furono proprio allora attribuiti alla cavalleria e come sopravvissero a un medioevo storicamente ormai superato da secoli?

Intanto è opportuno distinguerne gli elementi costituitivi: esiste infatti una cavalleria come corpo tecnicamente militare che sopravvisse fino al secolo scorso in quanto svolgeva un preciso ruolo all'interno degli eserciti tradizionali; esiste poi la figura del cavaliere-gentiluomo, definita compiutamente nel Rinascimento come "cortigiano", che, pur conservando invariata la sua dignità di cavaliere-combattente, ha compiuto un percorso di formazione, integrando il mestiere delle armi con la competenza delle lettere, attributi che gli consentono di ricoprire un ruolo sociale superiore[31]; esiste infine la cultura cavalleresca, elaborata nel corso del medioevo e della prima età moderna, che contempla un codice comportamentale, basato su *exempla* in prevalenza di derivazione letteraria. Tutti questi aspetti contribuiscono nel tempo a individuare una dimensione trans-nazionale della cavalleria europea che ne accomuna i membri, spesso rinsaldandone i vincoli reciproci con l'adesione a Ordini cavallereschi di grande prestigio sociale. Le rievocazioni sette-ottocentesche faranno propria la somma di tali elementi, a prescindere, in un certo senso, dalle vere origini storiche della cavalleria e delle sue successive trasformazioni.

Tali origini risalgono —come è noto[32]— alla funzione di difesa e di protezione dell'ordine sociale nell'alto medioevo, individuata dalla Chiesa nel *rex-bellator* e poi estesa ai suoi collaboratori *bellatores*: i *milites* infatti coadiuvavano il re nell'azione militare, amplificandone le funzioni; la loro investitura ripeteva a livello inferiore la cerimonia della consacrazione regia; del re assumevano le virtù e le responsabilità. Era evidentemente già una costruzione ideologica, elaborata dall'aristocrazia e dalla Chiesa, al principio per disciplinare l'irruente categoria dei combattenti a cavallo senza risorse economiche alle dipendenze dei signori di castello, e per conferire loro funzioni sociali e ideali di gruppo, indirizzandone la violenza contro i musulmani durante le crociate. La letteratura dei romanzi cavallereschi, ben più della Chiesa, aveva però offerto ai cavalieri modelli di comportamento fondati sul connubio fra qualità innate, come il valore guerriero, e virtù acquisite, come la cortesia: prodezza, generosità, prodigalità, buone maniere, rispetto per la donna trasfigurato nella "fin amore" contribuirono così a costituire le norme del codice cavalleresco destinato a imporsi come codice comportamentale[33]. Nel tardo medioevo tutto questo si era poi trasformato in un complesso apparato ludico —fatto di tornei, di giostre, di passi d'arme—, volto alla rappresentazione autoreferenziale della cavalleria come "il sogno di una vita più bella", secondo la sempre calzante definizione di Huizinga[34]. Si trattava di una rappresentazione non ancora completamente svuotata, tuttavia, dalla concretezza del combattimento vero in cui i cavalieri continuavano a trasferire l'esaltazione ideologica e insieme emotiva sia sui campi di battaglia sia nei tornei.

Il tramonto della cavalleria come strumento di combattimento, però, avviene già nel Quattrocento con la diffusione delle armi da fuoco e con il peso preponderante delle fanterie che si affermeranno specialmente nel secolo successivo: dalla battaglia di Azincourt a quella di Mohàcs non è che un succedersi di carneficine delle schiere di cavalieri. Si deve forse a questo clima se proprio fra XV e XVI secolo la cavalleria rielabora la propria identità sulla base della rievocazione —o invenzio-

31. Fondamentale, a questo proposito, l'ampio studio di Domenichelli, Mario. *Cavaliere e gentiluomo*...: 176-177.

32. Si veda, per tutti, Duby, George. *Lo specchio del feudalesimo*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1981.

33. Come ampliamente dimostrava Köhler, Eric. *L'avventura cavalleresca. Ideale e realtà nei poemi della Tavola Rotonda*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985.

34. E' il titolo del secondo capitolo di Huizinga, Johan. *L'autunno del medioevo*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1966: 37-72.

ne— letteraria del proprio passato e con un sempre più rigido ritualismo dei propri comportamenti, come attestano in tutta Europa la ricchissima messe di poemi cavallereschi e la diffusione degli Ordini cerimoniali. E' in questo momento che avviene infatti la rielaborazione della produzione cavalleresca medievale che nel mondo anglosassone si estende dalla versione di Malory relativa alla riorganizzazione del materiale arturiano prodotto in precedenza fino alla comparsa del "Faerie Queene" dell'elisabettiano Spenser, mentre in Italia, contemporaneamente, Boiardo e Ariosto riprendono il tema di Orlando, derivandolo dai romanzi del ciclo carolingio. Anche l'architettura dei castelli edificati nel corso del Quattrocento spesso rientra in questa logica, come è stato segnalato nel caso del castello sabaudo di Ripaglia, restaurato nel 1433-1434 e trasformato da Amedeo VIII nella sede dell'Ordine di San Maurizio, dove il disegno architettonico non segue esigenze difensive, ma è ispirato ai modelli di vita cavalleresca[35].

Fino ai primi anni delle guerre d'Italia, combattute fra Francesi e Spagnoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento, i cavalieri di entrambi gli schieramenti potevano tuttavia illudersi di riprendere atteggiamenti ancora ispirati al codice d'onore e a quello spirito di competizione leale che, nonostante tutto, erano sopravvissuti alle trasformazioni delle tecniche militari e continuavano a costituire parte integrante della loro cultura; poteva così accadere che, nei logoranti momenti della guerra di posizione, dovuti ad assedi o a campeggiamenti invernali, gli ufficiali dei due eserciti in lotta cogliessero l'occasione per scontri personali o di gruppo —giostre o tornei— attenendosi meticolosamente alle regole della cavalleria e mettendo in palio il proprio armamento e il riscatto personale in caso di sconfitta. La "disfida di Barletta", combattuta nel 1503 fra campioni italiani e francesi (fra i quali militava Baiardo), ne è un esempio significativo. Il combattimento diventava così motivo di spettacolo, rivestendosi di quel carattere per così dire 'sportivo' che fin dalle origini aveva accompagnato le prestazioni dei cavalieri in tempo di pace[36]. Ma nel corso del secolo queste pratiche tramontarono del tutto, lasciando tuttavia una profonda traccia nella cultura europea che, uscita storicamente dal medioevo, a esso e alle sue tradizioni (vere o trasfigurate) guardava ora con nostalgia. Anche il modello-castello rientrava in questa precoce rivisitazione del medioevo cavalleresco, come attesta la disseminazione in Italia (ma non solo) di edifici castellani con torri angolari, più o meno merlate, e ponti levatoi, costruiti dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento senza nessuna funzione militare, ma per diventare, come nel caso delle "delizie" degli Estensi, palcoscenico per una corte di "i assidui lettori di poemi cavallereschi"[37]. E di quanto la cavalleria allora si fosse ormai trasformata in un mito letterario il più significativo testimone è certo rappresentato dallo sfortunato *hidalgo* del Cervantes, "folle per eccesso di letture, protagonista dell'ultimo libro di cavalleria che in sé tutti li ingloba e tutti li annulla"[38].

Era la parodia di una cavalleria inattuale, ma ancora di forte attrazione in tutto l'Occidente, forse perché rappresentava davvero la più suggestiva "invenzione" del medioevo nel campo dei modelli di comportamento sociale (specie nella sua rielaborazione rinascimentale), in diretta con-

35. Tosco, Carlo. "*L'architettura religiosa nell'età di Amedeo VIII*", *Architettura e insediamento nel tardo medioevo in Piemonte*, Micaela Viglino, Carlo Tosco, eds. Torino: celid, 2003: 99: "la facciata a sette torri, destinata alle residenze dei cavalieri di San Maurizio, non rispondeva a logiche militari ma incarnava una simbologia di gestione collegiale del potere, esaltata da Amedeo VIII".

36. Sull'aspetto 'sportivo' dell'attività dei cavalieri medievali si veda Keen, Maurice. *La cavalleria*. Napoli: Liguori, 1986.

37. Matteucci Armandi, Ana Maria. "Fedeltà alla tipologia castellana nell'edilizia di villa in Emilia", *Presenze medievali nell'architettura di età moderna e contemporanea*...: 168-170.

38. Bologna, Corrado. "Miti di una letteratura medievale: il Sud", *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*...: 347.

nessione con l'altra invenzione medievale in campo giuridico, cioè la nobiltà di sangue. Entrambe erano state ambigue quanto bastava per renderle duttili alle interpretazioni e alle appropriazioni nel corso del loro tormentato processo di elaborazione, giunto a maturazione definitiva soltanto "dopo" il medioevo (o almeno alla fine di esso), ma entrambe erano strettamente collegate al punto da influenzarsi vicendevolmente. In una società laica di cui la guerra aveva costituito il comune denominatore al punto da condizionarne presso gli intellettuali del tempo, fin dall'XI secolo, l'immagine non solo nella distinzione dei suoi membri fra *bellatores* e *laboratores*, ma con l'attribuzione ai primi dell'egemonia politico-sociale, il ceto dominante non poteva che essere guerriero. E chiunque combattesse finiva inevitabilmente per essere associato al comando, come accadde a quei primi combattenti a cavallo, pure di origine modesta, che, vivendo con i loro signori, finirono per acquisirne il prestigio agli occhi degli inermi e dei potenti, in quanto signori e loro collaboratori esercitavano un comune stile di vita 'cavalleresco' che li connotava anche in tempo di pace[39]. Vi fu poi un momento in cui —a seconda delle regioni— la "noblesse de fait" dei grandi signori si poteva trasformare in "noblesse de droit" soltanto attraverso l'*adoubement* cavalleresco; la reciprocità del processo è intuitiva, anche se tutto quanto avvenne in modo fluido e non senza eccezioni, distinzioni, contraddizioni[40] . Alla fine, tuttavia, il cavaliere —come si è visto— si identificò con il "gentil huomo", cioè con il nobile di diritto.

La cavalleria come "religione" della nobiltà appare ormai consolidata già alla fine del medioevo, cioè da quando era venuta in gran parte meno la sua funzione militare; ha i propri testi sacri, rappresentati dai romanzi cavallereschi, e i propri riti che poggiano su di essi (tornei, giostre, passi d'arme), indica come modello agli adepti un mitico tempo originario di perfezione ("O gran bontà dei cavalieri antiqui"). Ne discende un'altra straordinaria "invenzione" medievale: la "mitologia cavalleresca", sviluppatasi intorno alla figura di Artù (soprattutto) e (anche) di Carlo Magno, che si affianca alla mitologia classica della civiltà greco-romana per analogia di significato e di elaborazione, di funzionalità alla civiltà del medioevo occidentale e di diffusione anche popolare.

Quando, con l'Umanesimo e ancor più con il Rinascimento, ritorneranno "gli dei dell'Olimpo" e si riscopriranno canoni ritenuti di ascendenza classica, questa "religione della cavalleria" entra parzialmente in crisi proprio in quanto frutto di un'età ora giudicata dagli intellettuali del tempo come un'intrusione, come traumatica interruzione con l'antichità classica a cui pretendevano di ricongiungersi. L'introduzione del concetto di "medioevo" infatti suggeriva non tanto una nuova periodizzazione della storia umana, quanto piuttosto l'espunzione da essa di un'esperienza plurisecolare giudicata negativamente, creando così un dualismo antagonistico fra classicità e non-classicità. Le reazioni della nobiltà cavalleresca, figlia di quel mondo superato, furono differenti a seconda dei paesi dove con maggiore o minore impatto si diffondeva il nuovo spirito rinascimentale —che in Italia trasformò il cavaliere in cortigiano— e dove si andavano imponendo nuovi scenari politici. Ma fu soprattutto l'affermazione dell'assolutismo monarchico a colpire pesantemente le aristocrazie di formazione medievale e di ispirazione cavalleresca che avevano visto in Artù il "primus inter pares", "un sovrano strettamente vincolato dal diritto feudale nell'esercizio del pote-

39. Sulla genesi e sugli sviluppi della cavalleria medievale si veda - oltre al già citato Keen, Maurice. *La cavalleria*...- anche il più recente Flori, Jean. *Cavalieri e cavalleria nel medioevo*. Torino: Einaudi, 1999.

40. Sull'inquadramento storiografico del problema cavalleria/nobiltà si veda Bordone, Renato. "L'aristocrazia: ricambi e convergenze ai vertici della scala sociale", *La Storia*, I, *Il Medioevo*, Nicola Tranfaglia, Massimo Firpo, dirs..Torino: UTET, 1987: 145-175.

re e sottomesso alle stesse categorie morali e politiche" della cavalleria[41]. Nel regno di Francia, per esempio, la propaganda monarchica indirizzata a svalutare il prestigio della nobiltà nel Cinquecento andava fantasticando di diritti *ridicules* o addirittura immorali esercitati dai nobili nel medioevo, inventando così il mito dello "ius prime noctis" (o "droit de cuissage") che tanta fortuna avrebbe riscosso in seguito nell'immaginario popolare sul medioevo[42]. D'altra parte, nuove forze sociali ed economiche si andavano affermando in Europa, facendo arretrare il prestigio —laddove non si era rinnovata— dell'antica "nobiltà di sangue" e riducendo a vuoti formalismi le tracce superstiti della tradizione cavalleresca. Se in un certo senso si interruppe allora la continuità dell'antico spirito della cavalleria, esso seppe tuttavia risorgere sul piano culturale nella "riscoperta" del medioevo presso l'erudizione, ma spesso con connotati anche politici, come si è visto accadere in Francia con la battaglia dell'Académie contro il classicismo/assolutismo.

La rivalutazione della cavalleria rientra dunque nel più generale interesse per il medioevo sviluppatosi nel clima della vivace curiosità del Settecento, insofferente di canoni e di regole e già alla ricerca dell'origine primitiva e "barbarica" della civiltà europea, secondo un orientamento portato a maturazione, allo scadere del secolo, dall'incipiente Romanticismo. Di quel medioevo ritrovato gli intellettuali borghesi privilegiarono allora la "nuova mitologia" cavalleresca che esso aveva saputo creare, attratti dalla suggestione aristocratica di codici comportamentali di eroismo e di cortesia. L'Ottocento, come sappiamo, avrebbe fatto il resto con la "corposità" esemplare delle collezioni di armature, della riproposizione dei tornei *costumè*, dei castelli neogotici, delle rappresentazioni artistiche storicizzanti e, soprattutto, grazie alla straordinaria divulgazione attraverso la pubblicistica popolare. Di mano in mano che le tracce del medioevo reale andavano scomparendo dalle strutture di una società in via di progressiva industrializzazione, tanto più ne cresceva il sogno, riproposto a livelli diversi fino a culminare nel modello sociale di un'élite "cavalleresca". Poi, con il primo conflitto mondiale —ultima guerra per alcuni versi ancora cavalleresca— tramontò anche quella generosa riproposizione di vita vissuta. Ne rimase, forse, la nostalgia, in un mondo dove non restavano più spazi per la rievocazione del sogno, fuorché le spoglie vuote di quei segni di un medioevo reinventato dall'Ottocento che inconsapevolmente continuano ancora oggi a sopravvivere.

41. Köhler, Eric. *L'avventura cavalleresca*...: 30.

42. Si veda al proposito Boureau, Alain. *Le droit de cuissage. La fabrication d'un mythe (XIII^{e} –XX^{e} siècle)*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1995: 226.

VIDEOJUEGOS Y EDAD MEDIA

JUAN FRANCISCO JIMÉNEZ ALCÁZAR
UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA

A Juanfri, quien a sus 10 años
disfruta de estos juegos tanto como yo a los 42

RESUMEN

Los avances de la tecnología y su aplicación al mundo del ocio ha generado un nuevo modelo de expresión cultural: el videojuego. Entre los guiones escogidos para realizarlos se encuentran los de carácter histórico, o simulación de ese pasado, pero con especial importancia sobre el Medievo. El artículo es una exposición de la realidad de este fenómeno aplicado al conocimiento y divulgación que estos juegos ofrecen acerca de la Edad Media.

1. Inicio: Programas

Con esta forma ciertamente expresiva comienzo lo que pretendo que sea un primer acercamiento al complejo y completo mundo de los videojuegos por parte de los profesionales y aficionados a la Historia Medieval. En muchos casos se recogerán contenidos sabidos por algunos (suponemos que los de menor edad) pero algunos otros (seguramente muchos) verán mencionados por vez primera una serie de nombres y denominaciones que pertenecen al campo semántico específico del videojuego, constituyendo casi una jerga. Si en la frase siguiente no entiende nada, pertenece a este último grupo: MTW II, de la saga TW, es un videojuego *TBS*, aunque el desarrollo de los combates sea como RTS, que precisa de un mínimo de un chip a 1.800 MHz, con 512 Mb RAM, con una tarjeta gráfica de 128 Mb, DirectX 9 y un entorno Windows 2000/Xp (aunque lo cierto es que es preciso un equipo con mayores prestaciones). En esta oración se encuentra el nombre abreviado de un juego muy conocido de gestión, estrategia y táctica bélica ubicado en la Plena y Baja Edad Media (Medieval Total War II, es decir, que se trata de una segunda versión), las abreviaturas de *Turn Based Strategy*, o estrategia por turnos, desarrollada de manera oportuna por la intervención del jugador, donde se realiza además esa gestión de recursos materiales que permitan hacer progresar tu facción y, así, generar una maquinaria militar suficiente que te facilite ganar el juego (si previamente vas venciendo tácticamente en batallas puramente medievales). El acrónimo de *Real Time Strategy*, o juego de estrategia en tiempo real, y el resto de los contenidos expresados se vinculan al soporte material de la máquina que precisa el juego. Este trabajo está dirigido, fundamentalmente, para quienes no han tenido ningún tipo de aproximación a este mundo, o para quienes lo ven con miradas llenas de prejuicios forjados por el mero hecho del desprecio a lo que se desconoce, fruto de la propia inseguridad. Pero también está destinado para quienes sí tienen ciertas nociones, por si mis palabras les pueden ofrecer otro punto de vista o generarles vías nuevas de aplicación y reflexión.

No trato aquí de ofrecer una exposición enciclopédica sobre el vasto mundo del videojuego, ni de la importancia que para el ocio de nuestra civilización tiene (aunque lo refiera en algún

momento). Ni tan siquiera realizar un listado de todos los videojuegos que han existido y existen vinculados o inspirados en el Medievo o en la Edad Media, en su sentido más lato; por ello, es normal que alguien eche de menos algún título. Mi objetivo es el de exponer una realidad concreta, que es el de la presencia y raigambre que tiene el fenómeno *videojuego* en la sociedad actual (y en concreto en el grupo de adolescentes y post-adolescentes, con extensión hacia individuos con treinta o cuarenta años, aproximadamente[1] —y no cuento la expansión a través de las consolas portátiles de los videojuegos destinados al público adulto y de la tercera edad—[2]), y su impacto en la divulgación del concepto de lo *medieval*, tanto en el plano de la percepción que recibimos a través de ese canal divulgativo (ocio al fin y al cabo) como de forma específica en el ámbito de los profesionales de la Historia Medieval, tanto en los niveles de Secundaria y Bachiller como en el propiamente universitario.

Y precisamente éste es uno de los primeros pasos que hay que marcar para comenzar nuestra andadura: ¿por qué jugamos al *Medievo*, qué nos atrae de aquella época para inducirnos a jugar simulando vivir un pretérito? Mi conclusión final será que al fin y al cabo se trata de eso, de jugar, con todas las ventajas que el hecho lúdico colige para el fenómeno del aprendizaje y del acto educativo en sí, siempre desde la óptica de un medievalista y para la Historia Medieval. No soy pedagogo, por lo que nadie espere aquí un tratado de la bondad educativa de los videojuegos, que ya se ha hecho en otros foros, con diverso resultado, que todo hay que decirlo. De todas maneras, no descarto una incursión en ese terreno hecha desde la perspectiva de la docencia universitaria.

Todas estas precauciones que expongo tienen que ver con lo heterodoxo que puede resultar *a priori* un artículo sobre videojuegos y Edad Media, de la misma manera que puede serlo aún hoy alguno sobre cine y el Medievo, pero que en su día también lo fue sobre Literatura e Historia Medieval y todo el amplio campo que supone la aplicación de la múltiples disciplinas[3] sobre un objeto de estudio concreto. Tan alejado está para algunas personas el mundo del videojuego como cercano y cotidiano para otras; por lo tanto, se trata de exponer a los neófitos y darles a conocer una realidad precisa y concreta que representa una parte fundamental del ocio actual. Sabemos que el monto del negocio del videojuego superaba en 2005 en España a la globalidad del que suponía el cine, tanto en taquilla como en vídeo, y la música[4]; de hecho, la cifra para nuestro país el pasado año de 2008 fue de 1.432[5] millones de euros de facturación, siendo el

1. Expresivo el informe de "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos en mayores de 35 años", realizado en diciembre de 2008 por un equipo de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid dirigido por Antonio García Martínez: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos en mayores de 35 años". *Asociación Española de distribuidores y editores de Software de entretenimiento*. Diciembre de 2008. 3 de Mayo de 2009 <http://www.adese.es/pdf/vjadultosestudio.pdf>.

2. En la comisión que aprobó la consideración de la industria del videojuego como industria cultural, se refleja el siguiente texto: "En su diversidad extraordinaria, el videojuego es utilizado tanto por niños como por jóvenes y adultos, por lo que supone también una buena oportunidad para experimentar nuevas fórmulas pedagógicas en el desarrollo educativo y en la formación de valores cívicos". "Proposición no de ley presentada por el Grupo Parlamentario Socialista, relativa a la promoción y el respaldo a la industria cultural del videojuego". *Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Generales. Congreso de los Diputados*, D/148, 17 de febrero 2009: 40.

3. Muy interesante a este respecto las reflexiones sobre el concepto nada novedoso de lo interdisciplinar, en Castillo, Juan José. "El paradigma perdido de la interdisciplinariedad: volver a los clásicos". *Política y Sociedad*, 26 (1997): 143-155.

4. Benito García, José María. "El mercado del videojuego: unas cifras". *Icono 14. Revista científica semestral de comunicación audovisual y nuevas tecnologías*. June 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 3 de mayo de 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/Jose%20Maria%20Benito.pdf>.

5. Cifra ofrecida por *Hobby Consolas*. 212 (2009): 28. El documento que recoge la iniciativa aludida del Congreso de los Diputados especifica 700 millones de facturación, pero son cifras cambiantes y en crecimiento permanente y que cualquiera que dé en este momento ya queda obsoleta por ese continuo desarrollo al alza. No obstante, corresponde esa cifra con el dato recogido en el informe ISFE de 2007, donde hay que tener en cuenta que los datos se refieren a

cuarto país europeo y el sexto mundial en consumo de software de entretenimiento interactivo. En este sentido hay que tener claro algo que los propios creadores asumen de manera consciente, y es que no se trata sólo de ocio; en una entrevista a M. Frasca, desarrollador, alude de forma expresa que "los juegos pueden ir muchos más allá que el simple entretenimiento. Lo mismo sucede con el cine, la televisión, la música. Los videojuegos no tienen por qué ser una excepción"[6]. Pero en referencia a lo que supone "contar algo" para distraer o divertir, el videojuego va mucho más allá que el cine, por ejemplo. El medio cinematográfico es finito, delimitado y concreto: su guión y definición del propio producto con límite temporal así lo evidencian. El videojuego no es así. Las nuevas formas no lineales de los guiones hacen que se separe bastante del tradicional desarrollo de un film. Peter Molyneux (desarrollador del juego *Fable* y conocido como el "rey del *Hype*") aludía a esa separación entre videojuego y cine basándose en este concepto[7]. El propio Congreso de los Diputados español aprobó una iniciativa para que la industria del videojuego sea reconocida como "industria cultural de primer orden", debido a que "constituye uno de los sectores más dinámicos y pujantes de nuestra cultura". El mismo documento contempla a los autores como "creativos culturales" y sus plantillas compuestas por "guionistas, dibujantes, modeladores y directores de artes, a los que se unen profesionales de las nuevas tecnologías", como partes integrantes de esa autoría, en una potencial "internacionalización de su actividad, en los mismos términos que el cine, la música, el libro o las artes plásticas".[8] Es pues una realidad tangible. Por ello, veamos qué supone para esa información que nos rodea la calidad y cantidad que supone el acercamiento a la Edad Media desde la perspectiva del juego virtual. Los distintos planos que surjan serán simplemente producto de las múltiples posibilidades que el ser humano le podemos ver (y dar) a estas tecnologías.

Una última premisa. La literatura sobre este tema es tan corta como reciente (por razones obvias)[9]. La gran mayoría de aportaciones están circunscritas al ámbito de la red, con publicaciones electrónicas, donde la inmediatez suple la obsolescencia con la que estos temas suelen caer desde el mismo momento en que se terminan de redactar. Son estudios realizados por psicólogos o pedagogos, mayoritariamente, aunque algunos de ellos nos serán útiles para encuadrar y ubicar juegos que pertenecen a tipologías distintas, siendo todos ellos de tema medieval. Abundarán las referencias a esos trabajos localizados en internet, por lo que no debe extrañar que la fecha de consulta coincida en muchos casos, pues se debe a la comprobación final de que seguían estando en esas direcciones electrónicas.

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ventas en software, no en el total del negocio del videojuego, como el de ventas de consolas. "Key Facts. The profile of the European Videogamer". *Interactive Software Federation of Europe*. 2007. Interactive Software Federation of Europe. 3 de mayo de 2009. <http://www.isfe.eu/index.php?PHPSESSID=JF4PQ8432EH6RK3F8BJ92VVQD6&oidit=T001:662b16536388a7260921599321365911>.

6. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia; Levis Czernik, Diego Levis. "La narrativa en los videojuegos: un espacio cultural de aprendizaje socioemocional". Teoría de la Educación, 9/3 (2008): 53; Sánchez Peris, Francesc J, coord. "Videojuegos: una herramienta educativa del 'homo digitalis'". *Revista Electrónica Teoría de la Educación: Educación y Cultura en la Sociedad de la Información*. Noviembre de 2008. Universidad de Salamanca. 21 de abril de 2009. <http://www.usal.es/teoriaeducacion/rev_numero_09_03/n9_03_esnaola_levis.pdf>. Lo recogen a su vez <www.espectador.com>.

7. Entrevista a Peter Molyneux. *Marcaplayer*, 8 (2009): 69.

8. Ver nota 3.

9. Para el caso español contamos con las aportaciones de: Rodríguez García, José Manuel. "¿Historia o ficción?: la visión de la Edad Media en los juegos". *Clío: Revista de Historia*, 37 (2004): 52-57; "El uso de internet y los videojuegos en la didáctica de la Historia Medieval", *La historia medieval en la Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria: un balance*, Ana Echevarría, coord. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008: 177-216.

2. Tutorial. Qué es un videojuego

Según la definición de la RAE, un videojuego es un "dispositivo electrónico que permite, mediante mandos apropiados, simular juegos en las pantallas de un televisor o de un ordenador". Aparte de que es una definición ya obsoleta, básicamente por la aparición de nuevos soportes que no tienen nada que ver ni con un ordenador ni con un televisor (o con lo que podemos entender como lo uno y como lo otro), un videojuego es algo más complejo. No se trata en sí de un "dispositivo", lo de los mandos es una cuestión vaga (un *gamepad*, un teclado, un ratón, un *joystick*… pero también existen pantallas táctiles, como el caso de la nueva tecnología *multi-touch*, aplicada por ejemplo a los *i-phone* de Apple, donde los juegos se manejan desde la propia pantallita de la máquina, ahora sí, dispositivo, sin contar lo que es un futuro inmediato, con la nueva tecnología sin mandos de Microsoft), y donde en realidad tampoco se "simulan juegos", sino que se verifican juegos, se juega en una palabra, no se simula jugar: se simula ser un caballero, un general, un comerciante, un estratega, un super-soldado, etc. Sin que sirva de precedente, me parece más ajustada la definición que localizamos en la tan peligrosa wikipedia: "Un videojuego (del inglés video *game*) es un programa de computación, creado para el entretenimiento, basado en la interacción entre una o varias personas y un aparato electrónico (ya sea un ordenador, un sistema arcade, una videoconsola, un dispositivo *handheld* o actualmente un teléfono celular), el cual ejecuta dicho videojuego. En muchos casos, estos recrean entornos y situaciones virtuales en los cuales el jugador puede controlar a uno o varios personajes (o cualquier otro elemento de dicho entorno), para conseguir uno o varios objetivos por medio de unas reglas determinadas".[10]

Queda claro que se trata pues de un elemento virtual que utiliza un dispositivo cibernético con el fin de generar ocio. En el mismo momento en que interviene un soporte físico, conviene realizar una brevísima historia del videojuego que puede ayudar a entender la realidad actual y su enraizamiento tan profundo en nuestra sociedad, esa misma que demanda de forma incansable contenidos inspirados en el periodo medieval, bajo cualquier excusa y en cualquier formato (el de los videojuegos incluido). La razón es que al videojuego sólo se puede jugar mediante una máquina (descrita así de forma simple y casi simplista), por lo que sólo accederemos al juego a través de la posibilidad que tengamos en un momento determinado de poder adquirir, o usar, un ingenio u otro. Este hecho también es importante pues la tecnología progresiva ha permitido que las *recreaciones* virtuales de la Edad Media hayan sido cada vez más espectaculares, con lo que se gana para el atractivo intrínseco del juego.

Para algunos sociólogos[11] el videojuego es la puerta de entrada para que niños y jóvenes se acerquen a las tecnologías de la información y comunicación (las tan manidas TICs). Lo más normal es que recibamos a alumnos en las aulas universitarias donde su acercamiento más profundo a la Historia Medieval, no sólo española sino europea, haya sido a través de algún videojuego (o diversos). Por ello, no debemos de considerar el asunto inane habida cuenta el impacto tan enorme que está teniendo en nuestra sociedad actual, y eso a pesar de que sólo es una impresión que tenemos quienes nos hemos acercado al tema.[12]

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10. "Videojuego". *Wikipedia*. 21 de Abril de 2009 <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/videojuego>.

11. Belli, Simone; López Raventós, Cristian. "Breve historia de los videojuegos". *Athenea Digital*, 14 (2008): 160.

12. Estos mismos autores aluden en su mencionado artículo a ese hecho, poniendo de manifiesto que "es un fenómeno que todavía no se ha estudiado en profundidad por los investigadores sociales". Belli, Simone; López Raventós, Cristian. "Breve historia…": 160.

Los primeros videojuegos salían directamente del trabajo fruto del avance tecnológico. La aplicación de los juegos de mesa (incluidos los *wargames*) a los medios nuevos será *a posteriori*. Es el momento de plantear dónde se juega, y veremos que es fundamental el soporte. En un tablero de mesa basta con eso, con una superficie plana, el propio juego físico y dos o más jugadores (a no ser que uno se "ingenie" solitarios). Pero en un videojuego el asunto es más complejo por el simple hecho de que es determinante la máquina elegida.

2.1. La máquina que sirve para jugar

En la actualidad, y para determinados títulos, es definitivo el sistema que hayamos elegido o al que se haya podido optar para jugar. El juego no es un elemento exento, de ahí que el medio muchas veces sea un fin en sí mismo. La comercialización de la máquina en la que jugamos se muestra como un hándicap, un factor decisivo, que nos permitirá ejecutar el juego escogido. Ordenador (PC o Mac, entorno Windows en sus diversas versiones, Linux…), consola Xbox 360, Playstation (versiones One, 2, 3 y Portable), Nintendo DS (más todas las anteriores de la empresa como Game Cube o Game Boy), Wii (también del gigante nipón), Iphone, N-Gage, modelos diversos de terminales móviles de telefonía…[13] Hablamos de una actualidad en el plano del hardware, es decir, del soporte físico en el que se ejecutará el juego, que ha sido fruto de una evolución acelerada desde mitad del pasado siglo XX.

Desde que apareció la que se considera primera consola en 1972, la Magnavox Odyssey[14], el panorama de las plataformas destinadas exclusivamente a juegos no ha hecho más que vivir una revolución tecnológica tras otra. El primer gran momento de estos aparatos vino con la comercialización a finales de la década de 1970 de la Atari VCS/2600, que permitía el cambio de juegos, particularizados en cartuchos intercambiables. Muy poco más tarde, apareció en el mercado un aparato que permitía fácilmente la programación de juegos, unos más simples que otros, pero todos muy sencillos y con interfaces sobrios, lineales y de colores planos. Nos referimos al Sinclair Spectrum ZX, surgido en 1982. Ya existían en locales públicos ciertas máquinas que iban sustituyendo poco a poco el clásico *pinball*, entre los que hay que atender a tres juegos *eternos*: el *Pac-Man* (o Comecocos), *Space Invaders* (los "marcianitos" en sus múltiples variantes, incluido el de *Asteroids*) y el *Tetris*. Pero de esta época, y con la aplicación de una novedosa tecnología (denominada *laserdisc*[15]), se

13. Sobre este tema, véase Moreno Herrero, Isidro; García Serrano, José Antonio. "Las nuevas pantallas, un reto educativo". *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 17/1 (2006): 135-149.

14. Las historias de los soportes para videojuegos y de los juegos en sí mismos están destinadas a ser confeccionadas de manera progresiva, pues quedan en muy breve plazo anticuadas y obsoletas. Para los periodos fijos, es decir, orígenes, desarrollo, inicios de las empresas de hardware y software, etc., es posible encontrar textos de calidad y bastante completos. Existen breves historias de los videojuegos repartidas entre el formato electrónico y que podemos localizar en internet (*Fabienspain*. 6 de diciembre de 2008. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://fabiensapin.centerblog.net>; "Historia de los Videojuegos". *Wikipedia*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia_de_los_videojuegos>, o las sucesivas páginas de "Prehistoria de los Videojuegos". *2050 D.C. Microhistoria de los Videojuegos*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://sapiens.ya.com/fredworried/html/Microhistoria-ep1.htm> en adelante, alterando el dígito), y en formato papel en *Guinness World Records. Especial videojuegos 2008*. Barcelona: Planeta, 2008: 24. Ya ha aparecido la versión de 2009. Demaria, Rusel; Wilson, John L. *High score! la Historia ilustrada de los videojuegos*. Madrid: Osborne McGraw-Hill, 2002. Algunos se centran en las primeras etapas, intentando definir elementos concretos del fenómeno, como el juego *arcade* (López Nieto, Daniel. "Análisis del contexto histórico y tecnológico del origen de los videojuegos". *Icono 14. Revista científica semestral de comunicación audovisual y nuevas tecnologías*. Enero 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 26 de abril de 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num8/articulos/05.pdf>.

15. De este momento y con esta tecnología se produjo el primer simulador de vuelo para salas recreativas de gran espectacularidad, el *Mach 3*, donde el jugador pilotaba un avión de combate. Podemos ver este juego en una secuencia de

podía jugar en los recreativos o en bares a un juego que ya *sonaba* a *medievo*, y que desde entonces ha vivido una eterna juventud, con múltiples ediciones en absolutamente todas las plataformas (de forma muy reciente hasta en UMD para PSP). Me refiero a *Dragon's Lair*, que supuso una plasmación inmediata de lo que suponían los mandobles dados por un *cartoon* con indumentaria identificada con el periodo medieval y que era controlado por el jugador (ilustración 1). Dirk, el protagonista (otra cuestión en la que no voy a entrar en este artículo es en la personalidad propia que llegan a alcanzar estos personajes de ficción o no ficción), queda descrito en el manual de usuario para juego en PC de forma clara: "Ayuda a Dirk, un intrépido caballero medieval, a rescatar a la princesa Daphne, cautiva en la guarida del dragón". Tuvo un éxito enorme, y eso que constaba de 800 puntos de decisión donde un jugador que no tuviera fallo alguno tardaría menos de diez minutos en completar el juego. ¿Fueron los gráficos, fue la espectacularidad del manejo del personaje con la espada en alto? A día de hoy sigue siendo un personaje de culto, con mercadotecnia incluida y adaptaciones gráficas de los personajes (a Daphne nos la podemos encontrar en la red representada ciertamente como un símbolo sexual puro). Pero dejamos de forma tajante este tipo de juego, tanto en cuanto también voy a diferenciar entre los juegos que hacen uso de fenómenos y elementos inverosímiles, fantásticos y mágicos (propios del tópico sobre lo medieval que existe de forma generalizada), y los que guardan una regla de rigor histórico, más o menos conseguido. Tornaré sobre este asunto, pues es uno de los soportes del estudio.

Esta etapa de desarrollo coincidió con el cambio entre las épocas "dorada" y la "impulsora", según la clasificación de Huertero[16]. En la primera se asentó el videojuego como un elemento destinado al entretenimiento casero (la época de los citados "marcianitos"), y en la segunda, comprendida entre 1983 y 1994, donde disminuyeron los límites tecnológicos para la creación de videojuegos; fue cuando se generaron las franquicias de este producto. El juego citado de *Dragon's Lair* tenía pues, el trampolín para acercar mundos oníricos y fantásticos, aquello por lo que el universo de *lo medieval* atrae a nuestra civilización occidental (al potencial jugador) desde el mismo Renacimiento (al fin y al cabo es cuando se genera el concepto). El Romanticismo y la literatura fantástica de Tolkien o Lewis tenía el complemento (y digo bien, *complemento*) perfecto para su desarrollo.

La aplicación de tecnología derivó en una multiplicación exponencial a la diversidad de juegos. La expansión del PC y la génesis de la guerra de consolas en la década de los 90 hicieron que los desarrolladores (los que crean el juego) ofrecieran a los consumidores la oportunidad de jugar a cualquier cosa, donde de manera progresiva, la cultura visual de la era del ordenador es cinematográfica en su apariencia, digital en lo material e informática en su lógica[17], ergo hablamos de una apariencia atractiva cada vez mayor que absorbe jugadores de forma paulatina.

La aparición de los juegos de estrategia en esos años también revolucionó las posibilidades que había para desarrollar productos que trasladaran al público desde las mesas a las pantallas. Ya no

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la película *Terminator 2*.

16. Huertero Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos: una forma diferente de entender la política". *Razón y palabra*. 2007. Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey. 25 de abril de 2009 <http://www.cem.itesm.mx/dacs/publicaciones/logos/actual/ghuertero.pdf>. Aparece este mismo artículo en Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos: una forma diferente de entender la política". *Cibersociedad*. 18 de diciembre de 2007. Observatorio para la Cibersociedad. 25 de Abril de 2009 <www.cibersociedad.net/textos/articulo.php?art=141>. Distingue entre *pionera* (1971-1978), *dorada* (1978-1983), *impulsora* (1983-1994), *tecnológica* (1994-2004) donde la industria del videojuego tomó posiciones de poder, con la expansión definitiva del PC y el comienzo de la guerra de las consolas, y *flash* (desde 2004 hasta la actualidad), cuando la aplicación de determinadas herramientas (Macromedia Flash y Java de Sun) facilitan a creadores independientes la producción, acompañado de la expansión definitiva de internet que facilita su difusión.

17. Manovich, Lev. *El lenguaje de los nuevos medios de comunicación: la imagen en la era digital*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2005: 241.

hacía falta que hubiera otra persona para poder competir en partidas estratégicas o tácticas: el sustrato histórico estaba ahí simplemente para hacer uso de él.

La mejora sustancial de los distintos componentes de los ordenadores personales, a través de la aplicación de la tecnología *antialiasing* (explicada de forma simple, la que evita que los gráficos se nos muestren pixelizados en exceso, difuminando los contornos) con el crecimiento de memoria en las tarjetas gráficas, con perfeccionamiento continuo además de esos procesamientos de información (una muy buena tarjeta cuenta ya con una memoria DDR5, aunque con una DDR3 tendremos más que suficiente para todos los juegos existentes en el mercado del PC), ha ido acompañada de la conocida como *guerra de las consolas*, existente entre grandes compañías de este tipo de ocio, que ha generado el auge y esplendor de algunas consolas, caso de la Playstation en sus versiones One y Dos de Sony, de la Xbox de Microsoft (que ha mantenido el interés de los jugadores con la saga de *Age of Empires*, potenciada ahora con *Halo Wars,* un juego de estrategia salida del mismo equipo de desarrolladores, Ensemble Studios), o Nintendo, que tras la frustrante Game Cube ha visto dispararse las ventas de la portátil Nintendo Ds (ahora rejuvenecida con la Nintendo DSi) y de la revolucionaria Wii. Cada juego precisa de una aplicación concreta, por lo que el grado de introducción comercial se muestra decisivo a la hora de comentar a qué juegos inspirados en el Medievo tiene acceso el jugador. Un juego RTS (estrategia en tiempo real) que hasta hace bien poco parecía restringido al medio PC, a través del videojuego que acabo de aludir (*Halo Wars*) ha ocupado un espacio en las consolas (Xbox). Pero incluso el juego medieval más expandido, *Age of Empire II* (la serie básica, la de *The Ages of Kings*, sin contar las expansiones) y que había sido generado para las plataformas PC y Mac, ha encontrado su aplicación en la PS2, en la Nintendo DS (aquí con una aplicación tipológica como juego TBS, estrategia por turnos), y en terminales de telefonía móvil.

Insisto en que no se trata de un condicionante, sino que es una cuestión que determina sin lugar a dudas el uso y disfrute de un juego en concreto. Las empresas, grandes multinacionales en el caso de las consolas, dirigen la implantación de esos juegos a través de su comercialización. Los ordenadores personales plantean otros condicionantes, donde más tienen que ver las distribuidoras del software.

2.2. El software. El mundo empresarial, la distribución y los temas históricos

Llegado este punto, es oportuno mencionar de manera breve que esos mismos límites llegan a los juegos en sí. Si la implantación de un sistema de consolas se muestra evidente para entender por qué podemos jugar a un juego o no en un área económica, en este caso la Unión Europea, no lo es en menor grado el interés comercial de la distribuidora por vender un producto en un solar determinado. Un ejemplo; teniendo en cuenta que los estudios de desarrollo españoles son muy pocos, con los honrosísimos casos de Pyro Studios, FX Interactive (hispano-italiana), o Alcachofa Soft, el idioma también termina siendo un límite en sí mismo, tanto en cuanto supone un obstáculo para jugar con cierta desenvoltura para un público que mayoritariamente malentiende el inglés (por no hablar de otras lenguas). En este sentido, existe un juego, titulado *Europa 1400*, de la saga *The Guild*, que no tuvo gran éxito en nuestro país por el mero hecho de estar en inglés; ahora ha sido reeditado con las expansiones y con la segunda parte (que lleva por título *Pirates of the European Seas*, en 2008), donde ésta sí tiene traducido al español todos los textos, aunque no las voces. Una normativa obliga a ofrecer ese tipo de información al consumidor antes de adquirir el producto, por lo que no es extraño localizar la consabida etiqueta para atraer al potencial comprador con

"Totalmente en castellano" (o "Totalmente en español") o especificando simplemente "Juego en castellano". Es habitual que también se indique la limitación idiomática aclarando "Textos de pantalla en inglés" (como en *Grandes Invasiones. Las invasiones bárbaras 350-1066 dC*), o un minúsculo cuadro indicativo acerca de qué es lo traducido o no al castellano (por ejemplo, caso de *Knights of Honor*, que especifica de forma mínima que el manual está en castellano, pero que voces y textos en pantalla aparecen en inglés, con las consabidas banderitas nacionales identificativas). Esto último suele ser habitual, pues los manuales aseguran que el comprador tiene una guía suficiente para poder desenvolverse en el juego; en el caso del aludido *Europa 1400. The Guild*, el manual en castellano se encuentra inserto en formato pdf en el soporte CD, pero el segundo sí que lleva una guía completa.

Todos estos supuestos, desde el idiomático hasta el propio de ofrecimiento del producto abaratando costes, nos lleva al punto de partida de este epígrafe. Los intereses comerciales de las grandes distribuidoras (las que al fin y al cabo traducen o no los juegos) condicionan sobremanera el arraigo de determinados videojuegos entre el público. Las estrategias de mercado, acompañadas por la propia dinámica reguladora de oferta y demanda, suponen en buena parte de los casos el destino de esos productos. Promoción, distribución, interés específico de los intermediarios (franquicias o grandes casas comerciales), etc., terminan por dirigir en un alto grado la implantación de un videojuego.

La situación económica termina por condicionar gravemente el lanzamiento o finalización de cualquier título, como sucede de manera general. Y no aludo a la actual coyuntura, sino a la propia empresarial (de hecho, el sector videojuegos es una de las que está experimentando un crecimiento sin precedentes en el mundo del ocio, por el bajo coste para el consumidor que termina resultando en comparación con la inversión-horas de disfrute). La caída de consolas (caso de Atari en los 80), la apuesta decidida por determinadas plataformas (Microsoft con Xbox) o la aplicación diversa de las máquinas hacia otras actividades (caso de la PS3 con el reproductor Blu-Ray, PSP como navegador GPS, o el propio PC o Mac como útiles de trabajo), son factores de trascendencia tan grande que el jugador sufre pasivo estos movimientos. La única respuesta que le queda es la de comprar o no estos productos. Y aquí es donde entra el *gusto* por determinados temas.

Es momento de mencionar el fenómeno no sólo de las sagas sino de las expansiones. El éxito de algún título asegura que se han generado dos fuerzas paralelas que tiran en el mismo sentido; por un lado el interés empresarial que, deseoso de repetir beneficios, insistirá en una nueva versión mejorada del juego. Es la *saga* aplicada al campo del videojuego. Son los casos de las segundas partes, terceras, cuartas…, donde además del número identificador (*Caesar*, *Caesar II*, *Caesar III*, y ya vamos por *Caesar IV*) cambia normalmente la interfaz, mejorando notablemente los gráficos y la gestión del juego (a veces hasta el juego completo). *Stronghold* y *Medieval Total War* son los ejemplos más sobresalientes para el juego ambientado en la Edad Media. Y un elemento distinto es la *expansión* para PC o Mac. En primer lugar, precisa para jugar que en la máquina ya esté instalado el juego origen (factor que anuncian las distribuidoras en las cajas de forma obligatoria, bajo diversas fórmulas, pero todas advirtiendo de esa necesidad), y son ampliaciones a ese juego primero. Desde la perspectiva comercial es muy sugerente, pues ya se tiene a un público potencial que desea continuar con el juego, además por diversos motivos. Si en el plano de la ciencia ficción son infinitas las posibilidades (sólo contamos con el límite de la imaginación de los guionistas), en los videojuegos de sustrato histórico se tienen las diversas vías de especificidades históricas. Aunque insistamos en ello más adelante, no me resisto a aludir a las expansiones de *MTW*, tanto para

el primer juego de la saga como para el segundo. Para el primero contábamos con la expansión *Viking Invasion*, concretado el escenario en las islas británicas durante el periodo altomedieval; para el segundo la expansión es múltiple, pues en el producto *Medieval Total War II: Kingdoms* quedan incluidas cuatro microexpansiones, juegos independientes en sí mismos aunque con el mismo sistema de jugabilidad: *Britannia*, *Teutonic*, *Crusades* y *Americas* (concretado en las fases primarias de la conquista americana del Caribe y Centroamérica). El producto podía ser adquirido en un pack para coleccionistas, aparte de las ediciones *Gold* (que recogen el juego original y las expansiones), recurso utilizado para vender los mismos juegos pero con algún incentivo específico (un mapa, una figurita, postales…). Ha sido utilizado por la misma empresa y para el nuevo juego de la saga, *Empire Total War*, donde cambiaba la caja, se incluía un gran mapa y se regalaban cuatro unidades específicas tras registrar el juego online.

Sobra decir que el videojuego inspirado o ambientado en la Edad Media, o simulándola, es uno de los grandes favoritos, tanto si es un juego que tiene una verosimilitud alta como si se trata de un mundo fantástico e irreal, vinculado a la imagen prototípica del Medievo. La demanda de esos títulos por parte de los jugadores, bien si son ocasionales como si son habituales, ha sido creciente, y no es extraño que el trasfondo medieval para juegos que han ido saliendo al mercado desde hace veinte años tenga ese periodo como el marco histórico para la aventura, reto o disfrute del juego por sí mismo (*jugar por jugar*). La dinámica ha sido continua, con hitos como *Zelda*, los medievales de *Total War* (incluida la expansión de *Rome Total War*: *Barbarian Invasion*, localizado en el mundo tardoantiguo), *Age of Empire II* y su expansión *The conquerors*, todas las versiones de *Tzar*, *Assasin's Creed* (su protagonista Altaïr ha generado su propio movimiento de fans), *Stronghold* (la saga completa), todo el universo fantástico de *El señor de los Anillos*, el de *Narnia*, *World of Warcraft*, *The Guild*, la saga *Patrician* o el reciente *Mount & Blade*, por decir algunos. En muchas ocasiones, éstos han surgido al amparo de lanzamientos ajenos al mundo del videojuego, pero que han tenido su reflejo en él a través de alguna aplicación para incrementar los ingresos por mercadotecnia, aprovechando lo llamativo que resulta vivir y protagonizar de manera virtual la propia película; de la misma forma que la productora de la trilogía del *Señor de los Anillos* ha lanzado todo tipo de artilugios, o a raíz del estreno del *Beowulf* de Zemeckis y la novela homónima de Kiernan (ambas de 2007)[18], los videojuegos[19] entraban a formar parte de esa panoplia que representa la explotación de un producto de consumo (y el videojuego lo es). Por lo tanto, concluyo con que el videojuego es un elemento más de los que aparecen expuestos en la vitrina para ser consumidos; el mercado demanda productos *medievales*, por lo que las empresas corresponden en su justa medida, dirigiendo a su vez hacia esos mismos gustos. La ampliación del tema histórico, o pseudohistórico, es algo que

18. Conde Silvestre, Juan Camilo. "Estrategias y recursos para la reelaboración de un poema heroico medieval en el siglo XXI: los Beowulfs de Robert Zemeckis y Caitlín R. Kiernan". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 33 (2009), en prensa.

19. Para el caso de *El Señor de los Anillos* contamos con *El Señor de los Anillos Online: Sombras de Angmar* (un MMORPG, muy similar a *WoW*), *El Señor de los Anillos: el retorno del rey*, *El Señor de los Anillos: las dos torres* y *El Señor de los Anillos: la tercera edad* (todas para PS2, aunque perteneciendo a distinta tipología de juego, pues mientras los dos primeros eran de acción, un "beat'em up", el tercero es un RPG del estilo de *Final Fantasy*), así como *El Señor de los Anillos: la batalla por la Tierra Media* (estrategia para PC) y *El Señor de los Anillos: la conquista* (multiplataforma: PC, X360, PS3 y Nintendo DS). Para *Beowulf* con el juego homónimo para PC, Xbox, PSP y PS3, desarrollada por la francocanadiense Ubisoft. Y *King Arthur* para PS2 y Xbox. Esta estrategia de mercado es habitual para estos productos, teniendo casos de todo tipo que han "saltado" de la gran pantalla al monitor (*Torrente, el brazo tonto de la ley*; todas las infantiles tienen su correspondiente videojuegos en casi todas las plataformas) e incluso de la pequeña pantalla (series que cuentan con su videojuego, caso de *Perdidos*, *CSI*, *Mujeres Desesperadas*…). Lo interesante es cuando han dado el salto al revés, es decir, que el videojuego ha terminado generando un film, como *Tomb Raider* o *Blade*, contando con casos "complejos" como *Alien vs Depredator*. Han sido apuntes para una lista interminable.

las propias firmas van insistiendo a la búsqueda del mismo tipo de jugador pero que bascula hacia otros periodos históricos que le atraen más que el medieval, caso de los numerosos sobre el tema de la Roma clásica (desde aquel *Las grandes batallas de Julio César*, pasando por *Pax Romana*, *Age of Empires. Gold Edition*, *Rome Total War*, *Roma*, *Praetorians*, *Pompeya: la leyenda del Vesubio*, la extensa saga *Imperium*, la *Caesar*, *Civcity Roma*, *Great Battles of Rome*, *Europa Universalis: Roma* y su expansión *Vae Victis*, *Legión Arena*, *Glory of the Roman Empire*, *Imperium Romanum Gold Edition*, el de *Artyria*, juego online, o el recientísimo *Esa horrible Historia: depravados romanos*, para Wii, PC y DS, fruto de la serie de libros de Historia para niños "Esa Horrible Historia"), Grecia (la saga *Sparta*, *Señor del Olimpo "Zeus"*, *Rise of the Argonauts*, *Alexander:* expansión de *RTW*, *Las grandes batallas de Alejandro Magno*, *Alexander*, sobre las campañas de Alejandro Magno, el propio de *Alejandro Magno* a resultas de la película de Oliver Stone), los amplios para civilizaciones antiguas (*Rise and Fall: civilizations at war*, *Strenght & Honour: gestión de imperios en el mundo antiguo (260 aC-100 dC)*, *Chariots of War*), de forma puntual los de época moderna (la saga *Cossacks* y sus correspondientes expansiones, *Imperial Glory*, *Europa Universalis III* —aunque arranca desde el periodo bajomedieval—, *Age of Empires III* y las expansiones en el Lejano Oriente y en el Oeste Americano, *Empire Total War*, la saga *Anno* (*Anno 1602*, *Anno 1503* y *Anno 1701*), todos los relacionados con el mundo de los corsarios caribeños —la saga de *Port Royale*, *Black Bucaneer*, *Sea Dogs*, el legendario *Monkey Island*, *Piratas del Caribe*—, *American Conquest*, la expansión de *Civilization IV*: *Colonization*) y los del periodo egipcio antiguo (*Faraón* y la expansión *Cleopatra, la reina del Nilo*, *Los niños del Nilo*, *Egipto 1156 aC: la tumba del faraón*, *Egipto II: la Profecía de Heliópolis* y *Egipto III: el destino de Ramsés*, *Ankh: una aventura egipcia*).

Otro capítulo es el generado por el elenco de videojuegos de sustrato histórico que desarrollan una verdadera historia humana, algunos arrancando desde la Prehistoria y que llegan hasta una época futurista (ya enclavada en la ciencia ficción), y donde el jugador, según su pericia y sus logros, va alcanzando etapas marcadas por consecuciones tecnológicas que le hacen pasar por civilizaciones clásicas, por las medievales, modernas y contemporáneas. De esta forma, no es extraño que uno pueda enfrentar una hueste con una división de carros de combate, auténtica aberración para los puritas del rigor histórico pero muy divertido para quienes desean jugar sin más. Es *Empire Earth* y sus correspondientes expansiones, *Empires. Los albores de la Era Moderna* (en este caso se iniciaba en la Baja Edad Media) o la saga del conocido *Civilization*, del desarrollador Sid Meier.

Punto y aparte, pondero este apartado, es el amplísimo catálogo de videojuegos centrados en la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Hay que tener en cuenta que no sólo se han multiplicado los juegos de *shooter* (el jugador se abre paso a través de disparar a casi todo lo que se mueva), como la saga *Medal of Honor*, la de *Call of Duty* o *Brothers in Arms*, sino que la de estrategia ha asumido el papel de los antiguos *wargames* de tablero y, sobre todo, los simuladores de todo tipo y en casi todos los escenarios: aviones de combate (bien caza o bombardeo), barcos de guerra, submarinos, carros de combate… Tengamos en cuenta que estos simuladores han sido favorecidos por la industria militar, con lo que la inversión resultante deriva a corto plazo en la calidad de los productos que rápidamente saltan al mercado general. Continuaciones de este tipo de juego los tenemos con aplicaciones en la Guerra de Vietnam o en las recientes del Golfo; incluso hay algún juego ambientado en la Guerra Fría, como el reciente *Codename Panzers: Cold War*. Insisto en que son muy numerosos los videojuegos relacionados con el gran conflicto mundial, con novedades constantes para absolutamente todas las plataformas.

No he tratado de ofrecer un listado completo de los videojuegos que tienen como sustrato algún periodo histórico (y no lo he hecho con esa intención), sino que debe quedar constancia en este

punto del estudio la importancia fundamental que tiene la Historia, con mayúscula, para la generalidad de la industria y del fenómeno del videojuego. Pensar de otra forma sería negar una evidencia.

Pero dos cuestiones relativizan o alteran ese proceso. En primer lugar, el desarrollo en internet de juegos online, y en segundo, las propias descargas en formato electrónico. En este último caso hay ocasiones en las que ésa no es una buena opción para el jugador, ya que se puede encontrar con que alguna expansión no es jugable si no se posee una copia adquirida en comercio, caso de *Medieval Total War II. Kingdoms*.

Otro tema distinto es la iniciativa privada que se rebela independiente y quiere erigirse como competidor (por su gratuidad) "con las grandes empresas del sector de los videojuegos" (tal y como especifican los creadores de *Buccaneer Quest*, un juego libre)[20]. Internet es como el campo, sin puertas que ponerle (con la excepción de los límites que los poderes públicos nos quieran imponer). En este sentido cabría mencionar el asunto de la piratería. Quien esto escribe no posee ningún juego ilegal, primero porque puedo costearme el hobby, segundo porque originalmente me acerqué a este mundo a través de los simuladores y precisaba de las instrucciones complejas necesarias, por lo que vi las ventajas de las copias originales, y tercero porque los manuales llegan a representar una bibliografía en sí misma; a veces se echa de menos la escasa inversión de las empresas en ellos, aunque se comprende que para abaratar costes sea así. No se entiende entonces que algunos sigan costando una auténtica barbaridad para bolsillos de cualquier adolescente de familia media y no porten ni un mísero folleto explicativo sobre el periodo histórico en que está enclavado el juego, o una especificación referente a algún aspecto concreto del mismo.

2.3. Internet y el multijugador

Desde luego el crecimiento de videojuegos en la red no ha parado de crecer, donde sólo es preciso registrarse ofreciendo datos sencillos, como un alias y un email, y que tiene como mayor ventaja que el soporte es la propia internet; en ocasiones son de pago, pero el resultado es el mismo. Son los conocidos como MMORPG (*Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Games*), o juegos de rol multijugador masivo en línea. Tras el fenómeno *World of Warcraft* (WoW)[21], con once millones de jugadores en todo el mundo, y su paso a formato CD comercializado, la extensión de este tipo de juegos (de todo tipo) crece de manera espectacular. Este medio está generando foros específicos vinculados a un juego concreto, derivando por razones obvias al contexto que lo inspire. Si ese trata de un videojuego ambientado en el pasado medieval los contenidos del foro estarán indefectiblemente vinculados a nuestra disciplina. Dejando de lado el mencionado videojuego, de inspiración medieval fantástica, existen cinco juegos (aunque existirá alguno más), primero y segundo de rol y el resto de estrategia, que merece la pena reseñar: *Holy-War*[22] (ilustración 2), *Battle Knigt*[23], *Kings*

20. SourceForge. *Buccaneer quest*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://buccaneerquest.sourceforge.net/index.html>.

21. Página oficial: Blizard Entertaiment. *World of Warcraft*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.wow-europe.com/es/index.xml>, desarrollada por Blizzard Entertainment para plataforma Windows y Mac OS X, a través de los diseñadores Rob Pardo, Jeff Kaplan y Ton Chilton.

22. GameArt Studio. *Holy War*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.Holy-War.net>. "Holy War es un juego de rol online complejo al que podrás jugar gratis. Sumérgete en la emocionante era de la Guerra Santa. Elige el rol de un cruzado, un sarraceno o un pagano, y conquista o defiende la Tierra Santa". Es la definición del juego que aparece en la página de inicio. Los idiomas posibles son el alemán, el inglés, español, francés, italiano, polaco, portugués, ruso y turco.

23. Gameforge. *Batlleknight*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://battleknight.es/index.php?loc=start>.

Age[24], *Guerras Tribales*[25] y *Medievol*.[26] Se puede asumir la personalidad de un "cristiano, sarraceno o pagano" (HW) defendiendo o atacando Tierra Santa, o consiguiendo recursos por medio del combate y gestión, aunque lo más anima a jugar a ellos es la comunicación entre usuarios de manera directa y permanente. La interfaz del primero y del tercero está mucho mejor lograda, lo que no es un factor decisivo en este medio, sino la jugabilidad e inmediatez de respuesta y acción. *Guerras Tribales* y *Kings Age* tienen el sustrato de que los ataques continuos de tipo "fronterizo" son la base del crecimiento de la propia posición: cuanto más "robes" al vecino, más poderoso se convierte tu pueblo. Esto precisa de un tiempo conectado muy alto, por lo que, como dice algún usuario, son juegos destinados a que los vencedores sean administrativos que están sentados horas infinitas delante las pantallas.

La popularización de estos juegos "multijugador" (*multiplayer*) ha alterado la realidad de un juego en solitario en una lucha hombre-máquina. Tienen su origen en los MUD (juegos de rol), que ya existían desde *Arpanet* (la red telemática sobre la que se construyó Internet y hablamos de finales de los 70), y se basaban en el uso del texto escrito,[27] sistema que se prolongó en el tiempo; en 1984 se comercializaba un juego con este sistema, *The saga of Erik the Viking*, y que no deja por menos que esbocemos una sonrisa al compararlo con cualquier juego de hoy día, incluso de los más simples online. No obstante, entre las claves de éxito en el futuro, además de otros factores como el desarrollo gráfico y de la IA (inteligencia artificial del enemigo), está la de la aplicación de los modos multijugador, a través bien de internet bien de conexión local.[28]

Cuestión bien distinta es la comercialización a través de la red, pues se abre una posibilidad excepcional para que una idea independiente pueda prosperar sin más medios que el de internet. Ha sido el caso de *Mount & Blade*, del estudio turco Taleworlds Entertainment, que ha sido puesto en el mercado de forma recientísima por la firma Paradox, considerando el gran éxito de descargas que tenía entre los jugadores.

Desconozco en estos momentos el éxito del nuevo sistema *OnLive*,[29] presentado en la *Games Developers Conference* de San Francisco, que reproducirá los juegos de forma remota a través de internet, sin que sea precisa una consola específica. No obstante, siempre sería precisa una terminal, y en último punto, una máquina (TV, PC o Mac). Pero da buena medida de lo fundamental que va a suponer la red en un futuro inmediato.

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24. Gameforge. *KingsAge*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.kingsage.es>.

25. InnoGames. *Guerras tribales*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.guerrastribales.es>. Muy parecido a Travian Games (Travian Games. *Bienvenido a Travian*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <www.travian.net>), el sistema de juego es similar, con aldeas que hacer crecer y defender, y atacar a los contrarios. Dejo de lado algún otro arcade de pasatiempo simple (más que simple), titulado *Castle Siege*, que tiene por objeto defender un puesto fortificado y del que no cabe dedicarle más atención (Panaworld. "Castle Siege". *Macrojuegos.com*. 25 de April de 2009 <ttp://www.macrojuegos.com/juegos/castle-siege-3020.php/>) aunque también se encuentra en "Castle Siege"(*Juegosagogo.com*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.juegosagogo.com/arcade/juego/2368-castle-siege>, y en Soluciones Telemáticas. "Castle Siege". *Juegos10.com*. 25 de April 2009 <http://www.juegos10.com/juegos/castle-siege_2928.php>.

26. Integra media digital. *Medievol*. 25 de Abril de 2009 <http://www.medievol.es>.

27. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia; Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…": 64-65.

28. Carrasco Polaino, Rafael. "Propuesta de tipología básica de los videojuegos de PC y consola". *Icono 14*. 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 26 de abril de 2009 <www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/rafael%20carrasco.pdf>.

29. *Onlive*. 21de abril de 2009 <http://www.onlive.com>.

3. Juegos y jugadores

Era preciso que expusiera todo el complejo entramado de soportes y de funcionamiento (a muy grandes rasgos) del fenómeno videojuego para lograr entender el asiento que los juegos de ambientación en la Edad Media han tenido y tienen entre los usuarios. La enumeración de todos estos parámetros útiles para observar en su justa medida el universo del videojuego nos ha ido sugiriendo, y así lo he ido marcando según era preciso y procedente, dos factores básicos: quién juega y a qué juega. La tipología de uno y otro es básica, pues ni todos los jugadores pretenden lo mismo de un juego ni todos los juegos tienen la misma estructura lúdica, aunque ciertamente todos tengan el mismo objetivo: jugar.

Una precisión que procede antes de continuar. Desde 2003 existe un código de calificación de los videojuegos atendiendo a su contenido violento, de aparición de drogas, discriminador, situaciones de terror, léxico inapropiado y soez, o de evidencias sexuales más o menos explícitas: el conocido como PEGI (*Pan European Game Information*, similar al ESRB norteamericano o CERO japonés), y que sustituía en Europa a las diferentes clasificaciones nacionales, englobándolas en un mismo sistema (ilustración 3). El acercamiento de determinados jugadores adolescentes a videojuegos clasificados para mayores de 18 años es más habitual de lo esperado, pues significa "entrar en el grupo" e incluso "ser más respetado".[30] Lo aludo porque al fin y al cabo, y hasta que el jugador no tiene poder adquisitivo, quien compra el juego es el adulto, y ésa es una guía propuesta para orientarlo. En la intención de adquisición, aparte del evidente interés por parte de quien solicita un regalo, hay que tener muy en cuenta el parámetro de gustos (o responsabilidad, unilateral en muchas ocasiones) del comprador. Es muy común que el adulto se deje guiar por el comercial (o el amigo "que sabe de esto"), sin que se tenga en cuenta la particularidad del guión del videojuego, y de si la temática será del agrado del consumidor. Se suele acertar, no obstante, debido precisamente a lo generalizado y estructurado que está el mercado. Habrá que comprender que no es muy recomendable regalar a un niño de 7 años un juego de estrategia en tiempo real de temática medieval tan sólo porque hemos podido ver lo bonito que resultan los gráficos y lo que nos gusta a nosotros la Edad Media, de la misma manera que no es recomendable para ese mismo niño un videojuego donde el manejo de la espada termine por salpicar de sangre virtual la pantalla del televisor o del PC. Luego ya vendrá el adolescente que se las ingenia para hacerse con ese juego sanguinoliento y transgresor.

3.1. Jugador "medievalista"

El videojugador es la persona que usa y juega a cualquier videojuego. Es una forma simple de definirlo, pero se corresponde con una realidad meridiana. A partir de ahí sí que se pueden diferenciar en categorías por su implicación en el juego. No termino de tener clara la diferencia que se propone entre los conceptos *play* y *game*, donde el primer concepto queda circunscrito al disfrute del juego por el mero hecho de jugar, y el segundo al empleo por adultos, con reglas y objetivos.[31] Se juega por muchos motivos, pero nadie juega para perder, sino para conseguir cualquier objetivo, bien en el seno del juego bien fuera de él. La edad media del jugador en España, según el informe

30. Hay un estudio de Petra Mª Pérez Alonso-Geta que alude a que la aplicación del PEGI no garantiza la protección a los menores. Pérez Alonso-Geta, Petra Mª. "Protección de la infancia y nuevas tecnología de la comunicación: el código PEGI de regulación de los videojuegos and juegos on-line". *Teoría de la Educación*, 9/3 (2008): 29-47.

31. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia and Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…". 64-65.

ISFE para 2007[32], es de 26 años. El jugador eventual es aquél que se acerca de forma esporádica a un videojuego, a cualquiera, con la intención de lo que comúnmente se dice "matar el tiempo".[33] La mala imagen pública que se tenía (y tiene) del jugador y del propio acto de jugar a un videojuego (vistos como auténticos drogadictos, viviendo en el Averno o en el seno de Satán) ha generado un debate entre los pedagogos y psicólogos acerca de las bondades o perjuicios que tiene el uso del videojuego; y eso que la iniciativa aprobada por el Congreso de los Diputados alude a estos juegos como "una buena oportunidad para experimentar nuevas fórmulas pedagógicas en el desarrollo educativo y en la formación de valores cívicos".[34] Como la porfía continúa, simplemente me limito a que se conozca el fenómeno antes de opinar, y a generarse un criterio a raíz de las aportaciones que algunos videojuegos tienen para el conocimiento del periodo medieval. Ese jugador ocasional se acerca con curiosidad, y casi con sorpresa, cuando observa el aluvión de informaciones que recibe sobre el periodo temporal al jugar a buena parte de esos títulos. En muchas ocasiones lo solventará con un: "Es muy complicado" para juegos ciertamente complejos, caso de los de estrategia, y se refugia normalmente en los de *arcade*, aventura o rol que *a priori* no necesitan más que un somero tutorial para ponerse a disfrutar el juego, y los más complicados de controlar se van asumiendo con el desarrollo del mismo; pero es eso, una impresión apriorística que entraña en ocasiones sorpresas, pues el control de las situaciones precisa, insisto en determinadas circunstancias, de un conocimiento previo de realidades del juego. Por ejemplo; ver por vez primera una partida de *Siglo XIII: muerte o gloria* es espectacular (ilustración 4), pero el control del juego es ciertamente complejo para un no iniciado. Sin embargo, el sencillo tutorial de *Mount & Blade* nos sitúa en un instante, y tras haber confeccionado nuestra particular biografía, dando mamporros por las estancias de un castillo o utilizando el arco mientras montamos a caballo como práctica (ilustración 5). Por no hablar de alguno en consola que sólo precisa de introducir el disco y ponerse a manejar botones, caso de *Assassin's Creed* (versiones PS3, Xbox y PSP, o la precuela[35] para Nintendo DS con el subtítulo *Altaïr's Chronicles*, y que acaba de aparecer también para Iphone). Conviene insistir; este jugador es el que juega de vez en cuando; no confundamos con el que se pone delante de una pantalla cada tres, cuatro o cinco meses.

Después del ocasional, tendríamos al *gamer*, jugador que conoce a fondo la industria (más o menos) y el mercado del videojuego, y suele estar al tanto de las novedades. Posiblemente sea éste el mejor modelo de análisis como jugador medievalista, ya que le dedica un tiempo preciso (y a veces precioso) para localizar el juego, calibrarlo y, si le merece la pena, jugarlo y controlarlo. Es muy interesante este tipo de jugador pues normalmente tiene un condicionante previo que le hace acercarse a un juego ambientado en la Edad Media, independientemente de si es arcade o de estrategia. Luego todo irá en gustos o en las posibilidades y jugabilidad del producto. *Lords III: the Realm*

32. *Key Facts. The profile of the European Videogamer. 2007*. Interactive Software Federation of Europe. Ver nota 6.

33. Es muy interesante el artículo de Aurelio del Portillo sobre lo que representa perder el tiempo, emplear el tiempo, perder la noción del tiempo jugando, etc. "Enajenación de la experiencia del tiempo ante la pantalla del videojuego". *Icono 14*. 2004. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 26 de abril de 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num4/index.html>.

34. Ver nota 2.

35. Es un neologismo aún no reconocido por la RAE. Se trata de una obra generada con posterioridad a la original, pero que tiene su guión desarrollado en una cronología previa. Este puntal es interesante porque aporta datos que completan la historia del primero. En el cine sí tenemos algunos ejemplos, siendo la más conocida de las precuelas las tres películas de *Star Wars* recientes, que se sitúan cronológicamente antes que las originales de la década de los 70.

es ciertamente fantástico para entender el sistema feudovasallático, pero esa opción lo convierte en complicado de jugar para un no iniciado (en el juego o en el medievalismo).

El caso siguiente es el conocido en la jerga como *programer*, que se dedica a campeonatos oficiales en línea y a intervenir en las betas (versiones de prueba) de los programas (en este caso videojuegos), detectando en muchas ocasiones fallos que, erradicados, mejorarán el producto. En los créditos de algún manual de instrucciones sí vienen reflejados casos concretos de estas colaboraciones con la versión definitiva (la que se comercializa), como en *Siglo XIII: Muerte o gloria*, *Stronghold 2* o en casi toda la saga *TW* (sobre todo las últimas). En este punto hay que aludir al fenómeno "parche" en la plataforma PC, tan conocido para los usuarios habituales de las nuevas tecnologías. Es muy posible que esa versión contenga algún problema de jugabilidad o gestión del juego, o que genere algún problema con el equipo soportado. Entonces bien la propia firma bien algún usuario por libre confecciona un pequeño programa que completará o corregirá el error.

El *hardcore gamer* sería el profesional propiamente dicho, como último gradiente de los jugadores. Hay subdivisiones a su vez, con denominaciones propias de la coyuntura (como *gosu*, que son los *gamers* que tiene una habilidad especial para determinado videojuego).[36]

Si bien ésta es una clasificación atendiendo a la implicación del jugador con el producto, en realidad existen dos tipos extremos en los relacionados con la Edad Media y que suponen los límites para un amplio elenco de posibilidades intermedias. Me refiero a aquel jugador que es un gran aficionado a este medio pero que no tiene más iniciación al conocimiento de lo que fue aquel periodo histórico que el prototipo de lo medieval que cualquier persona puede tener, generado por el aluvión de imagen tópica que nos inunda desde niños (Edad Media igual a oscuridad, atraso, caballero, castillo, princesa); y en el otro punto más alejado, el medievalista profesional, que busca el sustrato de la veracidad (incluso de la verosimilitud) del juego. Entre los dos, podemos jalonar un vasto número de gradientes posibles.

Lo primero que hemos de contestar es qué ansía el usuario cuando inicia cualquier videojuego. Huertero[37] alude a que intenta cumplir con dos planos bien distintos: por pura satisfacción, es decir, el mero hecho de jugar-competir-ganar-compartir[38], y por satisfacer al grupo. Aquí es donde ubicamos al videojuego como elemento de sociabilidad: no tener un videojuego o no jugar a él es no participar de la *tribu*. Se puede comprender la aproximación de un profesional de la Historia a este tipo de medio, pero es más complejo el hecho de qué le llama la atención a buena parte de los no amantes del conocimiento histórico (incluso alguno de estos jóvenes repudian la disciplina que reciben en sus centros de estudio) de estos juegos. Se puede argüir que está jugando, no estudiando. Pero al fin y al cabo, en algunos de estos videojuegos es preciso un control de sucesos, condicionantes, factores y elementos propios de aquellas culturas localizadas entre los siglos V y XVI para poder disfrutar del juego. Lo espectacular es que terminan asumiendo una terminología de "unidades de combate" propia de un especialista y que de ninguna otra manera hubieran tenido conocimiento de ellas. Por ejemplo, una unidad muy útil en *Age of Empires II* es el *catafracta*, como caballería pesada

36. Son muy reveladores los datos recogidos en el informe "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos…", apartado 7.1. Ver nota 2.

37. Huertero Valle, Guillermo Alexis. "Videojuegos políticos…".

38. Los resultados del informe "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos…" lo parece confirmar, con porcentajes altísimos de jugadores (aproximadamente la mitad) que dicen jugar por entretenimiento/distracción. Los más mayores lo hacen por compartir con la familia, lo que nos conduce a la segunda propuesta que indica Huertero para indicar las razones para acercarse a un videojuego, que no es otra que la de integración, en este caso más por deseos de no separarse del grupo que por asimilarse a él, pues de hecho ya lo está.

en la facción bizantina. Dudo mucho que de otra forma, el acceso a este término y su uso se hubiera producido con una educación digamos general. El hecho de buscar el juego y de participar de él con los *iguales* (compañeros, colegas, amigos…) no tiene mayor sentido que el de sentirse incluido y reconocido en el grupo. Hay un caso aún más interesante, y que responde a la moda concreta de algún juego. Hace dos años (en noviembre de 2007), y coincidiendo en ese mismo año con el lanzamiento de una de las consolas más populares, la PS3, salió al mercado *Assassin's Creed*, que explotaba la alta definición propia del reproductor Blu-Ray de la máquina de Sony (ilustración 6). Haber jugado a este juego de aventura, ubicado en la Plena Edad Media y en Ultramar (Tierra Santa), con posibilidades de andar por las calles de Damasco, Acre, Masyaf, Arsuf y la propia Jerusalén a finales del siglo XII, significaba la ponderación personal del individuo en el grupo.

Pero eso se producía en un acercamiento "accidental" al juego *medieval*. Era la novedad, además con el nuevo aparato gráfico (desarrollado en *Scimitar*, como el utilizado para *Prince of Persia*), que permitía disfrutar de las imágenes en pantallas de HD Ready, a 720p, lo cual era un espectacular avance sobre la resolución de televisores anteriores. Lo más importante de esto es que generó un grupo numeroso de seguidores que afianzaban no sólo el desarrollo de una mercadotecnia (como ya mencioné con anterioridad), sino todo un fenómeno social en el marco del videojuego.[39] Y eso a pesar de que tiene un PEGI +18. Pero aun siendo así, hay que tenerlo muy en cuenta, ya que insta al jugador neófito en conocimientos de Historia Medieval a saber quiénes eran los integrantes de la secta de los *assassin*[40] y hasta los personajes históricos que aparecen, amén de las ciudades, y de la circunstancia histórica concreta de la III Cruzada.

El profesional de la Historia tampoco coincide necesariamente con el jugador profesional de la Historia Medieval. El docente de Historia que juega a los videojuegos tendrá su particular inclinación sobre una temática u otra, e incluso sobre algún tipo de juego. No pensemos que todo el profesional de la disciplina histórica es un incondicional de los juegos de estrategia, considerados como los que mayor trasfondo de contenido histórico nos pueden ofrecer. Lo interesante es saber qué postura toma el jugador que sí tiene una formación como medievalista, independientemente de si ha sido a través de la Historia, la Literatura, el Arte, la Filosofía, la Filología, etc.

Lo que es indudable es la implicación del jugador de enorme trascendencia para lo que termina siendo un juego. Sin ir más lejos, podemos aludir al fenómeno de los *mods*. Un mod es una ampliación o perfeccionamiento (o perfilamiento) del juego por parte de algunos seguidores iniciados en la materia del mismo y con conocimientos técnicos, y que normalmente quedan expuestos en la red para uso y disfrute del resto de usuarios. Existen diversos lugares donde localizar este tipo de fichero que se tiene que instalar una vez lo está el juego original, pero menciono una URL que contiene un amplio listado de posibilidades, además de todo tipo de juegos: strategyinformer.com[41]. Para el juego *Rome: Total War* las opciones son muy diversas, desde la aplicación de la conquista de Iberia, y por ende, a la formalización de Hispania (*Iberia: Total War*[42]), a diversos de la Antigüedad (la propia Roma o una beta de la invasión persa), de las campañas napoleónicas o, lo que más

39. Ubisoft Entertaiment. *Assassin's Creed 2*. 21 de abril de 2009. http://assassinscreed.es.ubi.com/assassins-creed-2/teaser.

40. Muy interesante el ensayo de W. B. Bartlett sobre este fenómeno: Bartlett, Wayne Baker. *Los asesinos*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006.

41. *Strategyinformer*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.strategyinformer.com/all/mods.html>.

42. *Iberia Total War*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.itw.celtiberos.net>, y que redirige a "Rome: Total War Mod". *Strategyinformer*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.strategyinformer.com/pc/rometotalwar/mod/23491.html>.

nos puede interesar, de las invasiones bárbaras con altos niveles históricos (*Europa Barbarorum*[43]) y de lo que aparece denominado en la mod como *Rome Medieval*[44]. Hay incluso de *Star Wars*. Lo interesante es que la comunidad de jugadores de la saga completa de TW es tan enorme que lógicamente se generó un foro específico: *Total War Center*[45], donde se puede hallar el lugar perfecto para encontrar los mods que se deseen, al punto de que tuvieron que publicar una normativa de funcionamiento y aprovechamiento de los mismos.

Los conceptos "veracidad", "verosimilitud", "concreción histórica" o "adecuación de los contenidos a la Historia" son inherentes a la toma de posición primera por parte del *medievalista* (aquí englobo no sólo al docente, sino al investigador y al aficionado a temas referidos al Medievo). Escogerá un videojuego o no según su criterio de aprendizaje e incluso de visibilidad de una realidad que sólo ha imaginado en los libros y que ahora tiene oportunidad de *re-crear*; incluso de vivir de manera virtual a través de determinados juegos, como *Mount & Blade,* la saga *The Guild* o *Assassin's Creed*. En esa toma de postura es donde cabe ahora realizar el gran cisma entre jugadores: aquellos que buscan esa veracidad, y los que no les importa que haya licencias fantásticas en aras de lograr el juego deseado por el autor (caso de apariciones de magos, dragones, seres mágicos, etc.). Desconozco si el 20% de jugadores enclavados entre los que poseían en 2007 unos estudios superiores (o con datos actualizados para 2009, no disponibles tampoco para 2008) se decantaban por unos u otros. La edad del jugador tiene mucho que decir en este sentido, pues sabemos que en torno al 43% de los menores de 30 años se consideraban jugadores habituales, restringiéndose al 16% en los comprendidos entre los 30 y 49 años (informe ISFE 2007). Por lo tanto, la formación previa sí está implícita en el uso y perspectiva que el investigador puede tener de la imagen que de lo *medieval* arrojan estos videojuegos. Es posible que tengan que pasar aún unos cuantos años para que el impacto lo podamos calibrar en su justa medida, cuando la realidad sea comprendida de manera completa por el docente (él ya habría jugado y tendría conocimientos al respecto, al mismo nivel que sus alumnos). Lo podemos comprobar cuando el interés por el juego de estrategia cae estrepitosamente a partir de los 45 años, así como el de aventura[46]. Pero eso son datos de hoy día; el informe puesto en la web de la Asociación Española de Distribuidores y Editores de Software de Entretenimiento (*aDeSe*) sobre los videojuegos en los hogares españoles, con cifras y resultados del año 2000, necesitan ya una revisión inmediata.

3.2. Videojuegos y la noción e imagen de lo medieval

Paso ahora a referirme de manera concreta y ya definida al videojuego circunscrito al periodo medieval. Conviene recordar algo que vengo refiriendo desde el comienzo del presente estudio. Asumo la división ofrecida por R. Carrasco Polaino quien especifica que el juego puede ser arcade, de aventura y rol, de simulación, de estrategia, deportivo y de puzzles y preguntas.[47] En arcade, en

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43. *Europa Barbarorum. Modification for Rome: Total War*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.europabarbarorum.com/>.

44. Hay un listado de posibles descargas en "Rome: Total War Mod: Downlands". *Strategyinformer*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.strategyinformer.com/pc/rometotalwar/mod/23772.html>.

45. Twcenter.net. *Total War Center*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://www.twcenter.net>.

46. Informe "Hábitos e iniciación a los videojuegos…" Aquí también se recoge un dato muy interesante a colación de lo que indico sobre la "normalización" de la edad conforme pase el tiempo, ya que casi la mitad de los encuestados en este informe comprendidos en la franja situada entre los 35 y 44 años contestaron que jugaban desde la juventud.

47. Carrasco Polaino, Rafael. "Propuesta de tipología básica…".

los de aventura y rol, y en los de estrategia podemos encontrar juegos ambientados o inspirados en el Medievo; hace algunos años se comercializó uno por la firma Diáspora, bajo el título *Trivial Templarios 15.000*, que consistía en un videojuego de preguntas con el objetivo de conseguir el tesoro de la Orden, pero cuyo interés es simplemente el de referir su existencia anecdótica. Acto seguido y como siguiente escalón, es preciso hacer la división forzosa de los videojuegos que tienen a la Edad Media como la excusa gráfica y los que sí vinculan su guión y objeto al periodo medieval. En una palabra: los que son fantásticos y los que se atienen a una historia más o menos inspirada en la realidad pretérita. Este fenómeno no sucede con ninguna otra etapa histórica, de ese elenco de videojuegos que mencioné con ocasión de los alusivos a otros momentos de la Historia: los juegos vinculados al pasado romano clásico no tienen un mago suelto (a excepción de ciertas licencias en determinados títulos a costa de los "héroes", como *Rise and Fall. La caída de los Imperios*, o de alguno de la saga *Imperium*), pues ya existe un juego específico de estrategia en tiempo real referido al mundo mitológico (*Age of Mythology*, desarrollado por Ensemble Studios y publicado por Microsoft en 2002). Si acaso, y referidos a la II Guerra Mundial, algún *shooter* con el trasfondo de un castillo gótico habitado por monstruosos soldados nazis (*Wolfenstein 3D*, de id Software, y distribuido por Apogee Softaware), o alguna historia virtual al más puro estilo "qué hubiera pasado si…", como el simulador *Enigma*, *Turning Point* o algunas aventuras gráficas.

3.2.1. Videojuego fantástico

Me voy a referir de forma muy breve a este apartado, vinculándolo al interés que la imagen de *lo medieval* tiene para Occidente desde la recuperación romántica del XIX. Tomando como punto de partida indiscutible al ciclo artúrico[48] para toda la cuestión (de hecho, junto a la épica germánica y nórdica, es la base de todos estos "mundos"), en realidad pertenece a un impulso paralelo, pues se trata también del resultado generado por la tradición gestada al amparo de las obras de Lewis y Tolkien (ambos amigos en el círculo literario de los *Inklings*). Hay que tener muy en cuenta todo el cuerpo épico europeo, sobre todo el generado en el Norte (incluida Francia, con la *Canción de Roldán* o el *Cantar de Guillermo*), donde lo "maravilloso" forma parte indisoluble de la cultura occidental; es evidente pues la importancia de *El Anillo de los Nibelungos* o de *Beowulf*. En el conjunto de la Península Ibérica esa tradición está marcada por las leyendas que la mayor parte de las localidades y comarcas poseen de época medieval (una princesa mora, un caballero…) pero todas imbuidas en el sustrato más puramente hispánico del romance, que bebe a su vez de la épica hispánica, más vinculada al mundo real e histórico que la del resto de Europa, como ya puso de manifiesto Menéndez Pidal en su momento. De todas formas, lo fantástico forma parte indisoluble de esta tradición generada en la Edad Media, y que se transforma y adapta a la modernidad a través de las sagas de los dos autores aludidos (entre otros).

Pero siempre se suele olvidar lo *fundamental* que fue el género de los *libros de caballerías* para el sostenimiento de esos mundos ilusorios, donde lo imposible era real y lo fantástico era lo habitual. El sustrato de esta base cultural parece haberse perdido como punto de referencia, cuando en realidad los videojuegos toman ideas recogidas de esta literatura, matizada por la influencia masiva de las obras de Tolkien. Pero lo que no se suele conocer es el profundo conocimiento que de la épica

48. Por supuesto cuenta con sus pertinentes videojuegos, tanto el resultante del film dirigido por Fuqua en 2004 (*King Arthur*, Krome Studios, 2005), como los previos de *Tzar. Excalibur y el rey Arturo* (FX Interactive, 2002) y *Legion: The legend of Excalibur* (Midway, 2002) o el reciente *Sonic y el Caballero Negro* (Sega, 2009).

germánica (tanto nórdica como alemana, gran conocedor y estudioso de *Beowulf*) tenía el autor inglés (de hecho la familia hundía sus raíces en la Baja Sajonia), por lo que es reseñable el interés que una nueva épica inglesa podía ser generada en sus obras. Su amigo Lewis compartía esas aficiones por la épica nórdica, tal y como ya he aludido, en sus reuniones literarias del pub *The Eagle and Child*. Por lo tanto, no veamos ninguna discontinuidad cultural entre aquellas epopeyas y las que genera cualquier videojugador al frente de su propia aventura.

Las posibilidades abiertas por el nuevo arte infográfico del videojuego eran infinitas, y las aplicaciones surgidas fueron de la mano de esta corriente, donde la interfaz medieval cubría, protegía y hasta legitimaba (y lo sigue haciendo) cualquier guión que se desarrollase en mundos oníricos o fantásticos. Grandes espadas y descomunales hachas, criaturas inefables, con formas imposibles, corazas y yelmos ciertamente manieristas, hechos fantásticos, procesos irreales, fenómenos propios de mundos ajenos… parafernalia sacada de la más pura tradición del rey Arturo y que también absorbe parte de los libros de caballerías como vengo diciendo. Morgana, Lancelot, Merlín, Amadís de Gaula, Tirant lo Blanc, Perceval, etc. se ponen al mismo nivel que Sartharion, Malygos, Sir Anduin Lothar o el rey Llane (todos estos últimos presentes en *World of Warcraft*). Monstruos y seres extraordinarios que conviven con humanos (o humanoides) expuestos tanto al fulminante rayo de un mago como al rápido virote salido de una oportuna ballesta. Si a esto le añadimos una muy ponderada aportación de cultura *manga* japonesa, el resultado es que incluso tendremos trasferencias de aspectos en sentido contrario, confundiendo personajes reales ataviados como héroes de cualquier cómic nipón. El mejor ejemplo con el que contamos es el de los protagonistas de *Bladestorm. La Guerra de los Cien Años* (ilustración 7), donde el Príncipe Negro es un caballero salido de cualquier viñeta de un *seinen manga* (manga dirigido a hombres jóvenes y adultos) desarrollado como *jidaimono* (manga ambientado en el Japón feudal). Por no hablar de la reina Felipa, reproducida con un atractivo fuera de lo común, e identificada como general inglés: porque las chicas también juegan, una realidad que aleja de los prejuicios de que estos inventos son cosas de chicos.

Bien, pues en esta tesitura hallamos en el mundo de los videojuegos una cantidad tal de posibilidades que sería preciso un estudio específico de cómo se absorbe esta imagen medieval y se proyecta hacia esos mismos juegos. No interesa la realidad, ni se pretende siquiera forzar un guión de verosimilitud. Es fantástico y no se pretende que sea otra cosa. Y el jugador tampoco busca esa veracidad, sino que se incorpora a ese particular mundo generado (bien en la imaginación a través de la lectura de *El Señor de los Anillos*, bien de manera visual pasiva tras ver alguna de las películas de la trilogía del director Peter Jackson, o bien, y es lo que nos interesa, interviniendo de manera activa mediante el manejo del videojuego). No sé si es oportuno vincular una evasión de la realidad "que se presenta hostil, cargada de demandas y exigencias que los ciudadanos comunes, difícilmente, son capaces de abordar",[49] al empleo de este tipo de videojuego, pues se lo logra de igual forma con cualquier otro de diversa temática, incluso con el referido al guión histórico.

En realidad, los jugadores también van buscando con este tipo de juego involucrarse en esos mundos; en definitiva, se introducen en esos guiones (los hacen suyos, participan de ellos al generar determinadas posibilidades), y que abre una perspectiva distinta a lo que la progresión tecnológica en efectos gráficos puede hacernos pensar que actúa como principal atractivo para el videojugador del futuro. Al crecer el número de usuarios e incrementarse también el conocimiento en sentido global, las ventas están siendo vinculadas al ofrecimiento de una historia elaborada, "que

49. Esnaola Horacek, Graciela Alicia y Levis Czernik, Diego Sebastián. "La narrativa en los videojuegos…".

implique al jugador y le permita divertirse sin necesidad de demostrar su destreza con la palanca de juegos".[50] Este tipo de videojuego de lo *medieval* permite la generación de un guión *emergente*, es decir, que vaya brotando, emergiendo, que no sigue un camino específico, creado por el autor. Al fin y al cabo, quien crea la historia del videojuego será el propio jugador, aunque lo haga indirectamente conforme progresa el juego. Las posibilidades para el que está más vinculado al histórico son distintas, pues entramos en el campo de la Historia *re-creada*.

Este tipo de videojuego interesa porque al jugador que no tenga determinados conocimientos en Historia Medieval del Oriente europeo le va a dar igual luchar contra el príncipe Yaroslav (Gran Príncipe de Novgorod y Kiev) que contra el príncipe Caspian (fruto de la imaginación de Lewis en la saga *Las Crónicas de Narnia*), que el *hobbit* del *Señor de los Anillos* es comparable a un lancero del Vístula, o que Aragorn (cuya cara será siempre la de Viggo Mortensen) comparta vitrina con Premysl II Otakar de Bohemia (Yaroslav, el lancero del Vístula y el *Rey de Hierro y Oro* aparecen en *Siglo XIII. Muerte o gloria*). Quiere jugar y no pretende ir más allá, aunque lo interesante es que termina siendo un verdadero entendido en esos mundos, con conocimientos muy profundos sobre su población, fauna, flora, geografía e incluso instituciones de esos universos. Y este hecho es importante, porque el acercamiento a esos "universos" se muestra en un primer momento tan parecido a lo que puede ser una aproximación a las monarquías del siglo XIII para quienes no tienen mayor idea de las sociedades medievales.

Los juegos pertenecientes a este género son tantos y tan variados, integrados en la tipología de arcade, estrategia, aventura y rol (muy importante el número vinculado a este último tipo de videojuego), que sería absurdo detenerse en este punto. Baste sólo recordar títulos con una difusión enorme como los mencionados *World of Warcraft*, la saga del *Señor de los Anillos*, *Drakensang*, *Beowulf*, *Cultures* (incluido *Northland*), los vinculados a *Dungeons & Dragons* (en España traducida como *Dragones y Mazmorras*, y que como primer juego de rol de mesa ha ejercido una influencia enorme), *Warrior Kings. Battles*, *Ladnok* (un MMORPG)[51], el más conocido *Lineage* (otro MMORPG, de finales de la década del pasado siglo, con más de 43 millones de juegos vendidos en todo el mundo) todo el generado a raíz de la mercadotecnia del fenómeno Harry Potter (*Harry Potter y la piedra filosofal, Harry Potter y la cámara secreta, Harry Potter y el prisionero de Azkabán*), la saga *Might and Magic*, la de *Warhammer* y la de *Gothic, Ascension to the Throne*, *Oblivion*, *Valhalla Chronicles*, y un largo etcétera. La ubicación de *Prince of Persia* (juego de plataforma muy extendido desde su aparición en 1989 para Apple II) lo hace vinculado al periodo medieval por el mero hecho de desarrollarse las pantallas del juego en el contexto de una madina islámica. Hasta el muñequito Sonic lo vemos de manera reciente encabezando un título bajo la denominación *Sonic y el Caballero Negro* (Nintendo para Wii) en plena Corte artúrica.

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50. "Hoy día el hardware necesario cabe en la palma de la mano y sus posibilidades de conexión dejan en ridículo a la tecnología que vio nacer los primeros videojuegos; pero a pesar de toda esa potencia, podría decirse que llevamos 30 años jugando a las mismas cosas. La carrera por exprimir al máximo las tarjetas gráficas de última generación está empezando a cansar al consumidor, y tras años de larga espera y dedicación a juegos sin contenido narrativo, los usuarios están deseando que los desarrolladores den un paso más y permitan que las historias de los videojuegos tomen un poco más de protagonismo". Peinado, Federico y Santorum, Michael. "Juego emergente: ¿nuevas formas de contar historias en videojuegos?". *Icono 14*. 2004. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 24 de abril de 2009 www.icono14.net/revista/num4/index.html.

51. *Ladnok*. 24 de abril de 2009 <http://www.ladnok.es/pages/geschichte>.

3.2.2. Videojuego medieval histórico

Vengo aludiendo a que existen en el mercado desde hace dos décadas videojuegos sobre el periodo medieval que nos dejan asombrados tanto por cantidad como por calidad de los mismos. No voy a aludir a las opciones de multijugador de los diversos videojuegos que aparecerán a continuación, pues no influye en absoluto para las metas propuestas en el presente estudio.

El medio infográfico se mostraba como la herramienta ideal para mostrar los escenarios del pasado, como un castillo (*Castillo*, de Zeta Multimedia, comercializado en 1996, para PC y Mac). No se trata de la aparición de productos educativos o de difusión cultural de las distintas administraciones públicas (*Castillos de España*, de Logograph Multimedia; o los destinados a niños como *La Máquina del Tiempo del Pequeño Aventurero*, de Zeta Multimedia, o el más reciente de la serie Pipo vinculado a la materia de Matemáticas de 6º de Primaria, en el ámbito del Medievo, por decir algunos). Me refiero a juegos que asumieron desde el comienzo lo que representaba el salto desde el tablero de juego de mesa a la pantalla del PC (entorno MS-Dos, Windows o Mac).

A mitad de la década de los 80 hubo diversos juegos que se sumaban a lo que podemos considerar con nuestra perspectiva como los pioneros de los sistemas gráficos que atraían a un público en aquel tiempo escogido aunque expectante. De este periodo podemos reseñar *Defender of the Crown*, con gráficos espectaculares para el momento (en diversas plataformas, aunque en un principio sólo para Commodore Amiga, extendidas además a consolas más modernas como Game Boy). Aparecido en el año 1986, donde podías controlar alguna de las cinco facciones recogidas en el juego, es impresionante que Cinemaware lo haya vuelto a distribuir, actualizado eso sí, en 2007, con el subtítulo de *Heroes Live Forever* (título épico, qué duda cabe). Hay que pensar que cuando apareció el género de estrategia no estaba muy extendido en España, pero supuso un punto de inicio muy importante; de hecho, se vendieron en total un millón de copias en el mundo[52]. Pero el juego evolucionará a lo largo de los años, y también se diversificó hacia la aventura, pudiendo encontrarlo para PS2 e incluso para Xbox como *Robin Hood. Defender of the Crown*, donde se puede manejar al personaje en diversas situaciones.

En 1989 apareció el primer título de lo que se convertiría con el pasar de los años en una de las sagas más interesantes de simulación comercial, ubicada en el espacio mercantil de la Liga Hanseática del siglo XIII: *The Patrician*. Se asumía el protagonismo de un comerciante y el objetivo era progresar económicamente para alcanzar el poder en la ciudad de origen, a través de escalar una serie de rangos: desde mercader, el escalón básico, hasta alcanzar el grado de gobernador. Volveré a referirme a los títulos que formalizan la saga.

Las amplias perspectivas que se abrieron tras aplicar ese esquema de juego de estrategia a la pantalla de ordenador a través de un juego como era el de *Castles II. Siege & Conquest* (de Interplay Entertainment, de 1992, y que generaba la saga abierta por *Castles*, comercializado el año anterior) dieron la oportunidad de facilitar a los aficionados a la Historia Medieval un medio con el que se identificarían (ilustración 8). Se enclavaba en los albores del siglo XIV, donde una lucha sin cuartel entre diversas facciones (Valois, Albión, Anjou, Aragón y Borgoña) condicionaba el ascenso a rey de Bretaña a través de un reconocimiento previo del Papado (comienza el vídeo de introducción con la comunicación de la muerte del rey bretón Carlos). El juego tenía como desarrollo la con-

52. Según recoge Alberto de Vega Luna en su comentario sobre el juego *Robin Hood: Defender of the Crown* para PC en el foro de *Meristation*: Vega de Luna, Alberto. "Avances: Robin Hood: Defender of the Crown". *Meristation*. 4 de mayo de 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/des_avances.php?id=4236&idj=2420&pic=GEN>.

secución de recursos (los habituales comida, oro, hierro y madera) para soportar el crecimiento del propio territorio, las conquistas, el espionaje, la diplomacia, las edificaciones de castillos y el sostenimiento de una hueste numerosa, tanto para atacar como para defenderse.

Como se puede comprobar, se trata de un juego donde la excusa es el motivo histórico, ya que el guión no se correspondía con la realidad histórica (Bretaña era un ducado, por ejemplo, ni existió tampoco nunca el rey Charles). Pero lo interesante es que podías jugar "a la Edad Media" en la pantalla de tu ordenador, incluidas la complejas relaciones que había que mantener con el Papado; este factor no ha llegado a desaparecer en ningún momento de los juegos siguientes, caso de *Medieval Total War*, definiendo por lo tanto lo importante que resultaba el buen estado diplomático con el Papa. Por esos años se comenzó a extender la pantalla del Pc en color, por lo que el salto cualitativo era sobresaliente. Los gráficos, con la excepción de la construcción de castillos, era bastante simple, pero sólo es una impresión que podemos tener hoy, pues para la época el juego era incomparable. Este videojuego de estrategia también recogía uno de los factores de mayor jugabilidad, y es el del mantenimiento de los distintos territorios propios en paz y prosperidad. Una rebelión podía llegar a emancipar la demarcación sublevada y, por ende, la pérdida de poder del jugador: la presencia de un castillo mitigaba esos intentos de rebelión. Son elementos que en adelante han ido reflejándose de una manera u otra en los juegos siguientes sobre la misma materia, como la importancia de la climatología para las acciones de guerra (en invierno las huestes se movían peor). Considero arriesgado hablar de antecedente, pero lo cierto es que esos referentes serán constantes en los juegos de estrategia medieval hasta la fecha.

Dos años después, en 1994, se asomaba al mercado *Lords of the Realm*, de Impressions Games (los mismos desarrolladores de *Faraón* y *Caesar*), con el ofrecimiento al jugador de poder maniobrar a través de la estrategia en tiempo real para hacerse con el trono inglés. El segundo título de la saga apareció en 1996, también para PC y Mac. El tercero de la serie vino en 2004, con gráficos muy mejorados, y que continuaba con la filosofía de los dos primeros: muy vinculado a la veracidad histórica, sin unidades mágicas y, a diferencia de otros juegos de estrategia, sin árbol tecnológico. Las batallas son más o menos sencillas de manejar, pudiendo hacerlo en una quincena de encuentros históricos (Hastings, Legnano, Crézy, Poitiers, Courtrai, Stirling, Bouvines, Stanford Bridge… contando con una explicación oportuna de cada batalla). Pero el sistema estratégico del juego es bastante complicado, con una implicación de la estructura feudovasallática a la hora de controlar el territorio (con señorialización de aldeas y puntos clave de la demarcación incluida), por lo que lo hace muy atractivo de ver pero engorroso de jugar sin una predisposición a favor (ilustración 9). Ésa ha sido precisamente una de las críticas más feroces por parte de algunos usuarios en los foros especializados, ya que se le achacaba que una vez se había nombrado a algún vasallo, el jugador dejaba de controlar directamente lo que sucedía en ese feudo: ni podía escoger de manera personal las unidades ni realizar ninguna actuación específica, ya que la IA era la encargada de ejecutarla y gestionarla (es decir, el hecho virtual de que el vasallo se había convertido a su vez en señor de vasallos y tenía libertad de actuación amparado por la designación del señor, en este caso el jugador). Y ya tenemos la aproximación a lo que resultaba la relación privada entre señor y vasallo. Un videojugador medievalista verá siempre con buenos ojos este tipo de parámetros, aunque baje la jugabilidad.

La aparición a través del perfeccionamiento del sistema gráfico llevó a la generación de un nuevo tipo de juego de aventura que aprovechaba esa interfaz para "enganchar" al consumidor. De este tipo es el de *Cruzadas. Conspiración en el Reino de Oriente* (de Pointsoft, aparecido en 1997), que

utilizando el recurso de la aventura se propone enseñar al jugador una serie de contenidos diversos sobre el periodo plenomedieval, desde la tecnología del momento hasta los mapas históricos de las Cruzadas. En realidad se trataba de buscar la bondad educativa del recurso de las nuevas tecnologías, muy poco atractivo para quien busca el placer del juego por el mero hecho de jugar.

3.2.2.1. De Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings…

A los dos años, en 1999, fue donde surgió el primer gran puntal para los juegos inspirados en la etapa medieval. Me refiero a *Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings* (ilustración 10). El juego de Microsoft, desarrollado por Ensemble Studios, continuaba la saga generada un año atrás con *Age of Empires*, circunscrita a un inicio de civilización prehistórica, y ampliada por una expansión de la época romana (*The Rise of Rome*). El videojuego, un RTS perteneciente al subgénero de *Build and Battle* (B&B), significaba un cambio brutal en cuanto a lo que significaba sentarse delante de una pantalla de ordenador y "ver la Edad Media". Si Mercedes Molina, decana de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, declaraba en unas manifestaciones hechas en 2004 que el juego *Imperium III. Las grandes batallas de Roma* había generado "entusiastas de la Historia"[53], podríamos decir lo mismo para este juego, donde la Edad Media se ganaba una serie de adeptos irreductibles que han aguantado el paso del tiempo con el mismo título.

Entre las diversas opciones primeras del juego se encontraba un icono que, bajo la denominación de "Historia", proporcionaba al jugador una pequeña enciclopedia con información precisa sobre las facciones y diversas aclaraciones sobre la Edad Media, tal como el propio concepto, la guerra y las diferentes unidades militares, política y religión en Alta y Baja Edad Media, feudalismo, las Cruzadas, etc.

La firma Microsoft fue introduciendo el juego de manera progresiva en los Estados Unidos, en Europa y finalmente en Australia, pero no lo hizo en Japón. Indico el comentario anterior para comprobar la importancia que tiene la comercialización en el impacto de cualquier juego, tal y como lo he mencionado con anterioridad. De la misma manera, los sistemas elegidos en un principio, PC y Mac, se fueron ampliando con la aplicación del juego para PS2, Nintendo DS y finalmente terminales de telefonía móvil. Otro caso reseñable fue el de *Civilization*, gestado por Sid Meier. La versión primera, de 1991, no llegó a España, pero sí la II (en 1996) y la III (en 2002).

El motor gráfico de *Age of Empires II*, *Genie Engine*, permitió gestionar uno de los juegos más dinámicos vistos hasta la fecha. La interfaz también era espectacular para aquel momento, donde los edificios estaban recreados con primor y las unidades respondían a los arquetipos sugeridos por la imagen que se tenía de las distintas civilizaciones con las que se podía jugar (en total trece: ingleses, celtas, francos, godos, teutones, vikingos, chinos, japonés, mongoles, bizantinos, persas, sarracenos y turcos). Como su antecesora en la saga, el juego consistía en ir recolectando recursos, construir infraestructuras y en combatir para atacar o defender, progresando en fases tecnológicas que se extendían desde la Alta Edad Media hasta la Edad Imperial, pasando previamente por la Edad Feudal y la Edad de los Castillos. Las mejoras que se alcanzaban en cada una de ellas ponían en franca ventaja al jugador respecto al resto de jugadores, bien si se trataba de sistema multijugador como si se enfrentaba a la IA del programa. Una de las características mejores del juego era que

53. EFE. "Mercedes Molina, decana de Historia de la UCM. 'Imperium III' crea 'entusiastas de la historia'". *Elmundo.es*. 10 de enero de 2005. 4 de mayo de 2009. <http://www.elmundo.es/navegante/2004/12/16/juegos/1103212223.html>.

cada civilización tenía sus puntos fuertes y débiles, con unidades militares generadas en los castillos que resultaban específicas de la facción (caso de los arqueros de arco largo ingleses), con lo que la identificación con el juego era mayor. Un completo árbol de desarrollo de unidades militares, edificios y tecnologías guiaba la progresión del juego, necesario para culminar con éxito determinados proyectos y avanzar a la fase siguiente. La consecución de recursos (oro, piedra, madera y comida) por medio de campesinos (que se convertían en mineros, leñadores o labriegos, según se les indicase) es la base de administración del juego.

El desarrollo de determinados mapas y campañas concretas vinculaba el juego al pretérito verdadero, con episodios históricos amplios o determinados en campañas para desarrollar (como la de Juana de Arco, Gengis Khan o Federico I. De hecho, el tutorial (el medio interactivo que te "enseña" a jugar) es la campaña de William Wallace, coincidente con el estreno del film *Braveheart*, protagonizado por Mel Gibson, y que ayudaba a asumir la figura histórica real. Al comienzo de cada campaña, un narrador te situaba en la historia, que iba progresando conforme se avanzaba en el juego. Pero también se podía enfrentar uno a cualquier facción, ante la posibilidad de generarse su propia partida. Lo interesante era "poder jugar a los medievales". Los sistemas de victoria eran diversos, pero al fin y al cabo se reducían en la de sobrevivir y destruir al enemigo (aunque no necesariamente había que exterminarlo en determinada forma de juego para poder ganar).

La expansión de este videojuego, que apareció en el mercado con el subtítulo de *The Conquerors* al año siguiente, ampliando cinco civilizaciones más (dos precolombinas, aztecas y mayas, y tres del Mundo conocido, españoles, hunos y coreanos), donde se intervino en el ocaso medieval, y que también ha terminado siendo una fórmula en el otro gran juego sobre el Medievo, MTW II, tal y como veremos más adelante. Para el caso que nos ocupa, el ámbito español, esta expansión incluía la campaña del Cid, con su destierro, el desembarco almorávid y la conquista de Valencia. Otra novedad muy importante era la de poder dirigir batallas históricas: Azincourt, Hastings o Tours nos permitía asumir la dirección de la batalla como Enrique V, Guillermo el Conquistador o Carlos Martel. También se incluían algunas otras de época moderna, como Lepanto (1571), Kioto (1582) y Noryang (1598). Bajo la denominación "Vindlandsaga" se podía jugar a la aventura de Erik el Rojo en tierras más allá de Groenlandia.

Cuando apareció en 2002 *Empires: los albores de la Era Moderna* (otro juego RTS desarrollado por el equipo Stainless Steel Studios, dirigido por Rick Goodman, el mismo de *Empire Earth*), que arrancaba en el periodo bajomedieval en sus diferentes facciones, ya no nos sorprendía nada, sólo su progresión hasta la época contemporánea (II Guerra Mundial); el prefacio del manual así lo dice también. La sombra de *Age of Empires II* era demasiado alargada y su éxito digno de ser reproducido con productos similares. Pero en realidad está entroncada con el juego aludido de *Empire Earth*, con la gran diferencia de que este último se inicia en el periodo prehistórico y se prolonga hacia facciones futuristas, con empleo de la ciencia ficción. Este videojuego, y sus pertinentes expansiones, salió al mercado ya en 2001. La facción inglesa asumía buena parte del protagonismo de las fases medievales, aunque de las tres que nos ocupan (Edad Oscura, Edad Media y Renacimiento), la primera apenas tiene progresión tecnológica apreciable, la segunda abre muchas posibilidades para las unidades militares y la tercera, además de ver la desaparición del fenómeno *feudalismo*, introduce las unidades de pólvora. En *Empire Earth I* aparece la campaña de Guillermo de Normandía y en el II la teutónica, generada en Plena Edad Media. Aparte de esto, no representa mayores novedades que las especificadas de cronología global y futurista.

Para *Civilization* las aportaciones de Historia Medieval son más bien escasas, aunque en buena lógica existan dado su carácter de desarrollo histórico. Es el juego de estrategia por turnos más extendido, llegando a formalizar una versión para las consolas de última generación (*Civilization Revolution*, en 2008). Se trata de la evolución de la Humanidad desde sus orígenes hasta la etapa espacial.

Del estilo es *Highland Warriors* (de DataBecker, aparecido en 2002), ambientado en la Escocia medieval, y del mismo estilo de gestión, con recolección y construcción de edificios y generación de unidades de combate; así lo especifica el propio manual de usuario: "El control de las unidades en *Highland Warriors* es prácticamente idéntico al de la mayoría de los juegos de estrategia en tiempo real". Nada nuevo salvo el escenario. Se desarrolla el juego a lo largo de cuatrocientos años, desde el primer monarca escocés, Kenneth MacAlpin, hasta los primeros años del XIV de Eduardo I y Robert I the Bruce. En este videojuego hay determinadas licencias que no son del gusto de los puristas del juego histórico, ya que hay unidades concretas que poseen poderes fantásticos. Y es el mismo defecto (o no, según lo que pretendamos del juego) que encontramos en un producto de la misma firma DataBecker, *Castle Strike*, aparecido en 2003.

Anterior a estos juegos, aunque también localizados en el género de estrategia en tiempo real, apareció en el mercado español de la mano de FX Interactive un videojuego que tuvo una larga vida. Me refiero a *Tzar* (año 2000). Con una serie de juegos vinculados al primero (*Tzar. El poder de la Corona*), la empresa búlgara Haemimont Games se gestó para fabricar este producto. Y su gran éxito se debió a la facilidad de uso, gestionando los recursos y versatilidad de las batallas. Las unidades mágicas surgían, pero lo hacían en aspectos del juego que admitían la posibilidad de la verosimilitud y la fantástica, por lo que no interfería en exceso el juego si no queríamos ver dragones o magos sueltos por la pantalla. La edición de *La Reconquista* suponía una auténtica revolución de los juegos no sólo de Historia Medieval sino de Historia en su conjunto en la Península Ibérica, pues por primera vez había un interés específico en poder involucrarse en su pasado concreto. Tenía una basculación clara hacia lo que fueron los orígenes castellano-leoneses, con el desarrollo del núcleo astur, la conquista de Valencia por el Cid, o el sitio de Granada por los Reyes Católicos, y ya era un punto de referencia para quien quería jugar al *Medievo* al Sur de los Pirineos. Más tarde surgieron otras tres comercializaciones del juego principal, con los títulos de *Excalibur y el Rey Arturo* (donde los hechizos tenían su sentido específico en el juego), *Edición de Oro* (recopilatorio, a la que se añadía una campaña mongola), y *Los dominios de la Magia* (de 2003), donde tiene más importancia el aspecto fantástico. Pero *Age of Empires II* seguía siendo un referente que dejaba al resto de juegos muy mal parado en una posible comparación. Es un juicio de valor el que acabo de hacer, pues tratándose de juegos hay gustos para todo tipo, pero sí que es cierto que el aspecto gráfico y los contenidos de tipo histórico lo convirtieron en referencia inexcusable para el medievalista.

En 1998, un año antes que *Age of Empires II*, aparecía *Knights and Merchants: The Peasants Rebellion* (de Joymania Entertainment), juego de estrategia en tiempo real también, de administración de recursos y batallas, pero que no tuvo ni el impacto gráfico ni el de jugadores, a pesar de ser un buen videojuego; posiblemente la complejidad en la gestión sea el motivo. En 2007 salió una versión para Linux.

La saga de *Patrician*, iniciada en 1989 tal y como he especificado con anterioridad, tuvo su recuperación con el segundo juego por la misma compañía (Ascaron), a la que se añadió el subtítulo *Poder, fortuna y victoria*. Aparecido en el año 2000, precisaba de buena parte de los recursos de aquellos PCs. Se seguía simulando al mercader hanseático en busca de la progresión del rango a través del éxito en los negocios. Cuando salió al mercado *Patrician III* (en 2003), era el mismo juego pero

mucho más liviano, por lo que la máquina soportaba mucho mejor su ejecución y desarrollo. Con un manual de usuario no habitual (impreso a color y muy explicativo en castellano), el videojuego recoge una breve reseña histórica donde señala su ubicación cronológica en el siglo XIII y su espacio geográfico, el Mar del Norte y el Báltico. La fluctuación de precios de los productos, la gestión de la ciudad, préstamos, donaciones, etc. lo hace un juego muy atractivo para el medievalista, pero también para todo aquél que busca en esta tipología un medio de controlar económicamente un imperio sobre el mar. Para aquellos que pretendían trasladar el sistema a un entorno parecido, que no similar, la compañía desarrolló *Port Royale* (del mismo año 2003) y *Port Royale 2. Imperio y Piratas* (aparecido dos años después), localizados en la zona del Caribe; son conocidos en los foros como los "primos caribeños" de la saga original, lo que es muy significativo y donde sobran mayores comentarios.

En 2001, el salto desde las mesas a los ordenadores de *Europa Universalis* a través de la firma Paradox, generó una serie que ya va por la tercera entrega, y que siempre se inicia en el siglo XV como base para el desarrollo de la Edad Moderna, auténtica protagonista de estos videojuegos. La empresa gestó dos juegos centrados más en la etapa medieval. En 2003 se publicó *Dos Tronos. Desde Juana de Arco a Ricardo III* (con el mismo motor que *Europa Universalis*). Este juego se ubica en Europa Occidental, con gestión y batallas sugeridas (que no se pueden dirigir personalmente). *Crown of the North* es el mismo juego pero aplicado a las monarquías nórdicas (que para eso Paradox es sueca), apareciendo también el mismo año. Sin salir del mismo tipo de juego, e incluso de la misma empresa desarrolladora, tenemos *Crusader Kings* (2004, con una expansión subtitulada *Deus Vult*), que asume el sistema de gestión y guerra (donde esta última no es necesariamente productiva, a pesar de vencer en ella), y que podemos verlo proyectado en *Europa Universalis III*. La vinculación de los elementos históricos medievales es muy alta, desde los propios territorios hasta los personajes que aparecen, hecho que publicitan tanto en la cubierta como en la contracubierta de la carátula. Se extiende el juego desde 1066 hasta 1453, y la novedad respecto a los anteriores es que el jugador asume una dinastía y no un país. Se puede iniciar en 1066, 1187 y 1337, tres momentos históricos diferentes pero que terminan en el año de la caída de Constantinopla; un aspecto interesante es que se puede transportar la partida y continuarla en *Europa Universalis II* y prolongar el juego hasta 1820. De este sistema de juego es el más interesante, tanto por el trasfondo histórico como por su jugabilidad. Con una interfaz muy similar a *Europa Universalis*, apareció en 2005 otro juego de estrategia que era igualmente ambicioso en sus planteamientos de rigor histórico; de hecho, en la contracubierta se especifica entre los puntos fuertes ofrecidos al consumidor potencial el "Rigor histórico absoluto". Me refiero a *Grandes invasiones. Las invasiones bárbaras. 350-1066 dC.* de Indie Games Productions. Lo cierto es que es un juego que, al igual que hacía *Crusader Kings*, cubría un periodo temporal específico. En el manual de usuario se recoge que "es una época decisiva en la Historia que nunca había simulada en un videojuego, seguramente a causa de su complejidad y su heterogeneidad". Son palabras escritas por Philippe Thibaut, el creador del juego, de *Pax Romana* y también de *Europa Universalis*, que insiste en cada momento en ese rigor. El *engine* es el del videojuego mencionado de época romana, y en realidad la coincidencia entre todos estos juegos tan similares en su formato, jugabilidad e interfaz pueden hacerlo continuación de *Europa Universalis* y de los situados en el periodo medieval aludidos (*Dos tronos*, *Crown of the North* y *Crusader Kings*), aunque los supera en detalles históricos (grandes y pequeños). No es de Paradox, como los anteriores, pero es un dato que poco importa al jugador *no profesional* (es decir, la inmensa mayoría). Es un videojuego muy complejo de controlar y jugar, por la multiplicidad de elementos y factores,

hecho que satisface al medievalista pero que llega a confundir al comprador despistado, pues tiene un PEGI indicado para mayores de 3 años. Lo más reseñable para el objetivo del presente artículo es el interés específico del creador del juego[54] para que no se genere un producto únicamente divertido, sino que sirva para enriquecer la cultura general del jugador ("*I am a deep fan of strategy games, but also a History addict (see below). I always found a game should bring you not only fun but also something else to enrich your «culture générale» as we say in France). So for us, any game that can give some cultural content in addition to good gameplay is worth a try*"). En el caso de *Grandes invasiones*… Philippe Thibaut argumenta que le interesó este periodo como origen del mundo en que vivimos, lo que nos lleva a congratularnos como medievalistas por el interés particular de estos creadores hacia la formalización de este tipo de productos.

Nos retrotraemos cuatro años. En el mismo año de la aparición de *Europa Universalis*, 2001, saltó a las estanterías de las tiendas especializadas un videojuego de estrategia en tiempo real que recogía procedimientos ya existentes en otros, como la obligación de asegurar elementos previos para la consecución de recursos (por ejemplo, contar con una plantación de cereal y con un molino, para poder tener pan), caso de *Knights and merchants*. Fue también un punto de referencia en adelante, y así *Stronghold* se convirtió en uno de los mejores modos de "controlar" la Edad Media occidental cristiana en la pantalla de un PC. Existía un juego de estrategia homónimo, comercializado en 1993, básicamente centrado en gestión de ciudades y que contaba con unidades reales y fantásticas. De los estudios Firefly, salió al mercado lo que era un auténtico "simulador de castillos", del mismo equipo además que logró los juegos *Caesar* y *Lords of the Realm*. Con una historia inventada pero circunscrito al nivel de lo verosímil, se iban pasando fases correspondidas con la consecución de objetivos. Lo más atractivo de este juego es el de procurar la infraestructura productiva que permitirá el ataque y la defensa, con un nivel gráfico muy interesante. Los asaltos a los castillos se reproducen con unas posibilidades de jugabilidad más que aceptables. El segundo título de la saga ahondó en la bondad del juego (aparecido en 2005), con gráficos mejorados y mayores opciones de diversión, siempre sin separarse de una verosimilitud aproximada de lo que se define el propio juego como "el simulador medieval definitivo". Lo cierto es que las esperanzas de un nuevo escalón en la calidad fue frustrado en la hasta ahora tercera entrega, pues cambió la historicidad por el mundo fantástico, hecho que anuncia el propio título del videojuego: *Stronghold 3. Legend*. Pero un juego aparecido en 2002, que aprovechaba el impulso del primero de la saga, venía a justificar el interés del medievalista por este título. Se trataba de *Stronghold. Crusader*, donde el simulador de castillos se localizaba ahora en Tierra Santa. Existe otra versión, con el subtítulo de *Extreme* que profundiza en las posibilidades de este *Stronghold* cruzado. El inicio del juego se ubica en 1066, donde además el jugador debe emplazar como primer paso la torre del homenaje normanda, que se va a convertir en el eje del castillo. Almacén (que tiene que estar lleno pues se vacía periódicamente por el consumo de los habitantes), espacios productivos de diversa índole (puestos de caza, de leñador, plantaciones con diferentes cultivos, desde manzanas hasta cereal pasando por lúpulo), industrias artesanas de transformación, tanto con destino civil como militar (molinos, panaderías, tabernas, cerveceras artesanas, fabricante de arcos —cojo, por cierto—, herrero, curtidor…), minas de metales, canteras, puestos de transporte (hace falta uno de estos puntos, con dos bueyes que tirarán de carretas portando la piedra desde la cantera hasta el almacén para que se puedan construir

54. Entrevista a Philippe Thibaut en la web de *Armchair General*: King, Brian. "Europa Universalis: Philippee Thibaut-Interview". *Armchair general*. 13 de marzo de 2006. 4 de mayo de 2009. <www.armchairgeneral.com/interview-philippe-thibaut.htm>.

murallas), las propias casas… Son en sí mismas edificaciones que se comportan como unidades. Lo interesante es que la Europa Medieval virtual que retrata es la septentrional, pues se vincula el espacio "normando" posterior a Guillermo I el Conquistador a través de, por ejemplo, torre normanda o producción de la cerveza, elemento ajeno a la cultura vinícola de la Europa Mediterránea hasta el ocaso medieval.

La comercialización de *Europa 1400. The Guild* en 2002 suponía la disponibilidad para el jugador del primer simulador virtual en la Edad Media de un personaje, es decir, la posibilidad de asumir la vida de alguien que pudo vivir aquella época, localizada además en los comienzos del siglo XV. Con gráficos espectaculares y un desarrollo del juego muy novedoso, culminaba ese lanzamiento con la secuela: *The Guild 2* (2008). Este videojuego supone un crisol de rol, estrategia, gestión e interacción social, cuyo problema del idioma se ha solventado con los subtítulos. Aludo a este videojuego en este apartado en vez de en el siguiente por continuar el sistema de mencionar las sagas completas, aunque pertenece a la última generación de juegos.

Continuando con la exposición cronológica, en 2004 apareció un juego con el reclamo de ir avalado por "The History Channel" (cosa que no termino de comprender): *Crusades. Quest for Power*, cuyo único interés para el jugador medievalista era el del título. Podía haber estado situado en cualquier otro momento de la Historia que apenas se hubiera notado, con la excepción del reglamentario elenco de unidades (muy simples) y escenarios esperados. Lo peor es el grado de expectativa que genera el manual (breve, y no podía ser más extenso pues no precisa la simpleza del juego mayor espacio) tras leer las palabras de Urbano II convocando a la Cruzada y las palabras que las comentan: "El juego *Crusades* te pone al mando de los ejércitos de los Cruzados de la Europa Occidental o de las hordas de los Infieles de Oriente, todos ellos con profundas convicciones religiosas. Tú serás quien dirijas (sic) las tropas en campaña para reclamar la Tierra Santa y recobrar las sagradas reliquias robadas". Una auténtica frustración. La conclusión de este episodio es el grado de expectativa que el jugador tiene ya a la hora de esperar títulos nuevos sobre la Edad Media. No se trata de juicios de valor, sino de evidencias que se ofrecen a los ojos de un medievalista. No me refiero a que el juego sea "bueno" o "malo", sino que no posee un trasfondo de contenido histórico siquiera reseñable; y eso es un hecho, no una opinión.

En ese mismo año de 2004 (ciertamente productivo en juegos inspirados en la época medieval, como hemos podido comprobar también pues fue el año de *Lords of Realm III*), *Medieval Lords. Build, defend, expand* se incorporaba a ese ya interesante elenco. Desarrollado por la francesa Montecristo Games, se trata de construir y gestionar una ciudad. Este género de estrategia en realidad tiene un espacio concreto en el catálogo de tipos de videojuego, los *city-builder*. Desde que apareció *SimCity*, en el que se podía planificar y edificar una ciudad partiendo del solar vacío, han ido surgiendo juegos acomodados a determinadas épocas históricas, con títulos de tanto éxito como la saga *Caesar* o *Faraón* (ya mencionados con anterioridad). Le había llegado el turno al periodo medieval con *Medieval Lords*. Las batallas son "correctas", aunque no es precisamente éste un juego que escojamos por ese motivo. Sin duda alguna son los gráficos los que nos lo hacen atractivo, aparte de que de este tipo es el único título existente. El medievalista que quiera un juego de estas características tiene bien fácil la elección, pero el que simplemente es aficionado a la Historia, es muy posible que vea las deficiencias con otros de diferentes periodos (sin ir más lejos, con *Caesar IV*). Pero insisto en las estupendas perspectivas y posibilidades de una etapa medieval genérica, sin que exista vinculación a ningún momento concreto de la Edad (ni a ningún territorio específico). El manual da por supuesto que quien lo adquiere sabe a qué va a jugar (por la evidencia del título y de la infor-

mación en la contracubierta), pero hay que avanzar en la lectura de la Presentación General para encontrar una referencia a ese espacio temporal ("Pero ojo, en la Edad Media los caminos no son seguros…"). La razón intento hallarla en que se trata de un juego producido para incondicionales del género y del Medievo.

Como si de una fiebre se tratara, ese mismo año de 2004 Sunflower sacó al mercado *Knights of Honor*. El juego está completamente en inglés, con un correcto manual en castellano. Se anunciaba como "El primer simulador de conquista imperial", resumiendo todos los parámetros del juego en el dominio final del conjunto de Europa. En ningún momento se alude al dominio imperial según el concepto medieval, sino que se confunde con el de control político absoluto. En la sinopsis del videojuego sí que se mencionan tres fases coincidentes con las tradicionales Alta, Plena y Baja Edad Media, pero existen determinados deslices que no pueden por menos que sobresaltarnos de la silla (se supone que estamos delante de un PC, no en el sillón del salón). Entre las numerosas posibilidades existentes en el juego en aras de una verosimilitud interesante, aparece el siguiente párrafo: "Vasallaje/independencia. Los reinos pueden ser independientes o vasallos de otro reino. El vasallo puede declararse independiente, en cuyo caso declara la guerra al antiguo soberano. Ser vasallo significa que hay que pagar el 50% de los ingresos totales al *cacique* en concepto de tributo permanente". El marcado es mío, porque el traductor (no he podido consultar el original en inglés) ciertamente erró el concepto. Muy completo, el juego posee una gestión compleja de los recursos y de las unidades, aunque lo más reseñable es la oportunidad de dirigir batallas históricas, como Lechfeld, Hastings, Hattin, el Lago Peipus, Bannockburn o Nicópolis.

Pero esta amplitud de títulos de juegos de la misma categoría puede dar la impresión de que pertenece a un mundo cerrado, anquilosado y casi esclerotizado en un funcionamiento similar. Pero en absoluto es así. Después de la aparición de *Age of Empires II* y *Europa Universalis* parecía que todo estaba dicho en el género de la estrategia, tanto como RTS como TBS, que ningún aspecto novedoso podía sorprendernos más. En realidad no sorprendió más, sino igual, por lo que al medievalista se le abrió una oferta mayor para el juego. Y de la misma manera, al videojugador mayores posibilidades de acercarse a la Edad Media. El 2D tenía su techo y la serie *Total War* venía a romperlo con el combate táctico en 3D. Es muy posible que desde que saliera *Dune 2* (1992, de corte futurista) como juego de estrategia, *Shogun Total War* (2000) fuera la novedad más representativa[55]. Con este título se abría una de las sagas de juegos de estrategia por turnos, con desarrollo de batallas tácticas en tiempo real, más impactantes y de mayor calado entre un público generalista. *Total War* está desarrollado por The Creative Assembly, y el hecho de que el rigor histórico sea alto, ha hecho que se convierta en uno de los referentes para el videojugador aficionado a este tipo de juegos de estrategia. Te permite dominar (menos cuando huyen) numerosas unidades (compuestas algunas de ellas por más de un centenar de soldados, por lo que hablamos de participar en la lucha con miles de soldados agrupados en destacamentos) en pleno campo de batalla, además con unos gráficos espectaculares; no es de extrañar que se haya situado entre los favoritos indiscutibles.

El Japón feudal es el escenario de *Shogun TW*, en concreto en el periodo *Sengoku Jidai* (el siglo XVI europeo, con la aparición de los primeros occidentales en el país nipón, que también salen como unidades de combate posibles en el juego, armados con arcabuces). El manejo de la cámara durante la batalla, la inmediatez en la respuesta y lo intuitivo de su gestión lo hacía revolucionario.

55. En estos términos se manifestaba Santiago Lamelo Fagilde en *Meristation*: Lamelo Fragilde, Santiago. "Lo que pudo haber sido y no fue. Shogun Total War: Mongol Invasion". *Meristation*. 10 de octubre de 2001. 5 de mayo de 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/des_analisis.php?pic=PC&idj=762&idp=&id=1252&otro=1>.

Pero el aporte era también el desarrollo tecnológico de los diversos territorios. Los ejércitos se manejaban como piezas de un gran ajedrez (o un tablero de territorios tipo *Risk*[56]) cuyas casillas eran las diferentes demarcaciones del archipiélago. El jugador asume el protagonismo de un *daimio* y luchará contra los demás con el objetivo de convertirse en el *shogun*.

Es posible que sea el juego más original de *Total War*, el más puro en su saga, pero lo cierto es que para el medievalista es simplemente la antesala de lo que iba a venir. Dos años después salió una expansión, *The Mongol Invasion*. Pero de forma coetánea también aparecía en el mercado uno de los referentes para el juego *medieval*. *Medieval Total War* se asomaba arrollador en las estanterías, tanto que ese mismo año se ampliaba con *Viking Invasion*. *MTW* recogía el mundo medieval conocido para Occidente, incluida la ribera mediterránea norteafricana. Representaba un salto cuantitativo enorme respecto al primero de la saga, pues la concreción de unidades y geografía del Japón medieval crecía exponencialmente en *MTW* con la totalidad del territorio europeo, con lo que se vislumbra la multitud de unidades diversas y territorios distintos: un sueño para el medievalista. Facciones cristianas y musulmanas pugnaban por el control de una serie de territorios con la misma dinámica del generador de la serie. Desde el siglo XI al XV podías combatir y gestionar, apareciendo personajes históricos como Juana de Arco o William Wallace. Un árbol tecnológico iba perfeccionando la calidad de armas, progreso económico, generación de unidades tácticas de combate, diplomacia, aludidos como "agentes estratégicos" (emisario, asesino, princesa, espía y sacerdote o imán), así como infraestructuras (edificios) que permitían todos esos avances para fortalecer económica y militarmente a la facción. Hay que apuntar que el juego no engaña a nadie; se llama *Total War*, así que es un videojuego de guerra total. Batallar es la esencia del mismo. Se podía jugar a él sin combatir, dejando a la IA que resolviera la pugna. Se convertía así en una partida de piezas con implicaciones de política internacional donde las relaciones entre reinos, Estados o pueblos condicionaban el desarrollo hacia el objetivo final, que quedaba marcado según la facción y la conquista de un número determinado de territorios.

El contenido histórico era muy grande, con la definición de unidades militares concretas de la facción determinada. Cada vez que se le pedía información sobre un tipo de unidad, emergía un marco a la derecha de la interfaz con todos los datos posibles. La distribución geográfica territorial se aproximaba, aunque con generalizaciones realizadas en aras de la jugabilidad (caso de la división de la Península Ibérica). Es muy importante el grado de satisfacción de un territorio, pues una rebelión podía derivar en la pérdida de control de esa demarcación. Y por supuesto, quedaba como elemento básico las buenas relaciones con el Papado, factor omnipresente en cualquier juego de estrategia medieval que se precie (como ya aludimos en el caso de *Castles II*). Había doce facciones, lo que nos permite una variación enorme a la hora de jugar.

La expansión de *Viking Invasion* se centraba en las islas británicas en el último periodo altomedieval y el plenomedieval, es decir, el momento de la intervención danesa. Las unidades se aplicaron a esta realidad, con lo que el juego simplemente era un "monográfico" del videojuego global.

En 2004 hubo un nuevo giro de tuerca. Apareció *Rome: Total War*, con una interfaz completamente novedosa y un sistema de juego que rompía con lo anterior. Los ejércitos, las unidades de diplomacia (diplomáticos o asesinos), economía (mercaderes), sacerdotes, los barcos… circulaban por el mapa con total libertad. Me refiero a este videojuego porque tuvo una expansión que estaba circunscrita al periodo tardoantiguo: *Barbarian Invasion* (2005), que ya salía en formato DVD,

56. Juego que por cierto, cuenta con su propio videojuego homónimo para PS2.

aglutinando expansión y parches al juego original. Las unidades quedaban acomodadas a la etapa donde los ejércitos cristianos ya enarbolaban sus estandartes protagonizados por cruces. La gran novedad era la posibilidad de poder combatir de noche, donde la espectacularidad de las lluvias de flechas incendiadas es grande. Los *mods* para este juego son numerosos, tal y como he mencionado con anterioridad, con la aplicación de uno circunscrito a lo que se trata de una aplicación de un periodo medieval a la estructura de *RTW*.

Pero desde luego, la saga había alcanzado un aspecto gráfico sin parangón. Batallar era un auténtico espectáculo, pues podías aproximar la cámara y acercarte tanto a los grupos que combatían que era posible ver en un primer plano la pugna entre los diferentes soldados, cada uno con su propio movimiento y acción. Pero para controlar la batalla era preciso tomar perspectiva y alejarse, ya que en realidad éramos el general, donde dábamos órdenes a los destacamentos, no mandobles de espada al enemigo.

Para esto es preciso protagonizar de manera personal al personaje. Es decir, intervenir, asumir, involucrarse en el juego. Es el tipo aventura o rol. Hasta este momento todas las referencias han estado referidas a la estrategia, tanto de turno como en tiempo real. Lo habitual es que todos los contenidos que puedan ofrecer los videojuegos de Edad Media se concreten en los de estrategia aludidos, pero también cabía la posibilidad de ofrecer una perspectiva más cercana, más cotidiana de lo que era el Medievo en determinado momento. Y eso representaba una oportunidad más educativa que otra cosa, con toda la carga lúdica que pueda sostener.

París 1313 (aparecido en 2000) suponía otro punto y seguido en los juegos ambientados en la Edad Media. Perteneciente al género de aventura, nos veremos involucrados el año antes de la muerte del rey Felipe IV el Hermoso en una serie de peripecias surgidas tras el desgraciado accidente del orfebre Adam de Douai como personaje de ficción, pero donde también aparece Guillermo de Nogaret, personaje ya sabemos que real. La historia nos sirve para lo mejor del juego, visitar las calles de París, con la fachada de Notre-Dame pintada de colores vivos, tal y como sería (o creemos que sería). Contaba con el asesoramiento del *Musée National du Moyen Âge*, de París. Es un tipo de juego que permite su uso para fines docentes de manera excelente.[57]

Pero ya estaba ubicado en las estanterías de los establecimientos el tipo de juego que permitía asumir el protagonismo, la personalidad de cualquier personaje de videojuego y, por ende, de un personaje histórico y así se había diseñado. Llegó el momento de *Wars & Warriors: Juana de Arco* (de Enlight, en 2004). En las primeras fases se asumía el protagonismo de la heroína francesa (ilustración 19) y la posibilidad de hacerlo con alguno de sus capitanes, caso de Jean de Metz, para en la quinta fase quedar al arbitrio del jugador la posibilidad de jugar en modo estrategia, aunque sin duda alguna predominaba la acción. Esa mezcla de juego estratégico y de aventura no tuvo la aceptación esperada, pero fue un interesante apunte justificado por la aparición de un juego sobre el mismo tema para PSP, un RPG de gráficos más vinculados al interfaz japonés incluidos los monstruos pertinentes.

57. Grup F9: Videojocs a l'aula. "Paris 1313. Trasládate a vivir en el siglo XIII". *Videojocs a l'aula F9*. 179, 2002. Departament d'Educació de la Generalitat de Catalunya. 5 de mayo de 2009 <www.xtec.cat/~abernat/propuestas/paris1313.pdf>.

3.2.2.2. …a Medieval Total War II: Kingdoms

Lo cierto es que ese nuevo giro impreso por *Rome: Total War* dejó las puertas abiertas a lo que apareció dos años después. La segunda versión del juego de la etapa medieval suponía otro punto de inflexión. Suponía situar al juego de estrategia en el siguiente nivel, tal y como dice George Fidler, mánager del estudio de The Creative Assembly[58]. *Medieval Total War II* es, hasta la fecha, el juego que mayor información ha ofrecido sobre el periodo medieval. Seguía el sistema de jugabilidad de *RTW*, donde los ejércitos, las unidades estratégicas y los barcos se movían por el "tablero de la pantalla" respondiendo a nuestra voluntad. Cada territorio quedaba delimitado por unas fronteras lineales que sólo responden a la capitalidad de una ciudad, más o menos importante. Las inversiones que debemos hacer en cada lugar repercuten directamente en la calidad de las unidades de combate y en las condiciones en las que se desarrolla el núcleo (felicidad religiosa, situación económica, seguridad ciudadana, etc.). Y el control del gasto y de los ingresos (a través de una gestión responsable de impuestos) se muestra como un factor fundamental para la progresión de una facción.

La calidad de los gráficos es impresionante. Nos movemos en la actualidad en unas posibilidades que impresionan al no iniciado y maravillan al jugador más habitual. Es tan espectacular que no podemos discutir que se trata de un medio de primera magnitud para acercar el Medievo a cualquier persona, aunque sólo sea para que observe el desarrollo de alguna batalla. La complejidad del árbol tecnológico es grande, aunque hay determinadas infraestructuras que están sacadas de contexto, lo que resulta sorprendente para un juego con bastante rigor histórico. Por ejemplo, en la facción española aparece una plaza de toros para conceder distracción y felicidad a los habitantes, cuando este edificio es del XVIII. La definición de las facciones también es algo generalista en este juego, pues aparece la de los "españoles" aglutinando a todos los reinos peninsulares del actual Reino de España, algo que no sucedía en la primera edición de *MTW*, donde aparecían Aragón y Navarra de manera independiente. En cambio Portugal sí que ha aparecido en todo momento aparte, como facción autónoma. El interés por quedar cerca de lo verosímil hizo contar con asesoramiento también para el ámbito islámico (Aksaa Ltd. Management and Training Consultants), circunstancia que recogen también en el manual de usuario. El aspecto religioso es muy importante en el juego, pues en el sector cristiano las relaciones con el Papado definen el buen estado de la diplomacia con el resto de facciones cristianas católicas; de hecho, una excomunión aboca a un empeoramiento generalizado con esas facciones. En vez de ser sostenida por un linaje, como el resto, la Santa Sede posee un Colegio Cardenalicio que irá reponiendo a los papas fallecidos. Y cada uno de los integrantes de este cuerpo colegiado está adscrito a una nación, por lo que la animadversión de algún pontífice es segura si controlamos alguna facción concreta y lo mal (o bien) que estén las relaciones con ella.

El sistema de líderes de facción, donde los generales quedan vinculados a la familia real, es muy interesante, pues cada personaje va a tener unas particularidades personales que lo harán capaz o incapaz para determinadas acciones, así como un comportamiento que puede rayar la rebelión (o que se subleva, se declara rebelde y levanta un ejército que interrumpe la dinámica económica donde esté, y al que hay que vencer en una batalla de castigo). La maquinaria de guerra, lo mismo

58. Declaraciones en el *making off* del juego, incluido como DVD en la edición Coleccionista de *Medieval Total War II*, comercializada por Sega Europa en 2007.

que en *Age of Empires II*, tenía su propia dinámica en el combate; en MTW, como en toda la serie, se muestran espectaculares en su dinámica durante la lucha manejados por unidades de infantes. Los lanzamientos de trabuquetes, la utilización de arietes de manta, las catapultas, los ribault, los manganeles e incluso los disparos de los primeros ingenios de pólvora son un auténtico deleite para el medievalista videojugador. Los asaltos a las fortificaciones son un espectáculo en sí mismo, más cuando es el jugador el que ha diseñado la táctica de combate: la ruptura de murallas, la intervención del ariete sobre el portón, el arrojo de aceite hirviendo por los matacanes situados encima del mismo… Los edificios no son clonados, sino que guardan particularidad cada uno de los que terminan componiendo el núcleo. Esta característica se completa con que los daños sufridos por impactos de bolardos o bombas artilleras en esas infraestructuras, lo hacen de forma muy concreta y realista. Y a todo esto, se acompaña de una banda sonora y unos efectos que le confieren al producto una calidad que el medievalista disfruta ampliamente. Y el que no lo es, se incorpora sin reservas al deseo de conocimiento sobre la época. No hay que imaginar cómo funcionaban las máquinas de guerra: lo estás viendo en unos gráficos, insisto, impresionantes. Pero nada comparable a observar una carga de caballería pesada con la cámara al nivel de suelo.

Las batallas históricas ilusionan, pues puedes participar en el asalto a Setenil, en el encuentro de Pavía, Azincourt, Arsuf, Hastings (de hecho es la batalla escogida para realizar el tutorial), Tannenberg y Otumba.

En los diversos turnos saltan informaciones bien enclavadas cronológicamente hablando. Entorno a 1348 emergerá un diálogo donde especifica que hay una epidemia de una enfermedad que está asolando Europa, y a partir de entonces, raro es el momento en que alguna de las ciudades controladas no está infestada (a lo que hay que contestar con una cuarentena). Este tipo de informaciones son muy habituales en la expansión de *Kingdoms* pues, por ejemplo, en la campaña *MTW II Crusades* surge la intervención veneciana en 1204, la invasión mongola por Oriente a mediados del XIII, o la aparición de Osmán como líder que formalizará el futuro imperio otomano.

Una vez trasladado el juego a formato para terminales de telefonía móvil, en 2007 se completa la segunda entrega medieval de *Total War* con una expansión múltiple, pues en realidad se trata de un solo DVD con cuatro juegos monográficos. *Medieval Total II: Kingdoms* se vertebra en una campaña ubicada en las Cruzadas (comienza en 1174, con el Rey Leproso), otra en la Inglaterra de mediados del siglo XIII (se inicia en 1258, gobernando Enrique III), una tercera con la Orden Teutónica, concentrada en el sector Norte europeo, y la cuarta, que representa la novedad mayor de la edición, que incorpora las primeras intervenciones europeas en el ámbito caribeño y centroamericano continental. El producto cumplía las expectativas y continuaba perfectamente con la calidad del juego-base ("juego vainilla" según lo definen en algunos foros los *gamers*).

Hay un elemento en el juego que se echa de menos, y es la batalla naval que no se controla, resolviéndola la IA. Este factor ha sido corregido por los creadores en la última entrega de la saga, *Empire Total War*, ambientado en el XVIII. Aguardemos con confianza a que los desarrolladores australianos continúen con la saga medieval y salga un tercer título con los combates marítimos situados a la medida de los de tierra (o que aspiren a ello).

De esta generación, centralizada por *MTW* II, también hay que reseñar las últimas novedades de una tipología de juego que sigue vinculado a la estrategia. Uno de ellos es *Crusaders. Thy Kingdom come* (2008), desarrollado por Neocore. También es un RTS en 3D, y la calidad de sus gráficos es excelente. Básicamente es una sucesión de encuentros, con el planteamiento de la batalla como fundamento del videojuego, y la gestión de recursos se limita al monetario. Las comparaciones

siempre son odiosas, pero si lo que queremos es simulación medieval, este juego no ofrece muchas posibilidades aparte de los combates. En este aspecto sí que hay que insistir, pues la climatología, los accidentes del terreno, el cansancio de las unidades, etc. tienen un impacto directo en la respuesta del juego y su resultado final. Cuenta con la recomendación de *The History Channel*, lo que ya pudimos comprobar que no era un elemento de garantía suficiente al referirme a *Crusades*, pero que termina resultando un reclamo para el consumidor muy importante. Es un magnífico dato para exponer la ponderación que el medievalista le da al rigor en estos juegos.

Un juego similar es *Siglo XIII. Muerte o gloria* (como título que sustituía a *XIII Century: Sword & Honor*), de las rusas 1C Company (ahora 1C Avalon) y Unicorn Games. Aparecido también en 2008, el videojugador tiene la oportunidad de luchar en una treintena de batallas históricas de cinco naciones (ingleses, franceses, alemanes imperiales, rusos y mongoles), con una última opción de poder luchar en Stirling, Worringen, Campaldino y las Navas de Tolosa. Todas están ubicadas en el siglo que cambió a Europa y que da título al producto. Entre las primeras, se ubican diversas muy conocidas, como Evesham, Falkirk, Lewes, Muret, Taillebourg, Bouvines, Marchfeld, Cortenuova o Lago Peipus. Son combates ya planteados por la IA del programa y que deja en manos del jugador toda la cuestión táctica. No existe mayor planteamiento. En la cubierta del juego se puede ver una definición como "Estrategia histórica" como calificación general, pero ningún juego hay con mayor concreción histórica que éste. Lo más interesante es la apertura al medievalista occidental de la Historia Medieval eslava, con enfrentamientos desconocidos para la inmensa mayoría de los jugadores (incluidos buena parte de los medievalistas, más centrados en la Historia Medieval Occidental). Aludí en su momento a que esta lejanía tiene su aliciente indiscutible, pues si bien a algún jugador se le plantea indiferente luchar en Rakovor o en la Tierra Media, para el medievalista le supone un acercamiento a esta Edad Media, tan lejana, tan desconocida y tan importante para la Historia europea por la formación posterior de las diversas naciones eslavas. Las introducciones realizadas al comienzo de cada enfrentamiento son buenos prólogos para involucrarnos en esa Historia, más cuando nos plantea suficientemente las condiciones que desembocaron en la batalla pero no nos enuncia en ningún momento el resultado.

Estos juegos de estrategia no han ocultado en ningún momento otras posibilidades. Es más; situados al mismo nivel de difusión aunque no de calidad informativa de la Edad Media, *Assassin's Creed* compite al mismo nivel que *Medieval Total War II* entre los "fondos de armario" del jugador medievalista, por no hablar del aficionado genérico a los juegos de trasfondo histórico. El salto cualitativo que ha resultado ser la expansión de la tecnología de alta definición (HD) al mundo de las consolas ha proporcionado este incremento de posibilidades de juego, eso sí, en el plano de los de rol y aventura.

Por delante de cualquier otro videojuego está el mencionado, protagonizado por uno de los personajes de ficción que ha saltado de la consola y el ordenador al mundo de la mercadotecnia, con sus clubes de fans y seguidores en todos los continentes. Altaïr, un miembro de la secta islámica de los asesinos, es desde 2007 el principal actor virtual de *Assassin's Creed*. He ido refiriéndome a este juego en distintos momentos del presente trabajo, por lo que incidiré en el plano de aportación histórica. Conocedores los jugadores del gran aporte que la ciencia ficción tiene para el soporte del guión, los desarrolladores decidieron indicar al comienzo del juego con un apunte bien visible en la pantalla: "Inspirado en sucesos y personajes históricos". Esa búsqueda de verosimilitud en juegos de carácter histórico ha sido buscada de forma permanente, pero ha crecido en los últimos años. En este caso, la crítica realizada en *Meristation.com* al producto es porque en la degradación del prota-

gonista se produce un resto de armas y de competencias físicas, como si se hubiera dejado de tener agilidad y maestría para determinadas acciones con la pérdida de confianza por parte de la secta. Y se dice de un juego que sostiene su guión en la traslación mental a través de una máquina (*Ánimus*) para que recupere la memoria genética de un antepasado del protagonista que vive en la actualidad. Pero como el guión es un asesino que busca el mal menor a través de crímenes que puedan paliar matanzas mayores, los desarrolladores utilizaron lo políticamente correcto para encajar en el mercado sin mayor problema: "Esta obra de ficción ha sido diseñada, desarrollada y producida por un equipo multicultural de diferentes creencias religiosas" (pantalla de introducción).

De la misma época aunque salió al mercado un poco después es *Bladestorm. La Guerra de los Cien Años*, de Koei, también mencionado en capítulos anteriores. Realizado íntegramente para consola de última generación gráfica (PS3 y Xbox 360), es un juego de acción y *beat'em up* donde puedes manejar a una serie de mercenarios, por supuesto escogiendo bien el bando inglés bien el francés, pero que se entremezcla con una parte de estrategia y de táctica para manejar a los destacamentos durante el combate. Tiene una factura en el combate muy similar a *Wars & Warriors: Juana de Arco*, aunque sólo para los momentos de la lucha cuerpo a cuerpo. Pero se separa en el guión, que queda abierto a la progresión del juego, por lo que se incorpora al nuevo sistema de videojuegos de narrativa emergente (o aspira a ello). La interfaz escogida es de una mezcla de elementos puramente medievales con iconografía manga, caso del rey Eduardo, el Príncipe Negro, Jean de Metz o la reina Filipa, tal y como ya mencioné.

Y el último juego que me dispongo a exponer es *Mount and Blade*. Es un RPG que acaba de salir al mercado (marzo 2009), transportado por la firma Paradox para el medio PC. Es sencillamente magnífico para mostrar una concepción de la vida medieval. Si pretendemos personalizar una simulación del Medievo, éste es nuestro juego. La posibilidad de crear nuestra propia biografía marca la característica propia de este género. Con unas opciones muy diversas, como la de que el progenitor podía ser un noble empobrecido, un guerrero veterano, un mercader ambulante, un cazador, un nómada de la estepa o un ladrón, o que la niñez se había desarrollado como paje en la corte de un noble, o como asistente en una tienda, etc., se configura al comienzo del juego la personalidad del protagonista (el propio jugador), pudiendo transformar la imagen virtual del mismo hasta detalles fisonómicos muy completos (ilustración 24). Continúa con la adolescencia y presencia o ausencia educativa, y termina con un emplazamiento personal que es la que supone la puerta de salida hacia el desarrollo del juego: por venganza personal, por la pérdida de un ser querido, por ganas de explorar, ansias de poder… para finalizar con un desafiante "Aventuraos; cabalgad hacia Calradia". El videojuego es un simulador de vida medieval, donde lo importante es el contexto vital y temporal (el juego comienza el 23 de marzo de 1257, en pleno siglo XIII), pero no geográfico. Este hecho se repite en ocasiones, pero nunca de manera tan clara como en este título. *Calradia* es un territorio de ficción, pero que se podía enmarcar en cualquier paisaje de la costa septentrional francesa, inglesa o alemana. De hecho, las ciudades, los salteadores, los edificios… todos tienen una imagen propia de aquellas tierras en aquellos tiempos. Es una incitación a vivir la Edad Media en las propias acciones en primera persona, con lo que se logra una jugabilidad enorme.

Todos estos últimos han sido títulos que han definido un proceso incuestionable, y es el interés específico que de siempre han tenido los juegos de temática medieval sobre el usuario potencial de este producto. De manera inmediata, sabemos que ya existe una nueva entrega de *Assasin's Creed*, como el segundo juego de una saga, que sitúa en esta ocasión al protagonista, Desmond Miles, en la piel de otro antepasado suyo, Ezio, en las ciudades del Norte italiano del Renacimiento. Las

imágenes de las que podremos disfrutar son si cabe más espectaculares que las de la primera entrega, con esas calles y plazas toscanas como escenario recreadas al estilo de finales del siglo XV y principios del XVI.[59] De la misma manera y también de Ubisoft, otro juego de estrategia comercial viene a ampliar la saga *Anno*, correspondiendo en esta ocasión a *Anno 1404*, en esta ocasión ambientada en Oriente.

4. Finalizando

Es evidente que el interés del jugador joven por la Edad Media viene marcado por el uso del videojuego de trasfondo histórico o, directamente, por el de exposición clara del pasado medieval. En algún caso ya se están efectuando experiencias docentes, avaladas por algunos estudios concretos de pedagogos,[60] que piensan en explotar las inmensas posibilidades educativas de los contenidos que recogen los videojuegos. No era éste uno de los objetivos del presente estudio, pero qué duda cabe que queda como línea de investigación inmediata para un siguiente trabajo. De esta misma manera, y como forma de reflexión si cabe más interesante (o importante), también me emplazo a finalizar diversos apuntes y líneas esbozadas a lo largo de la redacción de este artículo, como el del fenómeno de la re-creación histórica y su manipulación así como el factor de simulación histórica y la trascendencia que puede tener para el conocimiento veraz del pasado, dando por supuesto que el concepto de ucronía tiene que estar presente en todo momento.

Este artículo ha nacido con la constancia de que supone una instantánea realizada en los primeros meses de 2009, con el seguro convencimiento de que en muy pocos años habrá que completar con títulos y con nuevas aplicaciones tecnológicas, algunas de ellas de las que sólo podemos atisbar un pequeño número de posibilidades para el juego, el aprendizaje y la sociabilidad. Las consolas de última generación dejarán de serlo, y el presunto declive del PC como plataforma de juegos no está tan claro, en el mismo momento en que el gigante Electronics Arts está apostando firmemente por este medio.[61]

He planteado la realidad compleja del universo del videojuego, insistiendo en la importancia del concepto del mismo, así como en el desarrollo de los elementos que lo componen, como el hardware y el software, en sus diferentes facetas (modelos, tecnología, mercados, empresas, distribuidoras, desarrolladores, etc.), siempre vinculado al impacto que el empleo de un medio (una consola en concreto, por ejemplo) y de la ubicación en un espacio mercantil tiene en las posibilidades para jugar a un producto u otro. El videojuego con trasfondo histórico se configura como uno de los pilares de ese mercado, y en particular, el inspirado en la época medieval, tanto el ubicado en el plano de lo fantástico como el que se rige por una veracidad histórica más real. Resulta determinante la tecnología utilizada desde los primeros tiempos del videojuego, sobre todo porque la espectacularidad de los gráficos ha ido en aumento lo que ha repercutido de forma sobresaliente en

59. Página oficial del juego. Ubisoft Entertaiment. *Assassin's Creed 2*. 21 de abril de 2009 <http://assassinscreed.es.ubi.com/assassins-creed-2/teaser/>.

60. Gálvez de la Cuesta, María del Carmen. "Aplicaciones de los videojuegos de contenido histórico en el aula". *Icono 14*. 2006. Asociación científica de las NNTT de la Educación. 6 de mayo de 2009 <http://www.icono14.net/revista/num7/articulos/carmen%20galvez.pdf>.

61. Según declaraciones de Eric Brown, directivo de EA: "El PC se está convirtiendo en la plataforma más extendida", con el apoyo y apuesta abierta hacia la producción de videojuegos para ordenador. García, Enrique. "Pc se está convirtiendo en la plataforma más extendida". *Meristation: Noticias*. 6 de mayo de 2009 <www.meristation.com/v3/des_noticia.php?id=cw4a0149d262d9b&pic=GEN>.

lo atractivo que escenarios de época medieval han podido suponer para el potencial jugador. Éste, tanto si tiene formación o conocimientos del periodo o, sencillamente, maneja conceptos claros del Medievo, se tipifica en una diversidad de categorías definidas por el objetivo que pretende al acercarse a un juego de estas características; desde el especialista hasta el inexperto en lo medieval, el abanico de personas que se divierten con este medio es muy amplio. Una realidad en vías de extinción es que el videojugador es joven (adolescente), tanto porque se extiende su empleo como ocio para generaciones más mayores como por la propia dinámica de que el tiempo avanza y los jugadores crecen, aunque no dejarán de jugar. Este hecho repercutirá en que esos jóvenes se generarán un tejido de contenidos del Medievo, y que una vez forjados como conceptos apriorísticos, algunos de ellos alcanzarán las aulas universitarias con una serie de conocimientos conformados en los videojuegos que hayan usado. De ahí que la cantidad y calidad de los medios donde han jugado y de los propios títulos a los que hayan tenido acceso se conforme como algo definitivo. Para el especialista que enfrente a esa realidad en un aula será todo un reto contar con alumnos de estas características, grupo cada vez más numeroso.

Un recorrido por la evolución del videojuego inspirado en el periodo medieval completa el estudio. Ese desarrollo desde los primeros productos, simples desde nuestra óptica de 2009, hasta los más recientes han ido configurando un perfeccionamiento de los contenidos expuestos al jugador. La calidad del juego en sí mismo no ha sido el objeto de mi estudio, ya que a cada persona le puede atraer un aspecto diferente, por lo que la valoración que en ocasiones he expuesto sobre un título en concreto (en un sentido u otro) ha tenido más que ver con la perspectiva del medievalista, pero del medievalista videojugador. Los juicios de valor que en momentos puntuales he ido insertando en la redacción han tenido más que ver con la defensa de un criterio sobre lo que considero interesa, o puede interesar, que el jugador se encuentre al usar un videojuego sobre el Medievo, pues al fin y al cabo de ahí extraerá una imagen y una serie de conceptos que asentará de manera estable. Con la premisa de que un juego tiene que ser atractivo y entretenido, la calidad de ese contenido medieval debe estar equilibrada con el aspecto lúdico, lo que ayudará a favorecer la bondad del producto y del resultado que sobre el jugador tendrá su utilización. De la misma forma que ese imaginario de lo medieval y su cantidad de tópicos puede ser un buen punto de partida para acercarse a un conocimiento más profundo de este periodo histórico,[62] el videojuego se configura como un elemento de primer orden para ello, mucho mejor incluso que el recurso cinematográfico.

La importancia del videojuego ha ido creciendo de forma imparable desde su invención, y las aplicaciones sorprendiendo a usuarios y observadores de forma permanente. La ponderación de los títulos vinculados al pasado medieval o al empleo de sus tópicos como iconografía necesaria (y hasta imprescindible por buscada) ha sido el sustrato de este estudio, con la esperanza de haber generado entre los neófitos un acercamiento a este nuevo mundo, cada vez más próximo por el sencillo hecho de que el videojuego está copando espacios de ocio cotidiano. Como universitarios debemos tener claro que el concepto que del Medievo tendrán nuestros nuevos alumnos, ya incorporados al sistema de convergencia europea de los estudios superiores, no será como hasta ahora el generado por la cinematografía, sino el videojuego. Es una evidencia arrolladora. Negarla sería cerrar los ojos no a un futuro, sino a un presente muy vivo y dinámico.

62. Senatore, Francesco. *Medioevo: istruzioni per l'uso*. Milán: Bruno Mondadori, 2008: 16.

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3. The articles must be presented in computerised format, preferably in MS-Word. The text must be between 40,000 and 90,000 characters.

4. The cover page should carry only the title of the article and the author's name, institutional affiliation, postal and e-mail addresses, and phone number.

5. All articles must be accompanied by a summary of 100-120 word (abstract) and five key words.

6. All texts received will be submitted to anonymous evaluation by two experts in the subject. In accordance with the latter's written reports, the journal may reject these articles or submit any observations that are considered scientifically apt to the authors.

7. To facilitate the exchange of ideas, the articles shall be published in English, given that this is the common language of the international scientific community. At the same time, the original version of those texts written in another language shall also be included.

8. When articles are divided into chapters, all subdivisions should be indicated by the numerical series (1, 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3...). The second level title must be in italics.

9. Citations over three lines in length must have a blank line above and below, be written in a smaller font size and with be indented 1.5 cm from the left margin.

10. Citations in the same language as the text should not be written in italics.

11. All notes must be at the foot of the page and with the note numbers in the text in superscript after the punctuation marks.

12. Citations included in the footnotes must comply with the following norms:

- **A book**: Author last name, first name. *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication: volume, pages.
  Connel, William J. *La città dei crucci. Fazioni e clienteli in uno stato reppubblicano del '400*. Florence: Nuova Toscana editrice, 2000: 24-25.
  Bisson, Thomas N. *Fiscal accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151-1213)*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1984: I, 125-129.
- **A chapter in a book**: Author last name, first name. "Chapter of the book", *Book title*, editor of the publication. Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication: pages.
  Leroy, Beatrice. "Les juifs convertis dans les villes de Castille au XVe siècle", *La ville au Moyen Âge*, Noël Coulete, Olivier Guyotjeannin, dirs. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1998: 365-378.
  Cursente, Benoît. "Les montagnes des médiévistes", *Montaignes médiévales. XXXIV e Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Chambéry, 23-25 mai 2003)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004: 415-433.
- **An edition**: Author last name, first name (if there is). *Title*, editor's name. Place: Publisher, date of publication: pages.
  Homilies d'Organyà, ed. Joan Coromines. Barcelona: Fundació Revista de Catalunya, 1989: 38-40.
  Troyes, Chrétien de. *Le chevalier de la charrette*, ed. Catherine Croizy-Naquet. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006: 70.
  Col·lecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212), ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé. Barcelona: Departament de Justícia de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997: 109 (doc. nº 33).
- **An encyclopaedia or dictionary**: Author of entry. "Title of entry." *Title of reference book*. (Edition number). Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication: volume, pages.
  Aarab, Rachib. "Islam". *Enciclopèdia de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006: III, 94-95.
- **A periodical (magazine or journal)**: Author last name, first name. "Article title." *Title of periodical*, Date of periodical (or, if a journal, volume number, followed by year in parentheses): Pages.
  Raxhon, Philippe. "Décrytage d'un manifeste d'historiens". *La Libre Belgique*, 25 January 2006: 30.
- **A scientific article**: Author last name, first name. "Article title". *Title of publication*, number (year of publication): pages.
  Catalán, Diego. "La historiografía en verso y en prosa de Alfonso XI a la luz de nuevos textos. III: Prioridad de la Crónica respecto a la Gran Crónica". A*nuario de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (1965): 257-299.

- **A website**: Author of webpage. "Article Title." *Title of webpage*. Date of publication. Institution associated with (if not cited earlier). Date of retrieval <url>.
  Tambareau, Caroline. "Pierre Nora: la mémoire divise, l'histoire réunit". *Les Clionautes*. 16 October 2005. Centre de Ressources Informatiques 74. 10 August 2006 <www.clionautes.org/spi.phparticle872>

13. When a work cited in a footnote is repeated, it can be abbreviated with the author and the beginning of the title, followed by an ellipsis and the corresponding page(s):

Leroy, Beatrice. "Les juifs convertis"...: 367.

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