

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

Medieval Iberia

An Encyclopedia

Edited by
E. Michael Gerli



Medieval Iberia

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

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



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E. Michael Gerli, Editor

MEDIEVAL IBERIA AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

Associate Editors

Samuel G. Armistead,
Robert I. Burns, S. J.,
Pedro M. Cátedra,
Alan Deyermond,
Ana Domínguez Rodríguez,
Harold V. Livermore,
Joseph F. O'Callaghan,
Norman Roth,
Robert Stevenson,

Routledge
New York London

Editorial Staff

Project Editor: Mark O'Malley
Production Editor: Jeanne Shu
Production Manager: Anthony Mancini, Jr.
Production Director: Dennis Teston
Developmental Manager: Kate Aker
Publishing Director: Sylvia Miller

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Routledge
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Introduction

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

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

reference tool for scholars seeking to undertake advanced research in areas of the humanities with which they are unfamiliar; on the other, it functions as a medium for the dissemination of knowledge about medieval Iberian culture and civilization throughout the English-speaking world.

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

1. Entries are generally restricted to the years 470–1500. Hence, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, whose major literary work was published in 1517, is not included, while Juan del Encina, who completed his first opus in 1493, has an entry. Exceptions to the chronology are made for overlapping subjects that continue to bear significance as well as exercise their influence. Hence, Gil Vicente, the bilingual Portuguese author whose work first appears in 1502 merits coverage based on the close relationship of his theater to that of his predecessor, Encina.
2. Because of the availability of good reference sources on certain well-known entries, coverage has been designed to emphasize the lesser-known aspects of the subject. Thus, for example, the entry on Castilian explorations devotes greater attention to the Canary Islands and the western Atlantic than to Christopher Columbus and America, for which there are useful essays in standard encyclopedias like the *Britannica* and the *Americana*. Similarly, subjects that recent research has reevaluated and whose entries in other sources are now outdated merit attention.
3. Topics are of broad significance. Those that had a wide influence in their own time; those that initiated change; and those that are relevant today outside narrow areas of specialization are all included here. Thus, in the area of literature, key authors, works, concepts, and movements are covered, while more specialized topics in prosody, bibliography, and the like, are not.
4. In general, the shorter entries (250–500 words) are more factually oriented and seek to lead the user to authoritative sources. The longer entries (500–3,000 words), without prejudicing essential facts, tend to be more interpretive and strive to synthesize and place the topic within medieval Iberia as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

The entries are arranged according to several criteria. In listing literary works, preference is given to the names of authors, whenever known, rather than to titles; thus, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* will be found under Gonzalo de Berceo and *Proverbios morales* will appear under Shem Tov of Carrión. Anonymous works generally appear under the commonly used form of the title; thus the *Libro de Alexandre* will appear under *Libro* but at the same time has a cross-reference from Alexander of Macedonia. In cases where titles are significantly ambivalent, as in *Cantar vs. Poema de Mio Cid*, the placement for the entry was left to the author of the entry to decide, vouchsafed by a cross-reference from the form of the entry not chosen. The form used to alphabetize individual names has often proved problematical. Strictly speaking, Gil Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz should appear under Alvarez Carrillo de Albornoz, yet he is generally known as Gil de Albornoz. He will thus be located under Albornoz, which we have chosen in order to respect general usage and avoid confusion. The Spanish forms of the names of kings and nobles most currently in use in historical and literary research has also been given preference over English. Hence, rather than Henry IV and Isabella I of Castile, and Alfonso V of Portugal, we use Enrique IV and Isabel I of Castile, and Afonso V of Portugal. The same is true of certain place- and saints' names. Thus, Zaragoza and Mallorca are preferred to the English Saragossa and Majorca, although Seville and Lisbon are used in place of Sevilla and Lisboa; and St.

Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers, can be found under Domingo de Guzmán as opposed to Dominic of Guzman, or St. Dominic. Loconymns have proved especially difficult and we have tried to resolve confusion in the following fashion: In the case of individual nobles and royals, listing can be found under their first name. Thus, Constanza de Mallorca may be found under Constanza and not Mallorca or de Mallorca. Others, whose loconymns are currently used in research as if they were last names, appear under their loconymns. Hence the fifteenth-century *converso* (Christian convert) poet Antón de Montoro is located under Montoro and not Antón, and Alonso Fernández de Madrigal may be found under Madrigal, and not Fernández de Madrigal. Finally, to facilitate the book's use by a broad range of individuals, all dates are given according to the familiar Gregorian calendar. The norms for the transliteration of Arabic into the Latin alphabet are placed at the end of this introduction.

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

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

Under the direction of general editor E. Michael Gerli and the board of associate editors, *Medieval Iberia* has been completed with the advice and direction provided by of a group of internationally distinguished scholars: the historians Robert I. Burns, S.J., Joseph F. O'Callaghan, and Norman Roth; the musicologist Robert Stevenson; the literary and intellectual historians Alan D. Deyermond, Pedro M. Cátedra, and Harold

V. Livermore; the folklorist, medievalist, and ballad expert Samuel G. Armistead; and the art historian Ana Domínguez Rodríguez. In consultation with the associate editors, the general editor has been responsible for proposing and establishing the list of entries as well

as identifying potential contributors with the necessary expertise to produce authoritative articles on each of the topics selected for inclusion. He and an expert team of reference editors at Routledge have overseen the final editing and production of the manuscript.



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A volume like this could not have been produced without the cooperation of literally hundreds of individuals, who gave of their time, enthusiasm, energy, and good will over a number of years to see it to completion. The editors are especially grateful to the indefatigable Gary Kuris, who originally proposed the work more than a decade ago, when he was editor at Garland; to numerous graduate students at both Georgetown University and the University of Virginia—Mary Zampini, Christopher McDonald, Laura Labauve, Pedro Pérez Leal, Matthew Bentley, and others—who helped with correspondence, filing, translation, and in the day-to-day organization of the myriad tasks involved in gathering, compiling, and sorting the entries; and to the editorial team at Routledge Reference in New York, who saved the project from oblivion and supplied their astonishing professional acumen to see it

to its final publication. Among the latter group, special credit is reserved for Marie-Claire Antoine, who provided the basic impetus for the work's resurrection after five years of uncertainty; for Mark O'Malley, who with good humor, a deep sense of duty, and a youthful, sturdy constitution literally ran up and down the spiral staircase in the last weeks of its production; and for Kate Aker, who with austere reminders and stern words kept an unbending schedule and unraveling sensibilities always intact. Finally, the greatest credit is due to the associate editors and the scholars on two continents who gave of their time, good will, deep knowledge, and profound love of Hispanism to compose, read, edit, and check the entries and the accompanying bibliographies that comprise this work. *Jubilate! Fortuna favet fortibus.*



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Arabic Transliteration

TERMINAL	MEDIAL	INITIAL	ALONE	TRANSLITERATION
ا	ا	ا	ا	a
ب	ب	ب	ب	b
ت	ت	ت	ت	t
ث	ث	ث	ث	th
ج	ج	ج	ج	j
ح	ح	ح	ح	ḥ
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh
د	د	د	د	d
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh
ر	ر	ر	ر	r
ز	ز	ز	ز	z
س	س	س	س	s
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh
ص	ص	ص	ص	ṣ
ض	ض	ض	ض	ḍ
ط	ط	ط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ظ	ظ	ظ	ẓ
ع	ع	ع	ع	'
غ	غ	غ	غ	gh
ف	ف	ف	ف	f
ق	ق	ق	ق	q
ك	ك	ك	ك	k
ل	ل	ل	ل	l
م	م	م	م	m
ن	ن	ن	ن	n
ه	ه	ه	ه	h
و	و	و	و	w
ي	ي	ي	ي	y

VOWELS: short a_ـ u_ـ i_ـ long a_َ u_ُ i_ِ

DIPHTHONGS: aw_َ ay_ِ



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Contributors

Omaima Abou-Bakr

David S. Abulafia

A. C.

Samuel G. Armistead

Gorka Aulestia

Martí Aurell i Cardona

Reinaldo Ayerbe-Chaux

Eduardo Aznar Vallejo

Clifford Backman

Lola Badía

Ana M. Balaguer

Spurgeon Baldwin

Fernando Baños Vallejo

Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr.

Rafael Beltrán

Vicenç Beltrán

Stephen P. Bensch

Matthew T. Bentley

José Bernáldez Montalvo

Carmen Bernís-Madrado

C. Julian Bishko

Thomas N. Bisson

Jonathan Bloom

Roger Boase

Seeger A. Bonebakker

Anthony Bonner

Ross Brann

Vivana Brodey

James Brodman

Thomas Burman

Charles Burnett

Paul C. Burns

Robert I. Burns, S. J.

Lluís Cabré

Pierre Cachia

CONTRIBUTORS

Vicente Cantarino

Ana Domínguez Rodríguez

Anthony Cárdenas

Francis A. Dutra

Dwayne E. Carpenter

Steven N. Dworkin

Robert Chazan

Theresa Earenfight

Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez

John Edwards

Roger Collins

Daniel Eisenberg

Jane E. Connolly

Mikel Epalza

Olivia Remie Constable

Juan Espadas

Carol Copenhagen

Clara Estow

Antonio Corfijo

Charles B. Faulhaber

Ivy Corfis

Seymour Feldman

Dustin Cowell

Felipe Fernández-Armesto

Jerry Craddock

Alberto Ferreira

Miquel Crusafont i Sabater

Luis Adão da Fonseca

Michèle Cruz-Sáenz

Angela Franco-Mata

Amanda Curry

Charles F. Fraker

John Dagenais

Paul H. Freedman

Alan Deyermond

Alan Friedlander

José Manuel Díaz de Bustamante

Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes

Raquel García Arancón

Thomas R. Hart

Blanca García Escalona

L. Patrick Harvey

Blanca García Vega

Warren Zev Harvey

Antonio García y García

Peter Heath

Elena Gascón Vera

Daniel L. Heiple

John Geary

María Teresa Herrera

Philip O. Gericke

Marilyn Higbee Walker

E. Michael Gerli

Bennett D. Hill

Thomas F. Glick

David Hook

Harriet Goldberg

Thomas M. Izbicki

María Jesús Gómez Bárcena

Maricarmen Gómez Muntané

Frede Jensen

Cristina González

Donald Kagay

Ramón González

Henry Kamen

Antony Goodman

Hanna E. Kassis

T. J. Gorton

Israel J. Katz

George D. Greenia

John E. Keller

Juan Gutiérrez Cuadrado

Eleazar Gutwirth

Mary Jane Kelley

Joseph J. Gwara

Richard P. Kinkade

CONTRIBUTORS

Ewald Könsgen

Robert A. MacDonald

María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay

Angus MacKay

María Jesús Lacarra

Nancy F. Marino

Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada

María Luisa Martín Ansón

Y. Tzvi Langermann

José Luis Martín Martín

Eva LaPiedra

Salvador Martínez

Aurora Lauzardo

José Mattoso

Jeremy Lawrance

Lawrence J. McCrank

Oliver Leaman

Michael R. McVaugh

Béatrice Leroy

Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués

Antonio Linage Conde

Guido Mensching

Peter Linehan

Walter Mettmann

Peggy Liss

Mark Meyerson

H. V. Livermore

José Luis Mingote Calderón

Paul M. Lloyd

Carlos Miranda-García

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James A. Monk

Consuleo López-Morillas

Jesús Montoya Martínez

Elena Lourie

Margherita Morreale

Sieglinde Lug

Lynn H. Nelson

Colbert I. Nepaulsingh

Bernard F. Reilly

Malyn Newitt

Manuel Riu

Robert Oakley

David Pattison

Joseph F. O'Callaghan

Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas

A.H. Oliveira Marques

J. Rodríguez Velasco

Marilyn Olsen

Regula Rohland de Langbehn

John B. Owens

Philipp W. Rosemann

Mark Gregory Pegg

Norman Roth

Antonio Pérez Martín

Adeline Rucquoi

Lucy K. Pick

D. Fairchild Ruggles

Ermelindo Portela Silva

Teófilo Ruiz

Brian Powell

Alan Ryder

James Powers

Angel Sáenz Badillos

Matthew Raden

Regina Sáinz de la Masa Lasoli

David Raizman

Julio Samsó

Marjorie Ratcliffe

Raymond Scheindlin

Luis Rebelo

Cristina Segura Grañó

Stephen Reckertt

Dennis P. Seniff

José M. Regueiro

Dorothy S. Severin

CONTRIBUTORS

Dorothy C. Clarke Shadi

Isabel Uría-Maqua

Harvey L. Sharrer

Julio Valdeón Baruque

John C. Shideler

Theresa M. Vann

Harry Sieber

Mercedes Vaquero

Larry Simon

Thomas J. Walsh

Colin Smith

Ruth H. Webber

Wendell Smith

Jill R. Webster

Joseph Snow

Julian M. Weiss

Thomas Spaccarelli

Barbara F. Weissberger

Charlotte Stern

Nicolás Wey-Gómez

Robert Stevenson

Jane Whetnall

Ronald E. Surtz

G. A. Wiegers

Joseph Szövérfy

Chad Wight

Robert B. Tate

Constance Wilkins

Barry Taylor

George D. Winius

Jane Tillier

Kenneth B. Wolf

James J. Todesca

Roger Wright

Juan Torres Fontes

David Wulstan

Pierre Tucoo-Chala

John Zemke

Alphabetical List of Entries

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ʿAbd Allāh, Emir of Córdoba
ʿAbdallāh ibn Bullugīn, King of Granada
ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān I, Emir of Córdoba
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ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān III, Caliph of Córdoba
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Abraham El-Barchilon (Al-Barjiluni)
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A

ABBADIDS *See* BANU ABBAD

ABBEY OF POBLET

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

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

Poblet further exploited its wealth by serving as banker to the crown and nobility of Aragón. The abbey

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

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

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

BENNETT D. HILL

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ABBEYS, ROYAL

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

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

By the seventh century and throughout the Middle Ages, Spanish monasteries, like those in other parts of western Europe and on the basis of scriptural precedent (1 Sam. 1 and Luke 1:63–80) and conciliar decrees (Fourth Council of Toledo, 633), accepted boys or girls as oblates, offerings given to the house by their parents. These children, overwhelmingly descended from the

nobility since a dowry was required or at least expected, raised and educated by the monastic community, made monastic profession (public statement of the vows of obedience, stability in the house of profession, and conversion of life) at about age sixteen and were thereafter denied a return to lay society. In Castile and elsewhere the nobility, wishing to preserve family estates intact, entailed them on the eldest son. Apart from the knightly life, careers in monasteries or dioceses represented virtually the only socially acceptable profession. Although the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the highpoint of child oblation, perhaps the most economically viable and humane way of divesting a family of superfluous or awkward children, the practice continued at least into the seventeenth century.

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

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

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‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ IBN MŪṢĀ

The son of Mūṣā Ibn Nusayr, who in 711 had sent Tāriq across the Straits of Gibraltar to conquer Iberia, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Mūṣā governed al-Andalus from 714

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

E. MICHAEL GERLI

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‘ABD ALLĀH, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

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

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

Arab biographers describe ‘Abd Allāh as being particularly pious, yet they also note his cruelty in dealing with enemies. ‘Abd Allāh quickly alienated most segments of the population, especially his own family. He is said to have encouraged the stabbing death of his son Muḥammad at the hands of his other son, al-

Muṭarrif. Al-Muṭarrif, in turn, was killed after being accused of conspiring with the leaders of Seville. Two of ‘Abd Allāh’s brothers were killed when they became too powerful. These harsh measures only served to further weaken the prestige of the Umayyad family as a whole and reflected the disintegration of centralized power at this time.

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

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

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‘ABDALLĀH IBN BULLUGIN, KING OF GRANADA

The last Zīrid king of Granada. He reigned from 1073 to 1090. His memoirs, written after being exiled to Morocco, were discovered in the last century in a mosque and have been translated into Spanish under the title *El siglo XI en primera persona*. They reveal precious information concerning the interaction of the members of his family and other tawā’if (party) kingdoms as well as the internal political administration of Granada shortly before the advent of the Almoravid invasion. Of particular interest are the details concerning the rise to power of his kinsman and predecessor,

Badis, who was helped by the Jewish magnate Samuel Ibn Nagrillah, who was generously compensated by being named vizier and put in charge of the finances of the kingdom.

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

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

E. MICHAEL GERLI

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‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN I, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

‘Abd al-Raḥmān I Ibn Mu‘āwiya Ibn Hishām Ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik Ibn Marwān was the founder of the Muslim Umayyad dynasty that ruled Spain from 756 to 1031. He was born in Damascus in 731 and is purported to be the only member of the Umayyad family who survived their overthrow in 750 by the ‘Abbasids. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān escaped first to Palestine, then to Egypt, and then on to Morocco, where he took refuge with the Nafza Berber tribe, of which his mother was a member. When his efforts to gain power among the Moroccan Berbers failed, he looked to Spain, where

the lack of unity among the Muslim conquerors—Yemeni Arabs, Syrian Arabs, and recently converted Berbers and Iberians—made for an easy conquest. Because of this successful entry and establishment of a dynasty, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is known as *al-Dākhil*, or “the Immigrant.”

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

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

However, through a relatively lengthy reign and with the prestige and legitimacy attached to the Umayyad name, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I was able to slowly consolidate power in the province of Córdoba and at least keep most of the localized rebellions in check. As for the outlying provinces, if the provincial leaders were

willing to recognize his nominal right to rule and to send Córdoba a percentage of their taxes, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I permitted them to continue in relative autonomy. He established an administrative and military structure similar to the one he had known in Damascus, and when news of his accession spread, Umayyad supporters throughout the Islamic world began coming to Spain, which increased his power base but further antagonized the earlier invaders, who resented having to share the spoils.

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

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

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‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN II, EMIR OF CÓRDOBA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN III, CALIPH OF CÓRDOBA

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

‘Abd al-Raḥmān III was born in 891. It is said that he had blue eyes and fair hair because of his Christian grandmother from Pamplona, and that he dyed that fair

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

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

The second task ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III set for himself involved securing the borders against the increasingly powerful Christian kings to the north. This he pursued simultaneously with his efforts at internal control: his summer campaigns (*ṣāi’fa*) to secure Andalusian allegiance all included forays and shows of force deep into the territory of the Christians. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III led campaigns in 920 and 924 against the Basques and Leonese—not necessarily to conquer new territory, but to demonstrate his power to both Muslims and non-Muslims. In 920 he stopped the advance of Ordoño III of Asturias-León at the Battle of Junquera. In 924, to revenge the raids made by Sancho García of Navarre, he sacked and burned Pamplona. This was the farthest north he ever ventured. The only significant defeat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III suffered was in 939 at the hands of Ramiro II of León at the Battle of Alhandega (in Arabic, *al-khandāq*, or “the trench”) near Simancas. This defeat was apparently due to resentment within the Muslim army toward ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s increasing appointment of foreign slave soldiers (*ṣaqāli-*

bah) to leadership positions and resentment of the rebellious Muslim vassals of the Upper March, who were forced to join the campaign. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III never campaigned in the north again.

The third item on the political agenda of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III was checking the progress of the Shiite Fāṭimids in North Africa. The Fāṭimids had come to power in 909 and built a new capital on the coast of Tunisia called al-Mahdīyya. From there Fāṭimid power spread west and soon threatened the coastal towns that faced al-Andalus. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III responded by strengthening his own coastal fortifications and establishing bases on the Moroccan coast at Melilla (927), Ceuta (931), and Tangier (951). From there he forged alliances with Berber chiefs and continued to recruit Berbers into his army. A year after a Fāṭimid force from Sicily burned the Andalusian city of Almería in 955, the caliph built a new fleet. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III’s position throughout this period was primarily defensive. When the Fāṭimids could make no further progress in the west, they turned east, and in 969 they conquered Egypt.

It was in the year 929 that the emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III declared himself caliph of al-Andalus, *amīr al-mu’ammīn* (Commander of the Faithful), and adopted the throne name al-Nāṣir (the Victorious One). It cannot be a coincidence that the declaration took place within a year of the conquest of Bobastro and defeat of the sons of Ibn Hafṣūn. Nor is it coincidental that the Fāṭimids, who were Shiites, had already proclaimed themselves caliphs in 909. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III appears to have been persuaded that the decadence of the ‘Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad and their inability to defend the holy sites of Mecca and Medina disqualified them from the title, which he believed should be held by a Sunni Muslim leader. Calling himself a caliph was a way to enhance his power and prestige in and outside of al-Andalus. Al-Nāṣir quickly appropriated the two traditional symbols of caliphal power: he had his name invoked as caliph instead of the ‘Abbasid al-Qāhir during the Friday congregational prayers (*khutba*), and he began a new issue of coinage (*sikka*), including gold coins with his name and new titles.

Córdoba grew and flourished under the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III. He enlarged the Great Mosque and built a large, square minaret in the Syrian style. But his court and political administration increasingly imitated the ‘Abbasid and Persian styles, a process that had begun under the rule of his namesake. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II. One of the things the Persian style entailed was increasing the distance between the ruler and his subjects. The building of a new palace complex on the foothills southwest of Córdoba was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān

III’s logical next step toward enhancing Umayyad prestige, further distancing himself physically and psychologically from his subjects along ‘Abbasid lines. He named the new palace Madīnat al-Zahrā after his favorite concubine, al-Zahrā. Construction began in 936 and continued throughout the reign of al-Ḥakam II. The complex contained a mosque, luxurious gardens, baths, housing for courtiers, a garrison for his personal guard, and an impressive audience hall. To impress and intimidate his visitors, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III had a large bowl of mercury placed in the audience hall which could be made to cast lightning bolts across the ceiling. Although he was not particularly interested in the arts himself, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III created a court at Madīnat al-Zahrā that attracted poets, scholars, and artisans from all over the Islamic world. Cosmopolitan Córdoba began to rival Constantinople in terms of population, and no other western European capital came close to Córdoba on any terms.

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

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

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

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ABNER OF BURGOS See VALLADOLID, ALFONSO DE

ABRAHAM BAR ḤIYYA (ḤAYYA)

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

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

- (1) *Ḥibbur ha-meshiḥah ve-ha-tishboret* (*On Measuring*), a comprehensive introduction to surveying. Translated into Latin (1145?) by Plato of Tivoli, it played an important role in transmitting Arabic geometry and trigonometry to the West. Hebrew text, ed. M. Guttmann, 1912–13, Catalan translation, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1931.
- (2) *Yesode ha-tebunah u-migdal ha-emunah* (*The Foundations of Reason and the Tower of Faith*), an encyclopedia of science; parts are lost. Hebrew text and Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1952.
- (3) *Sod ha-‘ibbur* (*The Secret of Intercalation*), a study of the Hebrew calendar, written in 1123. Maimonides praised it as by far the best book on the subject (Commentary on Mishnah, ‘Arakhin 2:2). Hebrew text, ed. H. Filipowski, 1851.
- (4) *Megillat ha-megalleh* (*Scroll of the Revealer*), an eschatological and astrological work, written dur-

ing the 1120s. According to it, the messianic era might begin by 1136, and the resurrection would take place in 1448 or 1493. Hebrew text, ed. A. Poznanski, 1924; Catalan translation, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1929.

- (5) *Epistle to Rabbi Judah ben Barzillai*, a defense of astrology, written ca. 1120. Abraham bar Ḥiyya had advised a student to delay his wedding for one hour in order to avoid the unpropitious influence of Mars. Judah ben Barzillai, the eminent talmudist, protested that such deference to astrology would amount to sorcery and idolatry. The wedding was not delayed, but Abraham wrote this epistle in defense of his view, arguing that astrological considerations are analogous to medical ones. Hebrew text, ed. A. Z. Schwarz, 1917.
- (6) *Hegyon ha-nefesh ha-‘ašubah* (*The Meditation of the Sad Soul*), a philosophic study of human nature, discussing the place of human beings in the creation, the good life, repentance (including an analysis of *Jonah*), and the future world. While often described as neo-Platonic, it also reflects Aristotelian, Kalamitic, and other influences. Hebrew text, ed. E. Freimann, 1860; G. Wigoder, 1971. English translation, G. Wigoder, 1969.
- (7) *Šurat ha-areš ve-tabnit ha-shamavim* (*The Form of the Earth and the Figure of the Heavens*), a work on cosmography, written in 1132; part 1 of *Ḥokhmat ha-ḥizzayon* (*Science of Astronomy*). Hebrew text, Basel 1546 (abridged), Offenbach 1720; Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1956.
- (8) *Ḥeshbon mahalekhot ha-kokhabim* (*The Calculation of Astral Motions*), a textbook on Ptolemaic astronomy, written in 1136; part 2 of *Ḥokhmat ha-ḥizzayon*. Hebrew text and Spanish translation, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 1959; this edition includes Abraham bar Ḥiyya’s astronomical tables, *Luhot ha-Nasi* (*The Prince’s Tables*).

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

WARREN ZEV HARVEY

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ABRAHAM EL-BARCHILON (AL-BARJILUNI)

A member of a prominent ancient Jewish family of Toledo, Abraham el-Barchilon (or, more correctly, al-Barjiluni) is undoubtedly identified with Abu Ishaq (*sic*) Ibn Abu'l-Hasan Binyamin in the Arabic documents of Mozarabic Toledo (1269, 1273, and 1294, the latter date by which he was already deceased).

He was *arrendador* (collector) of taxes for Sancho IV, who in June of 1287, following the advice of Don Lope Díaz, count of Haro, and of the *infante* Juan, placed Abraham in charge of all the taxes of the entire kingdom, including those of the Mesta. Like most Jewish officials, he was not a mere tax officer. For example, in August of 1287 he was with the king in Haro and signed (in Hebrew) a royal reprimand to the prior of a monastery, and later yet another to a monastery of Segovia; the following year he signed a letter to the cathedral of Burgos, and to that of Zamora. In 1292, as a result of the peace treaty between Jaime II and Sancho IV, Abraham and another Jew were mentioned as having been captured and held for ransom by Aragónese nobles, and Jaime II ordered their release.

From at least 1288 on he was in fact in charge of the royal chancellery, and thus it is no exaggeration that for at least two years he “administered almost the totality of the Castilian royal domain.” We last hear of him in 1294, as administrator of taxes together with Todros Abulafia.

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ABRAVANEL, ISAAC

Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508) was one of the most important Jewish writers and statesmen of his age. His grandfather Samuel was already prominent in the reign of Juan I, and was *contador mayor* of Enrique III and treasurer of the queen. He converted to Christianity, however (long before the pogroms of 1491), before attaining these high posts, and took the name Juan Sánchez de Sevilla. Eventually, he determined to return

to Judaism, and in order to accomplish this had to flee to Portugal with some of his sons, while others remained as Christians in Castile. Isaac Abravanel thus grew up in Portugal, where he eventually became a wealthy merchant in Lisbon (together with his father), at least from 1463 on. Ultimately he became a confidant and financier of the Duke of Braganza (ca. 1480) and banker to the king of Portugal, Afonso V. The death of that king brought a change in attitude toward the Jews under his successor, and in 1483 Abravanel fled to Castile.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABŪ ZAYD, GOVERNOR OF VALENCIA

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

By 1236 he had converted, taking the name Vicente and the status of amply landed baron. He married the Aragónes lady María Ferrándiç, not Zurita’s Dominga López of Zaragoza, who gave him a son, Ferran Péreç (who died childless in 1262) and a daughter Alda Ferrándiç whose progeny became the Arenós noble dynasty. The number of his previous Muslim

sons and their conversions (perhaps four) is disputed, but Ibn Khaldūn testifies to Jaime’s patronage of his Muslim sons “on account of the conversion of their father.” Abū Zayd rarely used his baptismal name Vicente, and only late in life a noble surname, Belvis, keeping his attested conversion a secret for reasons of state from at least 1236 until 1264 when a bull of Pope Urban IV hailed the occasion. His latter years are identified with the military order of Santiago, of which he was a devout patron. Abū Zayd called himself King of Valencia in Latin documents until 1238, though Jaime I also took that title from 1236. His eagle seal survives, along with sufficient documentation both in Islamic and Christian sources to follow the trajectory of his full career. He died between 1264 and 1268; his body is entombed in the Franciscans’ Puritat convent at Valencia.

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ABULAFIA, MEIR

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

Abulafia was a student of the renowned Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides), and by 1204 he was already a member of an important Jewish court (*bet din*) in Toledo, together with Joseph Ibn Megash and Abraham ben Natan ha-Yarhi, two of the most important scholars of the age. We possess from his pen a number of legal responsa, as well as commentaries on portions of the Talmud. However, Abulafia is most famous (or infamous) for his crucial role in the “Maimonidean controversy.” Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides) had expressed certain ideas both in his legal code, *Mishneh Torah*, and in his earlier commentary on the *mishnah*,

which were concepts of Aristotelian rationalism and were viewed by the young rabbi as extremely dangerous to traditional Jewish views. He, as well as his colleague Abraham ha-Yarhi, correctly concluded that Maimonides did not accept the traditional Abulafia views about resurrection, for example. According to Maimonides, this is entirely allegorical and to be explained in accord with Aristotelian and Muslim philosophical interpretation. Abulafia penned a sharp critique of Maimonides, which he sent to rabbinical scholars in Provence. These scholars, however, sided completely with the great Maimonides and sharply rebuked the “young upstart” of Castile who dared to challenge his authority. He was similarly severely criticized by Sheshet Benvenist, lay leader of the Jewish community of Barcelona. Undaunted, Abulafia wrote a series of letters farther north, to the rabbis of France. Completely unfamiliar as they were with philosophy, much less with Maimonides’ views (which they little knew or understood), they took Abulafia’s side. Abulafia finally collected all this correspondence, which he issued with an Arabic introduction intended for Jewish readers in Andalucía. Although the controversy soon died down, it may well have resulted in the forged “Treatise on Resurrection” (*Ma’amar tehiyat ha-metim*) long attributed to Maimonides; as well, perhaps, as a treatise on this subject introduced into Abulafia’s commentary on Sanhedrin.

The Maimonidean controversy was to continue for centuries, along different lines. Abulafia’s importance today remains his responsa and talmudic commentary.

NORMAN ROTH

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ABULAFIA, TODROS

Todros b. Judah ha-Levi Abulafia (1247–1298?) was a Hebrew poet who also served at the court of Alfonso X. Born in Toledo to an illustrious family of apparently modest means, Abulafia was steeped in Arabic and Romance cultures as well as in Jewish tradition. After being drawn into the entourage of a royal official named Solomon Ibn Sadoq, Todros traveled widely in Spain at the side of Ibn Sadoq’s son Isaac, singing his patron’s praises and otherwise entertaining him. Abulafia was apparently among the dignitaries swept

into prison in 1280–1281 during the second round of royal attacks upon Jewish economic and political influence at Alfonso X’s court. During his incarceration Abulafia’s literary tastes and cultural sensibilities seem to have undergone a radical transformation. The imprisoned poet appears to make amends for his hedonistic lifestyle and licentious behavior by producing a cycle of confessional poems in which he bemoans his fate and renounces his previously profligate ways. Following his release, Abulafia wandered in exile until he made his way to Barcelona, where he studied with that city’s leading sages and devoted himself to devotional verse and the poetry of spiritual love. In 1289 and for sometime thereafter, Abulafia served in the financial administration of Sancho IV and used his various offices to pursue lucrative business ventures.

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

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

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

ROSS BRANN

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ABULCASIS See ABŪ-L-QĀSIM

ABŪ-L-QĀSIM

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

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

JULIO SAMSÓ

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ACUÑA, LUIS DE

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

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

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

MARÍA JESÚS GÓMEZ BÁRCENA

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ADELANTADO

First documented in the eleventh century, the term seems to have referred to an officer in charge of a frontier zone who also had judicial powers. As a royal office, the *adelantamiento mayor* was institutionalized no later than the reign of Alfonso X who, in royal charters of privilege, listed an *adelantado mayor* of the frontier (1253) and others to the same office in León, Castile, and Murcia (1258; at this time charters no longer list *merinos mayores* in Castile and Murcia). Early in 1261, contemporaneous with the war against Niebla, the *adelantamiento* of Andalusia was formed from the merger of Murcia and the frontier. Two years later Alfonso appointed an *adelantado mayor* in Galicia. Later (1268–1272), in circumstances most likely related to reaction against Alfonsine legislation, the *adelantados mayores* in León, Castile, and Galicia ceased to be listed; the merger in the south was dissolved; and only the *adelantamiento mayor* of Murcia and the newly created *adelantamiento* (*mayor* is not mentioned) in Alava and Guipúzcoa continued to ap-

pear during the final, troubled years of Alfonso's reign. Succeeding kings reestablished the lost *adelantamientos*, all of which continued to exist (some sporadically) through the rest of the Middle Ages. The Alfonsoine *Espéculo* describes two types of *adelantado mayor*: the one whose jurisdiction covered a major territory, and the one serving as chief justice of the royal tribunal, who judged certain types of cases and heard appeals from the decisions made in all inferior courts. Each *adelantado* was a lay *ricohombre* whose authority derived directly and exclusively from his royal appointment and whose powers, aside from specified limitations, were equivalent to those of the king.

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

ROBERT A. MACDONALD

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, ARAGÓN-CATALONIA

As one of most deeply acculturated sections of the Roman Empire, Spain retained the imprint of imperial government long after it was conquered by the Visigoths in the fifth century. To maintain control over the ruined Iberian political landscape, Visigothic kings adapted Roman political norms to their own rule. Though Toledo emerged as the core of the Visigothic kingdom, the administration that ruled Spain was less territorial than it was personal. With the influence of the Church through its councils, the Visigothic monarch seems in some ways only a first among equals. The center of this rule was the royal court (*aula regia*), comprised of the personal servants as well as the clerical and lay retainers of the king. The evolving nature of the Visigothic court and the administration that ema-

nated from it often transformed such servants into officials, and officials into servants. While the realm retained the bare outlines of the Roman provincial system, civil government of the periphery was entrusted to nobles who, bearing the titles of duke (*dux*) or count (*comes*), stood as guarantors of public peace and justice in their districts. Since their jurisdictions were far too large for one man to rule, these local governors delegated authority to a number of vicars (*vicarii, veguers*), who carried out much the same duties as their ducal or comital superiors but on a more local level. This loose mesh of regional and local government established an administrative blueprint followed with few emendations in all realms of Christian Spain until the twelfth century.

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

With the rebirth of central power in the eleventh century, the old Visigothic model of administration was adapted to the realities of the feudal world. With the reigns of Sancho III the Great, king of Navarre (1000–1035), and Ramón Berenguer I, count of Barcelona (1035–1076), the royal court (*curia regis*) and the comital court (*curia comitis*) reemerged as the center of an administration that grew more powerful, as did the office of sovereign itself. At the center of the *curia* was a corps of palatine servants that included the steward (*majordomo*), seneschal (*senescalus*), chamberlain (*cubicularii*), constable (*comes stabuli*), standard-bearer (*armiger, alférez*), butler (*botellerius, repostero*), treasurer (*thesaurarius*), cupbearer (*scanti-*

arius), carver (*taliator*), and schoolmaster (*caput schole, doctor*). Besides these servitors, a number of curial officials carried out regnal administration. The most important of these were the scribes (*scriptores, notarii*) and the judge of the palace (*judex palatii*). Owing to the decentralized nature of eastern Spain, territorial administration had to be shared with great lords in Aragón and counts in Catalonia who maintained their own courts and were served by their own officials. While eleventh- and twelfth-century sovereigns used such palatine officials as the seneschal and steward to administer their realms, they also depended on such agents as the *merino* and *sayón* in Aragón and the vicar in Catalonia to judge local suits, carry out judicial verdicts, collect taxes, and summon the royal host. In addition to such salaried royal officials, Catalan and Aragónese clergy were used as judges, overseers, and administrators. With the growth of towns in eastern Spain, the same hybrid clerical and lay administration shared power within urban limits with emerging municipal councils (*universitates*).

With the marriage of Ramón Berenguer IV to Petronella in 1137, the realms of Catalonia and Aragón were linked under the same ruler. Such an event could not help but complicate the administration of two states. With two different peoples to serve and three different languages to deal with—Latin, Aragónese, and Catalan—the chancery was divided into two departments, one serving the government of Aragón and the other the government of Catalonia. Though some calligraphical differences remained between the documents that emanated from the two divisions, these began to fade in the thirteenth century as the Catalan style attained dominance when the notarial organization came under the supervision of a single head, the chancellor (*cancellarius, canceller*). The birth of the Crown of Aragón (*Corona de Aragón*)—as the new federated state came to be called—was accompanied by other administrative changes, most especially in the training and status of the men entering royal service. Far from being drawn only from the region's monasteries and cathedral canons, royal administration from the twelfth century onward also began to attract laymen. Many of this new class of officials had received training in the two laws, Roman and canon, in such universities as Bologna and Montpellier. With this background in mind, it is not unusual that the officialdom of Ramón Berenguer IV and his son Alfonso II (1162–1196) became proponents of a regalist philosophy that sought to extend the crown's power at the expense of feudal privilege. One of the great curials of this era was Renallus, a poet, historian, and theologian who served as

the head of the Catalan-Aragónese chancery in the mid-twelfth century. Significant juridical outgrowths of the activist administrative philosophy in eastern Spanish administration were the Catalan legal compilations of the last half of the twelfth century, the *Usatges de Barchinona* and *Liber Feudorum Maior*.

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

Jaime I took an even bolder step in administrative reshuffling by asserting more personal control over the bureaucracies of his realms. With the great conquests of Mallorca and Valencia (1229–1244), the Conqueror was away from his realms for long periods and increasingly relied on his son Pedro and the other crown princes as lieutenants (*locum tenentes*) who represented the crown in all official matters. Jaime I argued that he and his sons in their representative capacity were “one conjoint [royal] person.” In addition to this “family government,” Jaime I promoted bureaucratic loyalty by rewarding talent even when displayed by men of other faiths. The most important of these, the Jewish brothers Jehuda and Solomon de Cavallería, served as bailiff (*baiulus, batlle*) for much of Jaime I's later life. Under their tenure, the office became the centerpiece of a much more efficient management of royal lands and local revenues. This utilization of Jewish servitors avoided royal dependence on Christian nobles for administration and thus brought firm baro-

nial opposition. This dissent among the eastern Spanish baronies was deepened when Jaime I eschewed the use of nobles in most royal offices in favor of such professional advocates and jurists as Pere Albert in Catalonia and Vidal de Canyellas in Aragón, who left their Romanist mark on the important legislation of both realms.

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

The trends of royal administration were altered in the sixty years after Jaime I by these waves of baronial unrest that attempted to redraw the official lines between ruler and ruled in a way reminiscent of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nowhere was the Union's anachronistic view of royal power better expressed than in the spurious *Fuero de Sobrarbe*, which attempted to hem in not only the king but the royal administration with an impenetrable hedge of custom. With the reign of Jaime II (1291–1337), the crown began to reclaim power lost to the rebellious baronies of Aragón and Catalonia. Spending his youth as the sovereign of Sicily, Jaime II brought a more centralized view of administration to the Crown of Aragón. The supreme post in Jaime II's government, which had its roots in twelfth-century Sicily, was the *maestre racional*. This servitor, initially an overseer of palace accounts, emerged as the most important member in the eastern Spanish government, subsuming a number of the functions of the Aragónese steward and Catalan

bailiff in the process. Despite such bureaucratic importations, Jaime I did not destroy the offices of his predecessors but assigned to them a more restricted agenda. In one case, however, the king experimented with the older offices, creating an "overvicar" (*supravicar*, *sobreveguer*) to oversee blocks of Catalan vicarates. In regard to the chancery, Jaime II and his successors continued its development as a professional entity. A chancellor oversaw the operation and was assisted by a vice chancellor. The royal seals were maintained by the *protonotario* while the everyday functioning of the chancery came under the authority of a "manager" (*regente*) who was also responsible for document production and sealing as well as their reproduction in registers. All of the realms of the Crown of Aragón had similar chancery offices headed by a vice chancellor.

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

the 1970s when Catalan home rule became one of the cornerstones of the new Spanish Republic.

DONALD KAGAY

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, CASTILE

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

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

By the thirteenth century the business of government had become so complex that the responsibilities

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

The chancery, composed mainly of clerics, handled much of the secretarial work, but the title of chancellor was now an honorific one shared by the archbishops of Toledo (for Castile) and Compostela (for León). The chief notaries (*notarios mayores*) of Castile, León, and Andalucía directed the scribes to draft documents, checked their form and content, ordered copies inscribed in registers, and seals of wax or lead to be affixed to the originals. Royal documents, ranging from the most solemn *privilegio rodado* to a simple mandate, now became more stereotyped.

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

This structure remained more or less intact until the Trastámaran era in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Then the main innovation was the clear separation of the royal household (*casa real*), whose responsibilities were essentially domestic, from the royal council (*consejo real*), the chancery, and the judicial tribunal. Every aspect of administration came within the purview of the council, which now became the principal organ of government. In response to the petitions of the *cortes* Juan I in 1385 created a council including four persons representing each of the three estates. The towns hoped that this would give them a permanent voice in the council, but the king quickly

replaced the municipal representatives with four legists who could be counted on to uphold royal authority. Thereafter membership constantly fluctuated. Perceiving that control of the council would ultimately mean greater power over all the instruments of government, the nobility strove to secure places in that body so that they could dominate it.

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

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, LEÓN

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

The king never functioned simply by himself, but always with and in his *curia*, which was at once the essential advisory body and the executive instrument of the crown. Though no one individual or officer was

indispensable to the makeup of the curia except for the king himself, its constituent parts were fairly stable. First and foremost among them was the royal dynasty. That is, the prime advisers of the king were the other living adult members of the royal house, from queen mother, uncles, and aunts to sisters and younger brothers, the *infantes* or the generation to come, present in the court.

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

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

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

These offices were three. One was the *mayordomus*, responsible for the order and supply of the court on its travels and of its principal residences. A second was the *armiger*, or *alférez*, who was the commander of the royal bodyguard, the nucleus of the army, and the bearer of the royal standard in battle. The third was

the royal notary, called chancellor from the reign of Alfonso VII (1126–1157). The first two offices were held by nobles drawn from one or another of the great magnate families of the realm ordinarily and the relative frequency of the latter's appearances in them is a good gauge of their contemporary influence at court and in the kingdom. Since the third required literacy, it was held by ecclesiastics. From the reign of Fernando II (1157–1188) the chancellorship was titularly held by the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela but usually exercised through a delegate.

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

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

BERNARD F. REILLY

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, NAVARRE

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

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

Lastly, at the king's side, the palace sometimes grouped together several hundred people. To manage this king's house, this king's hotel, "masters" and

chambriers had officers, servants, equeries, and clerks, who were gathered in the departments of the stable, kitchen, *fruiterie*, *echansonnerie*, pound, *paneterie*, and chapel. Each department had its budget, each officer his wages.

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

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

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

also its abuse and faults, reflected the whole political life of the kings of Navarre.

BÉATRICE LEROY

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ADMINISTRATION, CENTRAL, PORTUGAL

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

From the time of Afonso III the central administration became more complex and required greater organization and differentiation of functions. Whereas Coimbra had been a favorite residence of his predecessors, Afonso III opted in favor of Lisbon, which was more centrally located. There the royal archives were deposited, but the chancellor and much of the rest of the court continued to accompany the king as he trav-

eled extensively about his realm. In 1258, Afonso III published a *Regimento da Casa Real* that described the duties of palatine officials. Besides the mordomo mor, the alteres mor, the chancellor, and the sobrejuiz there were numerous other officials whose functions were often of a private nature. They included the *reposteiro mor* or butler, the *porteiro mor* or chief usher and messenger, the chaplain, the royal physicians, and other subordinates. A royal council (*conselho d'el-rei*) composed of the mordomo mor, alferes mor, the chancellor, the sobrejuiz, and other counselors chosen by the king assumed a more permanent character and was consulted regularly by the king on matters of great importance.

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

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

regedor da corte, exercising police functions, maintained order in the court.

Recognizing the importance of the royal council in the initiation and development of royal policy, the municipal procurators in the courts of 1385 hoped to secure permanent representation in the council along with prelates, nobles, and legists. In the fifteenth century the council consisted of twenty-seven members, divided into three groups each consisting of six councillors, a prelate, a noble, and a townsman, chosen every three years; each group would serve for four months. While service in this body was largely honorific, the chancellor, the *escrivão da puridade*, another royal secretary (*secretario d'el-rei*), two *corregedores da corte*, and the *meirinho mor* overseeing the administration of justice in noble estates constituted a small council that met regularly to advise the king.

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, CROWN OF ARAGÓN

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

recognize the financial and political concerns of the individual regional components. The tensions between central and local fiscal supervision, delegated and direct fiscal management, and traditional and novel forms of revenue created the dynamic behind the administrative and political actions of the kings of Aragón.

Early Fiscal Initiatives

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

Expanded political ambitions in the thirteenth century severally strained traditional sources of revenue. King Pedro I incurred massive debts to barons and court financiers; his death at the Battle of Muret provoked a financial crisis during the early years of his

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

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

Central Fiscal Control (1283–1419)

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

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

Besides the *mestre racional* and his assistants, two other officials also participated in central financial administration: the treasurer and the *escrivá de ración*, with attendant scribes. The treasurer was of course responsible for the receipts and disbursements from the royal treasury, which remained itinerant. Associated with the treasurer was the *escrivá de ración*, who dealt with the royal household, including jewelry, clothing, and other valuables, and occasionally with royal am-

bassadors or procurators. The central financial administration thus involved fifteen or twenty individuals, with the *mestre racional* at its summit.

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

Although the kings of Aragón had sought and received general levies such as the *monedatge* and *bovatge* as well as local tallages from the twelfth century onward, customary limitations on their assessment did not allow these revenues to meet the expenses of the crown. In the early fourteenth century, nondomainal revenues constituted the lion's share of income to the royal treasury. Regular tribute and irregular subsidies demanded from Mudéjar and especially Jewish communities grew in importance. In the treasury receipts of 1335, for which one of the few detailed studies exists, Jews contributed 21 percent of the total; the *aljamas* of Catalonia paid almost twice as much as those of Aragón. In the same year 58 percent of income to

the crown came from irregular subsidies, of which only 4 percent derived from the traditional sources of tallage, monedatge, and bovatge. In that year the primary source of income to the crown as a whole came from an *imposición* (subsidy) voted by the *cortes* of Valencia. In Catalonia and Aragón as well irregular aids and impositions granted by the *cortes* of the individual realms provided important new means of war subsidies that far exceeded renders from customary domains and revenues. With larger and increasingly regular subsidies came greater demands on the part of representative bodies for fiscal supervision. Permanent standing deputations of the *cortes* in the three realms supervised and audited the collectors of the revenues they approved. The autonomous powers of the Diputación del General in Aragón, Catalonia (where it was called the Generalitat), and Valencia, each a permanent commission voted by their respective *cortes*, were fully recognized by the early fifteenth century. As representative institutions consolidated their power and provided substantial revenues to supplement the income from the royal domain, regional concerns in each of the three realms heightened the practical difficulties of managing financial affairs centrally.

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

Debt, Regionalism, and Reform (1419–1516)

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

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

STEPHEN P. BENSCH

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, CASTILE

The rudiments of the financial administration of the Roman Empire survived in the Visigothic era. Recesvinth, at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, confirmed the distinction between state property and the personal holdings of the king, which were transmissible to his heirs. Nevertheless, the distinction between

public property and the private estates of the king tended to blur very easily. Officials such as the count of the patrimony and the count of the treasury appear to have had responsibility for the royal domain and revenues and expenditures. Revenues, including a land tax, poll tax, tolls, and fines, tended to be customary and of fixed amounts and were collected by local officials.

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

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

assessing taxes a *padrón* was drawn up in each locality listing taxpayers and estimating their wealth.

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

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, LEÓN

The fundamental resource of the Leonese monarchy was the landed property of the dynasty. From it were derived the horses and oxen that furnished its means of locomotion; cattle, sheep, and grains, which gave it sustenance; rents, which provided for the sophisticated goods that must be purchased in the Islamic south in the early years; and the men who filled out its raiding parties and war bands. The administrator who was responsible for all of this wealth in its various forms was the *merino*. He was essentially an estate manager. Surely he was appointed but rarely was he of such rank as to leave much trace in the documents. The last century of the Leonese kingdom sometimes saw *merinos* of some personal prestige and family but these were the custodians of royal urban properties and so

of a rather different type. Their prime concern would have been the collection of rents from bakeries, forges, and presses owned by the crown, along with the proceeds of justice that they, like their country cousins, administered.

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

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

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

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

While all of these rents and customary revenues may have sufficed ordinarily in time of peace, they had to be supplemented in wartime, which was quite frequent. By the second half of the twelfth century a

special revenue, the *petitum*, emerged, and its levy was occasional and general. Again, since it was a special impost no particular machinery seems to have been devised to collect it, and apparently the proceeds would have been borne to a royal *curia* or assembly of the host by those who attended.

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

BERNARD F. REILLY

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, NAVARRE

Every state with a foreign policy and managed by a king and a court needs a serious financial administration. In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the kingdom of Navarre had its own treasury and experts. The treasurer of Navarre, whose yearly registers detailed the expenditure and receipts kept, was usually a French clerk (Simon Aubert in the beginning of the fourteenth century) or a Navarese middle-class person (Juan Caritat, a “Franco” from Tudela, in the end of the fourteenth century). Helped by a chamber of deniers which supervised the minting of money, and by a chamber of accounts, which managed and judged the fiscal cases, the treasurer’s main function was to plan the state’s expenditure (war, fortifications, troops’ pay, military and civilian officers’ wages, equipment work, amounts of money granted to the king’s loyalists, and court’s expenditure); and to attend to the coming in of the receipts (*pechas* of the taxable commoners and of

the Moors and Jews—that is to say, taxes of quota raised by homesteads, indirect miscellaneous taxes on trade, bridges, markets and fairs, registering rights under the king’s seal). Therefore, the treasurer controlled the provincial tax collectors, as well as all the officers of the court charged of a specialized duty and entitled to certain spending necessary to their responsibilities.

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

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

BÉATRICE LEROY

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ADMINISTRATION, FINANCIAL, PORTUGAL

The financial administration of the kingdom of Portugal was based originally on that of the kingdom of León-Castile, from which Portugal separated in the

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

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

In the thirteenth century the Portuguese kings began to feel the need for extraordinary taxes to meet their steadily increasing financial requirements. To some extent that need was met by convoking the *cortes* (parliament) and asking the representatives of the townspeople for subsidies (*pedidos*). An early example of this came during the reign of Afonso III (1248–1279) who tried to improve his financial resources by altering the coinage. The ensuing economic distress evoked strong protest and he had to negotiate a solution with the *cortes*. In return for the king’s pledge not to debase the coinage for a period of seven years, the *cortes* granted him a subsidy called *monetágio* or *moeda foreira*. The kings also exacted forced loans (*emprestitos*) and levied customs duties of a tenth (*dizima*) of the value of imported goods. The *sisa*, a

sales tax, appeared as a royal tribute in the reign of Fernando (1367–1383), though it may antedate him; it remained an extraordinary tribute until the reign of João I (1385–1433) when it became a permanent levy.

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

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

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

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ADMINISTRATION, JUDICIAL

For the greater part of the Middle Ages the judicial system was inextricably linked to civil administration. Besides the monarch, there were ecclesiastical and secular lords who enjoyed the privilege of immunity, and the Church, which had its own canon law and its own judges; all of these exercised jurisdiction.

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

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

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

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

Fori regni Valentie promulgated by Jaime I in 1240 but the *Code of Huesca* published in 1247, was largely comprised of the traditional laws of Aragón. While officials responsible for public administration also dispensed justice, a clear hierarchy of jurisdiction descending from the king through the provincial governors (*adelantados*, *merinos*, *vequeres*) and the municipal *alcaldes* was recognized. In Castile, *alcaldes fijosdalgo* and in Aragón the *justicia* were appointed to adjudicate litigation involving the nobility. Alfonso IX of León affirmed the principle of due process of law in 1188, as did his successors. Although prelates and nobles continued to exercise jurisdiction in immune lands, the king reserved the right to intervene in crimes such as treason, theft, rape, and highway robbery.

Under Roman influence procedure was now written rather than oral and purgation and ordeals were abandoned as methods of proof. Litigants could be represented by procurators and by professional lawyers (*advocati*, *voceros*). The *inquisitio* or inquest involving the sworn testimony of witnesses came into frequent use as a means of resolving civil cases. On the basis of the inquest or documentary evidence, the judge pronounced judgment but one could then appeal to a higher court. The inquest was also used to identify criminals, who were then arrested and brought to trial. In that way injured parties were relieved of the danger of retaliation by bringing an accusation.

From time to time kings such as Alfonso X endeavored to restructure the royal tribunal to make it more efficient. In 1371 Enrique II established the *audiencia*, composed of a number of auditors that came to be known as the *chancillería* because it often sat in chancery rooms. The *audiencia* continued to follow the king until 1442, when Juan II decided that it should have a permanent residence at Valladolid. João I of Portugal also established the Casa do Cível at Lisbon. The Casa da Justiça da Corte was reorganized as a supreme court of appeals. After the conquest of Granada, Fernando and Isabel entrusted the Chancillería of Valladolid with jurisdiction over cases north of the Tagus River and created a new Chancillería with jurisdiction south of the river at Ciudad Real; it was moved to Granada in 1505. With increasing frequency the crown appointed judges to administer justice in the towns.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries significant efforts were made to record and codify the laws. In Castile, Alfonso XI promulgated the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* in 1348 and gave juridical force to the *Siete Partidas*. The ordinances of the *cortes* (parliament) were another source of law. Fernando and Isabel promulgated in 1484 the *Ordenanzas reales de Castilla*, a collection of the fundamental laws of the realm com-

plied by the jurist Alfonso Diaz de Montalvo. Fernando also issued a new edition of the *Constitucions i altres drets de Catalunya* in 1495 and of the *Fueros y observancias del reino de Aragón* in 1496. The *Ordenações Afonsinas* promulgated in Portugal in 1446 served as the basis for the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, promulgated by Manuel I in 1521.

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ADMINISTRATION, TERRITORIAL, CASTILE, PORTUGAL, LEÓN, ARAGÓN-CATALONIA, NAVARRE

In Roman times Spain was initially formed into two provinces, Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior (whence later references to "the Spains"). Under Diocletian (284–305) the peninsula was divided into five provinces, Tarraconensis (Tarragona, the capital), Carthaginensis (Cartagena), Lusitania (Mérida), Baetica (Seville), and Gallaetia (Braga). This system survived into the Visigothic era, when the provinces were governed by *rectores*, *iudices*, or *duces* with both civil and military authority. Provincial subdivisions called *territoria* consisted of a city and its dependent area. As cities decayed as commercial and industrial centers the municipal *curia* so typical of Roman administration disintegrated. Henceforth a city was important as the headquarters of a provincial governor.

The Muslim invasion disrupted all aspects of civil administration, but Islamic Spain was divided at first into five zones corresponding more or less to Andalucía, Galicia and Portugal, Castile and León, Aragón and Catalonia, and Septimania or Gallia Gothica. Under the rule of the caliphs of Córdoba a more effective provincial regime was instituted as the realm was divided into at least twenty-one provinces whose extent in some cases probably corresponded to those of the Visigothic era. Provincial governors with both civil and military responsibilities ordinarily resided in the chief cities. Military commanders governed the frontier, which was divided into three segments: the Upper Frontier, embracing Catalonia and Aragón, with headquarters at Zaragoza; the Middle Frontier, centered at Medinaceli and running along the borders of Castile and León; and the Lower Frontier, touching Galicia and Portugal and administered from Toledo. These frontier governors often enjoyed considerable auton-

omy given the great distance separating them from the capital. The towns of Islamic Spain were not endowed with rights of self-government, but were directly controlled by the ruler who appointed a *sāhib al-madina* to maintain law and order, a *qādi* or judge who dispensed justice according to the Koran, and the *muhtasib* who inspected the market.

After the breakup of the caliphate of Córdoba many of the provinces, such as Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, Granada, Málaga, Murcia, Baza, Almería, Beja, Silves, Badajoz, Valencia, and Mallorca, were formed into petty kingdoms known as *tā'ifas*. The *tā'ifas* were displaced in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Almoravids and Almohads of Morocco who successively subjugated Islamic Spain and governed it through members of the royal family acting as viceroys. Once Muslim rule was reduced to the kingdom of Granada in the thirteenth century the royal *wazīr* appointed provincial governors, but large areas were often held as lordships. The Ashqilula family, for example, controlled Guadix, Comares, and Málaga, and often acted in opposition to the king. As the price of military assistance the kings of Granada also yielded important places such as Gibraltar and Algeciras to the Benimerines who ruled Morocco in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the concession of immunities and the emergence of municipalities resulted in the decline of counties as major territorial divisions. Tenancies of districts, towns, and fortresses were assigned to royal vassals variously

called *tenentes, seniores, or alcaldes*. Only in Aragón (from 1134) and Navarre did they hold their offices or *honores* by hereditary right. A *merino mayor*, aided by subordinate merinos, appeared as the chief administrative officer in Castile after 1180. The Catalan counts were assisted by vicars (*vicarii*) with civil and military responsibilities and bailiffs (*bajuli*) who collected tributes.

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

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

The reconquest of these southern provinces in the thirteenth century also resulted in the creation of new

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

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

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

As the Crown of Aragón consisted of several distinct elements—namely, the kingdoms of Aragón, Mallorca, and Valencia—and the county of Barcelona—the territorial administration was complicated. The heir to the throne was usually named procurator general of all the kingdoms, or lieutenant general. In the fifteenth century the office of lieutenant general

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

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

A major development in the later Middle Ages was the increase in the number and extent of lordships held by the nobility immune from the supervision of royal officials. The reason for this was the king's need to gain support and to keep it. Enrique II (1369–1379), the first of the Trastámaran kings of Castile, was notorious for his *mercedes* or favors granting lordships and other favors to his adherents. Not only were rural estates alienated, so also were towns that had long been directly under the rule of the king and had long enjoyed self-government as such. Typical of such concessions was Juan II's charter of 1453 conferring certain towns on the widow of Álvaro de Luna "in hereditary right, for ever and ever . . . with their fortresses, lands, jus-

tice, civil and criminal jurisdiction, high and low justice, *merum et mixtum imperium*, rents, tributes and rights belonging to the lordship of those places.” The cortes from the thirteenth century onward consistently protested such alienations and demanded that the king recover domain lands already alienated or usurped by others. Afonso III of Portugal (1248–1279) conducted extensive inquests to determine whether royal lands were in private hands, but efforts to recover them were often unavailing. João I (1385–1433), the first representative of the house of Avis in Portugal, ceded to his constable Nun’ Alvares Pereira the counties of Ourém, Barcelos, and Arraiolos, as well as eighteen cities and towns. The king subsequently hoped to resume possession of alienated royal lands, but it was left to his son Duarte in 1433 to enact the so-called *lei mental*, the law his father had in mind; according to this estates granted by the king were heritable only by the firstborn male and could not be divided; in default of a male heir such lands would revert to the crown. In spite of that Duarte’s son Afonso V was extraordinarily liberal, as was Enrique IV of Castile, in yielding towns, lands, and other royal rights in lordship.

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

zalmedina did likewise in Aragón and Valencia. While the towns increasingly lost internal autonomy as a consequence of royal intervention, further losses were incurred in the fifteenth century as many towns were handed over in lordship to nobles whose favor the king wished to purchase or retain.

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

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

JOSEPH F. O’CALLAGHAN

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ADMINISTRATION, TERRITORIAL, MUSLIM

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

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

The Muslim government in Spain was highly organized, becoming more bureaucratic during the established caliphal period. The primary official was the *hājib*, often unhelpfully translated as “chamberlain,” who in fact was the prime minister and often the military commander (interestingly, the word derives from a root that means “veil, conceal”; cf. *hijāb*, a veil). Originally, it is true, his function was to guard the entrance to the caliph, but in fact the office was far more important. After the fall of the caliphate, the *tā'ifa* rulers often used the title *hājib* to refer to them-

selves. Under the Almohads, the title seemed no longer to be known.

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

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

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

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

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

The Almoravids and the Almohads of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries essentially appear to have maintained the original territorial or provincial divisions (or at least as many of them as applied to the

lands they were able to hold) and utilized the basic government offices already long established in al-Andalus, with some changes in titles. Finally, the *naṣrī* dynasty of the last surviving Muslim kingdom, that of Granada, simply divided its kingdom into *kūwar* (no less than thirty-three of them) that were administered in much the same manner.

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

NORMAN ROTH

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ADOPTIONISM *See* CHURCH; HERESY; THEOLOGY

AESOP *See* ANIMAL FABLES; *YSOPETE YSTORIADO*

AFONSO HENRIQUES, OR AFONSO I

Count of Portugal from 1128, king of the Portuguese from 1140, conqueror of Lisbon in 1147, and forebear of all three Portuguese dynasties, Burgundian, Avis, and Bragança. Afonso's mother was the illegitimate daughter of Emperor Alfonso VI of León and Ximena Moniz of the Bierzo. The emperor had awarded Portugal with Galicia to his heiress Urraca on her marriage to Count Raymond of Burgundy, but when Raymond failed before Lisbon in 1094, he detached Portugal and Coimbra and gave them to Teresa on her marriage to Count Henri, Raymond's cousin. They were installed at Guimarães, where their son Afonso was born, probably in 1109, the year of the emperor's death. Teresa used the title of "queen," despite Urraca's disapproval. Henry was killed while claiming Zamora in May 1112, leaving Afonso and two daughters. Teresa entrusted the defense of Coimbra to the Galician count Fernando Peres of Trava, and endured the attempts of Gelmírez, first archbishop of Santiago, to overthrow the ancient primacy of Braga. Afonso appears in her documents

from 1120. He was educated by barons of the Douro, who in 1128 removed Teresa and Trava in the battle of São Mamede, near Guimarães. Urraca's son Alfonso VII had been knighted at Santiago, and Afonso Henriques armed himself knight at Zamora in 1126. He now defied his cousin, with varying success, but did not appear when Alfonso VII assumed the title of emperor in 1135. A clash at Cerneja was averted by a Muslim attack on Coimbra. Afonso assumed the title of king in 1140, probably following the death of the aged Gelmírez. The miraculous victory of Ourique, once considered a proof of divine approval, is undocumented. In 1143 he reached agreement with his cousin at Zamora, and obtained the consent of Rome. Afonso married Mafalda, daughter of the Count of Savoy and Maurtienne, in 1145 or 1146 and in March 1147 recovered Santarém (lost in 1111) in a surprise attack. St. Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade brought a large contingent of 164 ships from England, the Low Countries, and southern Germany that participated in the conquest of Lisbon. An English priest, Gilbert of Hastings, became the first bishop of the restored diocese. Sintra and Palmela also capitulated, almost doubling Afonso's territories. His own wealth and authority were greatly increased, rendering secure the continuity of his house. He installed the military orders in castles to defend the line of the Tagus, while the Cistercians undertook the cultivation and settlement of largely abandoned frontier areas, from their headquarters at Alcobaça, founded in 1153. His usual capital was Coimbra, where the monastery of Santa Cruz Alcobaça served as his scriptorium and treasury. Queen Mafalda died there in 1157, having given him three sons and four daughters.

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

The documents of Afonso Henriques are excellently edited by R. P. de Azevedo; see the *Documentos medievais portugueses* (Lisbon, 1958).

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AFONSO II, KING OF PORTUGAL

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

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

In his will, Sancho I had left part of the royal patrimony to Afonso II's brothers and sisters. Afonso II deemed this a challenge to his sovereignty. He argued that the royal patrimony was indivisible and that he should have jurisdiction over all crown properties.

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

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

When Afonso II assumed power in 1211, Portugal's independence was fairly well established, although there still were occasional threats from neighboring Christian kingdoms. In 1212 Alfonso IX of León used the clash between the Portuguese king and his brothers and sisters as an excuse to invade northern Portugal. With help from some Portuguese nobles, including one of Afonso II's brothers, the Leonese defeated the supporters of Afonso II at the Battle of Valdevez. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the threat of hostilities with Alfonso VIII of Castile forced the Leonese king to withdraw from Portugal and Afonso II was able to recover the occupied territory.

There was relatively little fighting against the Muslims on Portugal's borders during the reign of Afonso II. The Portuguese monarch did, however, send troops to aid his father-in-law, Alfonso VIII of Castile, in the famous Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, in which the Christians decisively defeated the Almohad forces. Las Navas de Tolosa was the gateway to Andalucía, and the Almohads never recovered from this defeat. The Portuguese distinguished themselves by their bravery in this encounter, the outcome of which is considered by many to be the greatest Christian victory of the Reconquest.

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

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AFONSO III, KING OF PORTUGAL

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

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

privileges and customs of Portugal, and to promote justice.

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

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

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

Matilda's death in 1258 helped resolve some of the Portuguese monarch's difficulties. But papal oppo-

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

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

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

Afonso III continued his predecessors' policy of strengthening royal prerogatives. This was accomplished chiefly through the use of the *inquirições gerais* (general inquiries) and *confirmações* (confirmations). In 1258, in response to complaints from royal officials as well as commoners, the crown sent investigative teams into the *comarcas* (districts) of Entre Douro e Minho, Trás-os-Montes, and Beira Alta to

examine titles to lands claimed by nobility and clergy. Sworn testimony was taken to determine if the rights of the crown were being respected. Afonso III was anxious to curb the power of the old nobility and the higher clergy, especially those in the comarca of Entre Douro e Minho, the oldest and most populous region of Portugal. These investigations revealed a wide range of violations, including the usurpation of the royal patrimony, evasion of taxes, and abuses of commoners by the privileged estates, both secular and clerical. Laws were promulgated to deal with these infractions and they soon sparked fresh opposition from clergy and nobility.

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

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AFONSO IV, KING OF PORTUGAL

The seventh king of Portugal, Afonso IV, was the only son of King Dinis and his Aragónese queen, Isabel (later St. Isabel of Aragón). Afonso was born in Lisbon on 8 February 1291 and died in the same city on 28

May 1357. In 1309 he married Beatriz of Castile; he reigned from 1325 to 1357.

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

During the early part of his reign, Afonso IV was preoccupied with the struggle against his illegitimate half-brother, Afonso Sanches. After the latter's death in 1329, Portugal became embroiled in a conflict with Castile over Afonso IV's daughter Maria, wife of Alfonso XI of Castile (reigned 1312–1350). After Alfonso XI abandoned her, Portugal gave its support to Infante Juan Manuel, Alfonso XI's cousin and a perpetual thorn in the Castilian monarch's side, and to others who contested Alfonso XI's power. In fact, Afonso IV married off his son and heir, Pedro, to Constanza, daughter of Infante Juan Manuel. Alfonso XI then refused to allow Constanza to leave Castile; Portugal, in alliance with Aragón, invaded Castile in 1336.

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

The Black Death struck Portugal late in September 1348 and continued its devastation for the remainder of the year. The pestilence claimed at least one-third of Portugal's population. Some villages and small towns completely disappeared, while others became greatly depopulated. There was an exodus to the cities by many of the survivors, which further aggravated the problem of rural depopulation. Because the epidemic often wiped out entire families, some shifts occurred within the social strata as distant relatives and the poor came into vast sums of money or substantial properties. The Church also benefited greatly from the many

deathbed grants of estates and goods. A shortage of labor led to higher wages and prices. Famine and food shortages became regular occurrences in many parts of the kingdom as the Black Death was followed by new plagues and epidemics. There were frequent devaluations. Abandoned agricultural lands were turned into vineyards, olive groves, pasturage, or hunting preserves. Social instability and famine led to discontent, unrest, and an increasing number of riots. Afonso IV and his successors used iron-handed methods to try to control these upheavals. They fixed wages, cracked down on vagrancy, and bound workers to their traditional occupations. The *cortes* (parliament) was convened in 1352 and 1361 in hopes of solving some of the problems.

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

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AFONSO V

Twelfth king of Portugal and third of the house of Avis, 1438–1481, sometimes called “the African” because of his crusading expeditions in the Maghrib. He was born at Sintra on 15 January 1432, the eldest son of King Duarte and Queen Leonor, and acceded at the age of six. His father's will appointed his mother regent, but she was opposed as a woman and a foreigner (a Castilian, though called “of Aragón”), and lacking consent of the *cortes* (parliament). His father's younger brother Dom Pedro was backed by the towns, and after an unsuccessful dual regency, Leonor fled to Castile, apparently to her relatives. Pedro assumed the sole regency, and fended off threats of Castilian inter-

vention, but formed an alliance with the warlord Álvaro de Luna. Pedro arranged the marriage of Afonso V to his daughter Isabel, and appointed his son, also Pedro, constable. Afonso came of age at fourteen, and prolonged Pedro's authority. Pedro's costly intervention in Castile lost him support, and the intrigues of the Duke of Bragança, who claimed that the constableness was hereditary in his family, forced Pedro to resign. He was provoked into rebellion and killed at Alfarrobeira. Afonso V refused to put away Isabel, but could do little to curb the Braganças. In 1455 his heir Prince João was born, Queen Isabel died, and there was a reconciliation. The Portuguese voyages of exploration to West Africa under Prince Henrique had been actively pursued under Pedro, but Afonso V responded to the loss of Constantinople and the appeals of Pope Calixtus III by organizing a large crusading expedition that took al-Qaṣr aṣ' aghir (Alcácer Seguer) on 23 October 1458. It was hoped it would relieve the isolation of Ceuta, but the new conquest suffered several sieges, and then Afonso returned to Africa in 1464; he was saved from capture only by the sacrifice of Duarte de Meneses.

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

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

class of *letrados* emerging from the single university at Lisbon.

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

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

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AFONSO, COUNT OF BARCELOS AND DUKE OF BRAGANÇA

Illegitimate son of Dom João, master of Avis, who became king of Portugal (1385) as João I, and Inês Pires, was probably born in the castle of Veiros in Alentejo, southern Portugal (ca. 1380). He was brought up in Leiria and legitimized by his father on 20 October 1391. Dom Afonso fought alongside João I in the eighteen-year-old war against Castile. In the siege of Túy

in Galicia, he was knighted by the king on 25 July 1398, after the town had surrendered. On 8 November 1401, he married Doña Beatriz Pereira de Alvim (1378–1412), the daughter of Nun' Alvares Pereira, the wealthiest nobleman in the realm, and Doña Leonor de Alvim. He received by his marriage large donations in land and property, which made up the foundation of the House of Bragança in 1442. He was the eighth Count of Barcelos and the first Duke of Bragança.

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

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AGRICULTURE

Introduction

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

Agriculture in medieval Iberia was strongly conditioned by its Mediterranean climate (except for the

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

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

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

Agriculture in Al-Andalus

The most salient aspect of Islamic irrigation in Spain was its association with the distinctive form of rural social organization, namely the complexes of castles and hamlets (*alquerías*), that had been established throughout many rural districts, especially Valencia, Murcia, Almería, and Málaga. Such systems were of Islamic foundation and (following Butzer's typology) were either microsystems (based on tanks fed from wells or small springs) or mesosystems (from large springs or small streams). The latter used a variety of water conduction techniques, including filtration galleries or surface canals. Both micro- and mesoscale irrigation were associated with terracing, an example of which is the terraced agriculture of Banyalbufar, Mallorca, a replication of the Arabian *ma'jil* regime whose introduction from Yemen in the tenth century is documented. The mesosystems of southeastern Spain and Granada are institutionally similar to oasis-

style irrigation systems of southern Arabia and the Sahara. The periurban macrosystems of the huertas of Murcia and Valencia are most likely Islamic expansions of preexisting Roman canal systems, but their existence in Islamic times has not been precisely documented.

The agricultural heartland of al-Andalus, that is the *campiña* (open country) of Córdoba and the the Guadalquivir Valley generally, had in the past constituted the wheat-producing area of Roman Baetica, one of the three breadbaskets (along with Sicily and Tunisia) of Rome. Although the data is inferential at best, we can presume that the Muslims grew less wheat than the Roman occupants of the same area had. Even though the lower Guadalquivir was in general not irrigated in Islamic times, much of the unirrigated land was put into tree crops, notably olives. Nevertheless, the Córdoba *campiña* and various places with the name *Fahs* (plain), such as Fahs al-Ballut to the north of Córdoba and Fahs Qāmara, near Colmenar, were famous for their wheat. The Arabs introduced hard wheat (*Triticum durum*) into Europe: in al-Andalus it was called *dārmaq* (in Castilian, *adárgama*). Millet, which had been the staple of the Roman working classes, was replaced by sorghum (Arabic *dhura*; *aldora* in medieval Castilian) which the Berbers brought from the Sudan. Sorghum played the same social and dietary role as was played in Christian Spain (and Europe generally) by rye; the Muslims also cultivated rye, which they called by its Romance name, *shantiyya*. The Muslim reshuffling of the cards of cereal culture was no doubt climatically motivated: hard wheat is much more resistant to heat and drought than were the soft varieties it replaced, and sorghum was well suited to the Mediterranean climatic regime of spring rains, followed by a hot, dry summer.

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

Roman Spain had been an exporter of olive oil, so the Muslims were by no means innovators in this area. But Andalusí cuisine was almost wholly dependent on olive oil, to the exclusion of animal fats, and the universality of the use of olive oil and olives no

doubt explains why they are known by Arabisms—*aceite*, *aceituna*, from *al-zait* and *al-zaituna*—while the tree has a Romance name, *olivo*. The Aljarafe region to the west of Seville was so densely planted in olive and fig trees that it could be traversed in the shade, and *repartimientos* suggest that there were two and a half million olive trees in the present province of Seville at the time of the conquest from the Muslims and that it produced five million kilos of olives annually.

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

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

Early Christian Agriculture

Tenth-century colonization in the Christian kingdoms produced a network of *aldeas*, which became the characteristic unit of peasant settlement. These were organized in two roughly concentric circles, in common with the morphology of villages all over western Europe. The inner circle was comprised of houses and closed parcels (*solares*) for private domestic agricultural exploitation. Surrounding this nucleus was an outer circle of fields, forest, or pasture. With the passage of time, the primitive *aldeas* became compacted, due to economic or demographic pressure, with the houses more tightly packed together and the *huertas* between houses in many cases squeezed out. Surrounding cereal fields and vineyards were also pressed together and something resembling the western European “open field” system emerged, with communal two-course, biennial rotations (*año y vez*) alternating plantings of winter wheat with fallowness. In areas where local stock raising was particularly strong, a further adaptation was made in the form of *cultivo al tercio*, which freed more space for fallow grazing.

Three-course rotations, with a spring sowing, could not be introduced under conditions of semiaridity on light soils where the Roman plow was used. The heavy plow, said to have been introduced by the Suevi, was known only in Galicia. Cereal yields were accordingly very low, three to one and four to one for wheat and barley, respectively, which compares unfavorably with typical northern European yields of five to one and nine to one. Oats were planted increasingly in Catalonia from the first half of the eleventh century. Both the military and agricultural use of horses were directly linked to the incidence of oat cultivation.

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

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

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

summer pastures in Cerdaña and when, after the capture of Toledo in 1085, the Tajo Valley was opened to northern herds.

The Later Middle Ages

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

place in the plain of Castellón, where, prior to the Conquest, only Borriana and a number of separate *alquerías* had been irrigated; it may also have taken place in Valencia and Murcia, at least insofar as the extension of those *huertas* was concerned.

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

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

THOMAS F. GLICK

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ALANS *See* GERMANIC INVASIONS

ALARCOS, BATTLE OF

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

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

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

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

The blame for the defeat has been assigned to various people: to Pedro Fernández de Castro for betraying Alfonso VIII by turning over his contingent to Al-Manṣūr; to Arabs within the Christian population; and even to divine retribution for a fictional affair between Alfonso VIII and a Jewish woman in Toledo. But it seems reasonable to assign the blame for the debacle to Alfonso VIII himself. Alfonso apparently seriously underestimated the number of troops he needed, as well as Al-Manṣūr's abilities, and he engaged Al-Manṣūr before the Leonese reinforcements arrived.

The battle of Alarcos was the last great Almohad victory in Spain, and marks the height of Almohad power in the Iberian Peninsula. Alarcos weakened Castile, and its relations with other Iberian kingdoms were damaged when León and Navarre temporarily allied with the Almohads. Al-Manṣūr, however, did not follow up on his opportunity to pursue Alfonso VIII and to recapture territory. Castile recovered, and Alfonso VIII reversed the defeat of Alarcos at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa seventeen years later.

THERESA M. VANN

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ALBALAT, PERE DE

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

PETER LINEHAN

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ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE, THE

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

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

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

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

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

Raymond VII, in the lull after the death of Louis VIII, was offered the chance for peace and he gladly took it in 1229. On 12 April 1229 the Treaty of Paris officially ended the Albigensian Crusade. Yet the spiritual and secular conquest of Languedoc, unleashed so many years earlier by the murder of a papal legate, would continue for at least another four decades. The treaty's insistence on the pursuit of heresy led not only to the founding of the university in Toulouse but also to the formation of the medieval inquisition. The treaty also stressed that Raymond was now a vassal of the northern French king—emphasized by the obligation of the count's nine-year-old daughter and heir, Jeanne, to marry a brother of the king—and that the traditional territorial claims of the kings of Aragón within Lan-

guedoc, as well as the right to interfere in southern French affairs, would no longer be acceptable. The Aragonese crown finally renounced all ambitions beyond the Pyrennees with the Treaty of Corbeil in 1258 between the French king Louis IX and (the son of Pedro II captured by Simon de Montfort after the battle of Muret almost forty years earlier), Jaime I.

MARK GREGORY PEGG

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ALBO, JOSEPH

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

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

The belief in the messiah, which at the Disputation he had appeared to question altogether, is not to be

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

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

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

NORMAN ROTH

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ALBORNOZ, GIL ALVAREZ CARRILLO DE

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

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

Upon returning to Castile from Toulouse in 1327, Gil de Albornoz joined the circle of Alfonso XI and, in addition to his ecclesiastical benefices at Cuenca, held the title of counselor to the king and archdeacon of Calatrava. By 1335 he had participated in an em-

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

Albornoz's activity in the Spanish Church was no less forceful than his involvement in secular government. The synods and councils of Toledo in 1339 and 1345 show him to have been especially preoccupied with the moral life of his diocese, attempting to impose order upon the disposition of ecclesiastical property and benefices, the *cura pastoralis* and administration of the sacraments by the rectors of churches and parishes, and the general reform of the clergy, which was deemed to be in a lamentable state of decadence. Clerical simony and concubinage were two lapses that especially caught Albornoz's attention, and orders against these practices went out under his name. It is because of this that Albornoz is often associated with Juan Ruiz, the putative author of the *Libro de buen amor*, whom the Salamanca manuscript of the latter attests was jailed by the bishop for his carnal failings. Quite aside from reputedly policing the celibacy of the clergy in the diocese of Toledo, Albornoz was deeply concerned with the level of their culture, learning, and education. He began his reign as archbishop by ensuring that the edicts of the Council of Valladolid (1322) be strictly observed and that one out of every ten clergymen in every deanery be commissioned to study theology and canon law, prohibiting the ordination of all who could not demonstrate an adequate level of clerical education, "ut nullus nisi litteratus ad clericatum promovetur" (unless literate, do not make him a cleric), according to the Council of Toledo of 1339. Albornoz's own fidelity to his vows and the requirements of ordination were said by all to have been exemplary.

The death of Alfonso XI led Albornoz to fear disgrace at the hands of Pedro I, the king's successor. As a result, he withdrew to the papal court at Avignon, where he was made a cardinal in December 1350. His career in the curia was as successful as it had been at the Court of Castile. He was made papal legate and vicar general of the Papal States, helping Pope Innocent VI to control firmly their administration and dominate central Italy politically. Between 1353 and 1360 Albornoz attempted to revive the Angevin-Guelph alliance of the 1320s to counter the power of the lords of Lombardy but, after great sacrifice and expenditure, he failed to pacify the Italian peninsula because of French inability to provide continued support.

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

E. MICHAEL GERLI

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ALBURQUERQUE, JUAN ALFONSO, LORD OF

A Portuguese aristocrat, born to an illegitimate son of King Dinis (1325), Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque arrived in Castile in 1328 as chief chamberlain to María, his second cousin, the Portuguese princess who

married Alfonso XI of Castile that same year. He spent most of the rest of his life in Castile. Because of his connections and a most suitable marriage to Isabel de Meneses, whose family was one of Castile's wealthiest and most influential, he became a formidable presence in the politics of the kingdom.

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

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

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

Pedro's behavior caused considerable turmoil and opposition and unified his enemies. Queen María and Albuquerque were unable to convince him to resume normal relations with Blanche, which served to alienate them from the king. At the same time, the minister's influence had begun to wane as María de Padilla's

relatives gained ascendancy with Pedro. Albuquerque fled to Portugal and refused to return to Castile even after Pedro summoned him. When he returned, he did so as the ally of Enrique and Fadrique, Pedro's half-brothers who had temporarily made peace with the king and had been sent in pursuit of the minister. Albuquerque and his pursuers decided to make peace among themselves and march against Pedro instead. On 28 September 1354, Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, while on campaign, died under mysterious circumstances; it was believed that he was poisoned by an Italian physician in Pedro's employ. Albuquerque's allies, who continued their rebellion against Pedro, added the minister's death to their list of grievances against the king and adopted his corpse as their standard, pledging to parade the body until they could proclaim victory. At this stage of his reign, however, Pedro was able to defeat the conspiracy against him and the rebels eventually disbanded.

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

CLARA ESTOW

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ALCÁZOVAS, TREATIES OF

When Enrique IV of Castile died (11 December 1474), his sister Isabel and her husband Fernando were proclaimed as rulers of Castile, but a faction among the nobility, with the help of Afonso V of Portugal, upheld the rights to the succession of Juana, the daughter of Enrique and Juana of Portugal. The adherence of the Castilian nobility and of the cities, as well as military victories (Toro, 1 March 1476, La Albufera, 24 February 1479), secured the throne for Isabel and Fernando. Afonso V, urged by his son and heir, João, and by the majority opinion among his courtiers, had to begin the negotiations for peace that culminated in the four Treaties of Alcázovas (4 September 1479). They confirmed the peace of Almeirim (27 January 1432) in all its clauses, promising the mutual restoration of conquests and prisoners and reserving zones of influence in the Atlantic: the Canary Islands for Castile, the Azores and Madeira for Portugal. The Portuguese would have the exclusive right to navigate and occupy lands south of Cape Bojador on the route to Guinea, and the right of conquest in the emirate of Fez, except on the sliver of coastline between Capes Nun and Bojador reserved

for Castile. Juana's situation was also resolved, as she preferred to enter a convent, although during her novitiate year she could still choose another solution—namely, to marry Prince Juan of Castile, the son and heir of Isabel and Fernando; she did not do so. The future marriage of Infanta Isabel, a daughter of the Castilian monarchs, with Afonso, the son and heir of Prince João of Portugal was also proposed. The Infanta would have a dowry of 106,000 *doblas*. Both she and Juana would remain in the fortress of Moura for two years, as a guarantee that the treaties would be carried out. Juana then made her profession as a nun in the convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra (15 November 1480). Finally, those Castilians who still followed Afonso V were assured of pardon and restitution of property and offices. Thus the war was brought to an end and a very solid plan for friendly relations between Portugal and Castile was outlined.

MIGUEL-ANGEL LADERO QUESADA

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ALCALÁ DE HENARES, ORDENAMIENTO OF

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

Various unsatisfactory efforts have been made to identify the legal advisers responsible for the text, with Juan Manuel being a likely candidate and Cardinal Gil de Albornoz a less likely one.

The Ordenamiento is also important in the history of the Jews in Spain, for it was the first attempt in Castile to severely restrict their economic activity, not

ALCALÁ DE HENARES, ORDENAMIENTO OF

only with regard to lending money on interest (of importance here is also the so-called pseudo Ordenamiento of Alcalá, said to be merely the preliminary section of the *Leyes Nuevas*, but in fact it is not; rather, it purports to be a law of Alfonso XI concerning usury), but also in that while recognizing the right of Jews to buy and sell property in the kingdom it sought to impose geographic restrictions on such property as well as restrictions on its value. It may easily be shown that these efforts were without any significant or lasting result, however.

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

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ALCAÑICES, TREATY OF

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

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

between Castile and Portugal is considered one of the achievements of Dinis's reign.

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ALCÁNTARA, ORDER OF *See* MILITARY ORDERS

ALCHEMY

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

Alchemical theory was developed by Hellenistic scholars who lived, wrote, and experimented mainly in Alexandria. Alchemical writings described a hodgepodge of attempts to create false metals, experiments with the properties of metals, and theories of transmutations of the metals that had been elaborated from various elements of Aristotelian science. The theory of the transmutations of the metals in a hierarchical scheme in which a metal of a lower order was transformed into one of higher order was an innovation of Alexandrian scientists, whose writings were, through the Arabic translations, to be the basis of chemical and alchemical ideas well into the eighteenth century. In contrast, Latin writers, such as Pliny and Isidore of Seville, assumed gold was simply a metal deposited in the earth.

Alchemy introduced an alternative idea by which the metals were conceived of in a biological metaphor of growth and decay through which in a natural process in the earth the metals grew slowly as plants from the basest metal (lead) through the other metals to the most precious (gold). The laboratory alchemist simply tried to accelerate this process in a chemical flask. Alchemy was not only a scheme for achieving great wealth quickly, but it also became the established scientific

explanation for the formation of metals in the earth. Of lesser importance in the Middle Ages were the spiritual initiations and purifications that the adept needed to undergo for the completion of the great work.

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

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

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

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

Possibly writers ascribed their alchemical treatises to various famous medieval figures such as Llull, Al-

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

DANIEL L. HEIPLE

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ALEXANDER OF MACEDONIA See LIBRO DE ALEXANDRE

ALFAQUÍ See LAW, MUSLIM

ALFARROBEIRA, BATTLE OF

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

and Pedro was killed by an arrow to the heart, Avranches dying soon after.

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

H. V. LIVERMORE

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ALFONSO DE LA CERDA

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

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

THERESA M. VANN

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ALFONSO DE TOLEDO

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

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

The *Inventionario* is written in the Latinate style widely cultivated in fifteenth-century Castilian prose.

In its intent and organizational plan it resembles the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (one of Alfonso's primary *auctoritates*). The author also drew extensively from the writings of church historians, biblical commentators, and specialists in canon law, documenting his sources with particular care.

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

PHILIP O. GERICKE

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ALFONSO I, KING OF ARAGÓN

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

Alfonso VI of Castile died 30 June 1109, and Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón were married in the autumn of the same year. The marriage conditions provided for joint rule of the realms of each, and provided for the succession of their descent to the united realms. The arrangement might have led to an early unification of Christian Spain, but there were many opponents to the marriage and little compatibility between the royal couple. Alfonso fought to establish his authority both over the lands of León-Castile and his wife, but finally abandoned his efforts. In about 1114, he repudiated Urraca and turned his attention increasingly to Aragonese affairs and the work of reconquest.

Gathering many French friends and relatives to his cause, he laid siege to Zaragoza, which capitulated on 18 December 1118. Tudela followed in February 1119, and Tarazona shortly after. Alfonso then marched on Calatayud and decisively defeated the

Muslims in the battle of Cutanda, 17 June 1120. He then devoted himself to the difficult task of organizing and populating the extensive territories he had acquired. From September 1124 to about May 1125, he undertook a massive raid through Valencia, Murcia, Córdoba, and Granada, and succeeded in leading a large number of Mozarabs back to Aragón. In June 1127, he concluded a treaty with Alfonso VII of León-Castile at Támara, recognizing the young king's hereditary rights and freeing himself for new conquests.

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

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

LYNN H. NELSON

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ALFONSO II, KING OF ARAGÓN

The future Alfonso II of Aragón (Alfons I of Catalonia) known as "el Casto," was born in March 1157 to Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona (1131–1162), and Petronilla, heiress to the kingdom of Aragón. His father died on 7 August 1162, and Alfonso was proclaimed Count of Barcelona on 24 February 1163. Petronilla renounced her royal dignity in favor of her son on 18 June 1164, and Alfonso was crowned king of Aragón at Zaragoza on 11 November 1164. The Crown of Aragón was formally established with this union of Aragón and Catalonia. Although by

the terms of his father's will Alfonso was under the guardianship of Henry II of England, effective administration of the realm was in the able hands of Guillem Ramón de Moncada and Guillem Torroja.

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

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

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

During the reign of Alfonso II, the union of Aragón and Catalonia was established, and the institutions of the Crown of Aragón developed. At the time of his death, the Crown of Aragón was close to becoming a Pyrenean state, interposed between the great powers

of France and Castile. In the Iberian Peninsula, it had begun to exercise a role of real leadership among the Christian states. These were substantial accomplishments, but they vanished in the aftermath of the intervention of Pedro II in the Albigensian Crusade and his defeat and death in the Battle of Muret (1213). The reputation of Alfonso II has suffered by the squandering of the opportunities he created.

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ALFONSO III, KING OF ARAGÓN

King of Aragón and Valencia (born, 1236; ruled 1285–1291), son of Pedro III "the Great" and Constanza of Hohenstaufen, Alfonso spent most of his short reign contending, largely successfully, with the political implications of the territorial expansion of the crown begun during the reign of his grandfather, Jaime I (1213–1276), and continued by his father. He inherited not only the peninsular Aragonese territories of Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia but also papal censure resulting from the seizure of Sicily, his mother's legacy, which his brother and successor, Jaime, inherited and ruled. As if this were not enough, he also inherited disgruntled barons who complained that Pedro's royalist reforms had fundamentally changed the constitution of Aragonese government. Alfonso came to the throne at a moment of political instability. He was in Mallorca at his father's death, in the process of completing the annexation of Mallorca to the Aragonese crown (Ibiza and Minorca followed soon after), and immediately upon his return, in April 1286, was crowned in Zaragoza. His first concern was to pacify the coalition of nobles, newly united with key towns, who had received concessions from Pedro III in 1283 and were determined to negotiate a greater role in royal government. Rather than risk civil war, and believing that Mediterranean expansion mattered more than royal prerogatives, Alfonso made peace with his subjects. In 1287 he granted them the privilege of convoking an annual assembly and pledged to uphold certain key legal protections. He then turned his attention to the problem of Sicily and faced a formidable alliance of hostile Angevins—led by Charles of Valois, who had been deprived of Sicily and in retaliation was designated papal candidate for the Aragonese throne—and their allies, Pope Martin IV and King Philippe IV of France. The political situation, already complicated, worsened

after 1288 when King Sancho IV of Castile allied with France against Alfonso; the Infantes de la Cerda (Castilian princes) from Sancho's first marriage, and Charles of Salerno, the king of Naples and son of Charles of Valois, were caught in the middle of the fracas and taken as hostages. Warfare erupted along the border between Castile and Aragón. Alfonso realized the necessity of detaching Aragonese interests from direct involvement in Sicily and agreed at Tarascón, mediated by Edward I of England, to make peace with the Angevins, the pope, and the French. Both sides compromised: the pope agreed to lift his censure and revoke his donation of the kingdom to Charles of Valois; in return, Alfonso agreed to withdraw all support for his brother in Sicily and pledge loyalty to the pope. As part of an alliance with England, Alfonso agreed to marry Edward's daughter Eleanor, but his death just a few months later, in June 1291, rendered both that marriage and the treaty inoperative. He left no heirs, although he may have had an illegitimate son, and it was therefore up to his resourceful brother and successor, Jaime II, to resolve the matter.

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ALFONSO III, KING OF ASTURIAS

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

All of this growth occurred despite serious internal stress at one time or another. At the very beginning of his reign Alfonso had had to take refuge in Castile when a Count Froila of Galicia had briefly claimed to succeed Ordoño. He also had to face a conspiracy of

his brother, Vermudo, who was taken and blinded but nevertheless subsequently staged a rebellion in Astorga that endured for roughly seven years and attracted Muslim support.

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

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

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ALFONSO IV, KING OF ARAGÓN

King Alfonso IV of Aragón and Valencia (born 1299; ruled 1327–1336), known as "the Benign," was the second son of Jaime II and Blanca of Naples. He was named his father's successor when his elder brother Jaime repudiated his bride on his wedding day, renounced his right to succession, and joined a monastic military order. Alfonso was an able replacement, however, and well suited for governance. In 1322, as a young prince, his father sent him to Sardinia with a force of roughly fifteen thousand Catalans and Aragonese to bring the island under Aragonese control. He successfully fended off opposition from the Genoese, but the threat continued for decades and thwarted

his plans to annex Corsica. His personal reign began with abundant optimism and an opulent coronation on Easter Sunday 1328, and he gained his reputation for benevolence partly from his good sense in remaining outside the chaotic fray of politics on the Iberian Peninsula and focusing his attentions on protecting the frontiers, aiding Castile in the defense of the Strait of Gibraltar, and protecting Aragonese privileges in Sardinia. Nevertheless, all of this was overshadowed by his own ill health and the long-term consequences of the death of his first wife, Teresa d'Entença, just before the death of his father. In 1329 he married Leonor of Castile, the woman spurned by his elder brother Jaime. The marriage was intended to cement an alliance of Castile and Aragón in order to fight the Muslims in Granada, but it resulted in an intense and bitter rivalry between his eldest son and heir, Pedro (later Pedro IV, the Ceremonious), and Leonor over her desire to endow her own sons, Fernando and Juan, at the expense of Pedro. To please his wife, Alfonso was obliged to sidestep the act of union, enacted at the *cortes* (parliament) of Tarragona in 1319, that prohibited alienation of royal patrimony. He created the marquisate of Tortosa for Fernando, and later added Alicante, Elche, Orihuela, Albarracín, and other towns in Valencia, an action that enraged the Valencians, who vociferously protested the partition of the realms, arguing that it left them vulnerable to attack from Castile. He later revoked this act, noting that such royal high-handedness was not in keeping with Aragonese kingship and governance. Both the conflict with Castile and bitter antagonism between Leonor and Pedro continued beyond Alfonso's death in 1336, however, and ended with Pedro ordering the execution of Fernando in 1363.

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ALFONSO IX, KING OF LEÓN

Son of Fernando II and the Portuguese *infanta* (princess) Urraca, daughter of Afonso I Henriques, whose marriage had subsequently been annulled by papal authority. The seventeen-year-old heir acceded to the throne in January 1088. Threatened on the one side by

the claims of his stepmother, Urraca López de Haro, for her own child, and on the other by the ambitions of his cousin, Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214), Alfonso took the novel step of summoning to the royal curia in León in April 1188 not only the usual prelates and nobles but also men chosen by some of the towns of the kingdom to speak in their behalf. The *cortes* (parliament) of León that resulted are usually credited, therefore, as being the first known medieval parliament. In that meeting in return for its support, Alfonso agreed not to make war or peace without consultation and to himself obey the laws of the realm. In subsequent *cortes* at Benavente in 1202 he agreed not to issue a new coinage for a period of seven years in return for a grant in aid.

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

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

When in July 1195 Alfonso VIII of Castile was defeated in a great battle at Alarcos by the Muwāhhid caliph, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, Alfonso of León reacted

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

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

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

which had been struggling along the line of the Miño River.

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

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

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ALFONSO V, KING OF ARAGÓN, THE MAGNANIMOUS

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

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

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

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

Touching first at Sardinia, he subdued that island without difficulty, but in his next objective—Corsica—encountered a desperate Genovese defense. Frustrated there, he moved on to Naples in the guise of champion and adopted heir of Giovanna II against Louis III of Anjou whom Pope Martin V, suzerain of the kingdom, planned to install as successor to the childless queen. Enthusiasm greeted his arrival (July 1421), but the war against Louis soon embroiled him in intrigues that within two years left him totally isolated. Rescued by a Catalan fleet, he embarked for Spain in October 1423, having first sacked Naples; on the homeward voyage he paused to burn Angevin Marseilles.

Spain presented its own problems: Catalan demands for curbs on royal authority, the consequences of a breach with Rome over the Neapolitan investiture, and turmoil in Castile provoked by blind rivalry between his brothers and Álvaro de Luna for control of that kingdom. Against his better judgment he allowed

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

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

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

Alfonso now faced a choice between exploiting his Italian victory and returning to Spain, where domestic problems and Castilian complications contin-

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

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

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

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

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

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ALFONSO V, KING OF LEÓN

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

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

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

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

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

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ALFONSO VI, KING OF LEÓN-CASTILE

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

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

The surrender of Toledo to Alfonso VI in 1085 was followed by his installation of the former Muslim ruler there, Al-Qādir, in the *tā'ifa* of Valencia in the east as his tributary. Since the other Muslim kings in Iberia, from Zaragoza through Granada, Seville, and Badajoz, were also his tributaries, the Leonese was virtually master of the entire peninsula. Under the circumstances, the Muslim rulers of the south appealed to the Murābit emir, Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfīn of Morocco, for protection. The Murābit were a Berber fundamentalist sect who from midcentury had been gradually overrunning Morocco and by this date controlled an

empire stretching from the southern Sahara to the Mediterranean with its capital at the newly built Marrakesh.

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

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

At the same time, León-Castile was entering into a much closer relationship with Europe north of the Pyrenees. Fernando I had sealed a pact of friendship with the great Burgundian monastery of Cluny and agreed to subsidize that house in the amount of 1,000 gold *dinars* per annum. Alfonso VI would double that census and, in addition, begin the process of granting possession and authority over Leonese royal monasteries to the French house. By the end of his reign the Cluniac province in his kingdom counted better than a half-dozen houses. This cooperation with Cluny was joined to a similar policy of close ties with the Roman church. At the urging of Pope Gregory VII, Alfonso agreed to see that the Roman liturgical ritual replaced the Mozarabic one. In return he received the support of Rome for the restoration of the metropolitan sees of Braga and Toledo, the bishoprics of Salamanca, Segovia, Osma, Burgos, and Coimbra, and the recognition of the older royal creation at Oviedo. The former Cluniac monk Bernard was recognized by Pope Urban II as archbishop of Toledo in 1088, and that archbishop and his king and patron would fill up most of the new sees created with reforming French Cluniac monks.

These processes were accompanied by a rapid growth of the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Santiago de Compostela by the peoples of western Europe. This also meant the infusion of the new Romanesque art, the Carolingian script, a more rigorous Latin, and a variety of other French manners into León-Castile. The great Romanesque cathedral at Santiago de Compostela, begun in 1076, is the most monumental example of this phenomenon. Most larger towns, even Toledo in the extreme south, would come to have their *barrio* (quarter) of French artisans and merchants as a side effect of the pilgrimage but there was no significant immigration of French nobles such as would shortly take place in Aragón.

In that respect, the most significant development was the marriage by Alfonso VI to a succession of foreign brides for his queens as he sought both a male heir and the prestige of an international match for its effect in the peninsula. Inés of Aquitaine (1074–1077), Constance of Burgundy (1078–1093), Berta of Lombardy (1095–1100), Elizabeth of France (1100–1106), and Béatrice of France (1108–1109) were such brides. On the other hand, Alfonso's only known son, Sancho Alfónsez (1094?–1108), was the son of the Muslim concubine Zaida, who became his wife in 1106 and died shortly thereafter.

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

In the spring of 1108 Alfonso VI was still engrossed in defending his realm from the attacks of the Murābit emirs of Morocco. On 29 May 1108 at the fortress of Uclés, about thirty kilometers south of the Tajo, one of his armies was routed by the enemy and his only son, Sancho Alfónsez, was killed. To solve the succession crisis the king turned to his daughter, Urraca (1109–1126), whose husband Raymond of Burgundy had died in November 1107. But he also

provided for her future marriage to her cousin, Alfonso I, el Batallador, of Aragón (1104–1134), so as to provide for the military safety of the kingdom. Alfonso VI himself was seeing to those defenses at Toledo when he died on 1 July 1109, at the age of seventy-two. He was buried at the royal monastery of Sahagún on 21 July 1109.

BERNARD F. REILLY

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ALFONSO VII, KING OF LEÓN-CASTILE

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

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

A second problem was to establish himself at home against the nobility of the realm. The chief threat was furnished by the house of the Lara counts of Castile and Asturias de Santillana, under Pedro and Rodrigo González, respectively. Count Pedro had been the third husband of Queen Urraca and the father of at least two children by her. The Lara thus represented

a real threat and the Lara counts fomented a series of conspiracies and finally a rebellion in 1130 before their power was broken in that year. The same year had also seen an independent revolt by the magnate Diego Peláez in Asturias de Oviedo that recurred intermittently until 1134, by which time all internal resistance was at an end.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ALFONSO VIII, KING OF CASTILE

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

Alfonso's Minority

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

Alfonso's Reign

The end of Alfonso's minority in 1169 was marked by a curia in Burgos, which reviewed Castile's alliances with the other peninsular kingdoms. Alfonso's relations with other kings in the Iberian Peninsula varied, depending upon the relative strengths and weaknesses of the peninsular kingdoms. He maintained peaceful relations with his uncle, Fernando II, and he established friendly relations with Alfonso II of Aragón, making a pact with him in Sahagún in 1168. Sancho VI of Navarre, however, had invaded the Rioja and issued *fueros* there in 1164. Seeking an alliance outside the peninsula in order to regain these territor-

ies, the young king held a curia in Burgos in 1169–1170 that selected Eleanor, daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, as a prospective consort for the king. The marriage took place in 1170. Eleanor had been chosen as a prospective spouse in order to gain Henry II's support for the recovery of Castilian lands from Navarre; portions of Eleanor's dower consisted of the parts of Castile occupied by Sancho VI. Castile began to recover its lands in the Rioja in 1170–1179, and went to war with Navarre in 1173. Alfonso VIII and Sancho IV agreed to arbitration before Henry II in 1176–1179, who found in favor of Alfonso VIII.

Relations with the Almohads

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

Prelude to Alarcos

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

ALFONSO VIII, KING OF CASTILE

ultimately caused Alfonso IX to resent Alfonso VIII. León joined with Aragón and Portugal in a pact against Alfonso VIII, although the Treaty of Tordehumos (1194) patched up a temporary peace between León and Castile.

Alarcos

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

Aftermath of Alarcos

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

Northern Campaigns

The treaty with the Almohads and the alliance with León enabled Alfonso to concentrate on the Navarrese incursions and to campaign in the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Álava. He sought assistance from his brother-in-law, John of England, in 1199, and in 1200 he and Eleanor agreed to the marriage of their second daughter, Blanche, to Philip Augustus's heir, the future Louis VIII, as part of the treaty between England and France. But John and Philip Augustus

resumed their fight, and John made a treaty with Sancho VII of Navarre. In turn, Alfonso VIII and Philip Augustus entered into alliance. Eventually, the kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragón entered into a concord in 1204, and Alfonso VIII obtained the lands disputed with Navarre by treaty in 1207.

Gascony

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

Prelude to Las Navas

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

Las Navas

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

Succession

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

Burial

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

TERESA M. VANN

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ALFONSO X, EL SABIO, KING OF CASTILE AND LEÓN, ARTISTIC PATRONAGE, ART, MINIATURES, AND PORTRAITS

Alfonso X's artistic patronage, well documented in the realm of the illuminated manuscript book, is more uncertain in other areas. The research of Rafael Cómez Ramos is the necessary starting point of departure for the study of Alfonso's patronage of architecture, sculpture, and metalwork.

In the field of architecture, Alfonso's patronage appears to have been extended to two great thirteenth-century cathedrals, at Burgos and León, but not to a well-documented degree. The king seems also to have played a decisive role in the construction of the more modest cathedral of Badajoz. His intervention in these

projects cannot, however, be compared to that of the French monarchs who collaborated through their patronage in the construction of the great cathedrals in and around Paris. The kings of France were both anointed and buried in their immense cathedrals, such as Saint-Denis, the first Gothic building in history, and Reims, where they received the crown of the realm from princes of the Church. Alfonso, however, according to his two surviving wills and testaments, vacillated between being interred in the Capilla Real of the Cathedral of Córdoba (which he had constructed ca. 1263) and two other former mosques that had been converted into churches: Santa María la Real of Murcia, and the Cathedral of Seville, where his parents, Fernando II and Beatriz of Swabia, had been buried. This indecision proved disagreeable to the bishops of each locale, who later allied themselves with the cities and the aristocracy and threw their support to the Infante don Sancho when he rebelled against his father.

Sancho IV, in his eponymous *Privilegio rodado e historiado*, referred to himself as the vicar of Christ in his kingdoms and forged an agreement with the bishops who aided him in the usurpation of the throne to be buried in the Cathedral at Toledo, where he had been crowned. At the same time, Alfonso X's tendency toward autocracy and absolutism, which, according to Peter Linehan, compelled the Vatican to investigate, also does not sit well with the notion of a patron who looked kindly on the construction of great cathedrals, even though he may have made some tentative gestures in this direction at the beginning of his reign. This notwithstanding, a case may be made for an Alfonsine ecclesiastical architecture in Andalusia, in the parishes of Córdoba, Jerez, and Seville, as well as for evidence of patronage in civil works (palaces, some strongholds, and the Ataranzas of Seville).

The sculpture and images of the cathedrals of Burgos and León have been the subject of recent careful scrutiny. The putative likenesses of Alfonso X and Doña Violante at Burgos have been shown to be problematic: they have been identified by Yarza as portraits of Solomon and Queen Sab, in an iconographical scheme much more attune to French traditions. They are additionally complicated by the fact that in all extant Alfonsine miniatures the king never appears with his consort. Alfonso's supposed representation in a stained glass window at León has been identified by Domínguez Rodríguez as that of Sancho IV, who bears an orb and scepter in his hands, symbols that closely identify Sancho with his ecclesiastical consecration, evidence of which cannot be found for Alfonso from among all his known manuscript portraits.

It is in the field of manuscript portraiture and illumination that Alfonso X's artistic patronage excelled

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

In contrast to his contemporary French and English monarchs, Alfonso did not occupy himself with the decoration of religious and liturgical books and psalters with miniatures, although some attempts have been made to tie his work to the Parisian tradition. While St. Louis was entirely compatible with the Church, which heaped its blessings upon him, Alfonso was much less so. The iconography of the *Códice rico* of the *Cantigas* portrays the Spanish king in diverse guises and poses: as a troubadour, with Christ and the Virgin occupying in a manner unprecedented anywhere a space normally reserved for saints or members of the clergy, lecturing to followers, or reciting poetry in public. His scientific works (*Lapidario*, *Libros del saber de astronomía*, *Manuscrito astrológico vaticano*) all have ties to pagan astrology, under interdiction by both the Church and the papacy, while his *Libro de ajedrez* (Escorial T.I.6), which the king recommends in the prologue for both leisure and the sharpening of wits, was proscribed by St. Louis in France. When compared to St. Louis, who publicly praised the Bible *Moralisé*, or the Bolognese Bibles based on the Vulgate, all with moralized commentaries and interpretations, Alfonso sought a direct translation of the Bible even from Hebrew sources. He sought to carry out more literal interpretations of it, too, when he incorporated parts of it, along with classical and Arabic sources, into his *General estoria*.

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

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

The sole surviving contemporary portraits of Alfonso are the ones that appear in his illuminated manuscripts, identified by their placement as frontispieces or in the narrative prologues of the works. At the same time, there are several portrayals of the king as a troubadour or as the recipient of a miracle in the *Cantigas*. He is recognizable in the latter by means of his clothing and the heraldic images on it. Later images contained in works such as the later fourteenth-century *Cartulario de Tojo Outos* (Arch. Hist. Nacional, Ms. 1.302), where he appears with Doña Violante, cannot be considered faithful images of the king. In the frontispieces of his works, Alfonso is generally portrayed as an author, sitting on his throne, right hand and index finger extended upright, dictating to his scribes who are sitting on the floor around him as courtiers listen and observe. These images imply the king's active participation in the creation of these works or their prologues. He is depicted in this way in the *Cantigas*, the *General estoria*, the *Estoria de España*, and the *Libro de los juegos*. Aristotle, who appears as a bearded sage in oriental garb surrounded by his disciples, is portrayed as the author of the *Lapidario*. In the latter, an image of Alfonso may be found in the first chapter receiving the book from its kneeling translator. Finally, the manuscript of the *Primera partida* offers three successive portraits of the king: one as the legislating sovereign with closed book in one hand and drawn sword in the other; another as a scholar dictating to his scribes; and a final one kneeling, looking up toward God in an act of reverence, with the book in his hands, an image that sustains Alfonso's absolutism and the notion that the king's legislative power comes from on high.

ANA DOMÍNGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ