

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN \* BRILL

# Cross, Crescent and Conversion

*Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom  
in Memory of Richard Fletcher*

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*Edited by  
Simon Barton and Peter Linehan*



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## Cross, Crescent and Conversion

# The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

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VOLUME 73

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Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom  
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BRILL

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## PREFACE

Because we had only corresponded before, it was not Richard Fletcher himself but rather his distinctively elegant hand-writing, observed upside-down across a Madrid library table early in 1967, that first caught my eye. Then I noticed the unmistakably English figure, the floppy fair hair, the well-cut (albeit rather frayed) jacket, corduroys and proper shoes, all strongly reminiscent of the smoking room at the Drones, and on introducing myself encountered those impeccable manners, the hesitant semi-stutter and the screwing up of the eyes while he searched fastidiously for the *mot juste*, the delighted thrusting forward of the head on finding that his companion's opinion coincided with his own, forever assenting, rarely asserting.

At the end of that morning we adjourned to a nearby hostelry for the first of many such convivial retreats from the rigours of the research front-line. We did some archive-crawling together, compiling lists of regional delicacies from provincial Spinglish menus—"fryted egg" and "roasted heifer in his juice" helped down by copious amounts of "spumies whines" and "varios grog"—pitted our wits against the wily cathedral archivists of the day, and promised ourselves that sometime we would put together a Bad Archives Guide (strictly for private circulation). After the publication of his *Episcopate* book and *St James's Catapult*, by 1989 when *The Quest for El Cid* was published Richard was becoming increasingly frustrated with the problems of continuing with Spanish history. But because *The Quest* proved his most successful work to date, he was perhaps a shade reluctant to revert to what had been his earliest historical love, nurtured by James Campbell, namely the earlier part of the period covered by *The Conversion of Europe* (1998). At the time of his tragically early death he had embarked on what he cheerfully described as a rewrite of Gibbon.

Another thing about *The Quest* was that it revealed Richard at his most characteristic: as for example in his manner of introducing the various *personae* of his drama. I find I wrote at the time of his doing so "rather in the manner of an attentive host introducing his guests to one another before they go off to dress for dinner ('We shall hear more



of him shortly', 'We shall meet again', and so on)":<sup>1</sup> again the Wodehousian harmonies, though now it is across the hubbub of a Blandings drawing-room that the strains of that distinctive light-baritone prose-style reach us.

Richard was a maker of gentle rain and because of that would probably never have lent his name anyway to anything as acerbic as that projected Guide. He was far too nice and far too decent ever to say anything likely to cause upset. He shrank from inflicting pain. Other than when stuck behind a very slow driver, he was, quite simply, the very definition of Cardinal Newman's gentleman.

PAL

My first acquaintance with Richard Fletcher came in 1984 when, as a callow MA student at the University of York, I tentatively knocked at his office door to seek his views about a dissertation I was then preparing on Anglo-Saxon kingship. From the very outset, Richard made a strong impression on me. I was struck by the courteous manner with which he responded to my naïve questioning, grateful for the sage advice he generously bestowed, and simultaneously transfixed by his Herculean—albeit ultimately unsuccessful—efforts to keep his pipe alight while we talked. In subsequent conversations, it was Richard who opened my eyes to the exciting possibilities that medieval Spanish history offered to the sufficiently intrepid, and two years later I returned to York to begin doctoral research under his supervision. Supervisory meetings with Richard often took place in a York pub, a practice that would doubtless be frowned upon by university quality assurance inquisitors today; but whatever the setting he was a constant source of advice, ideas and friendly encouragement.

In later years, once the thesis had been safely put to bed and I had begun my first, faltering steps in the academic profession, I came to know Richard in another guise, that of stalwart colleague, ally and collaborator. In the late 1990s, we joined forces to prepare the translation of four Hispano-Latin chronicles that were later to be published as *The World of El Cid* (2000). In the introduction to that work we observed that "to our surprise and pleasure...harmonious co-operation was never once threatened by even the suspicion of a cross word so much

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<sup>1</sup> *TLS*, 6 October 1989.

as meditated, let alone uttered.” How could it possibly have been otherwise with Richard? The only difficulty as far as I was concerned was keeping up; Richard worked prodigiously hard, and when the bit was between his teeth he moved at a cracking pace. Our other collaborative work occurred when we were both invited to Portugal to take part in the filming of a local documentary on the 1147 siege of Lisbon. Richard was a confident performer in front of camera, but for whatever reason, that particular documentary seems to have remained in the can and his budding career as a “media don” was thwarted.

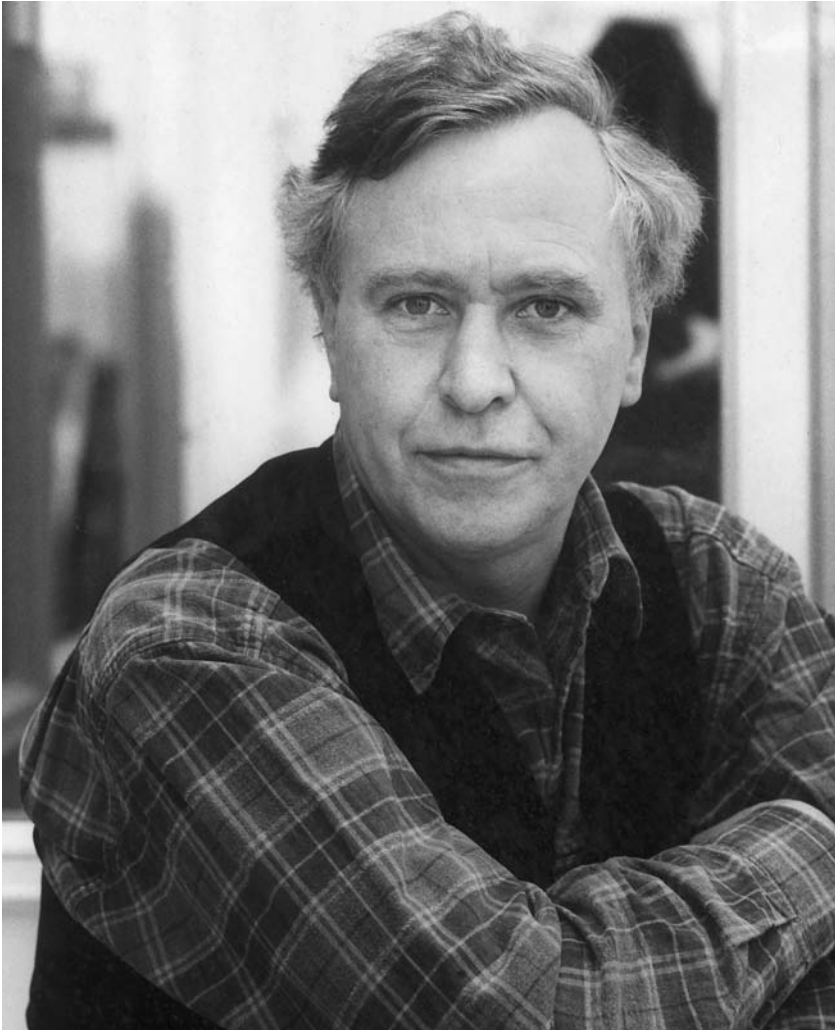
This volume is intended as a commemoration of Richard’s career and his remarkable contribution to our understanding of the medieval world. The seventeen papers included here, contributed by some of the leading scholars of the period, reflect the three main areas of his scholarly endeavours: Church and society in medieval Spain; Christian-Muslim relations, both in the Iberian peninsula and further afield; and the history of the post-Roman world, with particular reference to the conversion of Europe. There is also an appreciation of Richard’s scholarly achievements by James Campbell. We dedicate this work to Richard’s memory with thanks, admiration and considerable affection, wholly mindful of the fact that both personally and professionally we are deeply fortunate to have known him.

SFB



## ABBREVIATIONS

AHN	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
ES	<i>España Sagrada</i> , ed. E. Flórez and M. Risco, 51 vols. Madrid, 1747–1879
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>



Richard Fletcher (1944–2005)  
(© Photograph by Caroline Forbes)

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## RICHARD FLETCHER AS AN HISTORIAN<sup>1</sup>

*James Campbell (University of Oxford)*

The dedication of Richard Fletcher's eighth book, *Bloodfeud*,<sup>2</sup> is arresting and a shade mysterious. 'To my sisters CAROLINE and LUCINDA who on a well-remembered occasion more than forty years ago heroically and almost uncomplainingly endured their brother's obsession with eleventh-century history'. This relates to an incident at the village of Wighill, his Yorkshire childhood home. Aged nine, he was interested in how Harold II could have got from Stamford Bridge where he won a great battle on 25 September 1066 to meet William of Normandy, defeat and death at Hastings on 14 October.<sup>3</sup> Fletcher tested the logistical possibilities by loading his two little sisters (the younger was aged four) and setting them on a timed march. He already showed a consuming interest in history and a strongly unusual, unusually strong character. By the time of his sudden, unexpected death on 28 February 2005 he was among the most considerable of British medievalists (and probably had more readers than any other). His eminence was indicated by long obituaries in each of the four leading newspapers.<sup>4</sup>

He was educated at Harrow School, which sent him to Worcester College, Oxford, in 1962 with deepened and developed historical interests and a good prose style. At Worcester he presented all the problems to be expected from a pupil no less committed than clever. It is often said that students learn more from their contemporaries than from their tutors. Generally it should be added, regretfully, that this apothegm is all too true. But Fletcher gained from having Worcester historians in his year

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for help in preparing this paper from Rachel Fletcher, Barrie Dobson, Roger Ellis, Kenneth Lawson, Henry Mayr-Harting, Stuart Proffitt and the editors of the present volume. Any mistakes or misunderstandings are mine.

<sup>2</sup> (London, 2002). His published works are listed on pp. xiii–xiv above.

<sup>3</sup> The strong possibility that Harold went some or most of the way by water is normally neglected by historians.

<sup>4</sup> *The Independent*, 7 March 2005 (James Campbell); *The Times*, 11 March 2005 (R. B. Dobson), *The Guardian*, 18 March 2005 (Geoffrey Wheatcroft), *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 March 2005 (anonymous). An address given by George Hardie at Fletcher's funeral on 9 March 2005 was printed privately.



whose ability matched his.<sup>5</sup> He won a much-deserved first-class degree. Nowadays he might well have failed to do so, for he did not complete some of his papers. Today that is rigorously penalised. Then it was held that an examiner should be able to distinguish between incompleteness due to ignorance and that with opposite origin.<sup>6</sup>

When Fletcher determined on research I advised him to study the North Sea herring trade, a subject of commanding interest. But he would not have anything to do with herrings, having fallen in love with Spain on a visit during his first long vacation. When he wrote that in his approach to Spanish history “my mentors at Oxford were of little help” he was too kind, at least so far as I was concerned.<sup>7</sup> I had been grounded in the history of early medieval Europe by Karl Leyser. We often crossed the Elbe, but never the Pyrenees. This was pretty well normal in those days. For example Michael Wallace-Hadrill was unable to find room for the Visigoths in the first publication of his influential *The Barbarian West* (1952). When Fletcher started research in 1965 almost none of the essential works in English on Visigothic and early medieval Spain had been published.<sup>8</sup> Of course, there was much written in Spanish, but there has been far more since. Peter Linehan warns how “as the 1980s advanced publications on Spanish history went out of control.”<sup>9</sup> Of the 161 secondary works listed in the bibliography of Fletcher and Barton, *The World of El Cid*, 58 had been published before 1970, of which only one was in English: of the 103 published in or after 1970 62 were in English. So as early as 1965 Fletcher was fortunate to find in Miss E. S. Procter (the Principal of St. Hugh’s College)

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<sup>5</sup> He acknowledges the help of one of them, Graham Shaw, in the introduction to *The Conversion of Europe*, p. xiii.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly his taking seven years to complete his thesis caused no particular concern. Today this would have cast him certainly as a problem, and quite likely as a reprobate.

<sup>7</sup> *The Quest for the Cid*, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969); Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971); P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972); Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London, 1975); B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León Castile under Queen Urraca 1109–1126* (Princeton, 1982); Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: from Frontier to Empire* (London and Basingstoke, 1983); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London and Basingstoke, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> *History and Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), p. vii.

a supervisor whom forty years of research had made expert in twelfth to fourteenth-century Spain.<sup>10</sup>

Fletcher was adventurous in setting out on a doctoral study of the episcopate of León in the twelfth century, for many of the relevant archives were poorly housed and little explored. He was helped by Spanish scholars and by Peter Linehan who was a year ahead of him in such inquiries. But his completed thesis was a triumph of his own pertinacity. He had had to begin by building a framework of basic fact, partly in confirming the dates of the pontificates of the bishops concerned.<sup>11</sup> What most made the period interesting were the centrifugal forces felt by León and the Leonese church, first from France and then from Rome. From France, for example in Fernando I's institution of the great annual *census* to Cluny. From Rome in increasing pressure reflected in the attempted imposition of the Roman rite in the 1080s and the furious papal interest in appointment to the see of Compostela in 1088. By the twelfth century Leonese bishops were well busy pulling strings and ladling bribes at Rome.

A great feature of Fletcher's work was the patient, one might say loving, care which he devoted to the form of documents. This interest was such that he applied for the Readership in Diplomatic at Oxford upon the retirement of Pierre Chaplais in 1987. Scholarship in diplomatic appears strongly in his Leonese studies and particularly his formidably learned article "Diplomatic and the Cid Revisited".<sup>12</sup> In this he demonstrates the use of the "writ/mandate" in early twelfth-century León-Castile and the relationship of this to innovative use of similar documents in France and Aragon, with likely origins in England.<sup>13</sup> Such transfers were, of course, likely to have been associated with the communication of other administrative techniques.

Fletcher's capacity for bringing out the strong interest of the inter-course between Galicia and the wide world to its east is plain indeed in

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<sup>10</sup> Her principal works are *Alfonso X of Castile. Patron of Literature and Learning* (Oxford, 1951) and *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile* (published posthumously Oxford, 1980).

<sup>11</sup> The relevant detailed apparatus is omitted from the version published in 1978, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, but can be found in the original thesis deposited in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1976), pp. 305–338.

<sup>13</sup> He could have added that this form of document seems to have appeared in Norway at about the same time as it did in León. F. M. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 3–5.

his next book, *St. James's Catapult*, an account of the life and times of Diego Gelmírez, bishop (later archbishop) of Compostela, 1100–1140. This centred on a wonderful source, the *Historia Compostellana*; its record of Diego's deeds and affairs during almost the whole of his pontificate had been compiled, on his instructions, by four or more authors. It consisted of documents, many documents, linked by narrative. Diego was an archetype of a not unfamiliar kind of leader, a reforming power grabber who seeks more power in order to reform and reforms in the hope of gobbling more power. Fletcher's views on reform in the twelfth century, and in later centuries, were balanced, or perhaps not entirely so. Thus he recognised that the chapter of Compostela needed reform and that Diego magnified and glorified it no end. Yet the extent to which his admiration was tempered is indicated by his description of the unreformed chapter: "The canons... were probably an easy-going lot; a bit seedy and shabby and down-at-heel... set in their old-fashioned ways. Diego wanted to smarten them up, make them distinctive, give them *esprit de corps*—in short, to make something out of them. He did."<sup>14</sup> Fletcher was careful to note that "the rhetoric of reformers is often—and is meant to be—misleading."<sup>15</sup> Much interested in the papal schism of 1130–1138, he had his doubts about the "new men" such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable and Norbert of Xanten who stood up successfully for Innocent II. These people saw themselves in a rosy light but "others found them as shrill, abrasive, intolerant and sanctimonious."<sup>16</sup> One can catch more than a glint of sympathy for the "others". Fletcher was not one to take "Gregorian Reform" at face value. He was disinclined to see in it an "all-encompassing design". Rather were there almost unfathomable complications. "The more you look at the papal wood the more obstinately does it remain just a lot of trees."<sup>17</sup> He saw much of what was going on as typified (at an extreme) by the manoeuvres of Diego Gelmírez. Much of the fabric, or consequence, of reform consisted of attempts by individuals or institutions to deploy for their own advantage papal authority or curial contacts. Fletcher's treatment of this great theme is characteristic of his virtues as a historian: intricate knowledge, probing doubt, which seeks by imagination to rec-

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<sup>14</sup> *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 165–166.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

reate human reality, an enlivening current of latent humour. (This last quality is seldom displayed by historians, least of all medievalists.)<sup>18</sup>

With uncalled for, but characteristic, modesty Fletcher says in the introduction to *St. James's Catapult* that it had something of a "discursive character". So, it does, valuably. A particularly welcome excursus is on the origins of the cult of St. James of Compostela. These are mysterious, somewhat bizarre, and such as to involve us in the usual difficulty of distinguishing at a distance between self-deceit and all-too-probable mendacity. Fletcher was particularly interested in a strange piece of evidence. This is a letter claiming to have been addressed to the clergy of Tours in 906 and containing an important account of the cult of St. James. It survives only in a seventeenth-century transcript of a twelfth-century manuscript destroyed in 1793. This document has been strongly questioned because it has elements of apparent anachronism. Fletcher deploys patient learning to undermine the case for anachronism.

This book is wide-ranging in other ways: the study of politics and church affairs is put into a context of the nature of the economy and society of Galicia. For example, something very striking which caught his attention was the rich charter evidence (134 documents of between 988 and 1040) for the village of Bobadela. These show that within this period its population was not less than 186. In 1753 it was 240, in 1950 176. He knew of approximately comparable evidence for such dense population elsewhere in Galicia. (His evidence reminds one of how hard it is to avoid Lot's conclusion that the polyptych of Irminon shows that at least part of the Île de France was as populous in the ninth century as in the seventeenth.) Not only may at least some of the rural environment of Compostela have been wealthy, also incidental evidence showed that remote though Galicia might seem viewed from the east, viewed from the west it was on a major Atlantic route. Thus not only were English and Lotharingians present there, but *c.* 1130, they had been robbed of no less than 22,000 marks worth of goods.

The publication of *The Quest for El Cid* in 1989 marked a major development in Fletcher's career as a historian. The book was received with enthusiasm; it was rewarded by the Wolfson Literary Award for

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<sup>18</sup> It is believed that there is only one glimmer of humour in the whole oeuvre of the great T. F. Tout: his description of Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich as "the hero of North Walsham". T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920–1933), 3, p. 388.

History and by the Los Angeles Book Prize for History. It was the first of his books to be published in paperback. Fletcher emphasised that his principal thesis was not original though, almost paradoxically, it needed to be stressed. Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid, was famous at least within two generations after his death in 1099. His later fame is most fully displayed in the great *Poema de Mio Cid*, probably first written down near the beginning of the thirteenth century. He appears there as an epic Christian hero, the embodiment of all that was noble in Castile. His memory continued, indeed continues, to be cherished in Spain and there was a Romantic cult of him in Britain and America. A transforming, true, but jarring note was struck in 1849 by a young Dutch orientalist, Reinhard Dozy, who used Arabic sources to demonstrate that the Cid was a military adventurer, as keen in Muslim service as in Christian. This view became widely accepted: see for example the description of him in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as “a man who battled against Christian and Moslem with equal zeal, who burnt churches and mosques with equal zest, who ravaged, plundered and slew as much for a livelihood as for any patriotic or religious purpose.”<sup>19</sup> These innovatory views were powerfully but misleadingly controverted by a most eminent Spanish medievalist, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who maintained, above all in his *La España del Cid* (1929), that the *Poema* was not later than c. 1150 and that its account of the Cid was no less true than laudatory. His views have been influential far outside Spain. Thus J. F. O’Callaghan in his then recent survey of the medieval history of Spain had accepted a mid-twelfth century date for the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and that it is one of the sources which “reveal” that the Cid was not a “bandit or condottiere . . . but rather a true champion, the defender of Christian Spain and a faithful vassal to his king.”<sup>20</sup>

The éclat of Fletcher’s book was not won simply by his following in the tradition of Dozy in learned correction of the national myth of the Cid. It must have taken more than that to lead a most eminent historian of modern Spain, Raymond Carr, to observe that this was the best book on Spain he had ever read. What gave this book its power and deserved success? First, it was very carefully planned and organised. Fletcher

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<sup>19</sup> By H. E. Watts (New York, 1910), s.v. Cid.

<sup>20</sup> O’Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, p. 212, cf. p. 315.

was a great planner. He saw each book as a campaign and gave close thought to both strategy and tactics. Part One, the first half of the book, hardly mentioned the Cid, rather is it a brilliant sketch of the history of Spain from the sixth century until the eleventh, with increased detail for the eleventh-century stage on which the Cid moved. (At one time the book's intended title was *The Spain of the Cid*.) Fletcher had a wide knowledge of the literature and the sources, a marvellous gift for narrative and description, a sharp eye for quotation (sometimes lengthy quotation) and his very personal touch. Who but he would have in a book of this kind included such an aside as "think of the bleakness of the world without lemons or spinach." The aside itself has just the tang of lemon or spinach. The most innovative part of the introductory half of the book was chapter 6: "Contemporaries". In this Fletcher discusses the careers of other military adventurers of about the Cid's time: Harald Hardrada, Roussel de Baileul, Ralph de Tosny. He uses this to bring out the nature of the frontier worlds of the eleventh century, constantly mobile. This leads him to point out the varied origins of the ten popes from 1046 to 1099, and then on to the movements of settlers and slaves. We next learn how these patterns repeat themselves in Spain; then on to the First Crusade. It is a brilliant chapter, such as only a very talented historian could have produced without huddling his facts.

As with a single chapter, so with the whole book. Part One ends with Chapter 6. Part Two, the description and discussion of the Cid's career, begins with Chapter 8. Chapter 7, dealing with the sources for the Cid, is given a role of its own: "Intermission". It is not just a matter of labelling but, rather, of maintaining the reader's sense of pattern and purpose. The final five chapters are even better than their predecessors. In four he most skilfully weaves the Cid's varied (and surprisingly well-documented) career into the wider story of events in Spain. The final chapter is an account of the posthumous, historiographical career of the Cid. One might have thought that it could have been merged with chapter seven. But just as Fletcher organised a clearly defined middle to his book, so he used the historiography of the Cid to provide a clear and striking end with its account of the employment of the hero in his "heroic" character in the service of the Franco regime. In an introduction Fletcher states that *The Quest* is not "intended for an academic readership". Certainly it was intended for, won, and deserved a wide readership. But no interested academic can neglect it.

Nor indeed can such a person neglect *Moorish Spain* (1992) on which Fletcher made a similar disclaimer.<sup>21</sup> It was intended he said for “the inquisitive traveller to Spain.” This book does indeed have a lighter apparatus than does *The Quest*, but the disclaimer disclaims too much. The book is extremely well and enthusiastically informed. Behind Fletcher’s lucid and nimble prose lies a lot of patient learning. This wide knowledge was lighted by captivated enthusiasm. He sparkled in description of the delights of the court of Abd’ al-Rahman II: “the toothpaste and smart parties” and the palatial buildings of Abd’ al-Rahman III, so grand that the daily ration for the fish in the fishponds was 12,000 loaves. Having set this down Fletcher characteristically made a conversational interjection: “Well, that’s what our source tells us. Perhaps the loaves were extremely small.” He was attracted by the hedonism of the *taifa* courts of the eleventh century, not least that of Seville with the poet-rulers, whose works take one into another world than that of, say, the trudging heroics of “The Battle of Maldon”. He was touched by the way in which such rulers were alleged to have acted. For example al Mu-tamid, of whom it was said that his favourite wife, a Christian girl from the North wept because she knew she would never see the winter snow again. He assembled an army of gardeners who planted by night a forest of blossoming almond trees outside her rooms. “So, my love, there is your snow.” He was fascinated by surprising details of Christian-Moslem relations glimpsed in the rich sources. He was particularly attracted by an account of Muslims slipping into a monastery for alcoholic refreshment, no less welcome than illicit.

The last book Fletcher published, *The Cross and the Crescent* (2003), was linked to his Iberian concerns, and had its ultimate origin in an undergraduate experience. In 1963 he attended classes on “Christianity and Islam” given by Richard Southern, Samuel Stern and Richard Walzer (with participation by other scholars). These classes represented, he maintained, “a mode of teaching which could perhaps not have been encountered in any other university in the Western world at that time... one of the most valuable pedagogic experiences of my life.” *The Cross and the Crescent* is relatively brief and exceedingly clever. For example, its complex theme required, among much else, an outline of

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<sup>21</sup> He told me that the only claim he would make for supplying new information was in regard to Gilbert *Anglicus*, who settled in newly conquered Tortosa in about 1151, had a successful entrepreneurial career and in 1172 retired to a monastery taking his records with him, pp. 145–146.

the Crusades, brief, but something more than an encyclopaedia article. Such requirements were met, deftly. Judgements on emphasis were needed. Thus, on how far to concentrate on religious confrontation, how far to deal with Islamic-Western interactions on a wider front and scale. Selection in concentration was inevitable. Thus he gave less attention to purely theological issues than did Southern in his *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. It is as if he thought it best to leave much of that part of the field to Southern. This may account for his failure to take up Southern's important point that William of Malmesbury seems to have been first in distinguishing between the idolatry of the Slavs and the monotheism of Islam by emphasising against all current thought that Islam held Mahomet not as God but as his prophet. Fletcher knew Malmesbury's works well and it is reasonable to assume that there was a reason, maybe a subconscious one, for the omission. A characteristic feature of this work is Fletcher's appreciation of evocative writing in his sources: William of Rubruck's description of a yak, Jean de Joinville on fossils.

Such Mediterranean or Hispanic interests by no means displaced English history from his heart and mind. Indeed at more than one stage in his career he considered almost abandoning Spain in order to devote himself to Anglo-Saxon England. English comparisons figure in his first book. Leonese bishops of the twelfth century were not so well educated as bishops in England. The architecture of Diego Gelmírez's buildings at Compostela was less sophisticated than that of contemporary Durham. Spanish comparison led him to suggest that the institution of an Augustinian chapter at Carlisle (unique in England) was an economy measure. Naturally he did not fail to note that the first English pilgrim to Compostela whose name and area of origin are known came from Yorkshire. An extraordinary discovery was that of a (possibly) English dog in Galicia. This dog was part of a present to the king in 1118 and was valued enough to be named. It was called Ulgar. Hunting dogs were a known English export. So Fletcher suggested that it had had some such Anglo-Saxon name as Wulfgar. He was fond of dogs.

Fletcher's Anglo-Saxon interests were expressed in *Who's Who in Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England* (1989), a work containing a series of biographies of significant people arranged in chronological order. Not very well produced physically, it could appear as something of a pot-boiler. In fact the book has a sustained and sustaining usefulness. Its long and thoughtful essays on figures such as Alfred and Edgar extend well beyond the narrowly biographical. The work has many



illuminating comments or asides. For example, he draws attention to the significance of Bede's commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah in relation to heavy taxation, and makes a crucial observation on Bede's "uncanny narrative power... (achieved) above all by adopting the *tone* (his italics) that he did." Fletcher's slant can be very individual. Consider what he says about Hadrian's Wall: that its building history "displays many of the characteristics which we associate with large-scale government works: copious changes of plan, oscillation between extravagance and parsimony, and a strong dose of muddle." There is often such an individual edge in his writing.

Fletcher's second Anglo-Saxon book was *Bloodfeud* (2003); it tells more, much more than its brief and gory title suggests. The feud is that described in a most unusual twelfth-century document from Durham. It began in 1016 when Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, was murdered at a meeting with king Cnut. His murderer, Thurbrand, was killed by Uhtred's son Ealdred and in due course Ealdred was killed by Thurbrand's son Carl. Finally, in 1073 or 1074, all Carl's sons and grandsons alike were killed by agents of Earl Waltheof, Uhtred's great-grandson.

Fletcher's informed discussion of feud draws upon (without swallowing whole) the insights or guesses of anthropology. Characteristically, he is able to draw on parallels east and west, from Saxony to León. Above all he insists that the rarity of a record of such a feud does not mean that there may not have been many others like it. Probably beneath the observed course of political events often enough were the charged forces of feuds sometimes deceptively quiescent, but in hidden ways determining the events of which our thin sources tell us little. Fletcher sees his feud in wide contexts. The widest is a sketch of the whole of Anglo-Saxon history, such as to enable the general reader to find his bearings. More detail, and independently original observations are provided for the eleventh century. Here no concerned scholar can neglect what Fletcher has to say about Northumbria. *Bloodfeud* is another demonstration of Fletcher's power as a writer: his capacity for the arresting description of dramatic scenes, for clear exposition which does not become overtly didactic, for holding the reader by varying subject matter and pace. Not least is his strongly alluring sense of place, especially Yorkshire place. He saw the village of his childhood home, Wighill, as the likely site for the initial murder. The final massacre took place in another Yorkshire village, Settrington. Fletcher takes pains to guess where lay the hall in which the bloody deed was done. That he

provides a good photograph of the Settrington scene is characteristic of his attentive care in illustration.

In his final chapter Fletcher returns to Wighill. It is a remarkable example of his skill in organising a book. As one reads the ninth chapter, on the massacre at Settrington, one wonders how the book is to be concluded. Its scope had extended too widely beyond the sequence of the feud for even the final massacre to provide an adequate curtain-fall. What Fletcher does in the tenth chapter is brilliant. In the twelfth century Wighill was the property of a fairly well-documented family, called Haget. So the final chapter is devoted largely to this family and their charters which suggest how life and society had changed from what they had been in previous generations. By returning to Wighill he had again achieved the successful marriage of the fascinations of the particular and of the more general so characteristic of his work.

*The Conversion of Europe. From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 A.D.* (1997) was the longest of Fletcher's books and that which best demonstrates his qualities and quality. It is all about problems and its very title poses a problem: that of the date limits. 1386 is easy to understand. In 1386 Jadwiga / Ladislas, who as grand duke of Lithuania had been the last major ruler in Europe to be a pagan, was crowned king of Poland. The price of kingship was conversion. But why 371? Presumably because *c.* 371 is an accepted date for St. Martin's having become bishop of Tours. No other book treats his great scheme with such scope and depth, or life. The complexity of the subject is almost desperate and the usual difficulties of relating narrative and theme are particularly sharp. In his preface Fletcher gives an illuminating account of his methods which are: "... proceeding by way of suggestion rather than explicit argument." "My preferred method is to dispose the raw building blocks of evidence in such a way as to move suggestion forward" with "implicit argument in the disposition of mass and shape." "The building is rambling, but I hope it coheres."<sup>22</sup> This is a sophisticated account of an equally sophisticated operation by an artist who knew how to conceal his art.

Fletcher liked to ignite a discussion with something arresting, and so he does in this book. He starts off with an observation recorded by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1786, contending that it

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<sup>22</sup> *Conversion*, p. xi.

was “preposterous” and “contrary to the order of Nature” to undertake mission to “barbarous and heathen nations.” Fletcher shows how many Roman Christians would have agreed with their Caledonian successors in not caring, maybe fearing, to anticipate the will of God by officiously spreading the Word. He maintains that Christianity and *Romanitas* were so far identified that it seemed inappropriate for missionaries to seek to make converts beyond the imperial frontiers. Fletcher regarded Patrick as the first missionary known to have decided otherwise. His discussion of this theme echoes the intellectual excitement of 1960s Oxford; following Peter Brown in exploration of the Late Antique. Comparably important for Oxford historians of that generation was that many of them spent part of the first year studying a book of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, in the original. This may partly explain Fletcher’s skill in picking up important Bedan observations often missed by others, for example on the part played in conversion by royal coercion. Almost all other historians in describing what Bede describes have followed him in steady solemnity of tone. Fletcher varies this. Witness his account of the community of Whitby: “impeccably aristocratic in its direction, quite probably in its membership too, nice girls of good family not lacking in social graces.”<sup>23</sup> One of the pleasures in reading Fletcher is to savour such lightening notes. “That flair for publicity which is so often an adjunct of sanctity.”<sup>24</sup> ‘A tame Irish bishop.’<sup>25</sup> Even the title of the final chapter: “Slouching towards Bethlehem.”<sup>26</sup>

Part of the sophistication of Fletcher’s analysis lies in his exploitation of the multiple interconnections between conversion, and economic and governmental developments. He saw conversion as enabled by and enabling changes in rule and in trade. It was characteristic of Fletcher’s power of language that he was able to compress a comprehensive account of the economic implications of conversion into a heavyweight sentence of a hundred and four words—and still keep it alive and kicking.<sup>27</sup> He stressed that “it is still inadequately appreciated that Christian Europe in the early Middle Ages was both wealthy and well managed,” with rulers who commanded orderly structures and techniques of power.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 517.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 519.

Occasionally he allows an earlier and opposite view to surface, one which he had actually abandoned. Thus he said that “seventh-century English kings did not ‘govern’ in any sense that we should recognise today”<sup>29</sup> and he made a similar observation on the Carolingian regime.

Fletcher has much to say about the conversion of the countryside, starting with the sixth-century efforts of John of Ephesus. He emphasises the importance of burgeoning growth in the number of parish churches characteristic of parts of Europe in the early Middle Ages. He had earlier commented on this phenomenon in Galicia. He saw it as “startling” that in the late eleventh century part of the diocese of Braga had 573 parish churches while the late sixth-century *Parochiale* lists only thirty major churches in the whole diocese.<sup>30</sup> It was such dense and early “parochialisation” which led him to question the contentions of Delumeau whose research into seventeenth-century Brittany had led him to argue that effective conversion to Christianity was not completed until the early modern period. Fletcher was inclined to think in terms of tides of faith in the countryside, with elements of ebb and flow.

His interests and comparisons extended far beyond the seventeenth century. Thus he gives an arresting account of the French missionaries in Lesotho between the 1830s and 1870. He was particularly interested in to how and why King Moshoeshoe, though favourable to the missionaries and apparently seeing Christianisation as a welcome element in modernisation, had, all the same, not himself faced the font. After the publication of *The Conversion of Europe*, Fletcher planned an (unachieved) work on the whole history of Christian missions.<sup>31</sup>

His interest in the mission field was indebted to his participation in teaching for one of the “comparative special subjects” which were a valuable feature of the York syllabus. He was appointed as a lecturer at York in 1969 and retired in 2001 (somewhat early) as a professor. The History school at York was young and very lively; importantly and sensibly innovative. Fletcher may have differed from many of his colleagues in some ways. One may doubt whether his political views coincided extensively with all theirs. Barrie Dobson, one of his earliest colleagues, in his obituary mentions that colleagues were “not a little envious” that Fletcher “found time to drive down to the Royal Station

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> *St. James's Catapult*, pp. 224–225.

<sup>31</sup> Another, unachieved, scheme c. 1983 was to write a book on the bishops of early medieval Europe.

Hotel for a shave.” Nevertheless his relations with his colleagues were cordial and good. It was not for nothing that his last published book, a collection of translated sources, *The World of El Cid* (which he and Simon Barton produced together), was dedicated to Barrie Dobson. He was a good teacher, very careful in preparation, and excelling in the one to one tutorials which were important in the York course. He was masterly at pregnantly evocative silences. A particular meeting with him could be remembered thirty years later. He played important parts in the business of the Faculty, serving stints as Tutor for Admissions and later as Chair of the Board of Studies. He was crucial in establishing the place of early medieval history at York, with lasting good consequences. His connection with Miss Procter led to her leaving her important library on Spanish medieval history to York.

In his later years his relationship to the university changed. His marriage in 1976 to Rachel Toynbee, which was the foundation of his happiness and his success, led to his moving to Nunnington, some twenty miles from York. And Low Pasture House, Nunnington, was where he liked to be: with his growing family, long and closely attentive hours in his study, rural pursuits, and large-scale gardening. But his alienation (this is not too strong a word to use) from the university did not derive from his living at some distance. It was an alienation not from people but from a system. He was convinced that York, like other universities, was becoming dominated by managerial and inquisitorial practices which he felt to be alien to the true nature and needs of learning and education. He would have preferred to retire even earlier than he did.

Richard Fletcher was one of the most remarkable and most individual historians of our day, the master of more areas than just one part of the medieval world. Rather in the tradition of Macaulay and Trevelyan, he became very widely read: more so, probably, than any other contemporary British medievalist. Part of the explanation for his success is that his work showed so close a relationship with his life and character. In the introductions to his books he nearly always provides some detail on when, and to an extent how, they came to be written. We are given occasional indications of building work at Low Pasture House: of a conservatory half-built<sup>32</sup> or insecure foundations.<sup>33</sup> Another touch in his work is the way in which he makes asides to the

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<sup>32</sup> *Quest*, p. xi.

<sup>33</sup> *Bloodfeud*, p. xiii.

reader. It is not often that in a monograph based on a thesis one finds the author making such a remark as “Wearisome as those disputes are (and the reader has been let off very lightly) . . .”<sup>34</sup> In his next book we find remarks such as that which he makes after mentioning difficulties in explaining the election of Diego Gelmírez: “We must see what we can do with it.”<sup>35</sup> It can be said of Fletcher, as he said of Bede, that part of his power lay in a tone that is all his own. He *enjoyed* the past and could convey his enjoyment. This included amusement, something by no means always linked to a high rate of cerebration. With him it was. He was one of those in whom a quick readiness to be amused is united with a reflective vein of melancholy. He showed himself as more serious than many historians do. Illustrative of this are the quotations prefacing his books. For example, at the beginning of *The Cross and the Crescent*: “History, Stephen said, is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake . . . What if that nightmare gave you a back kick?” (James Joyce, *Ulysses*): a thought-provoking proem to a book completed in the last months of 2001. Some of the quotations chosen to preface other books relate to the ultimate unknowability of the past. Thus, introducing *The Conversion of Europe* is one from the work of Anthony Powell: “Enormous simplifications were possibly necessary to carry a deeper truth than lay on the surface of a mass of unsorted detail. That was, after all, what happened when history was written, many, if not most, of the true facts discarded.” Fletcher (whose prose style was not unlike Powell’s) combined a sometimes ironic sense of the past with a thoughtfulness edging on melancholy. His great powers for seriously sustained and methodical work were supported by attentive husbanding of his time. He seldom read a newspaper and would not have cared had he never seen another one. He had a formidable will and was not the man to do anything he did not care to do. With such characteristics one might have guessed that his was a character of a kind about which Freud has quite something to say, and that his other qualities could have included a coldly Olympian or even a puritanical detachment. Far from it. He was kind-hearted, thoughtfully tolerant, and convivial. No guest of his ever sat with an empty glass, or, indeed, a half empty one.

In a long passage at the conclusion of *The Conversion* Fletcher describes the scene from his study window. It was pastoral indeed.

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<sup>34</sup> *Episcopate*, p. 143.

<sup>35</sup> *St. James’s Catapult*, p. 108.

Below were five Frisian cows “chomping” in a field of his. He reflects on how immemorial must be the short transhumance of beasts from the moors to lower land in Ryedale (where his house lay). He then turns his attention to the Ellerker Beck, a tiny stream on the edge of his grounds. It is a tributary of the Hodge Beck, which, as it runs down from the high moors, passes Kirkdale Minster. He worshipped at the Minster, and wrote a good guide to it. It was appropriate indeed that he was buried in the churchyard there. The church is remarkable for its late Anglo-Saxon inscription recording its restoration by Orm, son of Gamel. It links directly with the world of *Bloodfeud*, for Orm’s sister-in-law was the mother of Earl Waltheof who organised the last deadly act of the feud. Fletcher reflected further on the curious, mysterious, behaviour of the Beck as it approaches the Minster. At about a mile away it suddenly plunges underground, to emerge nearer the church. Fletcher says “I have sometimes wondered whether this strange behaviour of an otherwise prosaic watercourse had made the valley in some way numinous, sacred long before the coming of Christianity; whether it was for that very reason that a Christian church was founded there in the first place.”<sup>36</sup> The threads and senses of this extraordinary passage are characteristic: Yorkshire, landscape, long continuities, property, parish foundation, Anglo-Saxon politics, the ultimate unknowabilities of the past: all woven together in good English. No one else would have written anything like it. It is entirely individual. Such individuality was only one of the pillars of the fine work of the historian whose loss we mark, very sadly.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Conversion*, p. 524.

<sup>37</sup> In the account above I have not discussed his final work, on the fall of the Roman Empire. It was about half-finished when he died. Its publication should reveal it as another masterpiece.

ROME, CANTERBURY AND WEARMOUTH-JARROW:  
THREE VIEWPOINTS ON AUGUSTINE'S MISSION

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The mission sent from Rome to Kent by Gregory the Great in 596 is one of the best-documented episodes in the history of conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Gregory's *Registrum* or annually compiled letter collection provides contemporary evidence for part of the process, and his *Libellus Responsum* of 601 replying to Augustine's questions offers first hand information on some of the issues raised by the initial success of the conversion. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, completed by around 731, compiles a narrative account, based in part on materials obtained from the papal archives and from the traditions of the see founded by Augustine at Canterbury. Additionally, archaeology has in recent years revealed quite a lot about late sixth-century Rome, something of late and post-Roman Canterbury, and rather more of the joint monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow in which Bede lived.<sup>1</sup> All of this is in stark contrast to the slight, vague and often unreliable materials relating, for example, to the processes of conversion in Ireland, or amongst the Picts, let alone for the Franks, Goths, Lombards and other ethnic groups in continental Europe in the fourth to eighth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

Even so, this relatively detailed knowledge of some aspects of the mission is dwarfed by those features of it about which little or nothing is recorded. The basic questions of what really prompted it, how far and how quickly it proved successful remain effectively unanswered and possibly unanswerable, as are virtually all queries relating to the

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Stella Arena et al. eds., *Roma dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e Storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Rome, 2001); Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo* (Rome, 2004); Christopher A. Snyder, *An Age of Tyrants: Britain and the Britons A.D. 400–600* (Pennsylvania and Stroud, 1998), pp. 148–9 with references; Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. 1 (London, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe from Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 A.D.* (London, 1997), chapters 1 to 4.



practicalities of establishing an ecclesiastical organization and the nature of what conversion actually meant to those who embraced it. Most early medieval conversion narratives are in such respects profoundly uninformative if not positively misleading.<sup>3</sup> All too often they just reflect the views of later generations of those who saw themselves or their community as the heirs of the converters, and had an active interest in promoting claims to status and authority on the basis of such a relationship.

In this respect Canterbury might not be expected to be very different to Armagh, Iona or Whithorn.<sup>4</sup> But there are two things that need to be noticed. When in the 720s it was felt by some leading members of the Canterbury community that their foundation and early history required a historical narrative, they turned to an outsider to provide it. Secondly, it seems to have been at their prompting rather than his that determined efforts were made to obtain contemporary records of the events to be described. The resulting expedition to copy items from the voluminous papal registers seems to have been the first venture of its kind. Most collections of documents were normally formed exclusively from recipient copies, but we may assume that such items had not been preserved in Canterbury.

The nature of the research may help to explain the kind of historical writing that abbot Albinus of St. Augustine's monastery and others in Canterbury expected of Bede, and also provide the answer to the question of why there is no hagiography associated with Augustine and his successors. Saints' lives provide the principal narrative form used to recount most continental as well as most British and Irish conversion stories. Yet there is no hint of a *Vita Augustini*, a *Vita Laurentii*, or a *Vita Melliti*, and while the monks of Lindisfarne had asked Bede for prose and verse versions of a "Life" of Cuthbert, his Canterbury patrons wanted a *Historia*.<sup>5</sup> Generically, this is more of a Roman than a Gallic style of recording the traditions of an episcopal see.

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<sup>3</sup> Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (London, 2001) is an invaluable guide to this literature and its limitations.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Sharpe, "Some Problems concerning the Organisation of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland," *Peritia* 3 (1984), 230–70, idem, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 3–38; Maire Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: the History and Hagiography of the Monastic familia of Columba* (Oxford, 1988); Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (London, 1981), pp. 275–94.

<sup>5</sup> *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940) for the prose life; see also Michael Lapidge, "Bede's Metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*," in Gerald

Bede's description of his sources and working methods, including his debt to Albinus and to Nothelm, the priest of London and later archbishop of Canterbury who was sent to Rome to find the papal letters used in the work, makes it clear that the written information they provided related not just to the history of the church in Kent but also to some aspects of the reception of Christianity in other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>6</sup> These included details of episcopal chronology, suggesting they formed an important part of Canterbury's record keeping. One example is the account of the election of Berhtwold as archbishop of Canterbury in Book V chapter 8: "He was elected to the bishopric in the year of our Lord 692, on 1st July, while Wihtred and Swaefheard were ruling in Kent. He was consecrated in the following year on Sunday 29th June by Godwin, metropolitan bishop of the Gauls, and was enthroned on Sunday 31st August."<sup>7</sup> Bede also refers here to the new archbishop's subsequent consecration of Tobias to succeed Gefmund as bishop of Rochester.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that written lists of consecrations performed by each archbishop formed another feature of the information he received from Canterbury.

That said, it is not easy to detect further kinds of documentary material in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that are likely to have come from Bede's Kentish sources. The latest of the papal letters included in part or whole in his text dates from the five-month period in 640 when John IV was pope-elect.<sup>9</sup> Although a small number of later papal letters are mentioned, they are never quoted and are found in contexts that show that Bede had heard about them from other informants and had not read them himself. So, it seems that Nothelm did not copy letters from papal letter collections in Rome later than those of John IV (640–642). The only other documentary source quoted by Bede of an almost certain Canterbury origin is the *acta* of the Synod of Hatfield of 679.<sup>10</sup>

The kind of meticulous chronological detail, as in the account of Berhtwold's election, and the recording of episcopal ordinations

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Bonner, Claire Stancliffe and David Rollason, eds., *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to A.D. 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 77–93.

<sup>6</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica, praefatio*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (revised edition Oxford, 1991), pp. 2–5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.8, pp. 474–5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.19, pp. 200–3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.17, pp. 384–7.

performed and churches consecrated, together with brief accounts of the origins of each holder of the archiepiscopal seat is very reminiscent of papal historiography. So, it could at least be speculated that the history Albinus and others in Canterbury hoped Bede would provide for them was something like their own version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the markedly factual pontificate by pontificate house history of the bishops of Rome. A contemporary version of this work, extending up to the early years of the current pope, Gregory II (715–731), was provided for Bede probably via Canterbury at some point in the 720s.<sup>11</sup> If so, it must have been Bede himself who changed the scale and scope of his work to make it into the wide ranging *Historia Ecclesiastica* that we now have.

Despite their combined efforts and possibly differing intentions, Bede and his Canterbury informants fail to provide answers to several questions. The first of these must surely be what gave rise to the sending of the mission that left Rome in 596. In Bede's account, Augustine and his companions were sent because the pope was "prompted by divine inspiration".<sup>12</sup> Because Nothelm primarily copied letters from the papal archives sent to recipients in Britain, and probably not all of those, Bede lacked knowledge of most of the letters that Gregory wrote in 596 to various Gallic correspondents to help smooth the passage of his missionaries through Francia.<sup>13</sup> In those sent to the Frankish kings Theuderic II and Theudebert II and their grandmother Brunecildis he says that he had been informed of the desire of the Angles to become Christian, but how and when this information reached him we do not know. In the letter to Theudebert and Theuderic he compares this desire on the part of the *Angli* with what he felt must be the Frankish kings' undoubted wish to promote Christianity among their own subjects.<sup>14</sup>

Some commentators have been led by this letter into concluding that Gregory regarded the Angles as the subjects of the Franks, though the linking of the two sentences in question by the words *atque ideo*—"and in the same way"—suggests that he was adducing a parallel: all good

<sup>11</sup> C. W. Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge Mass., 1943), p. 113; Faith Wallis, *Bede, The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 460–1 for Bede's use of the *Liber Pontificalis* in his *De Ratione Temporum*.

<sup>12</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.23, pp. 68–9 ("divino admonitus instinctu").

<sup>13</sup> Gregory's letter of 601 to Queen Bertha (*Registrum* 11.35, ed. Paul Ewald and Ludo M. Hartmann, *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, 2 vols., MGH Epp. 1-2 (2nd edn., Berlin, 1957), 1:304–5) is not quoted by Bede. Either Nothelm did not copy it, for whatever reason, or Bede decided not to include it.

<sup>14</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6, letters 49, 55, 57 (1:423–4, 430–2).

rulers would by definition seek the true religion for their subjects.<sup>15</sup> In practice, he was here not only providing a letter of introduction for Augustine and his companions and soliciting royal protection for them on their journey, he was also urging the young Frankish kings to take their own responsibilities as Christian rulers seriously. In this letter Gregory makes no mention of King Aethelberht or any other Anglo-Saxon ruler, referring instead to the *gens Anglorum* and its desire for conversion; something that was being ignored by neighbouring *sacerdotes*. The latter used to be identified with the British episcopate of this time, or even the Irish.<sup>16</sup> It is now recognized that from the perspective of south-eastern Britain Gregory's remarks could apply equally or more appropriately to the bishops of northern Francia.<sup>17</sup>

In terms of the personnel sent with Augustine from Rome, Bede rightly identifies the *servi Dei* referred to in Gregory's letters with those he calls *monachos*, and he says he was told that there were approximately (*ferme*) forty of them.<sup>18</sup> This figure is neither confirmed nor denied by anything written by Gregory himself, and perhaps should be treated with caution. It would be pertinent to ask why it was monks that had been chosen for this task. With their commitment to stability and communal life, they are not the most obvious of missionaries. Nor would they have been particularly well suited to establishing a non-monastic pastoral organization in newly converted territory. However, that is not what they were intended to do.

Gregory while still a layman had established his own monastic community in Rome. When he went to Constantinople in 580 as papal *apocrisiarius* he took members of it with him to form his household there; and when elected pope in 590 he surrounded himself with his own monks in the papal residence.<sup>19</sup> Indeed this replacement of the

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.49, 1:423–4: “Postquam Deus omnipotens regnum vestrum fidei rectitudine decoravit et integritate christianae religionis inter gentes alias fecit esse conspicuum, magnam de vobis materiam praesumendi concepimus, quod subiectos vestros ad eam converti fidem per omnia cupiatis, in qua eorum nempe estis reges et domini. Atque ideo pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem christianam Deo miserante desideratur velle converti, sed sacerdotes e vicino negligere et desideria eorum cessare sua adhortatione succedere.”

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Ewald and Hartmann, 1:423 note 2: “Scil. sacerdotes in Hibernia insula habitantes”.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6.49. See Wood, “Augustine and Gaul,” p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.25, pp. 72–3.

<sup>19</sup> Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 9–14, 19–22; Georg Jenal, “In cerca di ordine quando l'apocalisse sembra vicina: Gregorio Magno e il monachesimo

normal administrative and domestic staff of the papal household by members of his community has been seen as a cause of friction, resulting in a period of reaction in the Roman church after his death against such monk bishops.<sup>20</sup>

It is clear from Gregory's *Moralia* as well as from his *Regula Pastoralis* that he held that the work of the Church had to be done by *praedicatores* or "preachers", who might have preferred to devote themselves to contemplation, but whose sense of duty made them give themselves up instead to an active life on behalf of fellow Christians. It was from their ranks that Gregory believed the *rectores* or leaders of the Church, primarily its bishops, should be drawn. The composition of the mission to the Angles is thus quite logical: it included some of the *praedicatores* that Gregory himself had trained in his own monastic community.<sup>21</sup>

As his own practice demonstrated, he also felt that such *rectores* needed the appropriate spiritual support to enable them both to carry out their duties in the world and to help them to take advantage of the life of contemplation when the opportunity arose. This explains the use of his own monastic community as his papal household. It is thus easy to see that what he sent to Britain in 596, whatever the number of monks actually involved, was a ready made episcopal household for Augustine, just like his own one in Rome. When it became possible to create additional bishoprics in south eastern Britain by 601, he sent other similarly trained and selected *rectores*, accompanied by further bodies of monks to provide the personnel for their households.<sup>22</sup>

Simply put, what Gregory sent out in 596 and again in 601 were not consignments of individual preachers, intended to scatter over the countryside to spread the good word to every hamlet and hedgerow. There seems to have been no provision for that sort of thing at all. What he chose to send were what might cheekily be called prefabricated episcopal households, whose functions were directed primarily towards

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del suo tempo in Italia," in *Gregorio Magno nel XIV Centenario della Morte* (Rome, 2004), pp. 221–46.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Llewellyn, "The Roman Church in the Seventh Century: the Legacy of Gregory the Great," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 25 (1974), 363–80.

<sup>21</sup> Robert A. Markus, "Gregory the Great's Rector and his Genesis," in Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, Stan Pellistrand (eds.), *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1986), pp. 137–44; idem, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 17–33; Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 66–87 and 194–212; also Judith McClure, "Gregory the Great: Exegesis and Audience" (unpublished Oxford University D.Phil thesis, 1978) *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.29, pp. 104–7 on 601 monks.

providing what he regarded as the necessary level of spiritual support as well as some practical assistance for a bishop.

The chronology of Augustine's mission has never been easy to deduce in detail, in that it depends exclusively upon a handful of Gregory's letters.<sup>23</sup> While a few of these are precisely dated to a particular day and the rest can at least be placed within the month of the indictional year in which they were composed, those phases of the mission that are not dealt with in the Pope's extant correspondence lack a clear chronology. Both Bede and his contacts in Canterbury were clearly no better informed than we are today. Like us, Bede had to make deductions from the few of Gregory's letters that were transcribed for him in the papal archives by Nothelm.

In some cases the conclusions he drew were wrong, as in the case of his calling Etherius metropolitan bishop of Arles rather than of Lyon. This misattribution comes in the heading he gives to a letter to Etherius from Gregory. It is not preserved in any of the later collections made of Gregory's correspondence, but its text is identical to one addressed to the bishops of Marseille and Tours, to which we shall return. It is also one of only two letters sent by Gregory to episcopal and royal recipients in Francia that Bede has included in his *History*.<sup>24</sup> Lacking any other version of it, we can not be sure whether the mistake in the diocesan attribution was made by Bede himself, was the result of an error in copying by Nothelm, or was caused by the original letter being wrongly transcribed by the papal notaries of Gregory's day when they were entering it into the annual letter book.<sup>25</sup> Whatever the cause, the consequence was that when Bede subsequently included a letter sent by Gregory to bishop Vergilius of Arles in 601, he made the sensible but mistaken assumption that Etherius, whom he believed had been the bishop of Arles in 596, must have died and that this Vergilius was his successor.<sup>26</sup>

There is no way of knowing precisely when Augustine and his companions left Rome on their long journey to Kent. Evidentially, the mission first appears already well on its way to Britain in a series of

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<sup>23</sup> Robert A. Markus, "The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963), 16–30.

<sup>24</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.24 and 27, pp. 70–3 and 78–9.

<sup>25</sup> On such letter books see below, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.28, pp. 102–3; see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 42.

letters dated to July 596, and in some cases more precisely to the 23rd of the month. Indeed, from what may be seen of papal notarial practice elsewhere in Gregory's Register, it is quite likely that all of these letters were written on that date.<sup>27</sup> There are more of them than just the two quoted by Bede. A total of nine such letters are preserved in the surviving version of the *Registrum*, with thirteen different addressees.<sup>28</sup> These include two Frankish kings, their grandmother Queen Brunecildis, the Patrician Arigius of Provence, the abbot of Lérins and several Gallic bishops.

It is clear from the letter addressed to bishop Protasius of Aix, that Augustine and his companions had already reached this city by this date.<sup>29</sup> In it Gregory tells the bishop that he has had good reports of him from Augustine. This reference to information received via Augustine is not to be found in any of the other letters to bishops, and it seems reasonable to assume that the mission had reached Aix but had not yet arrived in any of the other dioceses whose bishops were to be recipients of the papal letters. Bede deduced on the basis of a letter dated 23 July 596, which he alone has preserved, and which was sent to the monks accompanying Augustine, that the mission had stalled because of fears of what lay ahead in England and that Augustine himself had returned to Rome to ask the pope for permission to abandon their "dangerous, wearisome and uncertain" journey.<sup>30</sup> This must have been at some point in 596 early enough for Augustine to have returned to Rome and for a series of letters dated to 23 July then to be composed by Gregory for him to take back to southern Gaul. While there is no precise evidence of how long such a journey from Provence to Rome could take in this period, a rough estimate might be in the region of thirty days. So, it is reasonable to think the mission left Rome in the spring of that year, perhaps in late March or April.<sup>31</sup>

While Bede's account of the somewhat pusillanimous reason for Augustine's return to Rome has always been accepted at face value, it is important to stress that it was based entirely upon his reading

<sup>27</sup> See also the ten letters all dated 22 June 601: *Registrum* 11, letters 37–9, 43–9, 2:308–13, 316–22.

<sup>28</sup> Gregory the Great, *Registrum* 6, letters 50–57 (1:424–32).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, letter 53, 1:428–9.

<sup>30</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.23, pp. 70–1; also published by Ewald and Hartmann: *Registrum* 6, 51a, 1:425–6. It also appears in John the Deacon's *Vita Gregorii* 2.34.

<sup>31</sup> Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 476–500.

of the letter to Augustine's companions that he includes in Book One chapter twenty two, and that, as in the case of the diocesan attributions of bishops Etherius and Vergilius, his deductions could be shrewd but erroneous. The text of Gregory's letter can indeed be interpreted as suggesting that the monks were thinking of abandoning their quest, due to fears of what lay ahead, but it is not necessary to assume that this had anything to do with England. A recent event in Francia provides a better explanation for their fears. This was the death of the Frankish king Childebert II (575–596), ruler of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia, through which the greater part of the journey ahead of them would lie.

Childebert was still believed to be alive in September or October of 595 when Gregory had sent him a letter, the last dispatched to a Frankish monarch before those of July 596.<sup>32</sup> That he died in 596 is clear from the account in the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*, which implies that his death occurred after 28 March in that year; in other words around the time that Augustine and his companions left Rome.<sup>33</sup> They are thus likely to have reached Provence before discovering what had happened. The precedents of earlier Frankish royal successions indicate that these were particularly dangerous times; all the more so when the late king's heirs were children. Childebert's sons Theudebert II and Theuderic II were aged ten and nine years old respectively at the time of his death, and so required regencies until they attained the legal age of majority at fourteen. The third Frankish kingdom, of Neustria, was controlled by a rival and hostile branch of the Merovingian dynasty; again represented by a child king, the twelve year old Chlotar II, under the tutelage of his mother Fredegund.<sup>34</sup> As the Fredegar chronicle records, war broke out immediately upon the death of Childebert II, and Chlotar seized control of Paris and other towns *rito barbaro*. A battle was fought at Laffeux near Soissons between the armies of the Austrasian and Burgundian

<sup>32</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6 6 (1: 384–5).

<sup>33</sup> Fredegar 4.16, ed. J. M Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar* (London, 1960), p. 11. The date is deduced by his death 'in the fourth year after succeeding to Guntramn's kingdom', as this regnal year would have commenced on 28 March 596.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. 5 and 7, p. 6, for the births of Theudebert and Theuderic respectively. For Chlotar II's age see Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum* X, 7. 7, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, 2 vols., MGH SRM 1.ii (Hanover, 1942), p. 330.



kings on the one hand and the Neustrian on the other, resulting in a great slaughter.<sup>35</sup>

So Bede may have been mistaken in thinking that it was the barbarity of the Anglo-Saxons that worried Augustine's monks. While he may have used a copy of Gregory of Tours' *Libri Decem Historiarum*, whose narrative only extended up to 591, he certainly did not have Fredegar's chronicle, and thus was ignorant of the violent events that took place in Francia just as the mission was about to cross it.<sup>36</sup> So, he made another guess when he interpreted Gregory's encouraging words to his monks as referring to fears of what lay beyond the Channel rather than on the route to it. In the light of what happened in the immediate aftermath of the death of Childebert II, it is hardly surprising that the expedition halted in the relative safety of Provence, far from the fighting in the north, in order to take stock. A decision had to be made as to whether they should proceed or turn back, but it is clear enough from Gregory's views on monastic obedience that this was not something his monks themselves could make, and hence Augustine's return to Rome. When he came back to them he brought with him not only the orders to continue and Gregory's letter of encouragement, but also vital new documentation.

When Augustine rejoined the monks, probably at Aix sometime in August 596, he brought with him the series of letters of introduction to various secular rulers and ecclesiastical leaders in Francia. It also seems certain that other letters were now sent by Gregory ahead of the mission to the Frankish rulers, and these may have included commiseration on the death of Childebert.<sup>37</sup> The envoys carrying them, including a Frankish priest called Leuparic who was returning from a diplomatic mission to the pope, may well have accompanied Augustine back to Gaul, but this is not known for sure.<sup>38</sup> That different sets of letters could be sent out simultaneously to the same recipients through different bearers is

<sup>35</sup> Fredegar 4. 17, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Wilhelm Levison, "Bede as Historian," in A. Hamilton Thompson, ed., *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 111–51. See also J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede. A Historical Commentary*, p. 159; idem, "Gregory of Tours and Bede: Their Views on the Personal Qualities of Kings," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968), 31–44, especially p. 44.

<sup>37</sup> Wood, "Augustine and Gaul," p. 75 suggests this. Diplomatic letters of commiseration are, however, rare in papal correspondence, and may have been thought more suitably reserved for those with whom a close relationship of *amicitia* had been established.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6, letter 55 (1:430).

not as surprising as it may seem, as three separate letters from Gregory to the Frankish queen Brunecildis are dated in the *Registrum* to the same day, 22 June 601.<sup>39</sup>

Other new features of the mission at this point could include the raising of Augustine's status from prior, *praepositus*, to abbot. However, his change of monastic rank on his rejoining the monks at Aix is purely a deduction that modern commentators have drawn from Gregory's words, which may not be fully supported by the text of the letter. Standard translations, such as that of the late Bertram Colgrave, render the relevant passage as "When Augustine your prior returns, now, by our appointment, your abbot..." (1.23).<sup>40</sup> However, there is nothing in the Latin that implies this was an entirely new development. There is no "now" and the verb might better be rendered as "we appointed". It makes at least as much sense to suggest that Augustine had been prior of all the monks in Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew on the Caelian hill in Rome, but that the pope had raised him to the status of abbot over those whom he sent to Britain in the spring of 596 at the time of their first setting out. This would also fit more closely with Gregory's ideas on monastic governance.<sup>41</sup>

It would be wrong to think that Gregory only decided that letters of introduction and recommendation would be necessary when the mission stalled in Provence in the early summer of 596. For one thing such letters were clearly a commonplace matter for all travellers of any significance. Relatively few of them have survived because they were essentially practical and in most cases formulaic. A good example, but a rare survivor, is the general letter of introduction to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the Visigothic kingdom that was given by bishop Desiderius of Cahors to the Priest Antedius, when he went on a pilgrimage to shrines in Spain in the 630s.<sup>42</sup> A copy of this survives in Desiderius's small letter collection, but it is very rare for such practical items that gave little scope for literary versatility or the display of links of personal *amicitia* between sender and recipient to be thus preserved.

The question of the survival and loss of letters is central to this enquiry. In the case of Gregory the Great not only are far more letters available than for any other pope before the twelfth century, but it is also

<sup>39</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 11, letters 46, 48–9 (2:318–19, 320–2).

<sup>40</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.23, p. 71.

<sup>41</sup> Straw, *Gregory the Great. Perfection in Imperfection*, pp. 76, 101–2, 189–90.

<sup>42</sup> *Desiderii Episcopi Cadurcensis Epistolae* 2.8, ed. W. Arndt, CCSL 117:331–2.

possible to know something about the processes of their preservation. In his *Life of Gregory* written around 873/5, John the Deacon refers to the presence in Rome in his day of fourteen papyrus rolls of the pope's letters.<sup>43</sup> These had been compiled on an annual basis, but by indictional years, that ran from 1 September to 31 August. The letters were entered into the rolls in an apparently strict chronological order.

None of these papyrus rolls compiled by the papal notariate have survived. However, various extracts were copied from them at different times up to the ninth century, which is the latest point at which their existence is attested. The earliest known of these compilations was the very small selection made for Bede by Nothelm in the early eighth century. He also copied a few letters relating to British matters from equivalent and equally lost papyrus rolls of the pontificates of Boniface V (619–25), Honorius I (625–38), and John IV (640–642). Two other small collections from Gregory's letter books were made later in the eighth century: one containing fifty four letters was compiled in the mid 780s by Paul the Deacon, and the other of two hundred letters was made by an unknown compiler around the same time. Neither of these, which circulate together in the manuscript tradition, had any special relevance to British affairs. Also in the late eighth century, during the pontificate of Hadrian I (772–95) a much larger edition was made of six hundred and eighty four of Gregory's letters. This, unlike the earlier selections, was drawn from all fourteen of the papyrus letter books, and the letters chosen were kept in their original chronological order.<sup>44</sup>

There is surprisingly little overlap in the contents of the various collections, so that in addition to the large Hadrianic compilation, another one hundred and sixty six letters of Gregory are preserved, resulting in a total of roughly 850 letters.<sup>45</sup> This is an unusually large corpus by early medieval standards—it is nearly three times the number of the extant letters of Augustine of Hippo for example. But it can only represent a fraction of Gregory's actual correspondence. Over the fourteen year

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<sup>43</sup> *Vita Gregorii* 4.71, PL 75:223. See Dag Norberg, *Critical and Exegetical Notes on the Letters of St. Gregory the Great* (Stockholm, 1982); idem, "Qui a composé les lettres de Saint Grégoire le Grand?" *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 21 (1980), 1–17.

<sup>44</sup> For the papal letters and letter books of this period see Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 65–89; also Ernst Pitz, *Papstreskripte im frühen Mittelalter. Diplomatische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien zum Brief-Corpus Gregors des Grossen* (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 241–87.

<sup>45</sup> Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters*, p. 70

pontificate it averages out at just under forty six letters a year, and as can be seen from the two groups of such letters relating to the mission to Britain, the papal notariate under Gregory was capable of turning out from nine to thirteen such letters in a single day, thus producing a theoretical total of between three hundred and five hundred a year. Hadrian I's edition was, therefore, also no more than a selection. It is also certain that not all papal correspondence was entered into the annual letter books.

Gregory's experience in the civil administration of the city of Rome earlier in his career and as papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople under his predecessor Pelagius II (579–90), meant that he was fully aware of the value of diplomatic presents and the necessity of letters of recommendation and introduction. So it is hard to believe that he would not have equipped his mission with such essential requirements from its outset. His own earlier correspondence, involving letters and gifts sent to Childebert II, his mother Queen Brunehildis, and various ecclesiastical recipients in 595, show how well versed he was in the niceties of diplomatic contacts with the Frankish kingdoms.

The problem for the mission on its arrival in Francia was that its most important letters would have been addressed to Childebert II, news of whose death was not known when they left Rome. In such circumstances new diplomatic letters to his heirs were required. Furthermore, the outbreak of war between the kingdoms made it necessary for a wider selection of letters of introduction to be drafted. If the mission was to continue, as Gregory ordered it to, its route would be dictated by the safety or otherwise of local conditions, and it might have to pass through regions other than those originally intended. Thus a larger number of letters would be required, including ones to bishops whose dioceses might or might not be traversed by Augustine's party as it picked its way through to the Channel. This issue of the selection of their route requires a little more elaboration.

It should be clear from what has already been said that the corpus of known letters of Gregory can nowhere near represent the sum of those that once existed. However, modern scholars have tended to act upon such an implicit assumption, and have also taken it for granted that all these letters, however formulaic their drafting, must have served a practical purpose. Thus, it has been taken as axiomatic that the route followed by the mission, once it resumed after Augustine's return from Rome, can be deduced from the locations of the addressees of the letters

of introduction.<sup>46</sup> In consequence it has been thought that the resulting journey was surprisingly indirect. The same argument also applies to the supporting mission sent by Gregory to Kent in 601 under Laurence and Mellitus. In the case of the 596 expedition the very round-about nature of the presumed route might be explained by the troubled conditions of the time, but this would not apply in 601, by which time order had been restored.

In 596, if the places whose bishops were to be recipients of Gregory's letters are put in some form of logical geographical order, it seems that the mission proceeded from Provence up the Rhône valley via Vienne and Lyon before heading to Autun, the see of bishop Syagrius, an active collaborator with the papacy at this time.<sup>47</sup> From Autun, however, the next destination that can be deduced from the letters was Tours. This is not a very obvious route for anyone seeking to proceed from Burgundy to Kent, even if the relics of St. Martin may have made it spiritually *vaut le détour*.

Such problems disappear if instead it be recognized that a large number of letters of recommendation were produced in Rome for Augustine and his party to cover most or even all of the dioceses that they might cross, according to the route that circumstances dictated. To have predetermined their precise itinerary in Rome, and issued a limited number of letters addressed to only those bishops on one particular route, would have been unwise. If this be accepted, then many more such letters would have been prepared, of which only a representative selection were entered into the letter book for that indictional year.

The particular letter that underlies the belief that the mission proceeded to Kent by way of Tours is particularly significant, in that it is addressed to two bishops: Serenus of Marseille and Pelagius of Tours.<sup>48</sup> As these two cities are hundreds of miles apart, the pairing of the two bishops in this letter is hard to explain. Even if for some reason they were briefly together, this could hardly have been predicted when the letter was drafted back in Rome, or assumed to be going to last for long. A similar and even more striking case appears in the letters relating to

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Richard Gameson, "Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievement," in Gameson, ed., *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 10–12. See also Ian Wood, "Augustine's Journey," *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 92 (1998), 28–44.

<sup>47</sup> Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God. The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London, 1980), pp. 214–16.

<sup>48</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6.50 (1:424–5).

the passage through Francia of the group of clerics led by Laurence and Mellitus in 601. A single letter is apparently addressed to the bishops of Toulon, Marseille, Châlon, Metz, Paris, Angers and Rouen.<sup>49</sup> Nothing less than a national council of the whole Frankish episcopate could explain how the bishops of these far flung dioceses could have been together in one place, and no such meeting is recorded. On the other hand if, as with the 596 letters, its list of recipients is thought to reveal the route being taken by the mission, it implies an even more tortuous route through central France than that followed in 596. It seems far more reasonable to assume that numerous letters were prepared that were identical in text but directed to different named recipients. As they were so numerous and similar in content, only a handful were subsequently entered into the indictional letter book, and even then in this conflated fashion.

There were also more of these letters in the original papyrus letter books than were included in the edition made for Pope Hadrian I. The letter to Etherius, mentioned above, that is included by Bede in his work does not feature at all in the Hadrianic edition. Apart from its heading, its text is identical to that of the letter to the bishops of Marseille and Tours. There could, theoretically, have been any number of such letters to Gallic bishops. It is also worth noting that a letter sent by Gregory in 601 to Chlotar II thanked him for the assistance he had rendered to Augustine.<sup>50</sup> So, in 596 he too was included in the itinerary, and was probably the recipient of a comparable letter of recommendation, although no trace of this survives in the existing compilations.

While it is important to make sense of the letters sent to the Frankish rulers and churchmen, it is possible to exaggerate the importance of the role of the Franks in the early stages of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. It has been suggested that the Frankish part in these events has actually been neglected both by Bede and by some of his modern counterparts.<sup>51</sup> However, continental historians in particular have emphasized the significance of Frankish royal backing for Augustine and have speculated about possible earlier Frankish attempts at evangelization in Britain through the person of bishop Liudhard, who

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, letter 41, 2:314–15.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, letter 51, 2:323–4.

<sup>51</sup> Wood, "Mission of Augustine," p. 7.

accompanied the Merovingian princess Bertha to Kent when she married Æthelberht.<sup>52</sup>

As for Bede's knowledge of Frankish participation, it has to be said that he could only have been aware of it, in so far as it existed, if he had copies of Gregory's letters to the Frankish rulers and bishops in 596 and 601. There are no grounds for believing that Nothelm copied those letters, or that Bede or Albinus wanted letters relating to the Frankish as opposed to the British stages of the mission. It is notable that Bede gives no indication of knowing the details of the progress of Augustine and his companions across Gaul, suggesting he was entirely unaware of the letters relating to it. There is thus no point in criticising Bede for his failure to see what some modern historians have claimed to detect, a Frankish hegemony over some at least of the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, it may be fairer to wonder if Bede's silence on this matter is preferable to too strong a conviction that the Frankish role in the conversion of Kent was so significant and derived from an established political overlordship. What began as a mild speculation is in danger of turning into an unquestionable dogma merely by virtue of repetition.<sup>54</sup> It has to be said first of all that there is no evidence whatsoever to be found on the Anglo-Saxon side of the Channel that would substantiate the view that the Merovingian dynasty exercised any kind of authority, however tenuous, over the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>55</sup> The idea of a major Frankish settlement in Kent or any other part of southern Britain is now rejected, while the presence of grave goods of Frankish style or influence in some Kentish cemeteries is certainly not proof of political ties, any more than is the comparable presence of items of Lombard,

<sup>52</sup> Annette Lohaus, *Die Merowinger und England* (Munich, 1974), pp. 5–27.

<sup>53</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Western Europe in the Fifth Century* (London, 1904), p. 160, mentions the idea but dismisses it. Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1947), pp. 4, 7 and 14, is cited by James Campbell, "The First Century of Christianity in England" in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), p. 53 n. 23, as supporting such a view, but he is nothing like so explicit. Campbell himself holds that "the Frankish kings Theudebert (534–48) and Chilperic (561–84) at least liked to be thought to have had overlordship beyond the Channel and may have had it": *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), p. 26, D. P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 1991), pp. 34–5, Martin Welch, *Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1992), pp. 117–18, amongst others.

<sup>55</sup> Though a case has been made in respect of some of the items found in the Sutton Hoo I burial mound: Ian Wood, "The Franks and Sutton Hoo," in Ian Wood, ed., *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 1–14, arguing that "Sutton Hoo is indicative of Merovingian hegemony" (p. 14).

Thuringian and Gothic style or manufacture in northern French burial grounds of the same period.<sup>56</sup>

To be fair, the archaeological evidence has hardly ever been called into service in support of this theory, and could not establish it if it were. Belief in Frankish hegemony, however loosely defined, rests primarily on a handful of textual passages. One of these is the opening section of Gregory's letter of July 596 to Theudebert and Theuderic, in which the *subiectos vestros* of the first sentence have been seen as referring to the *Angli* of the second.<sup>57</sup> However, as previously suggested, this is not the necessary sense of Gregory's words. It should also be noted that none of Gregory's subsequent and extensive correspondence with the Frankish monarchs in 601 and 602 gives the slightest hint of his regarding them as having a hegemonial interest in Britain.<sup>58</sup> Had he done so, some further words of congratulation or on the progress of evangelization might have been expected. Instead there is silence, other than for the introduction and recommendation of the second party of monks and clerics passing through Francia towards Kent.

The second plank of the argument is located in a letter the Merovingian king Theudebert I (533–48) sent to the Emperor Justinian I in 538, in which he states that he was the ruler over Saxons and *Eucii*, along with various other peoples east of the Rhine.<sup>59</sup> It is by no means self-evident that these *Eucii* can be identified with the *Iuti* or *Iutae* that Bede, writing in the eighth century, names as the principal inhabitants of the Kentish kingdom in the late sixth. As will be seen, that is not what they called themselves. In any case, they were clearly not the subject of Theudebert's remark, as his claims make no reference to Britain and relate almost entirely to peoples living east of the Rhine.<sup>60</sup>

A third text has to be called into play to try to give Theudebert's letter a British significance that it otherwise lacks. This is a passage in the *History of the Wars* of the mid sixth century Byzantine historian Procopius,

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<sup>56</sup> Vera Evison, *The Fifth-Century Invasions South of the Thames* (London, 1965) proposed this, but it was discounted in reviews by J. N. L. Myres in *English Historical Review* 81 (1966), 340–42, and Sonia Hawkes in *Antiquity* 40 (1966), 322–3. See Ian Wood, "Franken und Angelsachsen," in Alfred Wieczorek and Patrick Périn (eds.), *Die Franken Wegbereiter Europas*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1996), 1:341–5 for some Frankish items in Kent.

<sup>57</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 6, letter 49 (1:423).

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 11, letters 46–51 and 12, letters 7 and 9 (2:318–24, 371–3, 374–5).

<sup>59</sup> *Epistolae Austrasicae*, 20, ed. Elena Malaspina, *Il 'Liber epistolarum' della cancelleria austrasica (sec. V–VI)* (Rome, 2001), pp. 136–9.

<sup>60</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.15, pp. 50–1; Wallace-Hadrill, *Commentary*, p. 22.



stating that “not long ago the king of the Franks, in sending some of his intimates on an embassy to the emperor Justinian in Byzantium sent with them some of the Angli, thus seeking to establish his claim that this island was ruled by him”.<sup>61</sup> The context is a lengthy narrative of a conflict “between the nation of the Varni and soldiers who live on the island called Brittia,” resulting from the repudiation of the sister of the king of the Ἀγγιλοι by Radigis son of the ruler of the Ουαρνοι, in favour of a daughter of the Frankish monarch “Theudibert”.<sup>62</sup>

It has been established that by “Brittia” Procopius means Britain, and that his references here to “Brettania” relate to Armorica or Brittany.<sup>63</sup> The Ἀγγιλοι are Angles, as evidenced not least by his also referring to them as one of the three peoples inhabiting Britain, along with the Britons themselves and the Frisians. The Ουαρνοι, whom he locates between the Danube and “the northern Ocean along the river Rhine, which separates them from the Franks,” are usually identified with the *Varini* referred to by Tacitus, and also the *Werns* of the Old English poem *Widsith*.<sup>64</sup> They also shared a Frankish created lawbook, related to the *Capitulare legi Ribuariae additum* of 803, that is known as the *Lex Angliorum et Werinorum, hoc est, Thuringorum*.<sup>65</sup> This together with some place name evidence locates them firmly in the region of Thuringia, and it is thought that both they and the Angles merged into a wider Thuringian identity in the course of the ninth century, as there are no later references to them.

As Procopius’s tale of marriage and feuding between the ruling families of the Varni in landlocked Thuringia and of the Angles in Britain makes no historical sense, and at the same time the Varni and the Continental Angles can be shown to have been close neighbours in that region east of the Rhine, any historical as opposed to legendary circumstances attached to his narrative may also be thought to relate

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<sup>61</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars* 8.20.10, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing (Cambridge MA and London, 1962), vol. 5, pp. 254–5.

<sup>62</sup> Procopius, 8.20 (5:252–71).

<sup>63</sup> E. A. Thompson, “Procopius on Brittia and Britannia,” *Classical Quarterly* 30 (1980), 498–507; also A. R. Burn, “Procopius and the Isle of Ghosts,” *English Historical Review* 70 (1955), pp. 258–61.

<sup>64</sup> Tacitus, *De Origine et Situ Germanorum* 40, ed. J. G. C. Anderson (Oxford, 1938) unpaginated; *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III: The Exeter Book*, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. van K. Dobbie (New York, 1936), p. 150.

<sup>65</sup> Rudolf Buchner, *Die Rechtsquellen* (= *Beiheft of Wattenbach-Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Weimar, 1953), p. 41.

to the same Thuringian context.<sup>66</sup> Such a view may be reinforced by the fact, already mentioned, that the extant letter of Theudebert I to Justinian makes no reference to Britain and is entirely concerned with claims to hegemony across the Rhine.

It also needs saying that if Theudebert I had made any such claim in respect of the British, rather than the Continental Angles, it is surprising that it is not explicitly repeated by any of his successors. The Frankish kings never relinquished what they regarded as their hegemonial rights over neighbouring peoples or realms that had submitted to them in the past, as evidenced by the accounts of the re-establishment of control over the trans-Rhenan territories by the Carolingians in the eighth century, which culminated in thirty years of war with the Saxons in the time of Charlemagne. During this time the Saxons were regarded by the Franks as rebels who needed to be brought back under their royal authority and not as free peoples whom they wanted to conquer.<sup>67</sup> The same applied to dealings with the Lombards, on the basis of various treaties into which the latter were forced in the late sixth century, which justified Frankish involvement in their choice of king in 756 and the taking over of their kingdom by Charlemagne in 774.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, in the diplomatic exchanges with the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the time of Charlemagne no mention was made of any claims to authority over them or to a time when Frankish power, in theory or practice, extended north of the Channel.

While providing interpreters for Augustine and giving him and his party some hospitality on their long journey through Francia constituted valuable practical assistance, it is unlikely that the Merovingian role in the process was any more significant than that.<sup>69</sup> Ultimately, this question of supposed Frankish overlordship remains at best ambiguous. If the Merovingians did claim it, the surprising thing is that by comparison with their treatment of other neighbours they did so in a

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<sup>66</sup> Thompson, "Procopius on Britania," pp. 501–2 for the legendary nature of the narrative. He believed Theudebert was claiming hegemony over Brittany. See also Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 5.

<sup>67</sup> Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (London, 1998), pp. 43–7; Ian Wood, "Frankish hegemony in England," in Martin Carver, ed., *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 235–41, at pp. 236–7.

<sup>68</sup> Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 58–62.

<sup>69</sup> Donald Bullough, "The Missions to the English and Picts and Their Heritage," in H. Löwe, ed., *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 80–98.

way that was so *sotto voce* as to be inaudible. On the other hand, not a scrap of evidence can be found to show that anyone in Britain was aware of any such claims, let alone recognized them. The same applies to arguments about the existence of Frankish hegemony in the subsequent Carolingian period.<sup>70</sup>

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Kentish kingdom is its name. As is clear from the earliest surviving texts, the monarchs of the line of Æthelberht were kings of the *Cantware*, or *Cantuarii* in Bede; a name that clearly derives from that of the Belgic tribe, the *Cantiaci*, that was established in this same area at the time of the Roman conquest in the first century.<sup>71</sup> This is despite the fact that Bede himself told his readers that *de Iutarum origine sunt Cantuarii*.<sup>72</sup> The very limited nature of our evidence has led to far too much emphasis being placed on this remark of his, which is not corroborated in any other text. Indeed, his threefold division of the non-indigenous populations into Angles, Saxons and Jutes is questionable for several reasons.<sup>73</sup> For present purposes it is enough to say that there is no other evidence to suggest that the inhabitants of the kingdom thought of themselves as Jutes, while there exist the letters of Gregory that show that around 600 they clearly regarded themselves as the *Cantuarii* or *Cantware*.

The survival of a Celtic ethnic name for the inhabitants of the kingdom is all the more surprising, in that south-eastern Britain, and Kent in particular, almost certainly saw the earliest and the most intensive settlement of a Germanic speaking population, probably beginning even before the end of direct Roman imperial rule over Britain in 410. Simply put, by the late sixth century this should be the most culturally transformed part of the island, with the most reduced evidence of

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<sup>70</sup> Patrick Wormald, "The Emergence of the Regnum Scottorum: a Carolingian Hegemony?" in Barbara E. Crawford, ed., *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (St. Andrews, 1996), pp. 131–60, which is more subtle than the title suggests, and Jo Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> Nicholas Brooks, "The Creation and Early Structure of the Kingdom of Kent," in Steven Basset, ed., *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), pp. 55–74.

<sup>72</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.15, p. 50.

<sup>73</sup> His claim that the *Angli* were so called because they lived in an *angulus* (ibid. 1.15, p. 50) between the lands of the Saxons and Jutes is utterly preposterous linguistically and on other grounds, but is generally treated reverentially. See the excellent analysis in Philip Bartholomew, "Continental Connections: Angles, Saxons and Others in Bede and in Procopius," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (2005), 19–30, especially pp. 24–6.

Celtic survival. To some extent this is the case, in that it has not proved easy to find archaeological evidence for the survival of a distinctive Romano-British population.

It is, perhaps, the relative antiquity of post-Roman settlement in Kent that provides an explanation. The earliest such settlers, who may never have outnumbered the indigenous population, came in relatively small groups and were drawn from a variety of different ethnic backgrounds. These included Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians and Franks.<sup>74</sup> There may well have been others. Again finds from northern French cemeteries indicate the potential presence of small numbers of relatively exotic settlers, including Alans, Thuringians and Lombards.<sup>75</sup> Fifth century literary texts also indicate that there were Heruls engaged in sea-borne raids in the Channel at the time. Overall, there may have been no predominant ethnic group in post Roman Kent.

A cultural fusion between new settlers and the indigenous population in Kent had been developing over a longer period than in any other part of Britain. One feature of this may be the unusual way in which the king's principal residence and court centre was associated with Canterbury, the former *Durovernum Cantiacorum*, *civitas* capital of the *Cantiaci*, called *Civitas Dorvernensis* by Bede, but later known as the "Burgh of the *Cantware*".<sup>76</sup> This was also comparable to the way Frankish royal centres were located in a small number of former Roman provincial cities, at least until the end of the sixth century, but there are no other equivalents amongst the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.<sup>77</sup> It should be noticed that what little is known of the former Roman towns that became the centres of the rival Merovingian royal administrations makes them very

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<sup>74</sup> Sonia E. Chadwick, "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a Reconsideration," *Medieval Archaeology* 2 (1958), 1–71, especially at p. 60; eadem, "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery of Bifrons, in the Parish of Patricbourne, East Kent," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 11 (2000), 1–94.

<sup>75</sup> See for example the variety of origins ascribed to items found in graves in Picardy dated to the sixth century: *La Picardie, berceau de la France: Clovis et les derniers romains* (Amiens, 1986), including "Hunnish" (p. 166), Gallo-Roman (p. 166), Visigothic (pp. 167, 244), Kentish (pp. 235–9), Thuringian (p. 142) etc. See also Edouard Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, 1 (Paris, 1950), pp. 211–55, and 375–83. Essentially items of material culture are untrustworthy indicators of ethnic identity, and of no use whatsoever as markers of political affiliation.

<sup>76</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1. 25, p. 74; *cantwara byrig* in the Old English version (c. 900): Jacob Schipper, ed., *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 55.

<sup>77</sup> Eugen Ewig, "Residence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Âge," *Revue Historique* 230 (1963), 25–72.

similar to, or no more sophisticated than, post-Roman Canterbury. Æthelbert's—and this may also be assumed of his predecessors—choice of a town for their royal centre may indicate awareness of Frankish practices but could also, like the name of the kingdom's inhabitants, indicate greater receptivity to aspects of the Roman inheritance.

It is easy to see how much of our knowledge of several features of the Roman mission of 596/7 derives from Bede's reading of those letters of Gregory that were provided for him by Nothelm. They can be supplemented and to some degree corrected by the other letters of Gregory unknown to Bede. Collectively, these serve to throw light on the dispatch of the mission, its journey through Francia, and the sending of the second expedition in 601 to reinforce the first. But it may be wondered whence Bede derived his narrative of those aspects of the mission that do not feature in his small corpus of papal letters? Much of this may have come as oral narrative from the Kentish informants sent to bring him his documents.

While Albinus via his courier Nothelm provided Bede with what he must have regarded as authentic information, we can only treat the clearly non-documentary materials as evidence of beliefs that were current in Canterbury in the 720s and 730s about the founding and early history of the see. In other words these are no more than the tales that were accepted around a century and a quarter after these events, and should not necessarily be treated as trustworthy reports of what happened in 597 and the years immediately following. Thus, Bede's narratives of Aethelbert's surprised and cautious reception of the mission, and of his meeting Augustine in the open so as to avoid bewitchment are not based on eyewitness testimony.<sup>78</sup> This is important to stress, because Bede's account of these episodes is often trusted uncritically.

In a few cases other information can be used to check his statements. For example, he describes the church, just outside the city walls of Canterbury and given to queen Bertha for her place of worship, as having been built when the Romans were still in Britain and in honour of St. Martin.<sup>79</sup> Neither of these statements can be true. Detailed study of the complicated evidence relating to the building history of St. Martin's

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<sup>78</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.25, pp. 72–7. For one element, the antiphon the monks were said to have sung, that has been shown to be definitely anachronistic see Donald Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," in Uta-Renate Blumenthal, ed., *Carolingian Essays* (Washington D.C., 1983), p. 6 note 14.

<sup>79</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.26, p. 76.

has shown that it must postdate the end of Roman rule in Britain. The original building was also tiny, and may have been a mausoleum rather than a church.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, the dedication cannot be original. The same argument applies here as has been made for Whithorn in Galloway in the time of Ninian.<sup>81</sup> A fifth century primary dedication to St. Martin of Tours, who only died in 397, is highly improbable from what is known of the practices of dedicating churches and depositing relics elsewhere in western Europe at that time. It is more likely that it was Bertha and bishop Liudhard who brought a relic of St. Martin with them, and that the dedication of the church to him stems from its reoccupation and use by them in the years immediately preceding Augustine's arrival. This may be corroborated by Gregory of Tours' account of how Bertha's mother Ingoberg (d. 589) lived in the diocese of Tours and left legacies to St. Martin's abbey on her death.<sup>82</sup> There thus existed a family link with Martin's cult, but it was one that was recent and peculiar to the queen and her mother.

These are relatively minor and easily understood discrepancies. But even the claim that this church actually was queen Bertha's place of worship can neither be confirmed nor denied. Its credited antiquity would make it a natural focus for legend a century or more after the events. If it really were Bertha's church, its tiny size could indicate that the queen and her Frankish entourage were its only congregation. In other words this could have a bearing on the probably insoluble question of the survival of Christianity in lowland Britain in the period before the arrival of Augustine and his companions.<sup>83</sup> If the formerly Christianized Romano-British population had absorbed much of the culture of the socially dominant immigrants, and this by the time of Augustine could have been as much in language as in dress, adornment and other material aspects, then is it likely that they would have retained a separate system of religious beliefs and practices?

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<sup>80</sup> H. M. Taylor and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965), 1:143–5.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Thomas, *Whithorn's Christian Beginnings* (1st Whithorn Lecture: Whithorn, 1992); Peter Hill, *Whithorn and St. Ninian* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 11–14.

<sup>82</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 9.26, p. 445.

<sup>83</sup> C. F. Mawer, *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain: the Small Finds* (Oxford, 1995); Clare Stancliffe, "Christianity amongst the Britons, Dalriadan Irish and Picts," in Paul Fouracre, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. I: c. 500–c. 700 (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 426–61, at pp. 431–5.

It is also necessary to weigh the argument that Christian survival depends upon the maintenance of at least a vestigial ecclesiastical infrastructure, in the form of priesthood and episcopate. As the history of the Church before Constantine showed, it was possible for Christians to do without specialized places of worship, but they required the regular presence not only of priests to administer the sacraments but also of bishops to consecrate some of them. This involved not least the chrism used in the rite of baptism. It may be that it was for this reason that Bertha came to Kent accompanied by a bishop, who may be assumed to have died before 597, as otherwise it is surprising that there is no reference to him in Gregory's correspondence. Liudhard's existence is confirmed by the unique and enigmatic medal found in the St. Martin's Canterbury hoard, even though its actual purpose is not known.<sup>84</sup> But while even the Merovingians did not employ bishops merely as royal chaplains, his presence is not in itself enough to prove continuity in Christian worship in Kent from the Roman period up to the late sixth century.

On the other hand, E. A. Thompson pointed out in the context of the conversion of the Goths that bishops were only sent to serve the needs of existing Christian communities, and not to create them *ex nihilo*.<sup>85</sup> This is even truer of archbishops. Whether Bede was right to say that Augustine returned to Francia to be consecrated as *archiepiscopus genti Anglorum* is debatable.<sup>86</sup> The title itself is anachronistic on more than one count, and this is one of those occasions in which he was confused over the relationship between a named bishop and his see. The Etherius he refers to is bishop of Lyon, not Arles as he claims. So was it Etherius in Lyons or Vergilius in Arles who consecrated Augustine as bishop? Gregory is no help, merely telling Eulogius of Alexandria that the ordination had taken place *in Germania*, which in Roman provincial nomenclature would include neither Arles nor Lyon.<sup>87</sup> It would, however, be perfectly applicable to the Frankish kingdom of Austrasia, through which the mission passed on its way to the coast, and the probability

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<sup>84</sup> Philip Grierson, "The Canterbury (St. Martin's) Hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Coin-ornaments," *British Numismatic Journal* 27 (1953), 39–51; reprinted in his *Dark Age Numismatics* (London, 1979), item VI.

<sup>85</sup> E. A. Thompson, "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," in Arnaldo Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 56–78.

<sup>86</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.27, pp. 78–9.

<sup>87</sup> Gregory, *Registrum* 8, letter 29 (2:30–1).

must be that it was there that Augustine was consecrated in the winter of 596/7, while *en route* to Kent.

The title *archiepiscopus* was not used at this time either by the papacy (except very rarely of itself) or by the Gallic church; such bishops with superior authority over suffragans being known only as metropolitans. Nor is it likely that Gregory would have contemplated such an outlandish remit for Augustine as “metropolitan to the *gens Anglorum*”. As his letter to Augustine of June 601 makes clear, his plan for the organization of the church involved two metropolitanates, one centred on London and the other at York.<sup>88</sup> Each was to have twelve suffragans.

It is often assumed, largely on the basis of Bede’s resolutely Anglo-centric presentation, that this ecclesiastical structure was intended to apply exclusively to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, at least once they had been converted. However, it is important to note that also in 601, in his *Libellus Responionum*, Gregory told Augustine that he was to exercise metropolitan authority over the bishops of the Britons—“Brittanniarum vero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus”—to teach, advise and command.<sup>89</sup> It is highly unlikely that Gregory was envisaging two distinct pastoral and administrative structures coexisting under one command. Nor is there any reason to think that he would not have wanted to impose an episcopal organization that covered the whole island or at least all of its former Roman provinces. Indeed, in a further letter in 601 Gregory repeats that not only those whom he consecrates or who will be consecrated by a metropolitan bishop of York, but all the bishops of Britain are to be under Augustine’s authority.<sup>90</sup> So, the two proposed metropolitanates, with a total of twenty four bishoprics, probably included the British dioceses.

Bede’s narrative of the Synod of Augustine’s Oak (*Augustinæs Ác*) therefore describes the unsuccessful attempt by Augustine to impose the metropolitan authority over the seven British bishops with which the pope had invested him.<sup>91</sup> This they were not prepared to recognize; nor by implication would they accept the pope’s right to alter whatever organizational structure they themselves had inherited from

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<sup>88</sup> Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.29, pp. 104–5.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. 27, p. 88.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.29, p. 104.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, pp. 134–43.



their predecessors.<sup>92</sup> In the light of the view he must have held of his status as metropolitan, as opposed to that of his British suffragans, it makes sense in terms of Roman church practice that Augustine did not rise to greet them, further contributing to the failure of the meeting. It is anachronistic, however, to criticize Augustine for the way he treated those he regarded as his suffragans. This and other episodes in the early history of the Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms deserve further exploration, and several more long held certainties need questioning. At least part of the way forward lies in the un-weaving of some of the intricately tied historiographical knots that bind together Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Clare Stancliffe, "The British Church and the Mission of Augustine," in Gameson, ed., *St. Augustine*, pp. 107–51; *eadem*, "Christianity among the Britons" (note 76 above), pp. 446–9.

<sup>93</sup> A first version of this article was delivered as a lecture to the Canterbury branch of the Historical Association, and a revised form of it was presented to the graduate seminar in Early Medieval Irish and British history in the University of Cork. We should like to thank our hosts and audiences on both occasions for the invitations and for much stimulating discussion. It is a special pleasure for us both to be able to dedicate it to the memory of a very good and much missed friend.

## GREGORY OF TOURS, THE VISIGOTHS AND SPAIN

*Edward James (University College Dublin)*

Gregory, bishop of Tours from 573 to 594, mentions Visigothic Spain only a few dozen times in the course of his *Ten Books of History*, our major narrative source for post-Roman Gaul, but those few passages are important not only for Spanish history, but also for our own understanding of Gregory's aims and attitudes. Even though the Visigoths of Spain had, nominally at least, converted to Catholicism two or three years before Gregory would have edited and completed the *History*, he seems to have done little to change the role he had devised for Visigothic Spain: that of a hostile neighbour whose manifold errors and evils helped to underline the general righteousness of the Catholic Church in Gaul.

Apart from a brief mention when talking about the evangelization of Gaul, Spain does not appear in Gregory's narrative until he begins to discuss the "barbarian invasions". This happens near the beginning of Book 2, which, starting as it does with the repercussions of St Martin of Tours' death in 397 and ending with King Clovis's death in 511, is essentially devoted to what we, but not Gregory, think of as the fifth century. The passage immediately established the dominant theme of Gregory's account of Spain, for it described how the Vandals came into Gaul and how, not long after, the Vandal king Thrasamund "began to persecute the Christians and by tortures and all sorts of executions forced the whole of Spain to accept the heresy of the Arian rite."<sup>1</sup>

Arianism is central to Book II, which ends with the triumph of orthodoxy in Gaul and the retreat of Arianism south of the Pyrenees and the Alps. Indeed, Ian Wood has claimed that the refutation of Arianism may have been one of Gregory's motives for the writing of the *History*;<sup>2</sup> and certainly Gregory is able, through his references to Spanish Arianism, to keep the subject alive in his readers' consciousness right to the end

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History* 2.2. Text: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (= *MGH, SSRM*) I, Part I (Hanover, 1951), p. 39; translation by Lewis Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: History of the Franks* (Harmondsworth, 1974) (hereafter cited as Thorpe), p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Wood, *Gregory of Tours* (Bangor, 1994), p. 34.

of his book. Arianism made its appearance in the Preface and very first chapter of the book, although not in name, when Gregory claimed it as his aim to describe the attacks of the heretics against the Church, and vice versa, and issued his own creed, which placed considerable weight upon the equality of the persons of the Trinity (which Arius denied), and upon the decisions of the Council of Nicaea (which condemned Arius). Arius himself is not mentioned until half-way through Book II, when a wicked priest died in the lavatory: from which “we may deduce that this man was guilty of a crime no less serious than that of Arius, who in the same way emptied out his entrails through his back passage in the lavatory.”<sup>3</sup> Arianism—or, more precisely, the “perfidy of the Arian sect”, *perfidiam Arrianae sectae*—is first mentioned under that name (rather than subsumed into “heresy”) in this passage in which King Thrasamund of the Vandals forced the inhabitants of Spain into Arianism. In other words, from early on in his *History* Gregory associates Spain with this particular heresy; and, as here, is happy to give the totally false impression that all inhabitants of Spain are tainted with it.

It is difficult to know at any particular point when Gregory is just ignorant or whether he is deliberately and consciously twisting facts to suit his own ends. As we shall see, deliberate deception is not beyond him, but his whole chaotic approach to the fifth century certainly does suggest considerable ignorance. He has occasional written sources, which he makes use of as intelligently as possible, but he seems to have a very hazy idea of chronology and to be capable of major errors. To take just one example: Thrasamund, the Vandal king who supposedly forced Spain into Arianism, actually became king of the Vandals only in 496, almost seventy years after the Vandals had left Spain for North Africa. Geiseric, the great Vandal king who led his people into Spain and who ruled them (and dominated the western Mediterranean) for fifty years, from 428 to 477, is not mentioned by Gregory at all. Indeed, as Andrew Cain has shown in his recent study of Gregory and the Vandals, the only Vandal king whom Gregory does situate properly within the fifth century is Huneric (477–484), and that is because Gregory has a detailed story of the Arian persecution of Catholics which took place in that reign.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.22; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, pp. 67–8; Thorpe, p. 135. Gregory mentions the manner of Arius's death in two other places: the Preface to Book 3 and 9.15.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Cain, “Miracles, Martyrs, and Arians: Gregory of Tours' Sources for his Account of the Vandal Kingdom”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 59 (2005), 412–437, at p. 415.

This story is worth repeating here, because (as Cain shows) it ties in with Gregory's picture of Arianism in Spain. Cyrola, the Arian bishop of Carthage, was a great champion of the heretics under Huneric, said Gregory.<sup>5</sup> When Huneric unleashed a persecution of the Catholics, Cyrola arrested the Catholic bishop, Eugenius.<sup>6</sup> The letter from Eugenius that Gregory quotes—the longest complete document that Gregory gives us earlier than Book IX of the *History*—is not known elsewhere, but it may well be genuine: in it the Catholic bishop exhorts his flock to remain firm in their faith, and not to submit to rebaptism, as the Arians wanted. Eugenius was led before King Huneric, and disputed successfully with Cyrola, together with two other Catholic bishops who were, like him, famous miracle workers. Cyrola, according to Gregory, was so irritated that these bishops could work miracles that he bribed a fellow Arian with fifty gold pieces to sit in the plaza (*platea*) and pretend to be blind, so that Cyrola could “cure” him. But, as Gregory said, avarice had made this man blind in reality, and when Cyrola put his hand on the man's eyes, they began to hurt so much that the man revealed the trick to all present, and, in his pain, admitted that “the Holy Ghost is consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Son.”<sup>7</sup> Huneric, however, responded by torturing and killing many saintly men. Eugenius he sent into exile (he died in Albi, years later), because, said Gregory, the king did not want to create another martyr. So many were the crimes committed by Huneric, that the sun went into eclipse three times. In the end Huneric tore himself to pieces with his own teeth, and, some time after this (Gregory is vague) King Gelimer was defeated by the Romans and “so perished the Kingdom of the Vandals.”<sup>8</sup> As we know, but perhaps Gregory did not, God took precisely fifty years to wreak His vengeance on the Arian Vandals.

Gregory's description of the whole process of the “barbarian invasions” is just as bizarre; and more bizarre, even, than that provided by some modern historians. He tells us of the invasion of the Vandals (in AD terms proceeding from 406 to the end of the North African

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<sup>5</sup> This whole story is in Gregory, *History* 2.3 (MGH, SSRM I.1, pp. 40–45).

<sup>6</sup> Cain argues, very plausibly, that Gregory focussed on Eugenius because he had his own written source for this episode, one which is now lost. This was, he argued, a *History of the Persecution of Huneric*, similar to the surviving *History of the Persecution* by Victor of Vita, but not identical with it, since Victor's account of the persecution of Eugenius differs in a number of crucial ways from Gregory's.

<sup>7</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.3; MGH, SSRM, I.1, p. 43; Thorpe, p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> The last words of Gregory, *History* 2.3; MGH, SSRM I.1, p. 45; Thorpe, p. 113.

kingdom of the Vandals in 534) at 2.3 in the *History*. He then says (2.4) “at this time” there were many persecutions of Catholics, and talks about the persecution led by Athanaric of the Goths (which had happened before the Goths had moved south across the Danube in 376). He then describes, in three chapters (2.5–7), the invasion of Gaul by Attila of the Huns, in the middle of the fifth century, isolating three separate events, each of which concerned the intervention of a saint: Tongres was saved by St Aravatus, Metz was left to its destruction by St Stephen the Protomartyr, an event ordained by God because of the wickedness of its inhabitants, and Orleans was saved by Anianus, who prayed and, perhaps more practically, went to the Roman general Aetius to beg for military assistance. Finally, Gregory moved on to the arrival of the Franks, quoting (to the great joy of historians today) fragments of now lost late Roman historians, but doing so in a fairly haphazard way, firstly describing how Renatus Frigeridus dealt with the events following the death of the Emperor Honorius in 423, and then turning to Sulpicius Alexander on the events of the late 380s and early 390s, before returning to Renatus Frigeridus and the 420s and ending his orgy of quotation with a sentence from Orosius, relating to the defeat of the Franks by Stilicho (in 395).

In all this Spain is not mentioned again but, in due course, the Visigoths are; and, somewhat anachronistically, they are presented, even under King Euric (466–84), as primarily kings of Spain. Euric has to “cross the Spanish border”<sup>9</sup> in order to unleash his persecution on Gaul. Like the Spanish king Thrasamund of the Vandals, in Gregory’s account Euric is an Arian enemy of the true faith; and he is Spanish.

One of the main sources for Euric’s reign, for Gregory as well as for us, are the works of Sidonius Apollinaris, poet, letter-writer, politician, bishop, and aristocrat *par excellence*. Gregory mentions two letters by Sidonius to which he has access: a letter praising Bishop Patiens of Lyon for his charitable efforts after a famine<sup>10</sup> and one to Bishop Basilus of Aix, about the persecutions of Catholics by the heretical King Euric of the Visigoths.<sup>11</sup> It is unclear whether Gregory had all the letters of Sidonius, as there are some divergences between the two texts.

<sup>9</sup> “Excidens Hispanum limitem”: Gregory, *History* 2.25; *MGH, SSRM*, 1, p. 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Epistolae* 6.12 (*MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* (= AA) 8, Berlin, 1961, pp. 101–02), mentioned by Gregory, *History* 2.24.

<sup>11</sup> *Epistolae* 7.6 (*MGH, AA* 8, pp. 108–10), mentioned by Gregory, *History* 2.25 (*MGH, SSRM*, I.1, pp. 70–71).

For instance, Sidonius wrote in praise of his brother-in-law Ecdicius, who had led a band of eighteen soldiers through an army of several thousand Goths without harm, “a feat which to posterity will surely seem incredible.”<sup>12</sup> Posterity in the shape of Gregory of Tours did not balk at making this still more incredible: Gregory has Ecdicius take ten men and repel the whole Gothic army.<sup>13</sup> Was he wilfully misreading Sidonius, or does he have a totally separate (and exaggerated) source? The first interpretation is suggested by his reading of Sidonius’ letter to Basilius of Aix. In the chapter in which he mentions this letter Gregory talks about the way the heretic King Euric had brambles placed in the doorways of churches to stop the faithful entering, which must be an exaggerated and distorted reading of Sidonius’ actual statement, which was that because of neglect and the growing number of unfilled clerical positions, the roofs of churches were falling in through lack of repair, “and the doors unhinged and blocked by growing brambles.” Neglect has been transformed by Gregory into deliberate hostile action. This was the case also when referring to the fate of the bishops themselves. Where Sidonius, in that same letter, referred to many of the episcopal sees in the south-west of Gaul being unfilled on the deaths of bishops, so that these cities were “like bodies which have lost their heads through the death of their respective bishops”,<sup>14</sup> Gregory has: “without more ado he [Euric] cut off the heads of all who would not subscribe to his heretical opinions, he imprisoned the priests and the bishops he either drove into exile or had executed.”<sup>15</sup> This letter by Sidonius, which is in fact our main primary source for the persecution of Euric, mentions two bishops being exiled, but mentions no deaths and no imprisonments, nor any mass exiles. Gregory was trying to prepare the way for Clovis, whose invasion of Visigothic Gaul (which included Gregory’s native Clermont and his adopted Tours) was morally justified for him by the persecution of Catholics by the Arian Visigothic kings.

Regardless of what actually happened, the story in Gregory is clear. Euric has revealed himself as a wicked persecutor of the Church, and is soon afterwards “struck down by the vengeance of God.”<sup>16</sup> Very

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<sup>12</sup> *Epistolae* 3.3 (MGH, AA 8, pp. 41–43); translated O. M. Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius*, 1 (Oxford, 1915), pp. 67–68.

<sup>13</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.24; MGH, SSRM, I.1, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup> Sidonius, *Epistolae* 6.6 (MGH, AA 8, p. 98); Dalton, 1, p. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.25; MGH, SSRM I.1, p. 71; Thorpe, p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> The last words of Gregory’s chapter, *History* 2.25; MGH, SSRM I.1, p. 71; Thorpe, p. 139.

soon after that in Gregory's narrative Clovis made his appearance: if not Gregory's hero, then at least the agent through which God chose to work.<sup>17</sup> He united the Franks under one king (by various acts of thuggery); he defeated various enemies of the Franks; he converted to Catholicism; and he drove the Visigoths (mostly) out of Gaul, forcing them to move their main royal residence from Toulouse to south of the Pyrenees, firstly to Barcelona and then to Toledo.

We cannot, of course, know what was in Clovis's mind when he invaded the Visigothic kingdom in south-west Gaul. Gregory, as is well known, portrays him as invading Visigothic territory in what would much later be recognised as a crusade: indeed, almost prefiguring the crusades of Simon de Montfort and Louis VIII against the Cathars. "I find it hard to go on seeing these Arians occupy a part of Gaul," said Clovis to his ministers.<sup>18</sup> Clovis showed his Catholic faith by ordering his soldiers to respect St Martin of Tours and St Hilary of Poitiers and their property. All this could well have been part of Clovis's war propaganda—a way to justify his ambitions in the south of Gaul and a way to win over the Roman and Catholic population of the area—and not simply a figment of Gregory's imagination. Clovis fought King Alaric II of the Visigoths, and killed him, at Vouillé (the fifteen hundredth anniversary of which is celebrated in 2007); the Visigoths were taken under the protection of King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths; and it was not for a generation that the Spanish kingdom of the Visigoths emerged again as an independent power to be reckoned with.

Gregory assembled a number of cases of what he saw as Arian persecution. He claims that Volusianus, the seventh bishop of Tours, was taken away by the Visigoths, and died in exile or captivity. His two versions of this event, however, are not actually consistent. At 2.26 Gregory merely says that Volusianus was regarded with suspicion by the Visigoths, and that he was taken as a captive to Spain, where he died; at 10.31 Gregory says specifically that he was suspected of wanting to hand Tours over to the Franks, and that as a result he was exiled to Toulouse (not Spain), where he died. As Gregory says (2.35), "At that time a great many people in Gaul were very keen on having the Franks as their rulers."<sup>19</sup> Gregory immediately gives another example: at 2.36,

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<sup>17</sup> On the complexity of Gregory's attitude to Clovis, see above all William M. Daly, "Clovis: how Barbaric, how Pagan?", *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 619–64.

<sup>18</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.37; Thorpe, p. 151.

<sup>19</sup> Gregory, *History* 2.35; Thorpe, p. 150.

he writes of Bishop Quintianus of Rodez, who was accused by his own citizens of wanting to give Rodez to the Franks. He had heard that they were going to assassinate him; so he fled to Clermont. He was received there by Bishop Eufrasius; and, after Apollinaris had succeeded Eufrasius, he himself became bishop of Clermont.

As Ian Wood pointed out a number of years ago,<sup>20</sup> the case of Quintianus is an excellent example of Gregory manipulating history to his own ends. “Not only is the bishop of Tours’s account wrong, it is deliberately fraudulent.”<sup>21</sup> As is implied by the succession to the see of Clermont, the flight of Quintianus from Rodez happened long after the flight of Aprunculus from Langres. Gregory’s account implies very directly that Quintianus’s flight happened not long after Clovis, king of the Franks, and Alaric, king of the Visigoths, met near Amboise, on an island in the River Loire, which was (until Clovis’s defeat of Alaric in 507) the frontier between the two kingdoms. And in fact, of course, a glance at the map—something Gregory’s earlier readers would not have found so easy—would show that, however willing Quintianus might have been to hand his town over to the Franks, it would hardly have been possible when Rodez was over 300 km from the Frankish frontier, and neither would he have fled from Visigothic Rodez straight to Clermont, which was also under Visigothic control until 507 or later. Indeed, we know from the episcopal subscriptions to councils that Quintianus was present at the Visigothic council of Agde in 506, and at the Frankish Council of Orleans in 511. Gregory in his *Life of the Fathers* 4, which is a life of St Quintianus, has Theuderic, Clovis’s eldest son (and the dominant figure in the years immediately after Clovis’s death, say of Quintianus that “It is for affection for us that he was expelled from his see”;<sup>22</sup> indeed, these words are repeated later in the *History* too, at 3.2. Quintianus’s flight from Rodez must have happened in Theuderic’s reign. A possible sequence of events is that Rodez was captured by the Franks in the course of the 507 campaign, or shortly afterwards, and that then Quintianus attended the council which Clovis called together in 511.

<sup>20</sup> See I. N. Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Religion and Culture in the Auvergne and the Rhône Valley, 470–530* (unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1979), pp. 173–74.

<sup>21</sup> Ian Wood, “Gregory of Tours and Clovis”, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, 63 (1985), 249–272, at p. 257.

<sup>22</sup> *Liber Vitae Patrum*, in *MGH, SSRM I.2* (Hanover, revised ed., 1969), p. 225; transl. Edward James, in *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers* (2nd ed., Liverpool, 1991), p. 23.



At some point after that, perhaps soon after Clovis's death in late 511, the Visigoths recovered Rodez. Quintianus at that point would have been regarded with deep suspicion by the Visigoths, since he had been willing to go to Clovis's council in Orleans. At that point the flight of Quintianus to Clermont (a town already in Frankish hands) becomes utterly plausible.<sup>23</sup>

Gregory's view of Clovis is far from easy to explain. But he does not seem to have esteemed his morals any more highly than those of Clovis's father—whose fornication led to his deposition by the Franks—or those of his descendants. There are no really admirable characters in Gregory's narrative except those who join the Church. But however low the Frankish kings sink, the Visigothic kings of Spain are worse; as, indeed, are their subjects. There is a rather nice juxtaposition in the chapters in which Spain is first introduced as a stage on which the Frankish kings can perform, in chapters 28 to 30 of Book 3. In the first of those chapters Clovis's widow Clotild prays to St Martin that the Frankish kings do not fall into civil war. God sends a storm to batter the troops of the two kings who are about to attack the youngest of Clovis's sons, Chlothar, and the latter escapes the storm completely. Thanks to St Martin, the Frankish kings were prevented from working evil. In the next chapter, two Frankish kings invade Spain, and besiege Zaragoza. They succeed in conquering most of Spain (according to Gregory), and return with a huge booty; but they fail to take Zaragoza, overawed by the sight of the inhabitants parading the tunic of St Vincent the Martyr around the city walls. The next, short, chapter relates how two successive Visigothic kings of Spain were assassinated: "the Goths had adopted the reprehensible habit of killing out of hand any king who displeased them and replacing him on the throne by someone whom they preferred."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Wood suggests (*Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 173–174) that the disaffection of the inhabitants of Rodez might inadvertently be explained by Gregory himself, in his account of the death of Bishop Dalmatius of Rodez (5.46) and his mention of "the will of Quintianus's successor, Dalmatius, which stated that no alien should be consecrated bishop of Rodez. Since Quintianus was an African [Gregory, *Life of the Fathers*, 4.1] it appears more likely that as an outsider he had paid no attention to the sensitivities of the Rutenois and had hence fallen foul of them." But Dalmatius's will had merely stated the agreed opinion of the church, that bishops should be from within the diocese and that they should be good Christians, though he went rather beyond agreed opinion by also saying that he should not be married. Dalmatius died in 580, and was not Quintianus's direct successor at all: would he really have remembered in his will the problems experienced in Rodez 65 years earlier?

<sup>24</sup> Gregory, *History* 3.30; *MGH, SSRM*, I.1, p. 126; Thorpe, p. 187.

Gregory's next mention of Spain, a few chapters later, noted that the tyrannical Agila, who had gained his throne by assassination, had been assassinated in his turn. Athanagild succeeded him: a king who earned some merit in Gregory's eyes by taking back some cities that the Byzantine Empire had "wrongfully captured".<sup>25</sup> This happened towards the end of the half-century reign of Chlothar I, the youngest of Clovis's sons: the rest of Frankish dealing with the Spanish occurred during the time of Chlothar's four sons, who divided Francia between them in 561. It was thanks to the oldest of these sons, Sigibert, that a new direction was taken in relations with Spain. He married Brunhild, the daughter of the Visigothic King Athanagild. Gregory portrays this as a reaction to the marriages of his brothers Guntram and Charibert, who married (in his and Gregory's view) women who were beneath them. Not to be outdone, the fourth and youngest brother Chilperic married Brunhild's elder sister Galswinth.

The outcome of the marriage alliances could not have been more different. Athanagild gave both of his daughters handsome dowries (so the marriages must have happened before his death in 567); and they received generous morning-gifts from their new husbands. Galswinth received five cities in the south west of Francia, or the revenue from those five cities, which included Bordeaux and Limoges, whose revenue must have been considerable. (Brunhild inherited these on her sister's death, as mentioned in the Treaty of Andelot, 9.20). Brunhild continued to wield considerable power and influence after her husband's assassination in 575, first as regent for her son, and then for her grandsons, and, briefly, her great-grandson, until Chilperic's son put her to death in 613. Her sister Galswinth, on the other hand, was murdered not long after she arrived in Francia; suspicion fell on Fredegund, the wife whom Chilperic had put away in order that he might married Galswinth, but Gregory claims (4.28) that Chilperic had ordered the garrotting himself.

The disagreement between Chilperic and Galswinth which preceded the murder was, according to Gregory, all about Chilperic's relations with Fredegund. It was not about religion, since Gregory specified that both Brunhild and Galswinth agreed to abandon their Arianism and be baptised with chrim (4.27 and 28: a second baptism with water could not be carried out, but holy oil could be used, as in post-baptism

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<sup>25</sup> Gregory, *History* 4.8; *MGH, SSRM*, I.1, p. 140; Thorpe, p. 202.

anointing).<sup>26</sup> It was perhaps not easy: Gregory portrayed Sigibert as sending bishops to reason with Brunhild, and as then taking it on himself to beg her to convert. As Gregory portrays it, there would seem to be a difference between Visigothic Arianism and Frankish Catholicism: Frankish princesses made much more fuss about converting to Arianism, and proved that religious difference could be a real obstacle to successful alliances-by-marriage.

It is difficult to know the effect of Galswinth's murder on subsequent events, both in Francia, and on Franco-Visigothic relations in particular. It did not put an end to the attempts at marriage alliances between the ruling houses, though it may have contributed to the climate of suspicion and hostility which Gregory records. It may, in addition, have been responsible for civil conflicts and the climate of suspicion and violence that we find within Frankish politics in the twenty years or so between the death of Galswinth and the death of her supposed murderer Chilperic in 584, and indeed beyond that. A number of historians have portrayed the hostility between Sigibert and his half-brother Chilperic as the by-product of a feud between Sigibert's wife Brunhild and the woman who supplanted Galswinth as Chilperic's queen, Fredegund. Gregory of Tours can certainly be recruited to support that theory: he claims that it was assassins sent by Fredegund who claimed Sigibert's life in 575; he reports the rumour that it was Fredegund who had Brunhild's second husband Merovech killed (although he favours the idea that Merovech committed suicide before his father Chilperic could get to him); and he reports several failed attempts by Fredegund to assassinate Brunhild herself. Once she sends a cleric, whose hands and feet she cuts off when he fails (7.20); once she sends two clerics with poisoned daggers, who end up being mutilated and put to death (8.29); and finally she sends twelve assassins, whose main target was to be Brunhild's son, King Childebert II, and they fail too, and either commit suicide or die under torture (10.18). Brunhild herself seldom seems to take the initiative in any counter-measures, and is not, for instance, suspected when Chilperic is killed in 584 (indeed, Chilperic's widow Fredegund is listed by Gregory among the suspects, not Brunhild). The only hint that she might not simply be a passive victim was an off-hand comment from her brother-in-law Guntram, reported by Gregory, in

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<sup>26</sup> See Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 275–76.

which the king said “it is true enough that [Childebert’s] mother Brunhild threatened to murder me, but as far as I am concerned that is a matter of small moment.”<sup>27</sup>

It is clear that a major problem here is the reliability of Gregory’s rumour-mongering. In the many accusations he flings at Queen Fredegund, he is usually either simply peddling rumour, or else reporting evidence which he reports as having been acquired through torture. He himself seems to have a vendetta against Fredegund, and that in part out of loyalty to Sigibert, and ultimately to Sigibert’s son Childebert II and her mother, Brunhild. That loyalty may go back a long way. Gregory was brought up in the Auvergne, which was part of Sigibert’s kingdom, and he may well have travelled to that king’s court in the 560s or early 570s. The poet Venantius Fortunatus gives the impression of knowing him when he wrote the poem about Gregory’s consecration as bishop,<sup>28</sup> and Venantius seems to have been at Sigibert’s court between 565 and 567.<sup>29</sup> Gregory himself says nothing about his consecration as bishop, but this poem names three people who were decisive in securing Gregory for the see of Tours: King Sigibert and Queen Brunhild, and Radegund of Poitiers (the monastic founder and future saint who was a widow of Sigibert’s father Chlothar I). It does not necessarily follow, however, that Gregory had ever met the royal couple at this stage; after all, his predecessor (and cousin) Eufronius owed the bishopric of Tours to Sigibert’s father Chlothar I, and Eufronius had apparently never met that king. Chlothar simply made enquiries, Gregory reports, and discovered that Eufronius was a nephew of Gregory of Langres. That was enough for him: “That is one of the noblest and most distinguished families in the land... I order him to be elected.”<sup>30</sup> However, it is no doubt significant that Gregory was consecrated bishop in Reims, the main episcopal see of Sigibert’s kingdom, and not in his own province, as canon law clearly demanded.<sup>31</sup> This suggests that he was at the court when the news of

<sup>27</sup> Gregory, *History* 8.4; *MGH, SSRM*, I.1, pp. 373–74; Thorpe, p. 437.

<sup>28</sup> Poem 5.3, translated (with Latin text) in Judith W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 192–95.

<sup>29</sup> Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 243) (Rome 1981), pp. 299ff.

<sup>30</sup> Gregory, *History* 4.15; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, p. 147; Thorpe, p. 210.

<sup>31</sup> See canon 2 of the Council of Clermont (535), canon 3 of Orleans III (538), and canon 5 of Orleans IV (541): Jean Gaudemet and Brigitte Basdevant, eds., *Les Canons des Conciles Mérovingiens (VIe-VIIe siècles)* (Sources Chrétiennes 353) (Paris, 1989), pp. 212–13, 222–232 and 268–69.

Eufronius' death reached Sigibert; and if he had been visiting the court once, he may well have been before.

Gregory is remarkably sympathetic to Brunhild, the Spanish princess, in his account. It is possible that he knew her well; indeed, it may be that she was Gregory's main source of information on Spanish matters. It is not impossible that she was in part responsible for Gregory's hostility to the Visigothic kings of his own day: her own father Athanagild had died in 568, not long after the marriage of his daughters to Frankish kings, and Athanagild's eventual successors (after an apparently chaotic interregnum) were probably hostile to him and his family. Nor is there any reason to believe that Brunhild was necessarily sympathetic to her mother, who eventually remarried her husband's successor Leuvigild, particularly if her mother was as anti-Catholic as Gregory portrays her. Indeed, the Spanish themselves were not necessarily inclined to remember their own Brunhild kindly: indeed, it was a Visigothic king, Sisebut, who in his *Life of St Desiderius of Vienne* made a major contribution towards blackening her character as an "enemy of Christianity".<sup>32</sup>

The Visigothic king Leuvigild is the contemporary Spanish king who received the most coverage from Gregory. This coverage is uniformly hostile. When he is first mentioned, at 4.38, Gregory wrote that he inherited the kingdom jointly with his brother Leuva, and that when Leuva died he took over the whole kingdom. Leuvigild divided his kingdom up between his two sons (one of them, Gregory says at this stage, "had married the daughter of Sigibert and the other the daughter of Chilperic"), and then killed off all potential assassins, in Biblical style (that is, leaving not one to piss against a wall). It is a strange passage,<sup>33</sup> which starts with the apparently meaningless phrase "Now I must return to my story" (*ut ad historiam redeamus*). Adriaan Breukelaar on the whole successfully counters the old idea (put forward by Emil Walter) that phrases like this at the beginning of chapters signal the end of a "digression" into hagiography and a return to secular history.<sup>34</sup> Breukelaar sees this particular passage as returning us to the chronol-

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<sup>32</sup> On which see above all Jacques Fontaine, "King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography", in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford, 1980), pp. 93–129.

<sup>33</sup> And mistranslated in confusing fashion by Thorpe, p. 233.

<sup>34</sup> Emil H. Walter, "Hagiographisches in Gregors Frankengeschichte", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 48 (1966), 291–310; Adriaan H. B. Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul. The Histories of Gregory of Tours Interpreted in their Historical Context* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 108–116.

ogy which had been interrupted by the preceding chapters, which had dealt with the death of Nicetius of Lyons (573) and, at about the same time, of the recluse Friardus. But in fact this short chapter hardly re-establishes a narrative chronology. It begins with Athanagild's death in 568, and Leuva's death in late 571 or early 572,<sup>35</sup> but also mentions the two marriages, which do not occur until 579 and 584. Gregory rarely deviates so far from the simple chronological narrative, and one plausible explanation is that he added this chapter at a relatively late stage in the editorial process: although it may indeed have contained elements that were written much earlier, since the marriage anticipated for 584 and mentioned here had in the event never taken place.

Leuva himself is only mentioned once more, five books later, when he seems to be contrasted favourably with his brother Leuwigild. Leuva received the Gallic bishop Pronimius (a Catholic) with great honour and made him bishop of Agde in Septimania, the sole part of Gaul still in Visigothic hands (we know from Isidore of Seville that Leuva's portion of the kingdom was Septimania);<sup>36</sup> Leuwigild, on the other hand, "was steeped in the depravity of the Arian heresy."<sup>37</sup>

Leuwigild's two sons, Hermenegild and Reccared, are important figures in Spanish history, because of the role that each play in the conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism. But for Gregory what seem almost as important are the marriages that they contract with Merovingian princesses.<sup>38</sup> In the story of Hermenegild, the villain was Goiswinth. She had been married to Athanagild, and, as we have seen, her daughters Brunhild and Galswinth had gone to Francia, to their marriages and, ultimately, violent deaths (Galswinth strangled, and Brunhild torn apart by horses over forty years later). Some time after Athanagild died, Leuwigild married his predecessor's widow, Goiswinth. It was she, according to Gregory of Tours (and no other source), who incited Leuwigild to the persecution of Catholics: "many of them were driven into exile, deprived of their possessions, weakened by hunger,

<sup>35</sup> Thus J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Volume III. A.D. 527-641* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 782.

<sup>36</sup> See *MGH, AA* 11, p. 286; Isidore of Seville, *History of the Kings of the Goths*, 48 (Wolf's numbering); transl. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (2nd edition, Liverpool, 1999), p. 100.

<sup>37</sup> Gregory, *History* 9.24; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, p. 444; Thorpe, p. 512.

<sup>38</sup> Gregory uses the language of marriage, although in fact the marriage between Reccared and Riginth was never carried out.

thrown into prison, beaten with sticks and tortured to death.”<sup>39</sup> She was punished by God, says Gregory, by a cataract (which blinded her eye as her heresy had blinded her soul). Leuwigild’s two sons were by a former wife, and when Hermenegild’s wife Ingund arrived from Francia in 579, Goiswinth took up the familiar role of wicked stepmother, or stepmother-in-law (although Ingund, as the daughter of King Sigibert and Brunhild, was not only Goiswinth’s stepdaughter-in-law, but Goiswinth’s granddaughter as well). Goiswinth tried by all means she could find to convert Ingund to Arianism. Ingund stood her ground, even after she had been kicked until covered with blood, stripped, and thrown into the baptismal pool.<sup>40</sup>

The result was, indeed, not Ingund’s conversion by force to Arianism, but Hermenegild’s conversion by persuasion to Catholicism. As soon as Leuwigild had established the pair in one of his cities, theirs to rule, Ingund began her campaign of conversion, and in the end Hermenegild was converted, anointed with the chrism, and given the new name of John. Gregory presents what happens next in ways that bring credit to the new convert. Leuwigild heard what had occurred, and sought to destroy his son; Hermenegild, in desperation, allied himself to the Byzantine forces who held part of south-east Spain; Leuwigild bribed the Byzantine general to desert Hermenegild; and Hermenegild took refuge in a church, only to be brought out by his brother Reccared, with promises of reconciliation with his father. Leuwigild received him kindly, but had him seized, stripped, and exiled with just one slave to accompany him.<sup>41</sup> The sequel is told by Gregory three books later. Ingund took refuge with the Byzantine troops, and was sent off to the Emperor in Constantinople; she died on the way, in Africa. Her husband Hermenegild was killed by his father (8.28).<sup>42</sup>

What Gregory may have left out, because it conflicts with the story he wants to tell, is that (according to the Spanish chronicler John of

<sup>39</sup> Gregory, *History* 5.38; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, 243; Thorpe, p. 301.

<sup>40</sup> Thorpe says “baptismal pool” (p. 302); the latest translation of Gregory (Alexander Callender Murray, *Gregory of Tours: The Merovingians* (Peterborough, Ontario, 2006), p. 108) prefers to render *piscina* as simply “a pool”.

<sup>41</sup> This story is all told in Gregory, *History* 5.38 (*MGH, SSRM* I.1., pp. 243–45).

<sup>42</sup> There have been many attempts to reconstruct these events: see, e.g. the classic articles by Walter A. Goffart, “Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald”, *Traditio* 13 (1957), 287–337 and J. N. Hillgarth, “Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain and the Byzantine Background”, *Historia* 15 (1966), 483–508.

Biclar),<sup>43</sup> Hermenegild's revolt against his father was inspired by a faction who supported the "wicked" Goiswinth, his step-mother. In fact, neither of the two main Spanish sources, John of Biclar's *Chronicle* and Isidore of Seville's *History of the Kings of the Goths*, mentions Hermenegild's Catholicism at all. It is also very strange that John of Biclar should have linked Goiswinth with Hermenegild, because in both Gregory and the other Spanish sources, Goiswinth seems to have been a faithful Arian. According to John of Biclar, she plotted with an Arian bishop against her other son Reccared, trying to reverse his decision to attack Arianism. She failed, and this was the end of her career: Goiswinth, "who had always been hostile to Catholics, came to the end of her life at that time."<sup>44</sup>

While these events were unfolding in Spain, negotiations continued, astonishingly, for a second marriage alliance between Leuvigild's family and the Merovingians. The princess in question was Rigunth, the daughter of Chilperic and Fredegund: the pair implicated in the murder of Goiswinth's daughter Galswinth. Rigunth first appears in Gregory of Tours's *History* in the context of Gregory's own trial for slandering her mother Fredegund (5.49): she supported Gregory, and, together with her household, fasted until Gregory had proved his innocence to the satisfaction of the bishops and the king. It is unclear when negotiations for this marriage alliance began: possibly as early as 580, in the immediate aftermath of the marriage of Hermenegild and Ingund. In 582, ambassadors were sent by King Chilperic to Spain to negotiate the dowry: their return was delayed by the war between Leovigild and his son Hermenegild (6.18). Negotiations were concluded in 584, although the marriage itself was delayed because of the death of Chilperic's young son Theuderic. At this time Chilperic was apparently thinking of sending another daughter to Spain: not Rigunth, but Basina, who had been placed in the famous nunnery of the Holy Cross in Poitiers. He had to give up his ideas in face of opposition not only from Basina, but from St Radegund (Chilperic's own step-mother), the founder of the nunnery. Another envoy from Spain came to Chilperic that year: a man called Oppila, who argued with Gregory about Arianism (6.40). But a much larger contingent of envoys arrived in September 584, presumably

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<sup>43</sup> See *MGH*, AA 11, p. 215; John of Biclar, *Chronicle* 55 (Wolf's numbering); Wolf, *Conquerors*, p. 68.

<sup>44</sup> See *MGH*, AA 11, p. 218; John of Biclar, *Chronicle* 90 (Wolf's numbering); Wolf, *Conquerors*, p. 74.



to accompany Rigunth on her journey down to Spain (6.45). Gregory gives a detailed account of how Chilperic and Fredegund assembled Rigunth's often very reluctant companions, and the great treasure that was to form her dowry. It never reached Spain: robbery reduced it even before it got to southern Francia, and what remained of it was taken by the usurper Gundovald. When Rigunth had reached Toulouse she and her companions heard the news of her father's assassination in October 584, which removed any protection she might have had in the south; and it was only after the collapse of Gundovald's rebellion in 585 that she was able to return home. She is last heard of arguing violently with Fredegund, who was berating her about her various adulteries: as Thorpe quaintly put it, "she seems to have degenerated somewhat after her disappointment."<sup>45</sup>

Leuwigild's main concern, presumably, was to preserve his own position, and his Arianism; he must have thought that the obvious foreign policy repercussions could be overcome. But, outraged by the deaths of his kinsfolk, King Guntram planned to invade Spain. A letter was found which purported to be from Leuwigild to Fredegund, urging her to assassinate Childebert and his mother Brunhild—which, disregarding the uncovering of the plot, she proceeded to attempt to carry out. One wonders how she knew about Leuwigild's plot, if the letter had been intercepted on its way to her; one has to suspect the plot was that of someone who wanted to blacken Fredegund's character and further to justify Guntram's expedition.

The invasion of the Visigothic kingdom that Guntram did send off proved to be a shambles (8.30). It was launched not against Spain, but against Septimania, the rump of Visigothic Gaul. "It is a shameful thing that the territory of these horrible Goths should extend into Gaul," Guntram said to his men, echoing what Clovis had said to his eighty years earlier (2.37). But Guntram's troops spent a lot of time ravaging and killing in parts of southern Gaul, long before they got to Septimania. They attacked two of the main fortified towns of Septimania, Carcassonne and Nîmes, but the army fled from Carcassonne (and were attacked by the men of Toulouse, in Francia, which they had attacked on the way south), and the army attacking Nîmes ravaged the countryside but could not break into that town, or others in the region. They returned northwards, some of them dying of hunger because they had burned the

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<sup>45</sup> Footnote, Thorpe, p. 320n.

crops on their way south, and “on the way committing so many crimes, murders, robberies and seizure of property, even in their own region, that it would take too long for me to tell you all the details.”<sup>46</sup>

Even as Guntram was berating his commanders for this fiasco, messengers came announcing that Leuvigild’s younger son Reccared had captured Frankish fortified places, and brought captives back into Visigothic territory. As Gregory recorded later (8.35), Leuvigild had also taken action against Frankish shipping: he attacked a number of ships sailing from Gaul to Galicia, and wounded, killed or enslaved many of their crew. Attempts to settle the differences between them came to nothing: if Gregory is to be believed, the initiative had come from Spain, on two occasions in 586, it seems, and once in 587.<sup>47</sup> No peace resulted; “on the contrary, the rift had become deeper.”<sup>48</sup> Nor did things get any better once Leuvigild died and was succeeded by Reccared. Gregory seems to have thought of this as an important event, since he usually took care to choose the event that ended one of the books of the *Ten Books of History*, and Leuvigild died at the end of Book 8, with Reccared succeeding him in the opening chapter of Book 9. But there was no immediate change, and the rumour reported by Gregory (but no Spanish source) that Leuvigild had converted to Catholicism on his deathbed had no impact on Franco-Visigothic relations at all.

However, we can see a change in the direction of Visigothic diplomacy (or in the way Gregory relates it). Instead of the generalised peace missions sent in 586/7, Reccared sent separate missions to Childebert II and to Guntram. Childebert received the envoys kindly, made peace with them and sent them back with presents; Guntram refused to see the envoys at all, causing the Visigoths to say that no one from Guntram’s kingdom could enter Septimania. Reccared raided Frankish territory again, returning home with booty and many slaves.<sup>49</sup> The difference can be explained by what else Gregory tells us in Book 9.1: that Reccared had made peace with his father’s widow, his step-mother Goiswinth, and was taking advice from her. Goiswinth was Childebert II’s grandmother. The envoys were treated very differently again the following year, when circumstances in Spain had changed dramatically. Reccared’s envoys announced to the two kings that the king had decided to convert to

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<sup>46</sup> Gregory, *History* 8.30; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, p. 394; Thorpe, p. 460.

<sup>47</sup> Gregory, *History* 8.35; 8.38 and 8.45; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, pp. 404, 405 and 411.

<sup>48</sup> Gregory, *History* 8.45; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, p. 411; Thorpe, p. 476.

<sup>49</sup> Gregory, *History* 8.38 and 9.7; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, pp. 405 and 420.

Catholicism. "He was one with them in faith, or so he asserted, and he would like to be united with them in friendship."<sup>50</sup> Guntram rejected this overture out of hand, declaring that he could not trust a people who had delivered his niece Ingund into captivity, had killed his son-in-law, and had let Ingund die on her long journey. Childebert and Brunhild however (depicted by Gregory as speaking with one voice) accepted the offer of peace, and exchanged gifts. The envoys suggested to them that they should consider a possible marriage between Reccared and Chlodosind (Brunhild's daughter, Childebert's sister). They claimed that they could do nothing without Guntram's approval.

Gregory of Tours was himself present when this matter was broached with Guntram. In 588 he was sent, together with Felix, as ambassador from his own king, Childebert II, to Guntram (9.20). Guntram accused Childebert of ignoring the promises that had been made in a treaty signed earlier at Andelot; Gregory defended his king. They argued briefly about their treatment of Fredegund; and then Felix opened the matter of this new marriage proposal. He assumed that Guntram had heard it (though it is not clear how, as in the earlier chapter Gregory had presented the offer from the envoys as being a private and confidential one), and asked the king's opinion. Guntram represented himself as being unhappy to send a niece into a country in which her sister had been so mistreated, and claimed that Ingund's death had to be avenged. Felix countered by saying that the envoys were keen to show their innocence of this by oaths or other means; and Guntram apparently relented, offering to agree to the match if Childebert fulfilled his side of the Treaty of Andelot.

This was not presented as the major issue at stake between the two kings, and indeed immediately afterwards Guntram gave a firm negative to the idea that the two kings combine in an expedition to drive the Lombards out of Italy and help restore Imperial control. He said that there was plague in Italy, and he would not send his soldiers to their deaths. (In fact it was not the plague which killed off the army in Italy, when Childebert decided to take this on alone; the Franks were massacred by the Lombard army.)<sup>51</sup> The plans for the marriage went

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<sup>50</sup> Gregory, *History* 9.16; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, pp. 430; Thorpe, p. 499.

<sup>51</sup> Gregory, *History* 9.25; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, 444–45.

ahead, with Childebert declining to give his sister to the Lombards, as previously promised, but offering her to the Visigoths instead.

Brunhild had a huge bejewelled gold salver and two dishes made to send to Reccared (9.28). But Guntram seized the envoy, claiming that they were being sent not to Reccared, but to the sons of Gundovald, who four years previously had tried to win a part of Francia for himself, claiming to be half-brother to Guntram and Chilperic. Guntram, as Gregory portrays him, may have promised compliance with Childebert's wishes, but in fact had still not given up his paranoid suspicions, and his hatred of the Visigoths. He raised another army to attack Septimania, which was attacked and slaughtered by the Visigoths at Carcassonne. He blamed his nephew, and his nephew's alliance with Spain: "it is because of his wickedness in making an alliance with the King of Spain that my army has been wiped out."<sup>52</sup> Queen Brunhild had to clear herself of complicity in this imagined plot by oath.

That is almost, but not quite, the last time that Gregory mentions Spain. He does so again at 10.23, in relation to a dispute in 590 in Gaul as to the correct date of Easter. Gregory notes that Victorius, whose writings on the calculation of Easter earlier in the sixth century were very influential, had said that Easter should be celebrated on the twenty-second day after the full moon, although in Gaul many celebrated it a week earlier. Gregory discovered that he was right, not by theological or astronomical investigation, but by making enquiries about what had happened at Osset, near Seville. There is a pool there, Gregory explains elsewhere,<sup>53</sup> skilfully constructed of different types of marble in the shape of a cross. A church had been built over it. Every Easter—and thus clearly on the day sanctioned by God—the pool filled with water. Gregory had mentioned this before, in relation to a dispute about the correct date of Easter in 577, and in the context of Hermenegild's war against his father Leuvigild.<sup>54</sup> But in this last mention, the most significant thing is that Gregory was able to make "careful enquiries" as to what had happened near Seville in April 590. Of course, we have no idea what means Gregory used, or whether these were indeed enquiries

<sup>52</sup> Gregory, *History* 9.32; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, p. 451; Thorpe, p. 518.

<sup>53</sup> Gregory, *De Gloria Martyrum*, 23 (*MGH, SSRM* I.2 (Hanover, revised edition, 1969), pp. 51–52); transl. Raymond Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool, 1988), pp. 42–43.

<sup>54</sup> Gregory, *History* 5.17 and 6.43; *MGH, SSRM* I.1, pp. 215 and 315.

that he carried out, or simply information that came to him. But it does lead us to speculate about the means by which he derived information about Spain.

We have already noted that there was at times an apparently continual flow of envoys, which presumably went in both directions: in other words, Franks travelling south and Visigoths travelling north. Two other categories, conceivably, could be merchants or pilgrims: Gregory gives us oblique evidence of both. In 585, Gregory tells us (8.35), King Leuvigild had pillaged ships travelling from Gaul to Galicia, in retaliation for Guntram's attack on Septimania. The ships' crews had been attacked, with some killed and some taken captive. (Yet others had escaped in boats, and come back to Gaul to report on what had happened.) Although Gregory does not make this clear, this is all in the context of Leuvigild's continuing conquest of Galicia from the Sueves: perhaps Leuvigild's action was less to do with retaliation and more out of fear that the embattled Sueves would seek help across the sea from the Franks.<sup>55</sup> The assumption that these ships were merchant-ships, therefore, stems from the interpretation of *vastatae sunt* as the "pillaging" of the ships' cargoes:<sup>56</sup> but it does not have that necessary implication. Perhaps these were Frankish warships (about which we know almost nothing).<sup>57</sup>

The evidence of religious connections between Gaul and Spain comes from Gregory's *Miracles of St Martin*. Some of it also relates to Galicia, from a generation earlier (probably in the 550s). The Arian king of the Sueves, Chararic, had heard that St Martin in Tours was renowned for his miracles, and asked his men to go to Martin's tomb and to pray for the health of Chararic's sickly son. It did not work, since Chararic had remained an Arian. He built a church in honour of St Martin, and sent his messengers to obtain a relic, and they sailed back home to a port in Galicia. By God's providence they arrived at the same time as another Martin, who later became St Martin of Braga.<sup>58</sup> The king converted, his

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<sup>55</sup> On these events, see E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 87–88.

<sup>56</sup> As Thorpe assumed, p. 469.

<sup>57</sup> But see chapter 4 of John Haywood, *Dark Age Naval Power: A Reassessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity* (London, 1991).

<sup>58</sup> This Martin was a figure who fascinated Richard Fletcher, as I remember from the time we taught together on a third-year Comparative Special on Varieties of Christianity

son was cured, and the leprosy which had affected that region while it was under the yoke of Arianism totally vanished: “to the present day the disease of leprosy has never again appeared on anyone there.”<sup>59</sup> This was only the most prominent of the spiritual links between Tours and Spain. Gregory himself had been assured by two envoys from Spain, possibly those who had come to Chilperic in 582, that Martin’s “name was honoured with splendor in those regions”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, others had come from Spain to be cured by St Martin: Julianus came to have his crippled hands and feet cured; and Mauranus came from northern Spain, having paid sailors (merchants, perhaps?) to take him to Bordeaux for a cure in St Martin’s church.<sup>61</sup>

Spain was redeemable, for Gregory. There were devotees of Martin there, and its very soil—at Osset, at least—demonstrated its inherent orthodoxy. But Gregory did not want to emphasise this. He seems to have written himself into a position in his *History* whereby he could not offer a picture of Spain which was not dominated by its position as an enemy of Francia and, because of its Arianism, as an enemy of the Church. Perhaps he was writing with an apprehension that his words might be read by King Guntram,<sup>62</sup> or even Queen Brunhild, and offering them something which would be familiar and acceptable. But it is more reasonable to assume that Spain offered Gregory what he needed for his narrative, which, as he had stated at the very beginning (Preface to Book 1), was about the wars waged by kings against hostile peoples and by the churches against the heretics. In the *History* Gregory portrayed himself as a warrior, engaged in theological sparring with two visiting Visigothic heretics, Agila and Oppila;<sup>63</sup> and against this, in his *History* but above all in his various books of miracle-stories, he set his image

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at the University of York; some of his thoughts on Martin emerged in various places in his *The Conversion of Europe* (London, 1997), most notably pp. 52–55.

<sup>59</sup> *Miracles of St Martin* 1.12 (MGH, SSRM I.2 (Hanover, revised edition 1969), p. 146); transl. Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton NJ, 1993), p. 213.

<sup>60</sup> *Miracles of St Martin* 3.8 (MGH, SSRM I.2, p. 184); Van Dam, *Saints*, p. 262.

<sup>61</sup> *Miracles of St Martin* 3.21 and 4.40 (MGH, SSRM I.2, pp. 187–88 and 209–210); Van Dam, *Saints*, pp. 268 and 301.

<sup>62</sup> As suggested, e.g. by Guy Halsall, “Nero and Herod? The Death of King Chilperic and Gregory’s Writing of History”, in Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, eds., *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 337–350.

<sup>63</sup> Both of them envoys from Leuvigild to Chilperic, Agila in 580 (5.43) and Oppila in 584 (6.40). An article in which I discuss these two debates is forthcoming.

of the saints of the Frankish church, witnessing to religious orthodoxy, piety and holiness in a world of error and sin. There were no Catholic heroes in his story of Spain, and no brave episcopal resistance like that led by Eugenius in the struggle against the Arian Vandals of Africa. Spain, in many ways, was an awful warning.

PLACENAMES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL DOCUMENTS:  
THE CASE OF CABRA

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Cabra is a town in the south of the province of Córdoba. It has a long history, playing an important role in prehistoric times, through the Roman Empire, as a bishopric in the Visigothic church, as an administrative centre in al-Andalus, and to the present.

The town seems to be thought to have had several names, or the same name in several forms. It is not a straightforward matter to recount what those names have been. From the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to local websites, we are offered a variety of possibilities. The former tells us that it was “*Baebro* or *Aegabro* in ancient times”. The *Diccionario enciclopédico Salvat*, on the other hand, informs us that the town’s name in Roman times was *Licabrum* or *Igabrum*. The town existed before the Romans; the suggestion that the name has a pre-Roman origin, either Iberian or *turdetano*, is plausible. The local Archaeological Museum attests to the existence of such an inhabited space, which it identifies as Iberian. It might also be more accurate to say that the Roman town was built on top of the site of the older settlement. The idea that the town and its name were Greek in origin cannot be right, but this suggestion still persists; it was the view expressed by the first local historian, Juan de Vega Murillo y Aguilar, in 1668, who derived the name from a Greek word for “mountain goat” and claimed in the title of his work that it had once been *Aegabra*, a form for which there is no documentary evidence. Enrique Flórez also believed in an origin in the Greek word he transcribed as *aigagros*, without giving any reason.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (London, 1973), art. *Cabra*; *Diccionario enciclopédico Salvat* (Barcelona, 1970), art. *Cabra*. For what is known about the Roman town, see María Lucía Segura Arista, *La ciudad ibero-romana de Igabrum* (Córdoba, 1988); she summarizes (pp. 9–10) the views of Juan de Vega Murillo y Aguilar, *Historia y antigüedades de la nobilísima ciudad de Aegabra oy villa de Cabra e la Diocesi de Cordova e el Andalucía* (Lorca, 1668), available as a manuscript in the *Biblioteca Nacional* (MS. 1692), with a copy in Cabra’s *Biblioteca Municipal*. Enrique Flórez, *ES 12* (Madrid, 1754; reprinted 1904), chapter 1, “Del obispado de Egabro (hoy Cabra)”, pp. 1–42, accepts both the Greek origin for the toponym and the localization there of *Baebro*.



The form *Licabrum* is taken from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* 35.22, with reference to the events of 192 B.C.: "et in utraque Hispania eo anno res prosperae gestae; nam et C. Flaminius oppidum Licabrum munitum opulentumque uineis expugnauit et nobilem regulum Corribilonem uiuum cepit". That is all. There is no way of identifying from this context which town *Licabrum* is. It could be anywhere in either Hispania, and modern translators of Livy sensibly just leave it at *Licabrum*. Its identification as Cabra has only ever been a guess based on the unremarkable similarity of the *cabr* sequence of letters. Schulten's comment that "*Licabrum = Igabrum* es la actual Cabra, al Sudeste de Córdoba, en la sierra de Cabra", for which no evidence or reason was there given, seems to have convinced both Briscoe and Richardson: even though Richardson adduces an excellent reason for not identifying *Licabrum* with Cabra, in that Flaminius was the governor of Hispania Citerior and Cabra was in Hispania Ulterior, he is sufficiently in agreement with Schulten's conjecture to argue unconvincingly that this shows that the governors at times operated outside their supposed borders rather than that *Licabrum* is unlikely to be Cabra. The name of the king of Licabrum, Corribilo, is no help in this respect, for he is not otherwise known.<sup>2</sup>

The appropriation of *Licabrum* for Cabra has been contested; the inhabitants of the town of Buitrago del Lozoya, north of Madrid, also claim it as theirs. According to their town website, "hay referencias escritas de la conquista de la plaza por el pretor romano Cayo Flaminio en el año 190 a. de J.C. y denomina a la población como *Licabrum* o *Litabrum*". This supposed alternative *Litabrum* is mentioned by historians of Buitrago but not by those of Cabra, presumably because there is a [t] in *Buitrago*. In fact the toponym *Buitrago* descends uncontroversially from *Uulturiacum*. We would do best to leave the town referred to with Livy's toponym as *Licabrum*, unidentified, accepting that it almost certainly is not Cabra.<sup>3</sup>

The form *Baebro* is no less of a ghost etymon. *Baebro*, like *Licabrum*, is found in one Latin source, with manuscript variants, of unclear reference. In this case it is Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* 3.10, where

<sup>2</sup> A. Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae*, 3 (Barcelona, 1935), p. 197; John Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy, Books XXXIV–XXXVII* (Oxford, 1981), p. 178; J. S. Richardson, "The Spanish mines and the development of provincial taxation", *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976), 139–52 (at p. 151).

<sup>3</sup> For Buitrago, I consulted the *Enciclopedia libre universal en español*, [http://enciclopedia.us.es/index.php/Buitrago del Lozoya](http://enciclopedia.us.es/index.php/Buitrago%20del%20Lozoya); also [www.liceus.com/cgi-bib/gui/04/44183.asp](http://www.liceus.com/cgi-bib/gui/04/44183.asp).

it appears in a list of toponyms of the southern Iberian Peninsula; "...Singili, Ategua, Arialdunum, Agla Minor, Baebro, Castra Uinaria, Cisimbrium, Hippo Noua, Ilurco...". The Loeb edition prints *Baebro* and leaves it as *Baebro* in the translation. *Baebro* is in fact likely not to have been the original form; the recent editions by Mayhoff and Zehnacker tell us that this toponym has manuscript variants in *baedro*, *bedro*, *beclo*, *baebro* and *bebro*. Mayhoff chooses to follow most previous editors in printing *Baebro* in his text, but Zehnacker chooses *Baedro*. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s identification with Cabra is probably based on the belief that manuscript variants include *Aegabro*, which is indeed Cabra. Ambrosio de Morales, in the sixteenth century, also thought so; but the two recent editors (Mayhoff and Zehnacker) do not mention that variant. So the form *Baebro* is probably a copying mistake for something else, rather than a name for Cabra, and there is a reasonable explanation for its existence if Zehnacker was right to prefer the variant *Baedro* as the one originally intended. For there is indeed a toponym *Baedro* found in inscriptions, the name of a settlement in the northern area of the province of Córdoba known now as *Los Pedroches*, and this could well have been the original form. Beltrán Lloris, in his authoritative study of Pliny's account of Baetica, comments that the postulated confusion between *Baebro* and *Baedro* remains just a conjecture, which is true, but it could well be the right explanation even so. So we do not know for sure which town Pliny thought he was referring to, but since *Baedro* exists, that seems the right name to print in an edition, and any connection with Cabra is at best tenuous. The idea that this town is likely to be Cabra is deep-rooted, however, for not only did Vega Murillo think so in 1668, the 1855 English edition of Livy by Bostock and Riley said simply that *Baebro* is "probably the present Cabra".<sup>4</sup>

In fact, the name of the town of Cabra in Roman times was undoubtedly *Igabrum*. Subsequently, the form *Egabrum* came to be preferred by the Visigoths. The name is generally agreed to be pre-Roman in origin, and Fidel Fita tried to support the Livy connection by suggesting that the Romans' *Igabrum* was derived from an earlier *Licabrum*: "la antigüedad

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<sup>4</sup> For Pliny, see Karl Mayhoff (ed.), *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae* (Stuttgart, 1996); Hubert Zehnacker (ed.), *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle* (Paris, 1998); the Loeb edition is H. Rackham, *Plinius Secundus, Caius: Natural History* (London, 1961); Francisco Beltrán Lloris, "Plin. NH III 13–14: Beturia Celtica o Convento Hispalense? A propósito de la estructura de la descripción pliniana de la Bética", in *Actas del III Congreso Peninsular de Historia Antigua* (Vitoria, 1994), pp. 413–426 (at p. 425); John Bostock and H. T. Riley, *The Natural History of Pliny* (London, 1855).

de la población y su nombre primitivo *Licabrum*, tal vez derivado de *Ilicabrum*, se infiere de un texto de Tito Livio”. Where the idea of (an unattested) *Ilicabrum* comes from was not explained there by Fita, but he is likely to have been referring to the possibility that there was an Iberian toponymic prefix *il-*, which indeed recurs in several placenames (*Iliberris*, *Ilerda*, etc.). Schuchardt picked this idea up, ignoring Fita’s “tal vez”: “El *Licabrum* de Liv. representa, según Fita, un \**Ilicabrum* (que en ese caso debería separar en *Il-icabrum*, puesto que el nombre ordinario de la ciudad era *Igabrum*)”. Schuchardt was a great historical linguist, but Fita’s idea was always just a guess.<sup>5</sup>

It is time to turn to the data.

Hübner’s *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. 2.2/1) includes nineteen inscriptions from Roman Cabra. Four of them include the toponym in its derived adjectival form with the suffix *-ensis*; as IGABRENSES (no. 1610, p. 216), both IGABRENS and IGABRENSIUM (no. 1611, p. 216), IGABR (no. 1615, p. 217, whose final letters may have broken off), and EGABRENSIS (no. 1616, p. 217), although since other scholars had previously read this last one as LAB- or CAB- the initial letters cannot have been clear; there is a fifth, as IGABRENSIS, in *CIL* 2.2/5 no. 308. Fita published a further case which included IGABR, interpreted by him as an abbreviation for IGABRENSIS rather than IGABRO (applied to the subject of an epitaph); Stylow more recently printed another, now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, with IGABREN (for IGABRENSIS). The Emperor Vespasian nominated this town and eighteen others in the area to be *municipia* in 73/74 A.D.; hence the complete phrase *Igabrum municipium Flauium*, which Fita says that Hübner’s inscriptions attest, although in fact these only include the *-ensis* form of the toponym.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Fidel Fita, “Nueva inscripción romana de Cabra, en la provincia de Córdoba”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 44 (1904), 551–553; Hugo Schuchardt, “La declinación ibérica”, *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* 1 (1907), 553–564 (at p. 556).

<sup>6</sup> Emil Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* (Berlin, 1871: reprint, 1969–); A. V. Stylow, “Inscripciones latinas del sur de la provincia de Córdoba”, *Gerión* 1 (1983), 267–303. The only use of the word *igabrense* that I know of in Spanish (rather than in Latin) is in the title of Manuel de la Corte y Ruano, *Memorias del municipio igabrense (hoy Cabra): bosquejo de sus antigüedades históricas*, 1836, manuscript E/88 of the *Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia* (fols. 48–96), admirably summarized by Segura Arista, *La ciudad*, pp. 10–11. There are, of course, several further inscriptions from Cabra that do not include the toponym; perhaps the most impressive is the six-line poem found in 1975 and analysed by Juan Gil and Julián González, “Inscripción

There are also Visigothic attestations; in the law code, in subscriptions by bishops, in inscriptions and on coins. There is one mention of the town in the *fuero juzgo*: Law 12. 2. 13, datable to 612, refers to the town, spelt in various manuscripts (which are all of a later date) as *Egabro*, *Agabro* and even the *Gabri* which is the variant preferred by the Academia's editors of the *fuero juzgo* in 1815; it seems that these editors knew about Cabra but not about Igabrum. (Conversely, the thirteenth-century Leonese Romance translation's manuscripts present the toponym in Romance as *Egabro*, *Agabro* or *Agabaro*; it seems that these translators did not know about Cabra and simply followed the original.) The earliest use of the form with a written *e*- may be that found in the Acts of the Council of Granada (*Elvira*) of 300–02, for the priest Victorinus from Cabra; but that may well not have been the original form (according to Flórez, the manuscripts offer all of *Agabro*, *a Gabro*, *Egabro* and *Hegabro*). Several bishops of Cabra attest themselves as *egabrensis* when signing Councils of Toledo, including the third Council (589 A.D.), as “Johannes egabrensis ecclesiae episcopus”; the fourth (633), as “Deodatus ecclesiae egabrensis”, who also attended the sixth (638) and seventh (646); the eighth (653), as “Bacauda egabriensis episcopus”, who is also named in a most impressive marble altar dedication dated to 650 (“Era DCLXXXVIII”); the thirteenth (683) as “Gratinus egabrensis episcopus”; and the fifteenth (688), as “Constantinus egabrensis sedis episcopus”. The manuscripts of the fourth of these councils offer the variants *Gabriensis*, *Segabrensis* and *Agabrensis*, the first of which may be of phonetic significance (although the manuscript is, naturally, later than the seventh century). The toponyms on Visigothic coins, mostly *trientes*, have recently been studied collectively by Correa; this toponym is written as *Egabro* on coins minted in the reigns of Chintila, Egica and Witiza. As Correa says, the [i-] > [e-] change here documented is phonetically unsurprising in itself; it is possible to deduce further that the local mint operators did not know that the old written form had been *Igabrum*, so maybe it had even changed its official written form by the seventh century and the mints used that form because they had been told to do so. As Correa points out, placenames on these coins often attest apparently non-standard forms more representative of the

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sepulcral de un noble visigodo de Igabrum”, *Habis* 8 (1977), 455–461. Vespasian's *municipia* in this district are listed in Segura Arista, *La ciudad*, pp. 42–43.

contemporary phonetics than the standard written form would have done (while personal names do not).<sup>7</sup>

The Romans' name for the town, *Igabrum*, is likely to have had paroxytone stress on the penultimate syllable: that is, [i-gá-brum]. The initial [i-] must have been short rather than long, and thus it would have been changing towards the end of the Imperial period to a relatively closed [e]. By that time, words with an earlier [aj] diphthong, spelt with the letters *ae*, had already seen that sound change to a relatively short [e]; and (in the Iberian Peninsula) in unstressed syllables any perceivable pronunciation difference between what had originally been a short [i], a long [e:], a short [e] or the diphthong [aj] became lost. The consequence was that by Visigothic times the unstressed [e] sound was in some words correctly spelt with a letter *i*, in some other words with a letter *e*, and in yet other words with a digraph *ae*. Teachers were aware of the latter potential confusion, and seem to have often told their scribal pupils to spell [e] as *ae* in order to look proper. This is the best explanation for the appearance of occasional written forms with *ae-* for *e-*, as *aegabro*; it is highly unlikely that the word was ever pronounced with the diphthong [aj-] (even though Flórez declared that *Aegabro* was the correct form). The forms with a written *a-* are most likely to be miscopyings of such forms in *ae-*, since it is hard to envisage an initial [a-] at any stage; although it is just conceivable that the erroneous idea of the name's source in a Greek etymon (beginning with alpha) might already have been in the back of the mind of some of the scribes concerned.

Words of three syllables whose second vowel was short and followed by two consonants of which the second was [r], particularly if the first was [b]—that is, words such as *tenebrae*, *celebrat* and *salubris*—led to variation in speech, and consternation among the grammarians, as to whether the stress should be on the first or the second syllable. These words were among the few cases, in the Iberian Peninsula, in which the phonetic stress seems to have shifted syllables between the second and the seventh centuries; in these cases it moved from the first syl-

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<sup>7</sup> For the *fuero juzgo*, see Real Academia Española, *Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano* (Madrid, 1815); for the Visigothic bishops of Cabra, see Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de canones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia española*, 3 (Madrid, 1851); for coins, see José Antonio Correa Rodríguez, "El latín de las monedas visigodas", in *Latin vulgaire—latin tardif VII*, ed. Carmen Arias Abellán (Seville, 2006), pp. 219–241. Bishop Bacauda's inscription is reproduced three-dimensionally in Flórez, "Del obispado", p. 29.

lable, where it had been positioned in Classical times, to the second. Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologiae*, even regarded the original paroxytone usage as a *barbarismus*, probably under the influence of his own natural Ibero-Romance usage; *tenebrae* was ultimately to lead to Spanish *tinieblas*, in which the diphthong [jé] of the second syllable shows that that syllable must have been both short and stressed in Late Antiquity. The ninth-century Córdoba writer Paulo Álvaro similarly put paroxytone stress on *tenébras* and *celebrat* in his rhythmic verse. This seems to imply that even if *Igabrum* might at an earlier time have been stressed on the first syllable, by the time of the Visigoths it can only have been stressed on the [á]; and whether or not that [a] vowel had been long or short in imperial mouths, by then that length difference had also lapsed. The final letters *-um*, in all words, by then represented a spoken [-o] rather than [-um].<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, for the bishops at the Toledo Councils, such as the Bishop Iohannes who signed as the nineteenth of the seventy-two present at the third Council of Toledo in 589, their town and see were probably pronounced [e-gá-bro]. As, indeed, were the mountains to the north east of their town (where the important red marble quarry was) and the river that runs through it, which are still the Sierra de Cabra and the Río Cabra. Not being in origin a Latin name, the see, town, river and sierra had not had ready-made an officially standardized written form. Many toponyms had been in that position, and this uncertainty could have worried scribes, copyists, coin-minters, engravers, notaries and others. For most words, scribes of Visigothic times could ignore their own phonetic habits; when writing them, their aim was to reproduce in ink the standard (“correct”) written form of the words in question. This intention could even be applied to words that did not really exist in Imperial Latin; that is, for example, maybe they said and heard the word [o-tor-gó] (meaning “granted”), but still they usually wrote it as *auctoricauit* (in which the *auctor* and the *-icauit* are correct forms, but this combination of stem and suffix was a post-Imperial invention).<sup>9</sup> Placenames which were endowed with known Latin-based written

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<sup>8</sup> José Oroz Reta, *San Isidoro de Sevilla: Etimologías* (Madrid, 1982), 1. 32. 1. Paulo Alvaro’s poems are edited in Juan Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1973), 1: pp. 344–361; see also Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> For further discussion of this, see Roger Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance* (Newark [Delaware], 1995), chapter 14.

forms, and the derived names for their inhabitants, came usually into that category: writers said and heard [es-pá-nos] but wrote *Hispanos* (or *Hispani*, if they had been awake in their grammar class) because that was the correct written form which they had been taught. Toponyms without such a written tradition could acquire one, at least within their own area; during the Empire *Igabrum* was the established form in that town for use by the local masons, but that written form may never have been taught elsewhere. After much of the Roman tradition was lost from memory in the fifth century, when the town's name needed to be written again in the sixth, the written form *Egabro* was originally just a sensible way of representing [e-gá-bro]; but in due course the scribes of the see and the area must have been taught that this written form was the "correct" way to write it. Once a written form becomes established in this way, and fossilizes through pedagogy, the form is no longer useful to the Romanist etymologist; subsequent scribes learnt it and wrote it because they had been told it was right and proper so to do, regardless of the incipiently anisomorphic phonetics of their later age. And the derived form *egabrensis* (with *e-*) develops in the same way; the *-ensis* written ending is known to be correct in itself (as it was in hundreds of other cases) even though the pronunciation of the seventh century would not have included any [n], and there was no problem about adding this antiquated form to an apparently evolved stem (although there is also a possible example of a vernacularly diphthongized [jé], written as *ie*, in the *egabriensis* found at the end of the eighth Council of Toledo). These taught practices survived the Moslem invasion to flourish in al-Andalus. Other names, even better known than *Igabrum*, could see a change in the written form taught in the schools; the Córdoba writers of the ninth century (including their bishop) even preferred consistently to write their city with a letter *o* in the second syllable, when the Romans had written CORDUBA, which is not an amazing series of coincidences but evidence of pedagogic practice.

But the name of the town would not stay still. The name was given to one of the (probably) twenty-one "coras", administrative divisions, of tenth-century al-Andalus, and the next stage in the development of *Cabra* is first revealed to us by an Arabic document of 863 concerning horsemen recruited from various "coras" in Andalucía. Arabic-writers gave it a name in their alphabet which is usually transliterated into the Roman alphabet as *Qabra*; this was presumably not a strangely incompetent attempt at representing [e-gá-bro] but genuine evidence of the loss of the initial syllable, at least in the form of the name as taken over

into Arabic speech. *Qabra* is also a toponym found in other parts of the Semitic world, including in ancient Assyria east of the Tigris, a fact which might have been in the back of some of their minds. The sound here represented as a letter Q would have been already the unvoiced [k], with the lack of aspiration which is normal in Ibero-Romance (but phonemically distinctive in Arabic). We are justified in thinking that the ninth-century Arabic-speakers pronounced the town's name as [ká-bra]; and probably that the Romance-speakers did too, at least in the Cabra area itself. Indeed, since the majority of the population of al-Andalus (of whatever religion) were bilingual, these were effectively the same speakers. The Arabic-speakers do not seem to have adapted the derived form *egabrense* to refer to the town's inhabitants, however. It was a poet known in Spanish as "el ciego de Cabra" who is said to have invented the *moaxaja* verse form in the tenth century A.D.; his name was Muqaddam ibn Mu'afa al-Qabrí. He died c. 920 A.D. In this form, *Qabrí*, the common Arabic suffix [-í] was used in the same way as the Latin suffix *-ensis* had been earlier, being added to a toponymic root of a different etymological stratum with no apparent difficulty.<sup>10</sup>

Within historical linguistics, the simple chronological derivation of *Cabra* from *Egabro*, as a later pronunciation of the same name, is not unreasonable. It is certainly more plausible than any postulated derivation of *Cabra* from *Baebro* or from *Licabrum* or from Greek *aigagros*; or than hypothesizing that *Egabro* was lost and *Cabra* was subsequently created *ex* some sort of goat-related *nihilo*. What seems at first sight the oddest aspect of this development, *Egabro* > *Cabra*, the loss of the

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<sup>10</sup> For the "corá" of Cabra see Antonio Arjona Castro, "La Cora de Cabra", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Andalucía Medieval I* (Córdoba, 1978), pp. 61–75 (although he thought the name to be in origin Greek, p. 62). The earliest known use of Arabic *Qabra*, in a list of volunteers for a military expedition in 863, was written by Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076) and quoted in Ibn Idhari al-Marrakushi, *Al-Bayan al-mughrib fi akhbar al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib* 2, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal and G. S. Colin (Leiden, 1948), p. 109; for a Spanish translation, see Antonio Arjona Castro, "Anales de la Córdoba musulmana (863–912)", on [www.webislam.com](http://www.webislam.com); there is also an English summary in Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* (London, 1996), pp. 65–67. For an example of *Qabra* in Arabic script, see Francisco Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1903; reprint, Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 839–842. Al-Qabrí's own poems do not survive; we know about him initially from Ibn Bassan (d. 1155), and also from Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406). See the *Nota de la Redacción* entitled "Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la *Muwassaha*", *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934), 215–222; the references in Elías Terés, "Ibn Faray de Jaén y su *Kitab Al-Hada'iq*", *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), 131–157, at p. 156, n. 2; and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea* (Buenos Aires, 1941), pp. 20–21.



initial unstressed vowel (technically a case of “apheresis”), is in fact a fairly regular occurrence among Romance toponyms beginning with a vowel in the mouths of bilingual Romance-Arabic speakers. A recent study of precisely this phenomenon, by Correa Rodríguez, has made the development clearer than it was before. Correa adduces, as well as *Egabro* > *Cabra*, the following eleven toponymic examples of such apheresis, with transliterated versions of Arabic attestations where they exist:

Latin <i>Arunda</i> ,	Arabic <i>Runda</i> ,	Ibero-Romance <i>Ronda</i>
<i>Asidona</i>	<i>Siduna</i>	( <i>Medina</i> ) <i>Sidonia</i>
<i>Ateua</i>		<i>Teba</i> (Córdoba)
<i>Emerita</i>	<i>Marida</i>	<i>Mérida</i>
<i>Ilerda</i>	<i>Larida</i>	<i>Lleidal/Lérida</i>
<i>Elepla</i>	<i>Labla</i>	<i>Niebla</i>
<i>Ilipula</i>		<i>Repla</i> (Sevilla)
<i>Italica</i>	<i>Taliqa, Talqa</i>	<i>Tálca</i>
<i>Obulcona</i>	<i>Bulkuna</i>	<i>Porcuna</i> (Jaén)
<i>Olaura</i>		<i>Lora</i> (Sevilla)
<i>Olisipona</i>	<i>Ulisibuna, Lisbuna</i>	<i>Lisboa</i>

This is essentially a phenomenon of al-Andalus, although very occasional such toponymic apheresis can be found to the north of the supposed religious divide; Correa mentions *Grijota* in the province of Palencia, deriving from ECCLESIA ALTA. *Ecclesia* was a Graecism in Latin (and suffers apheresis in Italy, > *chiesa*), which may be relevant; Graecisms seem to have been slightly susceptible to this development in Ibero-Romance; *bodega*, for example, developed from the Graecism APOTHECA; there is one such case in the tenth-century Riojan glossary *Emilianense* 31, 62v2, attested in both the lemma and the gloss of “morriodas ./ moroidas” (that is, *haemorrhoides*); but Romance apheresis of original Latin words, outside these toponyms, is not a normal development.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> José Antonio Correa Rodríguez, “Aféresis en topónimos latinos hispánicos”, in *Latin et langues romanes: études de linguistique offertes a József Herman*, ed. Sándor Kiss *et al.*; (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 481–489; Correa is arguing here in support of what Francisco Simonet suggests rather unclearly in *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas* (Madrid, 1888), p. cxxviii, referring to five toponyms (not including *Qabra*), and against what Juan Corominas says in *Topica Hesperica* (Madrid, 1962), p. 266, n. 12, suggesting Iberian influence for the apheresis, particularly in Catalonia. José María García Martín, “Acerca del topónimo *Niebla*”, in *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española* 2, ed. Claudio García Turza *et al.* (Logroño, 1998), pp. 873–880, suggests that the etymon of *Niebla* was also ILIPULA; for *Niebla*, see also Flórez, *ES* 12, chapter 2,

Correa's analysis reaffirms Simonet's suggestion that such cases result from the adaptation of toponyms to Arabic phonotactic constraints. Arabic prefers, and preferred then also, syllables to be CV in structure (Consonant-Vowel), with CVC as an alternative. Statistically, Ibero-Romance has and had the same preference; but even so, words that begin with a vowel feel more comfortable in Romance than they do in Arabic. Correa points out that often Arabic-speakers solve the problem of having to pronounce foreign words which begin with a vowel by adding at the start an initial glottal stop (which is categorized as an ordinary consonant phoneme in Arabic phonology), particularly when that vowel is stressed, or when there are two consonants following it. But if the initial vowel is unstressed and followed by a single consonant, apheresis is the normal, even automatic and unconscious, adaptation mechanism. This did not happen to all toponyms in this category in al-Andalus, perhaps because Arabic was not the dominant language in the place in question; on the other hand, it probably happened to several toponyms there whose pre-Arabic etymon we do not now know and cannot reconstruct. Correa's support for this hypothesis implies disagreement with Corominas, but in this case, at least, Corominas seems not to be right.

Given the arrival of a spoken form of *egabro* without the initial vowel, we next need to explain the rise of a variant which has changed the newly initial consonant from voiced [g] to unvoiced [k]. Fortunately, in the eighth and ninth centuries, which is when this change seems to have occurred, such a development happens to be explicable. At that time, the consonant [-k-] (between vowels in the same word), before a mid or back vowel, was voicing to [g]. For example, the correct spelling LACUM had come to represent [lá-go], pronounced with a [-g-]. But all phonetic changes involve a period of variation, so [-ka-] and [-ga-] were alternatives in the pronunciation of several words. Technically, this development was probably still allophonic; that is, the /k/ phoneme (in the word's entry in the speaker's mental lexicon), before such a non-front vowel, led to the production of the sound [g] if it was intervocalic within a word, and [k] in most other circumstances. So a [g] in [e-gá-bro] could have come to correspond to a /k/ in the mental lexicon. In

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"De la iglesia eleplense (hoy Niebla)", pp. 43–78. The glossary referred to is that edited by Claudio García Turza and Javier García Turza in *El códice emilianense 31 de la Real Academia de la Historia: edición facsimilar, edición y estudio* (Logroño, 2004).

this case, the consequence would have been that when the initial vowel disappeared from [e-gá-bro], to leave a potential form [gá-bro], the [g], no longer intervocalic in the word, might not have seemed right to some speakers, and a [k-] variant could have appeared spontaneously. This development was not inevitable or predictable, but neither is it inexplicable. In any event, this is what happened. The rise of a variant form beginning in [ka-] need not have led to the loss of the one in [ga-], of course. The variation of [ka-] and [ga-] was not always resolved in the same way. Word-initial [ka-] / [ga-] variation was sufficiently common in the Early Middle Ages for twenty of the one hundred and fifty entries in Corominas's briefer Etymological Dictionary of words originally beginning in [ka-] to end up in Spanish as words beginning with [ga-], including, for example, *gato* and *galápago*. Arabisms in Spanish taken (in Corominas's analyses) from Arabic words beginning in [ka-] turn up in Spanish sometimes as [ka] (e.g. *alcázar*, *alcalde*, *candil*) and sometimes as [ga-] (e.g. *gabán*, *gaznate*). This suggests that an [e-gá-bro] that had lost its [e-] could well have had ninth-century variants in both [ga-] and [ka-], awaiting some further non-linguistic factor to lead to a preference for one rather than the other.<sup>12</sup>

Before looking for this further factor, we need to consider the final [-a] of *Cabra*, changed from the [-o] of *Egabro*. The development of [-o] to [-a] cannot just be a straightforward phonetic change. Yet a change from [-o] (from an earlier [-um]) to [-a] seems to be implied in all the adduced potential etyma for *Cabra*. And again, as with the apheresis, *Cabra* is not alone in this. Oliver Asín has studied the general Arabic preference for ending toponyms of indigenous origin with [-a] (concentrating on the development of the toponym *Castilla*, perhaps originally a kind of collective noun meaning "castles"). The documented forms on the list reproduced above from Correa's study, in Latin, Arabic and Ibero-Romance, all end in [-a]; so do a majority of the placenames on Visigothic coins, in fact, so this may not be a trend originating as late as in al-Andalus itself. It is remarkable, even now, to see how few toponyms in the former areas of al-Andalus end in [-o]. Arabic had no [o]; the Latin/Romance sound [o] would often be reallocated in Arabic speech to the phoneme /u/, reappearing in bilingual mouths as

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<sup>12</sup> Juan Corominas, *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1961). These words are discussed by Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance* (Liverpool, 1982), pp. 8–9.

either an [o] or an [u] allophone. Both can be seen in the development of *Lisboa* and, notably, *Porcuna* in the list above; in *Porcuna* the first vowel reemerges as Romance [o] and the second as [u], which is the opposite way round from the original Latin form. Correa also points out that toponyms which originally ended in -ONEM very often turn up in Spain, even in the North, as Romance names ending in -ona; *Barcelona*, *Tarragona* and *Carmona* are just three examples whose anti-etymological [-a] is already attested on Visigothic coins. The arrival of variants in [-a] for our town's name can be accounted for, but the loss of the variants ending in [-o] is less easy to explain; a definitive change from [-o] to [-a] remains hard to understand in phonetic terms alone, so some analogical or social reason needs to be envisaged for this vowel too, as it is for the initial [k]. That is, we are still left wondering why they collectively chose *Cabra* over the probable eighth-century variants \**Cabro*, \**Gabra* and \**Gabro*.

So it is tempting to wonder further if that reason has something to do with goats. The original name of the town, *Igabrum*, had nothing to do with goats, and the attempts to trace it to Greek words for mountain goats are absurd (though they still surface from time to time). But at this point in the story we are brushing against the Latin and Spanish words for 'female goat': CAPRAM > *cabra*. The Latin word for 'male goat' was a less similar *caper*, a form which in any event seems to have died out in Ibero-Romance. The voicing of [p] to [b] in such words as CAPRAM was normal. The plosive [b] of the eighth-century goat's name was probably still distinctive from the fricative [β] which is most likely to have occurred in the placename in the mouths of Romance-speakers; although not necessarily in the mouths of Arabic-speakers. The sounds were close enough in the ninth-century for the two words to have seemed very similar, if not identical, to bilingual Arabic-Romance speakers.

Sometimes, when the phonetic evolution of placenames leads to their sounding like some other word, the inhabitants object and resist the development. They might react by clinging to the unevolved variant, since sound-changes always proceed via a phase when old and new features are in variation together; as the inhabitants of EMERITA seem to have done in choosing to preserve the name *Mérida* with its otherwise surprisingly undiphthongized short stressed [é], and its surprisingly retained [i], probably in order to avoid confusion with *mierda* (< MERDAM)—although in passing it is worth noting that the pressure to drop the initial [e-] from EMERITA seems to have been

more irresistible, which further suggests that the loss of [e-] in *Egabro* had powerful motivation—; or they might react by changing the name altogether, as when the inhabitants of Coyanza in León petitioned Alfonso IX in 1208 to change the name of their town (to Valencia de San Juan, in the event), apparently so that it would no longer sound like the Leonese derivative of Latin COLEONES ('testicles').<sup>13</sup> But on other occasions, if the resulting homonymy or near-homonymy seems appropriate or flattering (or even if it does not), the phonetic coincidence can be welcomed as an impulse to popular etymologizing, rather than being perceived as a homonymic clash in need of therapeutic resolution. Many placenames are semantically motivated from the start in any event, and popular etymology appears to be a deep instinct; a culture rooted in St Isidore of Seville, the greatest popular etymologist of them all (and now, as recently appointed patron saint of the Internet, overseeing all the crazed popular etymology to be found there), would not necessarily have found anything to object to, in the ninth century, in choosing the variant, from among the several available variant pronunciations of their name, that allied their town, river, mountains and even bishop, to goats. Many studies of Hispanic toponymy find popular etymology of this type at work, including recently those by Cuesta Estévez on Tarifa and Marsá on Catalonia.<sup>14</sup>

After all, the inhabitants of the Latin island of *Capri* seem not to mind having an island whose name also implies an origin in goats (Latin *capri*), although the etymologists prefer to propose an etymon in Greek *kaproi* ('boars', a supposition supported by the pre-Roman remains of boars found on the island). The list adduced above, taken from Correa, shows that the inhabitants of medieval Porcuna had no objection in choosing the variant pronunciation of their town that seems to relate to pigs, nor the inhabitants of Niebla in choosing an unexpected variant in [n-] that allies their town to fog (which is not in fact a feature of the

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<sup>13</sup> Jaime Oliver Asín, "En torno a los orígenes de Castilla: su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes", *Al-Andalus* 38 (1973), 319–91 (referring to Cabra on p. 357). For the avoidance of homonymic clash in these toponyms, see the discussion in Wright, *Late Latin*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>14</sup> Gaspar J. Cuesta Estévez, "Etimología popular y otros problemas lexicológicos en la toponimia de Tarifa (Cádiz)", in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. A. Alonso González et al. (Madrid, 1996), pp. 1049–1058; Francisco Marsá, "Testimonios sigilográficos de etimología popular", in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, ed. M. Ariza et al. (Madrid, 1988), pp. 1743–1753.

town's climate). The inhabitants of León were shortly to do something very similar. *León*, the toponym, has nothing to do etymologically with lions. *León*, 'lion', comes from LEONEM, yes, but *León*, the placename, comes from LEGIONEM, having been the home of the only Roman legion in the Peninsula for many long years. Losing the medial consonant and its following [j] from LEGIONEM was not inevitable in the course of phonetic evolution, but [le-ón] would have become one of the available variant pronunciations; at which point the good folk of León saw no problem in choosing that variant over the others, losing those medial sounds entirely, and they have become proud to embrace the homonymic coincidence. So much so that we can date the *terminus post quem non* of the relevant sound changes to necessarily earlier than the earliest known use of a lion as the emblem of the city and of the kingdom of León (in the late twelfth century).

The inhabitants of Cabra now have an emblem of their town which contains two goats rampant in the upper half. Indeed, one local website proudly tells us that “el nombre de Cabra tiene su origen en las dos representadas en la mitad superior de su escudo, animales que simbolizan la prosperidad”, as if the shield preceded the name. Well, no, but we can be grateful for this misunderstanding for such clear confirmation of the force of popular etymology, and how the *egabrenses* (as they are still called) are proud of their supposed link to goats. As it is now, so it probably was then.<sup>15</sup>

We are safe in supposing that [ká-bra], 'goat', with [b], was an available Ibero-Romance word in ninth and tenth century speech, even though the written form was then still usually *capra* with a *p*. The tenth-century glossary in *Emilianense* 31, for example, contains (106v54): “sterillum ./ barba decabra Iocay” (a flower known as “goat's beard”), with a letter *b*, from the same source as the *Liber Glossarum*'s “sterillum; barba de capra iocai” (Lindsay's entry ST 118) and Goetz's *Corpus* V. 389. 25, “stirillum; caprae barba”, both with a letter *p*, where the Riojan Glossary's form *cabra* can only be explained by the existence of a pronunciation with a voiced [b]. The entry in 10v16, “dãme ./...Id, - capras montium”, in which this final comment is a Riojan addition to the source, has the word spelt with the correct letter *p*, but here the use of *-as* attests the plural subject form of spoken Ibero-Romance [ká-bras] rather than

<sup>15</sup> The municipal shield of Cabra can be seen at [www.pueblos-espana.org/andalucia/cordoba/cabra](http://www.pueblos-espana.org/andalucia/cordoba/cabra).

of the original Latin CAPRAE; thus collectively these entries assure us of the word's Ibero-Romance credentials, in both phonetics and morphology.<sup>16</sup>

The choice of the [ká-bra] (or [ká-βra]) variant as the toponym had potentially awkward consequences for later Latin-writing scribes. At Cabra, by at least the ninth century, there was a placename [ká-βra], semantically associated with the word for 'goat' in the minds of at least some of the inhabitants. This second word [ká-bra], 'goat', had a standard written form in *capra*. Scribes either knew this because they had been taught it, or they could get it right by intelligent guesswork. Conversely, the connection between spoken [ka-βra] and written *Egabrum* became less obvious. Scribes in Cabra, and in Córdoba, and perhaps on occasion further afield, would still probably then know, because they had been taught, that *Egabrum* was the written form, strange as that might have begun to seem. We can tell this from the Acts of the Council of Córdoba of 839, which were concerned to denounce a heresy taking place in a cave in the diocese of Cabra, probably in or near the town which has been known since 1257 as *Aguilar de la Frontera* but was called *Ipagrum* or *Epagrum* at that time. (Corominas said that *Ipagrum/Epagrum* was Priego, but it is not.) The scribe of these Acts, whose original survives, wrote the adjective *egabrensis* (1. 4) and *egabrense* (1. 7; 8. 4), and the noun *egabro* once (apparently a dative form, 8. 5). The bishop Recafredus, bishop at the time of both Córdoba and Cabra, signed personally as *Recafredus cordobensis seu egabrensis*.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, the bishop and his tame scribe, however they pronounced them, knew that the proper written forms ought to be *Egabro* and *Egabrensis*. Indeed, educated people of the area knew, and still know, that the adjective was and is *egabrense*, so this difference, between the toponym and the stem of the *gentilicio*, would not have been too difficult to grasp even when the time came when everybody in the area, educated or not, said [ká-βra] for the name of their town. Calling the town after a goat was one thing; calling themselves *cabrenses* or *cabrinos* would have seemed less attractive. After all, there was still more similarity between the

<sup>16</sup> The Riojan glossary is the one edited by the García Turza brothers (see note 12); some of its sources are those reproduced in Georg Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latino-rum, V: Placidus, Liber Glossarum, Glossaria Reliqua* (Leipzig, 1894) or Wallace M. Lindsay, *Glossarium Ansileubi sive Librum Glossarum* (Paris, 1926; Hildesheim, 1965).

<sup>17</sup> The Acts of the Council of Córdoba of 839 are printed in Gil's *Corpus*, pp. 135–41, and discussed by Simonet, *Historia*, pp. 371–373. I am currently preparing an edition of these Acts, together with a study of their language.

two words *egabrenses* and [ka-βra] than there was between the nearby equivalents *tuccitani* and [már-tos] (see below).

Shortly afterwards, in the 850s, Eulogio de Córdoba, who was probably intellectually involved at the time of the condemnation of the Cabra heresy in 839 (although he never referred to it in his extant writings), wrote the form *egabrenses* without any apparent hesitation; yet he did not write the toponymic noun at all. His three uses are:

- 1) Argimirus quidam confessor uir nobilis et aetate iam plenus ex oppido egabrensi cognationem ducebat (*Memoriale* 3. 16. 1. 2)
- 2) Beatus igitur Rudericus presbyter ex quodam uico egabrensi progenitus (*Apologeticus Martyrum* 21. 3)
- 3) Witesindus quidam uir aetate iam plenus ex provincia egabrensi (*Memoriale* 3. 14. 1. 2).

Shortly afterwards, Sansón used *egabrensis* and *egabrensem* (*Apologeticus* 2, *Praefatio* 8. 4 and 8. 26), once referring to the see and once to the bishop. Eulogio and Sansón did not refer directly to the town with the toponym. The town, village and diocese are here given toponymic adjectival accompaniment, almost as if the authors were consciously avoiding writing the noun. Maybe they were embarrassed by the goat connection. The word *capra* does not appear in Eulogio's work at all, although the phrase *in pellibus caprinis*, 'in goat-skins', does (*Memoriale* 1. 1. 6. 14).<sup>18</sup>

There would have been no great problem if the only people who wanted to mention Cabra in writing were living in the area. Most of the time that was the case. But suddenly Cabra became of interest to writers elsewhere as a result of its starring role in the life of Ruy Díaz, El Cid. In (probably) 1080 he was sent by Alfonso VI of León to collect the *parias* from Sevilla while García Ordóñez was sent to collect them from Granada. The King of Granada, accompanied by García Ordóñez, attacked Cabra, which was just over the border in the kingdom of Sevilla. In the resultant battle Ruy Díaz captured García Ordóñez and (according to the tale that survived) pulled out part of his beard. The toponym in the epic poem, when that poem came to be written down

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<sup>18</sup> The works of Eulogio and Sansón are published by Gil in his *Corpus*; for Eulogio's language, see also Joaquín Mellado and María J. Aldama, *Concordantia in Eulogium Cordubensem* (Hildesheim, 1993).



in the early thirteenth century, presented no problem here to the writer, since Romance writing had settled naturally on the form *Cabra*:

Commo yo auos conde enel castiello de cabra  
Qñdo pris acaba & auos por la barba (lines 3287–88).

The later prose redaction, in the so-called *Crónica de Veinte Reyes*, uses the same spelling: "...commo yo la mesé a uos, conde, en el castiello de Cabra...".<sup>19</sup>

But the writers and authors of earlier accounts in Latin preferred not to do that. The place is mentioned once by name in the twelfth-century *Historia Roderici*, at the very end of section 7:

Uenerunt itaque depredantes omnem terram illam usque ad castrum,  
qui dicitur Capra.

This author again sounds a bit uneasy about the placename, and not being from the area, he may well not have known the spoken adjectival form *egabrense*. He did not merely write *usque ad Capram*. He could have written *usque ad Egabrum*, but we can deduce that he did not know that form either. Knowing that the place was called [ká-βra], but not knowing how that ought to be written; probably knowing that the word [ká-βra] meaning "goat" was written as *capra*, but not wanting to imply that the Granadan army had attacked a goat; he specified explicitly that this was the name of a fortified town, *castrum qui dicitur Capra* (Emma Falque's punctuation looks misleading to me; the comma may be better omitted). This problem only arose because he did not know the forms *Egabrum* or *egabrensis*.<sup>20</sup>

Scholars are divided over whether the *Historia Roderici* and the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* are related in some way, and, if so, which author exploited the other. I have argued that the *Carmen* was written first, and that the author of the *Historia* had met the *Carmen* but preferred not to use it for details when he had available a more reliable source; other scholars see the relative chronology as vice versa. Either way, the later author (whichever that was) did not exploit the other's choice of

<sup>19</sup> *Poema de Mio Cid; edición facsímil* (Burgos, 1988); Nancy Joe Dyer, *El Mio Cid del taller alfonsí* (Newark [Delaware], 1995).

<sup>20</sup> Emma Falque Rey (ed.), "Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti", in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil and Antonio Maya, CCCM 71 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 1–98 (at p. 50).

toponymic form for this town. The twenty-first stanza (lines 81–84) of the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* reads as follows:

Hec namque pugna fuerat secunda,  
 In qua cum multis captus est Garsia;  
 Capream uocant locum ubi castra  
 simul sunt capta.

This (*Capream uocant locum*) is simply not true. Nobody called the place *Caprea*, with that added vowel *e*, neither in writing nor in speech. As with a number of others, our poet's choice of toponymic form here depended on how many syllables were needed in his line rather than on anything else. This is in fact the author's over-riding aim; getting the right number of syllables was more important to him than the sense.<sup>21</sup> But he was not choosing a nonsense form. *Caprea* was a genuine Latin word, meaning either a 'wild she-goat' or a 'roe deer'. The poet needed a three-syllabled word. The forms *Igabrum* or *Egabrum* would have suited his purposes well, if he had known them; this poet made the distinction between Latin and Romance which the Córdoba writers did not, so the written forms *Igabrum* and *Egabrum* would indeed have meant to this poet three-syllabled forms pronounced as [e-gá-brum] and [i-gá-brum] rather than [ká-βra]. All this poet seems to have known is that this place in the remote south is apparently named after a goat, [ká-βra]. Yet *Capra* is two syllables. Not enough. However, our poet was a connoisseur of Virgil, taking much of his vocabulary in the *Carmen* from the *Aeneid*. As well as using forms of *caper/capra* on six occasions, Virgil had also used the words *caprea*, for a "mountain goat" (*Aeneid* 10. 275; *Georgic* 2. 374), and *capreoli* (*Eclogue* 2. 41). *Caprea* has three syllables. So the poet chose it. His audience in Catalonia would not have known better, after all. He was not to know that busybodies of a millennium later would scrutinize his choice this closely.

Montaner Frutos's note on this form is, as usual with his comments on language, inadequate: "*Caprea*—por el usual *Capra*—puede considerarse como una grafía cultista, en la línea que caracteriza al poeta

<sup>21</sup> The *Carmen Campi Doctoris* is edited by Wright, *Early Ibero-Romance*, chapter 16, dated there to 1083; and by Alberto Montaner Frutos and Ángel Escobar, *Carmen Campidoctoris, o poema latino del Campeador* (Madrid, 2001), who date it almost a century later. The language of the *Carmen* is further discussed by Roger Wright, "The language and composition of the *Carmen Campi Doctoris*", in *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V–XV)*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and José M. Díaz de Bustamante (Florence, 2005), pp. 483–493.

respecto al uso de topónimos”. In the first place, *Capra* is certainly not the usual form. More significantly, what Montaner can possibly mean by “cultista” is indecipherable. *Caprea* is not a Latinism, at least, for the Latin form would have been *Igabrum* or *Egabrum*. The use of *Caprea* here is just a mistake.<sup>22</sup>

No Latin writer of the time seems to have thought of writing *Cabra*, with a letter *b*, as a Latin form (with an accusative *\*\*cabram*, etc.). Rather sweetly, the nineteenth-century scholar Emil Hübner, writing his Latin commentary on his inscriptions, did just that, starting almost every comment on these inscriptions with the form *Cabrae* (locative or genitive) and also pointing out that *non procul a Cabra distat Lucena*, rather than using the correct Latin form *Igabrum* which he was attesting on that same page (page 216). Since *Cabra* (with a *b*) in Latin does not mean “goat”, Hübner’s use of it in written Latin seems an obvious answer now to any possibility of goat-related embarrassment.

Such problems were not unique to the *egabrenses*, of course. Indeed, there were a variety of toponym-related problems commonly experienced by Latin-writing scribes in al-Andalus. Sometimes the difficulty had nothing primarily to do with the Arabs. For example, the town known since the tenth century to the Arabs, but probably also to everybody else, as *Martos* (in the modern province of Jaén), is the place known to the Romans as *Tucci* (a name of pre-Roman, but Indo-European rather than Iberian, origin); *Tucci uetus* turns up in the same paragraph of Pliny as *Baedro*. There are several examples of a *Tuccitanus episcopus* signing the seventh-century Toledo Councils. The earliest Martos-like attestation is a tenth-century Arabic form transliteratable as *Martus* (in a comment by the Eastern geographer Al-Muqaddasi, born in 945 A.D.). The ninth-century Córdoba writers refer to the town with adjectival periphrases: Eulogio de Córdoba writes *Tuccitanae urbis* (*Memoriale Sanctorum* 2. 8. 8. 13) or *oppido Tuccitano* (*Memoriale* 3. 13. 2); and Sansón, who was actually there in Martos at the time, refers to the *Tuccitane catedre* (*Apologeticus* 2, *Praefatio* 10. 19), the *Tucitanam eglesiam* (*Apol.* 2. 2. 11), the *Tucitane catedre* with one *c* (*Apol.* 2. 4. 5) and even the *Tuccitane plebe* (*Apol.* 2. 10. 6). In each of these cases it might seem easier to us for them to have used the noun *Tucci*, but they preferred the adjective *Tuccitanus* (or *Tucitanus*). In Sansón’s case this seems particularly significant; we wonder if he can really have been

<sup>22</sup> Montaner, *Carmen*, p. 255.

there and not known the form *Tucci*; or maybe *Tucci* seemed to him at best improbable as the written form of [már-tos]. The source of the form *Martos* itself may or may not be Roman; Hübner refers to a Roman inscription from Martos which does not use the form *Tucci* and does use the noun phrase *civitas martis*, not necessarily for exactly the same place; but this is a thread not to be followed up here.

Some places acquired Arabic names that displaced earlier Roman ones; Guadix was *Accitana urbs* to the Córdoba writers, for example. But greater problems awaited the scribes attempting names with no previous Latin counterpart. And these problems did not necessarily get easier over time, or stay confined to orthography. The names might also need to be adjusted to Latin grammar. Emma Falque has studied how the manuscripts of Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi* (of the thirteenth century) write the city which we now write as *Badajoz*, as *Badalot*, *Badayoz*, *Badaioz*, *Badalozum*, *Badaiozum*; and she comments on the phonetic inspiration for each form. But it is worth pointing out in addition that the scribe also had to decide whether to leave such forms invariant (as in the first three of these forms) or to add morphemes such as *-um* for morphosyntactic purposes (as in the last two).<sup>23</sup> Or, indeed, they might use the inflections *metri gratia*. The scribe of the *Carmen Campi Doctoris* exemplifies this neatly. He adds a spoken [-um], and a written *-um*, to the Arabic placename [al-me-nár] when creating line 98: *quod adhuc mauri uocant almenarum*. But the *mauri* who are apparently being said here to say [al-me-ná-rum] would certainly not have added any [-um] in their spoken form. The written *-um* is a Latinate addition, here required in order to achieve both the correct number of syllables in the line and the stanza's homoteleutic rhyme in [-um], as is achieved by the three other words at the ends of the lines in this stanza, and for no other reason. Three lines before this, the personal name *Alfagib*, the ruler of Lérida, which was not in a rhyme position and was required to be trisyllabic, had been left with no such Latinate affix: *simul cum eo alfagib ilerde* (l. 95). Scribes in al-Andalus similarly had to decide whether to add Latin morphology to Arabic names all the time, although not often (if ever) in verse.

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<sup>23</sup> Emma Falque Rey, "La inserción del romance en los textos históricos latinos medievales", in *Lengua romance en textos latinos de la Edad Media*, ed. Hermógenes Perdigüero Villarreal (Burgos, 2003), pp. 71–79.

Once the Romance spelling of placenames became largely standardized in the thirteenth century, as the form taught to scribes, this problem was largely over. But the previous vicissitudes of the placename *Cabra*, and others, are an instructive insight into the difficulties of toponomastics; placenames sometimes seem to follow different regularities of development from other words, causing problems both for the modern etymologist and for the medieval scribe, as well as providing entertainment for the practitioners (and readers) of popular etymology.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Professor Harvey has pointed out to me that the “q-br-” root in Arabic meant “grave, graveyard”, which might have been another powerful factor in the desire of bilingual *egabrenses* to reduce [e-gá-bro] to [ká-bra] and thereby give their placename some semantic motivation.

## PICNIC AT MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ'

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The history of medieval Iberia comes in two parts—the history of al-Andalus and that of the Christian kingdoms that gradually engulfed it—which were allocated to separate volumes of the *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*. Richard Fletcher was one of the few scholars to cross the historiographical frontier, perhaps inspired by the ease with which his hero, the Cid, served Muslim as well as Christian lords. For many medievalists al-Andalus remains a special corner of the past, exotic and remote in quite a different way from contemporary Christian Europe, her history told in Arabic sources that appear uniquely unreliable. At the centre of this history is Córdoba of the caliphate, when the city is supposed to have had as many as a million inhabitants. Yet most of the Arabic historians who described Córdoba in her heyday were writing after the fall of the Umayyads, when much of the city lay in ruins. Their nostalgia for al-Andalus passed into the cultural memory of Islam, where it still exerts a powerful hold. The Palestinian Maḥmūd Darwīsh (b.1941) began one of his poems: “If I were to start all over again... I’d set out again on the road that may or may not lead to Córdoba...”<sup>1</sup> where Córdoba has become the mythical homeland to which he is unable to return. In modern western historiography too, Córdoba is perceived as unique, a haven of multicultural tolerance, the “ornament of the world”<sup>2</sup>

Yet the virtual silence of Latin sources composed in the North and the few surviving Christian writings in Arabic from al-Andalus fuels the suspicion that the Arabic historians’ picture is overdrawn. Archaeology, above all the excavation and partial reconstruction of Madīnat al-Zahrā’—the palace city outside Córdoba, built by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III,

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<sup>1</sup> Mahmoud Darwīsh *Ward Aqall* (Acre, 1987), p. 9, trans. Reuven Snir “Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry”, in Stacey N. Beckwith, ed. *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain* (New York and London, 2000), p. 264; Gil Anidjar, *Our Place in al-Andalus* (Stanford, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World* (Boston, New York, London, 2002).

c. 940—is beginning to uncover Islamic Córdoba;<sup>3</sup> it has yet to resolve “the huge contradiction between the almost magical impact provoked on the oriental and occidental imagination by the evocation of Islamic Spain and the reality of the vestiges that remain”.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the Mezquita and Madīnat al-Zahrā’, there are a few ceramics and ivories, and one book from the library of al-Ḥakam II, said to have housed 400,000. Compare this poverty of material evidence with the legacy of the Carolingians, whose capital would fit into a tiny corner of the area supposedly occupied by that of the Umayyads. Córdoba seems to have melted away like one of the cities of fable. Until more Hispanists are prepared to consider the evidence for medieval Iberia as a whole, al-Andalus will remain in the realm of the fabulous.<sup>5</sup> My purpose in this paper is to reflect on this problem, using an account of a picnic at Madīnat al-Zahrā’ to represent both the period when our image of Córdoba was developing, and the potential as well as the pitfalls of the Latin and Arabic sources for that period.

The main protagonist of the story of the picnic is al-Mu’tamid ibn ‘Abbād, the ruler of Seville from 1069–91. A contemporary Christian ruler, Alfonso VI of León-Castille (1065–1109) will appear later in connection with a proposed visit to Madīnat al-Zahrā’, albeit not his own. Seville under the Abbadids, in particular al-Mu’tamid’s father al-Ma’mūn, was the most successful of the warring city states that succeeded the caliphate.<sup>6</sup> They are known today as the “taifa” kingdoms, although this terminology was not used of al-Andalus in this period, but only of a later fragmentation of power in North Africa under different circumstances.<sup>7</sup> In the second half of the eleventh century, Seville

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<sup>3</sup> See e.g. “La Qurtuba islámica” in Javier Fernández, ed. *Guía Arqueológica de Córdoba* (Córdoba, 2003), pp. 117–202.

<sup>4</sup> Marthe Bernus-Taylor “L’art d’al-Andalus du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au 1086”, in *Les Andalousies de Damas à Cordoue* (Paris, 2000), pp. 56–71 at p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Irwin, “Andalusia of the mind”: review of Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed. *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 2nd edn (Leiden, 2000), in *Times Literary Supplement* 13 August, 1993, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* (London, 1996) pp. 130–4; David J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings* (Princeton, 1985); idem, *The Caliphate in the West* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>7</sup> Miquel Barceló, “De Mulk al Muluk: Esperando a los *al-murabitun*”, in Carlos Laliena Corbera and Juan F. Utrilla, eds., *De Toledo a Huesca: sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)* (Zaragoza, 1998), pp. 61–6; it was the name given to the successors of Alexander the Great and the Parthian rulers in Iran: Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 130.

expanded into the Algarve, and seized Córdoba.<sup>8</sup> Rivalry between the taifas took priority over religious concerns, and little attention was paid to the religious obligation to wage *jihād* against the Christian infidels in the north. In an attempt to avoid confrontations with Christian armies, the Abbadids paid tribute to Fernando I of León-Castile, and then to his son Alfonso VI, even though the two kingdoms did not have a common border. Christians too abandoned the rhetoric of Reconquest that characterises the Asturian chronicles in favour of the practicalities of power,<sup>9</sup> forming alliances with taifa rulers against common enemies. Ibn ‘Ammār, a poet in the service of al-Mu’tamid, hired an army from Alfonso, and in 1078/9, the two rulers mounted a joint offensive against Badajoz. Alliances were sometimes negotiated by individuals who changed sides, such as Sisnando Davidiz, a Christian from Seville, who acted as the Abbadid’s ambassador to Fernando, but who subsequently served Alfonso VI in his dealings with the Muslim rulers of Toledo.<sup>10</sup> In this context, the Cid “was merely the most skilful and successful, but by no means the only man of his type.”<sup>11</sup> It is these shifting allegiances, of which ‘Abd Allah, the ruler of Granada, left an eye-witness account,<sup>12</sup> rather than religious differences, that characterise the history of al-Andalus in the eleventh century. Not until the 1120s did attitudes on both sides harden into those of *jihād* and Crusade. Under al-Mu’tamid, Seville failed to negotiate the political rapids. He seems to have been responsible for calling upon Yusuf ibn Tashufin, the Almoravid ruler of North Africa, for help against Alfonso—although the Arabic historians differed on this—a decision which led to the downfall of the taifas and the exile of al-Mu’tamid to Aghmat in Morocco, where he died in 1095. Al-Mu’tamid was also a poet.<sup>13</sup> Several studies were made of

<sup>8</sup> Anon. *Fath al-Andalus (La conquista de al-Andalus)*, ed. Luis Molina (Madrid, 1994), pp. 116–7.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050–1150”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser.*, 37 (1987), 31–47; Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, p. 259.

<sup>10</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Emilio García Gómez, “El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davidiz y la política de Alfonso VI con los taifas,” *Al-Andalus* 12 (1947), 27–41.

<sup>11</sup> Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade”, 36.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Abd Allah, *El siglo XI en 1ª persona. Las “memorias” de ‘Abd Allah, último rey zirí de Granada, destronado por los Almorávides (1090)*, ed. Evariste Lévi-Provençal, trans. Emilio García Gómez (Madrid, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> Al-Mu’tamid, *Diwān*, ed. Aḥmad Badāwī and Ḥamid ‘Abd al-Majid (Cairo, 1951).



his life and poetry in the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> The biography of a poet king, who married one of his wives simply because she finished a line of one of his verses, and of his tragic end as an exile from al-Andalus, was irresistible. The story of the picnic at Madīnat al-Zahrā' is just one of the romantic episodes attached to his name.

The source for this story seems to be a work entitled *Collars of gold concerning the excellencies of the famous*,<sup>15</sup> an anthology of poetry and anecdotes about the poets and other scholars of al-Andalus composed a generation or two later by the Andalusī scholar Ibn Khāqān. Ibn Khāqān's contemporaries condemned his unscrupulous plagiarism, and the compiler himself came to a bad end, murdered in an inn in Fès in 1134 or 1140 on the orders of the emir Abu l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Tashufin, the brother of the man who commissioned the anthology. The *Collars of Gold*, however, must have been popular, since it survives in several manuscripts; it is an important source for the literature and to a lesser extent the history of al-Andalus in the eleventh century. Later authors quoted it extensively. Among them was al-Maqqarī, (b. Tlemcen 1577 or 1591–2, d. Cairo 1632) whose history of al-Andalus and the Maghreb, to which I shall return, is still used as one of the main sources for al-Andalus. As is common, but by no means invariable practice in Arabic historiography, as we shall see, Ibn Khāqān gave his authority for the story. It was told to him by “the wazir and scholar Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sarāj, that he [al-Mu'tamid] went to al-Zahrā' with the wazirs and secretaries”—although he can't recall exactly when this was. . . .

They wandered from palace to palace, hacking away at the branches and brambles. They climbed to the topmost rooms, exchanging cups of wine among those high terraces until they arrived finally in the garden after having examined the ruins closely, their view increasing in increments as they went. In the garden they settled themselves on springtime carpets striped with white flowers and bordered with streams and water channels . . . overlooked by the ruins of those halls which, like bereaved mothers, mourn the devastation and the end of the joyful gatherings, now that the lizard plays among the stones and croaks on the walls. Nothing remained except holes and stones: the pavilions had collapsed and youth had become old age, as occasionally iron becomes soft and that which

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Patricia Díaz Pereda, “Al-Mu'tamid, rey de Sevilla y poeta universal”, *Historia y vida* 324 (1995), 49–60.

<sup>15</sup> *Qalā'id al-iqyān fī mahās al-i'yān*.

is new rots. All the while they drank cups of wine and wandered about, both enjoying themselves and yet pausing for reflection.<sup>16</sup>

Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>3</sup> passed from construction to romantic ruin in little over a century. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III started to build shortly after he adopted the title of caliph in 929. The elaborate ceremonial with which foreign embassies were received at the palace was described both in the Arabic sources<sup>17</sup> and in the *Life* of John of Gorze, who visited Córdoba in the 950s.<sup>18</sup> Yet, although it is often described as a city, Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>3</sup> was built on a small scale, designed to accommodate only the caliph, his heir al-Ḥakam and the residences of a small number of courtiers, with the infrastructure to support them.<sup>19</sup> Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>3</sup> may have been in use for less than fifty years. Towards the end of the tenth century, the wazir al-Manṣur built himself a new palace, confusingly for both medieval writers and modern historians called Madīnat-al-Zahīra, to the south-east of Córdoba. In 1010, during the civil wars that followed al-Mansur’s death, the Berbers destroyed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s city.<sup>20</sup> Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>3</sup> soon took on almost mythical status as a symbol of the tragic fate of the Umayyads.<sup>21</sup> It is a prime example of the *lieux de*

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Khāqān, al-Fath ibn Muhammad, *Le collier d’or*, ed. Sulayman al-Harayiri (Marseilles and Paris, 1860), p. 11, repr. as *Kitāb Qalā’id al-‘iqyān li-Abi Nasr al-Fath ibn Khāqān* (Bulaq, 1284/1867), p. 9; there are several more modern editions that I have been unable to consult; al-Maqqarī, ed. Reinhardt Dozy, *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des arabes d’Espagne*, 2 vols. (Leiden and London, 1855–61), 1:411–12, trans. in D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Miquel Barceló, “El Califa patente: el ceremonial omeya de Córdoba o la escenificación del poder” in Reyna Pastor de Togneri, Ian Kieniewicz, Eduardo García de Enterría et al., eds., *Estructuras y formas del poder en la historia* (Salamanca, 1991), pp. 51–71; trans. Michael Kennedy, “The manifest caliph: Umayyad ceremony in Córdoba, or the staging of power”, in Manuela Marín ed., *The Formation of al-Andalus*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998), 1:425–457.

<sup>18</sup> *Vita Johannis Gorzensis*, MGH SS 4:335–77.

<sup>19</sup> Eduardo Manzano Moreno, “El círculo de poder de los califas omeyas de Córdoba”, *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā<sup>3</sup>* 5 (2004), 9–30 at 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-Maghrib* 3 vols. ed. Reinhardt Dozy, *Histoire de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne intitulée al-Bayano-l-mogrib par Ibn Adhari de Maroc et fragments de la Chronique de Arib de Cordoue* (Leyden, 1848–51), revised ed. Evariste Lévi-Provençal and Georges Séraphin Colin, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1948–51) and Lévi-Provençal, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib, tome troisième, Histoire de l’Espagne Musulmane au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1930), 3:101–2; partial trans. Felipe Maillou Salgado, *La caída del califato de Cordoba y los reyes de taifas* (Salamanca 1993).

<sup>21</sup> Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape*, pp. 135–6.

*mémoire* analysed by Pierre Nora.<sup>22</sup> Madīnat al-Zahrā' was identified with the Abbasid capitals Samarra and Baghdad and with a city mentioned in the Qur'an called "Iram of the columns" that echoed the Temple of Solomon. Descriptions of Madīnat al-Zahrā' were transferred to later palaces of al-Andalus, such as that built by al-Ma'mūn in Toledo in the mid eleventh century, which has since disappeared. For the seventeenth-century historian al-Maqqarī, the idea that Madīnat al-Zahrā' would become a *lieu de mémoire* was inherent in the palace from its foundation. He records a courtier of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III saying of the new building: "If over it wafts the breeze of memory and nostalgic yearning, and tender trees water it, then it will not fade."<sup>23</sup> And with the destruction of Madīnat al-Zahrā', said an eleventh-century historian, Ibn Ḥayyān, "the carpet of the world was folded up and the beauty that had been an earthly paradise was disfigured."<sup>24</sup>

There is little contemporary evidence for the building of Madīnat al-Zahrā' or for its destruction.<sup>25</sup> The scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d.1064) gave an eye-witness account of the destruction of Córdoba and mourned the loss of his old home on the west side of the city,<sup>26</sup> but did not single out 'Abd al-Raḥmān's palace. The earliest detailed description of Madīnat al-Zahrā' is that attributed to Ibn Ḥayyān, who was born in Córdoba just before the end of the caliphate and lived until 1076.<sup>27</sup> Later Arabic historians remembered Ibn Hayyan as the author of more than two hundred volumes of history, but only sections of one of his works, the seven-volume *Muqtabas*, survive. Nearly all his evidence for the elev-

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Nora, "Entre Mémoire et Histoire" in idem, *Les Lieux de Mémoire sous la direction de Pierre Nora* vol. 1 *La République* (Paris, 1984), pp. xvi–xlii.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* ed. Reinhardt Dozy, Gustave Dugat and William Wright, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne par al-Makkari*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1855–61, repr. Amsterdam, 1967), 1:379.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān cited by Ibn Bassām, in Emilio García Gómez, "Algunas precisiones sobre la ruina de la Córdoba Omeya," *Al-Andalus* 12 (1947), 267–293 at 281; Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscapes*, pp. 135–6.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Idrīsī said that by the time he was writing, Cordoba had been suffered such ill fortune that very few people lived there. The palace at Madīnat al-Zahrā' remained "too beautiful to describe, but the rest of the city was in ruins, on the point of disappearing": Al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* ed. and trans. Reinhardt Dozy and Michael Jan De Goeje (Amsterdam, 1969), text p. 212, trans. pp. 262–3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-Ḥamāma fī'l-ullāf wa l-ullāf*, ed. 'Ihsān 'Abbās, *Rasā'il*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1980–83), 1:227–28, trans. Alois Richard Nykl, *A Book Containing the Risalah known as The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers* (Paris, 1931), pp. 135–6.

<sup>27</sup> Peter C. Scales *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 11–18; Emilio García Gómez, "A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān," *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), 395–423.

enth century comes to us at one or more removes. We are dependent on a twelfth-century Andalusī author, Ibn Bassām, the author of a large collection of biographies of the secretaries, historians and poets of al-Andalus, for Ibn Ḥayyān's account of the destruction of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. And we have to resort to two Maghrebi historians—Ibn ʿIdhārī from the fourteenth century and al-Maqqarī from the seventeenth—for Ibn Ḥayyān's description of the building of the palace. Al-Maqqarī gave the authorities for Ibn Ḥayyān's description; he “obtained his information from the mouth of Ibn Dahīn the jurist, who obtained it from Muslamah ibn ʿAbd Allāh, the teacher and architect”.<sup>28</sup> The latter was one of the builders of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The three names make rather a short chain of witnesses to cover a century.

In 1987, Labarta and Barceló analysed the literary evidence for the building of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ<sup>29</sup> in a paper whose implications have not been fully realised, because it casts grave doubts on the veracity of the sources. Apart from entries in Arabic biographical dictionaries referring to men who lived at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, nearly all our information is derived from Ibn Ḥayyān. Yet later writers who often claimed to be quoting from Ibn Ḥayyān, differed over the site of the palace, the date of its construction, its size, the number of men and beasts involved in the work, and the materials used. One suspects some of these later accounts of wilful exaggeration. Ibn ʿIdhārī, writing in Fès c. 1312, claimed that in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, 8,000 loaves of bread were required every day just to feed the fish in the fish-ponds.<sup>30</sup> Another, Ibn al-Khaṭīb of Granada (1313–1374), who copied from Ibn ʿIdhārī, sometimes without attribution, inflated that figure to 12,000.<sup>31</sup> Unless vast fishponds remain to be uncovered by the archaeologists, these myriad fish were housed in three smallish pools in front of the reception hall now known as the “Salón Rico”. Similarly, archaeologists

<sup>28</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, 2:119.

<sup>29</sup> Ana Labarta and Carmen Barceló, “Las fuentes árabes sobre al-Zahra’: estado de la cuestión” *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ* 1 (1987), 93–106; for extracts from these sources in Arabic and in Spanish translation, see Mohamed Meouak, “Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ en las fuentes árabes del occidente islámico”, *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ* 5 (2004), 53–80.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān* 2:231.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb aʿmāl al-aʿlām fī man būyiʾa qabla l-iḥtilām min mülük al-Islām* ed. Evariste Lévi-Provençal (Beirut, 1956), p. 38, trans. Wilhelm Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte Spaniens* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1970), p. 123.

have revealed that the splendid mosque that Ibn ‘Idhārī described was in fact very modest in size.

It is not clear exactly when the tradition of talking up the splendours of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ started, but nostalgia for Córdoba was already a powerful theme in the eleventh century. Ibn Ḥayyān looked back on the days of the Umayyads from his own time of civil strife. In an attempt to disguise the decline of al-Andalus, the taifa rulers paraded a number of men whom they falsely claimed to be Hisham II, the last Umayyad caliph, and copied Umayyad architectural styles and ceremonial. The taifa period too passed into legend, to be remembered as a second Golden Age. Al-Maqqarī’s history of al-Andalus focussed on her poets and scholars. Writing of the eleventh century, he quoted a passage from the *Mishab* of Ibn al-Hijārī (1100–55). The original version of the work does not survive, but Ibn al-Khaṭīb gave a short biography of its author, which mentions the writing of the book with this title in six volumes on the history of al-Andalus and North Africa when the author was at the court of ‘Abd al-Mālīk ibn Sa‘īd in Alcalá;<sup>32</sup> several later Maghrebi historians cited it. According to Ibn al-Hijārī, learning flourished at the taifa courts, “since every one of the usurpers disputed with each other the prize of prose and poetical composition, and overstocked their markets with all departments of science; encouraged literature and treated the learned with distinction, rewarding them munificently for their labours. . . .”<sup>33</sup> The historian Ibn Ḥayyān was a favourite of the taifa rulers, who were “naturally avid to become acquainted with the historical labours in which Ibn Ḥayyān had portrayed them”<sup>34</sup>

Not surprisingly, historians singled out Seville and its rulers for special praise. For al-Maqqarī, al-Mu’tamid of Seville was “the most liberal, high-minded and munificent of all the rulers of al-Andalus . . . his court became the meeting place of the learned and his capital the resort of poets and literary men; so much so that there never was a king at whose court a greater number of eminent men were assembled.”<sup>35</sup> These

<sup>32</sup> Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1846–63), 2:143.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain by Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, 2 vols. (London 1840–1843, new edn. 2002), 1:34.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Bassām, *Dakhīra*, cited by García Gómez, “A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān”, 404.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1:301; 1:250; for Jewish poets: Raymond P. Scheindlin, “Hebrew poetry in medieval Iberia”, in Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn D. Dodds *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), pp. 39–60.

men, and a few women, included some of the creators of the image of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ.<sup>36</sup> The poet Ibn Zaydūn (d. 1070) composed an ode on a visit to the gardens of the palace, evoking the times that he had enjoyed there with his beloved.<sup>37</sup> Ibn Ḥamdīs, who fled to Seville from Sicily after the Norman invasion, praised the architectural glories of his new home. Al-Muʿtamid himself wrote several poems on his exile, lamenting the gardens of al-Andalus.

Oh to know whether I shall spend one more night  
in those gardens, by that pond  
amid olive groves, legacy of grandeur,  
the cooing of doves, the warbling of birds  
...Oh that God should choose that I should die in Seville!<sup>38</sup>

Basing her argument on the poetry of the eleventh century and the elaborate sculptural decoration of the Aljafería in Zaragoza. Cynthia Robinson painted a picture of the taifa kingdoms as a world that revolved around poetry. The taifa rulers, rather than developing public institutions displayed to their subjects through ceremonial performances in large spaces, gathered around them small groups of privileged individuals to explore the mysteries of the cosmos in architecture, gardens and poetry.<sup>39</sup> Thus Robinson interprets the Aljafería of Zaragoza, believed to have been built by Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān ibn Hūd “al-Muqtadir” (1048/9–1081/2 or 82/3), as poetry in stone. This is to take the surviving buildings and texts too literally as representative of the society they portray. Indeed, our understanding of al-Andalus in the Umayyad and taifa periods is skewed by the survival of so much of its poetry. It was valued very highly in Andalusī society, as elsewhere in the Islamic world. The brief lives of historians, legal scholars and other

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<sup>36</sup> see e.g. James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry: a student anthology* (Berkeley and London, 1974).

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Zaydūn, *Diwan*, ed. Karam al-Bustani (Beirut, 1975), trans. Cola Franzen, *Poems of Arab Andalusia* (San Francisco, 1989), pp. 34–7, cited by Devin J. Stewart, “Ibn Zaydūn” in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells, eds. *The Literature of al-Andalus* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 306–17, at p. 312; trans. Alois Richard Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its relations with the old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 117–8; see also Michael Sells, in Menocal, Scheindlin and Sells, *Literature of al-Andalus*, pp. 129–32.

<sup>38</sup> al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratib*, ed. Iḥsan ʿAbbās, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1968), 4:275; trans. Rafael Valencia, “Islamic Seville; its political, social and cultural history”, in Jayyusi ed., *Legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>39</sup> Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song. The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden, 2002), p. 4 and 44 and n. 34.

eminent men collected in the biographical dictionaries often refer to their subjects' facility with verse. Ibn al-Abbār (1199–1260) organised his biographical dictionary around it, confining those famous people who did not seem to have left any verse to an appendix.<sup>40</sup> Rather than being seen as a separate, even antithetical, enterprise to history, as in the western tradition, poetry heightened historical narrative, playing a key role in legitimising historical memory. Andalusī poets employed the *topoi* of the east, delighting in gardens and picnics, lamenting over ruins and the cruelty of fate. Ibn Khafāja, known as the “poet of the gardens” explicitly compared the gardens of al-Andalus with Paradise.<sup>41</sup> Yet some modern commentators on this poetry have lost all sense of proportion. The poetry “is in the normal order of things, given the nature of the countryside of al-Andalus, its luxuriance, in the eyes of men more used to the austere barrenness of the desert and impregnated with the poetry of pre-Islamic Arabia.”<sup>42</sup> This statement is an example of the tendency of modern scholarship to treat Islamic culture as essential and unchanging; it ignores, among other things, the fact that the ancestors of the Muslim nobility of al-Andalus had settled in the peninsula nearly four centuries before—or so they claimed. Reading the poetry as an unexamined given produces a sharp divergence between the way al-Andalus and contemporary European societies are described. Albert Hourani argued that “western thought and scholarship have created a self-perpetuating body of received truths which have authority in intellectual and academic life, but bear little relation to the reality of the object which is being studied.”<sup>43</sup> The Iberian peninsula can be represented in this way as having changed from a Christian state, heir to the Roman Empire, into something altogether richer and stranger, a “garden of poets” isolated from the course of European history.

Aware of the snares of romanticism, it is possible to begin to look at Madinat al-Zahrā' through eleventh-century eyes, at least as far as it has been preserved by later authors. Foremost among these is al-Maqqarī, whose *Nafh al-tib*<sup>44</sup>—“the exhalation of sweet fragments of the green branch of al-Andalus”—is often cited in modern studies of al-Andalus

<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *Hulla*, ed. H. Mu'nis, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1963), cited by Molina in “Historiografía”, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Khafāja, *Dīwān* (Alexandria, 1960), p. 136.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥamid Triki “Al-Andalus, ce jardin des poètes VII<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in *Les Andalousies de Damas à Cordoue*, p. 210.

<sup>43</sup> Albert Hourani, *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 57–8.

<sup>44</sup> See n. 38.

as though it were a primary source. One would not normally start the discussion of a medieval topic with the work of a seventeenth-century antiquarian, but such is the state of modern scholarship on al-Andalus. Born in Morocco, al-Maqqarī travelled to Cairo, Mecca and the Near East, and died in 1635. The *Nafh al-tib* was commissioned by the effendi of Damascus when al-Maqqarī was in that city. Half of the work is a collection of poems and anecdotes from al-Andalus covering the period from the conquest to 1492; the rest is a biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, of fishpond fame, who served as wazir of Granada in the second half of the fourteenth century and was an important poet. It is significant that Madīnat al-Zahrā' is prominent in a work which is a literary anthology rather than a history; it was the atmosphere of the place rather than its political importance that al-Maqqarī set out to capture. Al-Maqqarī was also attracted by the story of al-Mu'tamid, whose tomb he visited, perhaps because Ibn al-Khaṭīb had also been there:

We also visited the tomb of al-Mu'tamid, and that of Romeykiyyah, the mother of his children, when we were in Morocco in 1010/1601. We arrived at Aghmat, and, not knowing where that prince was buried, we proceeded to inquire of such of the inhabitants as we chanced to meet. For some time our inquiries were unsuccessful, but at last an old man, bent with age, showed us the place, saying, 'Here lies a king of al-Andalus, and by his side she whom his heart loved tenderly.' We recognized the spot, such as Ibn-al-Khaṭīb described it in his verse—a gentle eminence. We remained for some time fixed to the spot, assailed by fear and thought; our mind soon carried us away to the contemplation of the impenetrable mysteries of Providence.<sup>45</sup>

There is a problem for those of us who are unable to read the whole of al-Maqqarī in Arabic, in that the translation that Gayangos made in the 1840s is excerpted, rearranged and with some of the poetry left out. No one has yet explored the problems posed by al-Maqqarī's work, perhaps because, like many Arabic sources, it runs to several volumes in modern editions. The impression given by many Arabists is that al-Maqqarī simply copied from earlier authors, accurately relaying their words like a transmitter of the sayings of Muhammad. This is sometimes the case. The account of the picnic at Madīnat al-Zahrā' is almost identical to that of Ibn Khāqān—although Dozy, who edited al-Maqqarī, also read a manuscript of Ibn Khāqān's anthology, from which he extracted the

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<sup>45</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties* 1:302.



section on al-Mu'tamid for a collection of source material for Seville under the Abbadids.<sup>46</sup> Dozy would no doubt have regarded himself as a more scrupulous editor than those of the Middle Ages, but he may have adjusted this passage in one or both of the texts in an enterprise not dissimilar to al-Maqqarī's; without reading the manuscripts that both compilers had before them one cannot judge. In addition, al-Maqqarī said that he was not always working from the original sources. He began with a very long apology, stating that in his youth he had:

collected for the description of that country [al-Andalus] and its inhabitants... the most interesting and valuable documents, and the most curious and complete written as well as oral information; we had described minutely the aptitude and superiority of the Andalusians in the sciences, their forwardness and courage in attacking the cruel enemies of God; the enchanting beauties of the spots which they formerly inhabited... But, alas! the whole of this we had left in Maghreb, with the rest of our library; so that we had nothing to assist us in our gigantic undertaking but what little still remained impressed on our mind and memory, and a few detached leaves of our work, which, when inquired for, answered our summons, and happened by chance to be among our papers: for had we at present with us all we had collected for the purpose, and what we had ornamented with the inestimable jewels of narration, all eyes would have been dazzled, and all heart rejoiced; for certainly it would have been the most extensive and complete work ever written on the subject. But, such as it is, we offer it to our readers...<sup>47</sup>

This disclaimer may be a *topos* of the sort familiar to medievalists. Yet it is true that although al-Maqqarī quoted extensively from several historians, passages for which no source is given outnumber quotations. And some of al-Maqqarī's authorities are hardly the most direct. To give one instance: he cites Ibn Ḥayyān from the eleventh century and Ibn Khaldun from the fourteenth as his main sources for the conquest of 711.<sup>48</sup> Some of the problems of al-Maqqarī's history are illustrated by the three different accounts that he gave of the conflict between al-Mu'tamid and Alfonso VI which led to the overthrow of Seville by the Almoravids. This story will also bring us back to our point of departure, Madīnat al-Zahrā'.

<sup>46</sup> Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis* 1:1–10.

<sup>47</sup> *Mohammedan Dynasties* 1:11.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:56.

Al-Maqqarī presented the first account without the authority of a named source, after a conventional introduction to the genealogy and history of the Abbadid dynasty. According to this source, in 1082, a delegation from Alfonso VI, led by a Jew called Ibn Shālib, came to Seville to collect the annual tribute. Al-Muʿtamid produced the money, but it was in debased coinage, and when Ibn Shālib demanded that it be paid in pure gold, al-Muʿtamid had him put to death. Hearing of this, Alfonso threatened to send a huge army against Seville. It was at this point that al-Muʿtamid appealed to the Almoravid ruler Yusuf ibn Tashufin for his help, Yusuf, however, turned against al-Muʿtamid, who was now unpopular with the inhabitants of Seville, says al-Maqqarī, “chiefly because [he] was known to indulge in many reprehensible excesses, such as the drinking of spirituous liquors and listening to music and the singing of female slaves”.<sup>49</sup> Now al-Muʿtamid appealed to Alfonso VI, who came with his army to relieve Seville, but he was beaten back by the Almoravids, and al-Muʿtamid was sent into exile.<sup>50</sup> Al-Maqqarī followed this passage with an account of the same events by Ibn al-Athīr, writing in Iran in the thirteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Athīr gave a more elaborate description of the embassy from Alfonso, which here consists of 500 horsemen, all of whom were massacred by al-Muʿtamid. This is yet another example of a story’s being improved, although Ibn al-Athīr may not be the culprit.

Al-Maqqarī’s third version of the embassy to al-Muʿtamid,<sup>52</sup> which he attributed to al-Ḥimyarī, who was active in the fourteenth century, introduces a new theme. In response to al-Muʿtamid’s failure to pay the annual tribute, Alfonso made two demands: firstly, the handing over of some of al-Muʿtamid’s fortresses, and secondly, that his wife be allowed to visit Córdoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ.

Alfonso was induced to make this extraordinary request at the instigation of his bishops and priests, who recommended the measure to him on account of a church of great veneration among the Christians, which stood once westward of the great mosque, and was pulled down by the Moslems, in order to build on its site the present magnificent structure. He asked, therefore, that his wife should be allowed to reside at Madīnat

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 1:254.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 1:297.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 1:272–5.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 1:270–2.

al-Zahrā', a city west of Córdoba, built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III who expended much time and treasure in its construction, ornamenting it with the most costly rarities, with coloured jaspers and transparent marbles, as well as with the famed [marble] fountain resting on a single pillar, which he caused to be brought to Córdoba from distant lands, and in the acquisition of which he is said to have spent immense sums... His physicians and priests advised him to procure a residence for his wife at al-Zahrā', in order that she might visit the mosque of Córdoba every day until the time of her delivery should come, thus combining the salubrity and amenity of the spot with the sanctity and virtues of the place where she was expected to be confined. The bearer of the message was a Jew, who was one of Alfonso's ministers. As may be presumed, al-Mu'tamid indignantly refused to grant his indecent request.

After presenting these three accounts, al-Maqqarī concluded "The reader must have observed some slight discrepancy between the account of [al-Ḥimyarī] and that of Ibn al-Athīr; but as both authors are well known to have borrowed their information from the most authentic sources, we have preferred, in pursuance of the plan which we traced out to ourselves in the composition of the present work, to afford our readers several versions, however contradictory and opposite, of the same event, rather than deprive them of the least particle of useful information."

Just how useful is this information? The narrative of al-Mu'tamid's struggle with Alfonso and his overthrow by the Almoravids fits into the general outline history of the eleventh century as it has been derived from both Christian and Muslim sources. The suggestion that Alfonso wanted to send his wife to Madīnat al-Zahrā', however, sounds improbable. Yet, rather than rejecting this story as pure fantasy, it is possible to validate parts of it from other sources. The work entitled the *Garden of perfume* of al-Ḥimyarī that al-Maqqarī quotes survives in four manuscripts dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, one of which is almost complete.<sup>53</sup> It is a gazeteer, mainly of al-Andalus, arranged alphabetically, derived from two Arabic geographers of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but interspersed with episodes from the history of al-Andalus whose provenance is unclear. The passage about Alfonso's wife in the manuscripts of al-Ḥimyarī is similar in many respects to al-Maqqarī's quotation. It does not, however, include the description of Madīnat al-Zahrā', which al-Maqqarī seems to have interpolated. Thus, although al-Maqqarī may sometimes be a useful witness to texts whose

<sup>53</sup> Al-Ḥimyarī, *La péninsule ibérique au moyen âge d'après le Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭar fi khabar al-akḥṭār* ed. and trans. Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1938).

originals have since disappeared, we cannot assume that he was simply copying from his sources, even when he had the text in front of him. Every passage of al-Maqqarī must be compared, as far as possible, with alternative versions. Where we are unable to do this, we must regretfully conclude that the historical basis of this episode is highly uncertain, and hope that it will be clarified by manuscripts yet to be discovered.

In addition, although the material from al-Maqqarī's history dominates modern biographies of al-Mu'tamid, there is at least one other version, in which the story of his reign ignored the artistic achievements of the taifa courts, and focussed on al-Mu'tamid's contribution to their failure to resist the advance of the Christians. A twelfth-century author Ibn al-Kardabūs,<sup>54</sup> complained that

not only were the different independent chieftains at that time waging unrelenting war against each other, but they would not infrequently avail themselves of the arms of the Christians to attack and destroy their own countrymen and brothers in religion, lavishing on Alfonso costly presents . . . , in order to conciliate his good wishes, and to obtain security for themselves and assistance against their enemies. The Christians, perceiving the state of corruption into which the Moslems had fallen, rejoiced extremely; for, at that time, very few men of virtue and principle were to be found amongst the Moslems, the generality of whom began to drink wine and commit all manner of excesses.

This providential, pro-Almoravid account had good words only for Yusuf ibn al-Tashufin and his generals. Its author showed no interest in remembering the glories of Córdoba and its taifa successors.

It is possible to get some help in evaluating the different Arabic versions of al-Mu'tamid's reign from the Christian sources from the north of the peninsula; they are also part of the history of al-Andalus, although they have been neglected by Arabists. From what might be termed the opposite historiographical camp, Bernard Reilly's life of Alfonso VI eschews the Arabic histories except for the periods for which there is no other evidence and is constructed largely from Alfonso's charters and letters. It portrays a Christian king who was quite unlike the poet-king of Seville. While al-Mu'tamid was relaxing in his garden, Alfonso VI, in Reilly's version, was progressing relentlessly around León-Castile with an entourage of perhaps 160 people and their baggage train, no doubt on very bad roads, conferring grants to monasteries and surrendering royal

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<sup>54</sup> *Kitāb al-Iktifa' fi akhbār-l-khulafā'*, in al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties* 2: appendix, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

rights and privileges to groups of townsmen.<sup>55</sup> More than 100 charters, 61 confirmations or re-confirmations of private documents<sup>56</sup> and more than 1,000 private documents survive for Alfonso's reign, together with his correspondence. On the cultural side, this material charts Alfonso's growing relationship with Cluny and his adoption of the Roman rite. Yet there is no poetry here, nor any hint of a glittering court culture. Indeed, Reilly surmised that Alfonso himself was illiterate.

Yet it is partly Reilly's selection from the sources which make Alfonso appear so different from al-Mu'tamid. The Latin and vernacular chronicles<sup>57</sup> show a king who was also engaged with the Muslim south. The most significant of Alfonso's relations with the taifas was that with Toledo whose capture in 1085 was, at least in retrospect, a milestone of the Reconquest. For the purposes of this paper, we are concerned with his relationship with Seville. One aspect in particular—the story of the princess Zaïda—demonstrates the potential value of collating the various Christian and Muslim versions and brings us back to Madīnat al-Zahrā'. In 1948, Lévi-Provençal published an article on "La mora Zaïda" based on Latin, vernacular and Arabic sources.<sup>58</sup> This may now be expanded with material that was not available to him. I will begin with the story as told in the Christian north. Zaïda first appears in the *Chronicle of the Kings of León* of Pelayo of Oviedo. According to Pelayo, Alfonso had two noble concubines; the second of these was "Zaïda, the daughter of King Abenabeth of Seville, [i.e. al-Mu'tamid] who was baptised and named Elizabeth, by whom he fathered Sancho, who died at the battle of Uclés."<sup>59</sup> Pelayo was a notorious forger of both charters and narrative, but scholars have linked this story with other pieces of evidence. One of these is an inscription copied by Prudencio de Sandoval in the sixteenth century from a sepulchre at the monastery of Sahagún. The inscription confirms that Alfonso had a wife called Elisabeth who died on a Thursday, the 12th of September, but the year of her death is not

<sup>55</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, *The kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988).

<sup>56</sup> Reilly, "The chancery of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065–1109)" in idem, ed., *Santiago, St.-Denis, and Saint Peter* (New York, 1985), pp. 1–40.

<sup>57</sup> Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. xv.

<sup>58</sup> Evariste Lévi-Provençal, "La mora Zaida", in idem, *Islam d'Occident* (Paris, 1948), pp. 137–151.

<sup>59</sup> *Crónica del Obispo Don Pelayo*, ed. Benito Sánchez Alonso (Madrid, 1924) p. 87, trans. Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid* (Manchester, 2000), p. 88.

reported.<sup>60</sup> Thursday fell on the 12th of September in 1093 and 1099. Reilly assumed the earlier date to be correct, and that this Elisabeth was indeed Zaïda the daughter of al-Mu'tamid, that her relationship with Alfonso began in 1091 or 92 and that she died in childbirth; thus her son Sancho could have been fourteen or fifteen years old when he died at Uclés in May 1108. Reilly's chain of suppositions receives some support from the charters. The first authentic reference to Sancho is a grant to the church of Astorga of 1103<sup>61</sup> and he was declared Alfonso's heir in León in 1107.<sup>62</sup> A document of 27 March 1106,<sup>63</sup> however, seems to refer to Alfonso's marriage to Elisabeth as recent, and as though it were the legitimization of his relationship with a concubine. There is a further significant problem with this. Alfonso was already married to a French princess called Elisabeth or Isabel, mentioned in seventeen documents between 1100 and 1107, who was buried at San Isidoro in León in a tomb which gives the date of her death as 1107. The last reference to any Elisabeth as queen is also dated 1107. In 1108, Alfonso married another French princess, Beatrice. Reilly concluded that "in 1106 [the French Elisabeth] was forced, on some legal pretext or other, into retirement while the mother of Sancho duly took her place, to the confusion of historians ever since. The action was extreme but necessary if the latter's son was to take his proper place as heir to the realm."<sup>64</sup> Indeed, Alfonso had only one surviving son from five marriages. It is more likely, however, that the fault lies, as it so often does, with Pelayo of Oviedo. Pelayo may have deliberately confused Zaïda, perhaps a concubine, with the French queen Elisabeth, in order to give some legitimacy to Alfonso's only heir.

The story of Alfonso's marriage to a Muslim princess was taken up by later Christian historians in Spain. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, in the *De Rebus Hispaniae* of 1243, connected Alfonso's marriage to a daughter of al-Mu'tamid, whom he called María, with al-Mu'tamid's cession to Alfonso of ten towns and fortresses.<sup>65</sup> This echoes al-Himyari's account of relations between the two monarchs. Unfortunately from the point

<sup>60</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1929), 1:778.

<sup>61</sup> Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 313.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>63</sup> "regnante rege illdefonso in legione eiusdemque helisabet regina sub maritali copula legaliter aderente", Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 338.

<sup>64</sup> Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 339.

<sup>65</sup> Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 (Turnhout, 1987), p. 214.

of view of any possible historical veracity of this addition to the story, the places listed almost certainly belonged to Toledo at this date, and were not in al-Mu'tamid's gift. Alfonso X's reworking of sources which included the *De Rebus*, as the *Primera crónica general* recounted how Alfonso VI, after the death of his first five wives, sought a matrimonial alliance with al-Mu'tamid. Al-Mu'tamid gave Alfonso his daughter, here called María la Zaïda, with a handsome dowry of land. Furthermore, in this version it was Alfonso who, on the advice of al-Mu'tamid, invited the Almoravids to the peninsula to aid him against the taifa rulers of Zaragoza and Tortosa. The strategy went badly wrong when the Almoravids reneged on their promises and fought against Alfonso "and his father-in-law. Above all for this reason"—said the chronicler—"that he had given his daughter as a wife to the Christian".<sup>66</sup> Transgression of religious boundaries brought disaster to both sides.

The story of Zaïda was told outside the peninsula in ever more fanciful versions. In Marcabru's *Grand Fazianda de Ultramar*,<sup>67</sup> Zaïda has become another example of "La belle Sarrasine" who offers herself to a Christian knight and changes the course of history. In this story, she is the daughter of al-Ma'mūn, the ruler of Toledo until 1075, who had sheltered Alfonso VI when he was exiled by his brother Sancho. This version of Zaidā's story takes place during the siege of Toledo. The French epic poem *Mainete*, which returned to the peninsula and was summarised in the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna*, moved the story to the eighth century and the hero whom Zaïda married was the young Charlemagne.<sup>68</sup> Zaïda may also be recalled in the legend of St. Casilda, a daughter of al-Ma'mūn, and granddaughter of al-Mu'tamid, who already showed signs of holiness as a young princess by feeding her father's prisoners. When her father surprised her at this activity, the bread in her hands miraculously changed to roses. Seeking a cure at

<sup>66</sup> Alfonso X, *Primera Crónica General que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, with Antonio G. Solalinde, Manuel Muñoz Cortes and José Gómez Perez, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955), 2: 552–4; Leopoldo Funes, *El modelo historiográfico alfonsí: una caracterización*, *Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, Queen Mary and Westfield College* 6 (London, 1997), pp. 54–60.

<sup>67</sup> Carlos Alvar, *Textos trovadorescos sobre España y Portugal* (Barcelona, 1978), p. 207, cited in Jeanne Battesti Pelegrin, "La fascination d'un mythe", in Louis Cardial-lac ed., *Tolède XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup>. Musulman, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolerance* (Paris, 1991), pp. 221–240, at p. 228.

<sup>68</sup> Alan D. Deyermond, *A Literary History of Spain: the Middle Ages* (London, 1971), p. 35.

an unidentified “lake of St. Vincent”, she converted to Christianity and is commemorated in a dedication at Briviesca.<sup>69</sup> Al-Maʾmūn himself, more solidly based in fact, died in the Almoravid attack on Córdoba in 1091.<sup>70</sup>

Versions of some of these stories are also recounted in the Arabic sources. Indeed, this is where they may have originated, although the fact that the anthologies in which they are preserved are so late makes this impossible to prove. It has been supposed that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada read about Zaīda in an epic poem in Romance, now known as the *Cantar de la Mora Zaīda*,—if this indeed ever existed.<sup>71</sup> He is also known to have used Arabic sources directly, most notably in his *Historia Arabum*, which may have as one of its sources an abbreviated version of the histories of Ibn Ḥayyān.<sup>72</sup> At least two Arabic histories mentioned a Muslim princess who had a relationship with Alfonso that resulted in his son Sancho. Here, however, the princess was al-Muʾtamid’s daughter-in-law rather than his daughter. Ibn ʿIdhārī, reporting Sancho’s death at Uclés, described him as “the son of Alfonso . . . by the wife of al-Maʾmūn ibn Abbād, who converted to Christianity”.<sup>73</sup> Such relationships were not to be encouraged. A fifteenth-century legal scholar, al-Wansharishī, used the example of the daughter-in-law of al-Muʾtamid and Alfonso, when he pronounced that Muslims living in Christian Spain should emigrate to North Africa and not remain in Christian lands even to help their co-religionists, because life under the infidel exposed their womenfolk to the risk of apostasy.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, despite Zaīda’s tenuous claim to historical existence, it would be satisfying to be able to link her with the queen whom Alfonso wanted to send to Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. Unfortunately, neither chronology nor onomastics are helpful here. Al-Maqqarī and al-Ḥimyarī did not name her, describing her only as *al-qumjitta*, which has been translated as “the countess”, although this is not obviously a version of the word *qumis* (“count”). The dates do not fit, because Alfonso’s consort during the

<sup>69</sup> María Jesús Rubiera Mata, “Les premiers Mores convertis ou les prémices de la tolérance”, in Cardaillac, ed., *Tolède XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup>*, pp. 102–111, at pp. 106–7.

<sup>70</sup> Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla*, p. 234.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Montgomery, *Medieval Spanish epic; mythic roots and ritual language* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 64–5.

<sup>72</sup> Engracia Ferré, “Une source nouvelle pour l’histoire de l’Espagne musulmana”, *Arabica* (1967), 320–6.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān* III for 1108, cited by Lévi-Provençal, “La mora Zaīda”, p. 144.

<sup>74</sup> Cited by Lévi-Provençal, “La mora Zaīda”, p. 147.



reign of al-Mu'tamid was Constance, mentioned in charters from May 1079—Oct 1093. Yet there may be a relationship between the story of Zaida and the queen who wanted to visit Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Even as Christian forces advanced on the south, Christian rulers placed their relics in Islamic ivory caskets and were buried wrapped in Islamic textiles; they built in the Islamic style. Perhaps even a Christian king could dream of Madīnat al-Zahrā' and treasure the memory of Córdoba in its heyday.

Medieval Arabic authors sometimes acknowledged the impossibility of finding out "what really happened". The eastern scholar Al-Birūnī (d. 1048) complained that the truth value of a statement was entirely dependent on the trustworthiness of the man who first reported it, who might be influenced by all kinds of base motives, or simple ignorance; with the passage of time "the first reporter and his followers form the connecting links between the hearer and the inventor of the lie, and [even] if the connecting links are eliminated, there remains the originator of the story, one of the various kinds of liars... as the only person with whom we have to deal."<sup>75</sup> It is difficult to know how we should classify the unreliable narrators who introduced epic into Latin and vernacular chronicles, or dressed up the Arabic histories with legend and poetry. The appetite to do this may have originated in al-Andalus and been cultivated in the poetry of the taifa courts and the work of Ibn Ḥayyān, although in the Christian sources it is only clearly in evidence from the twelfth century *Cronica Najerense* onwards. It is unlikely that we will ever identify who invented the legends, but it is likely that Christian and Muslim fabricators of history came from the same stable and borrowed from each other. It is often possible, however, to identify some of the elaborations carried out by later authors. Analysis of the transmission of this legendary material is more advanced in the fields of the Latin and vernacular chronicles than in Arabic scholarship. Progress requires cooperation between Hispanists on both sides of the historiographical frontier. Alfonso, a king who struck coins with Arabic legends, had Muslim subjects and may have called himself "the emperor of the two religions,"<sup>76</sup> would not have understood why there are today

<sup>75</sup> Cited by Ḥakim Mohammed Sa'īd and Anṣār Zāhid Khān, *Al-Birūnī, his Life, Times and Works* (Karachi, 1981), p. 180.

<sup>76</sup> Angus MacKay, and Muhammad Benaboud, "The authenticity of Alfonso VI's letter to Yusuf b. Tashufin," *Al-Andalus* 43 (1978), 233–37, idem, "Alfonso VI of León and Castile, 'Al-Imbratur dhu-l-Millatayn'," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 56 (1979), 95–102.

two histories of early medieval Iberia. Future work on the Christian and the Arabic sources for the eleventh century must try to explain why, to use just our small example, both Christian and Muslim chroniclers transmitted stories of a Christian king who married a Muslim princess—perhaps the queen who wished to reside at Madīnat al-Zahrā' where her father loved to picnic. If the past is radically other, that is because only its memory can be recaptured, whilst its reality remains hidden. Whether this memory is a Christian or a Muslim memory should be less important. A critical reading of the overlapping Christian and Muslim sources for the eleventh century helps us to imagine the society that created Córdoba and Madīnat al-Zahrā' as places of memory, even if, in the process, they become a little smaller.



## THE REDISCOVERY OF COUNT PEDRO ANSÚREZ

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Count Pedro Ansúrez (c. 1037–1117) was surely the most prominent and probably the greatest Leonese noble of his time.<sup>1</sup> That importance was reflected in the notices of the chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where he was conceded an attention exceeded only by that given to the Castilian noble, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, *El Cid*. The first of these histories is the *Chronica Naierensis*, whose recent editor, in his critical edition of the text, rehearses the bases of its dating and comes to the conclusion that the text, as we presently have it, most probably derives from after 1185.<sup>2</sup> The historical *persona* of Count Pedro then, appears to be a creation of the popular literature of the twelfth century subsequently absorbed into the more sober Latin chronicle genre.

That conclusion is bolstered by the fact that Pedro makes no appearance in the *Historia Silense*, composed circa 1130, although that chronicle detailed many of the events of the mortal struggle over the succession between Alfonso VI of León (1065–1109) and Sancho II of Castile (1065–1072) with which the count's public career supposedly began and gave evidence already of the incorporation of popular materials.<sup>3</sup> So too, the *Chronicon Regum Legionensium*, composed sometime after 1121 and before 1132, retailed much of the same story,

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 275–77 is the most recent introduction to the man and the sources.

<sup>2</sup> Juan A. Estévez Sola, ed., "Chronica Naierensis," in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII, Pars II*, CCCM 71A (Turnholt, 1995), pp. lxxviii–lxxix, (hereafter CN). Nevertheless, he also suggests the possibility that the work was of much earlier composition and was subsequently redacted and additions made that account for the later dating of a work whose narration of events ends with the death of Alfonso VI of León-Castile in 1109. This tentative suggestion was based on some particulars of the manuscript tradition. The most recent discovery, by the same editor, of a new manuscript, is irrelevant to the question of a redaction: "Un nuevo manuscrito de la Chronica Naierensis," *Scriptorium* 55 (2002), 118–36.

<sup>3</sup> Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorilla, eds., *Historia Silense* (Madrid, 1959), pp. 119–25. See also Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 128–29. There is also the most useful translation and discussion of Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, "Historia Silense" in *The World of El Cid* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 9–64.

but again without mentioning the count.<sup>4</sup> Because of the regional nature of its focus it is less surprising that Count Pedro does not figure in the *Historia Compostelana* completed after 1139.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he is absent as well from the “Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún” that treat a development and an area with which he must, even then, have been concerned in some degree.<sup>6</sup> The final, presently known historical work usually held to be of twelfth-century composition, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, began its account after the death of Count Pedro in 1117 and made no reference to him.<sup>7</sup>

Insofar as we know, the importance of Count Pedro Ansúrez must have grown slowly, in popular tales rather than clerical and literary products, until it was first noted in the *Chronica Naieriensis* after 1185. It must be said that he made only a “cameo” appearance there. It was said only that the count accompanied the defeated King Alfonso VI into exile in Toledo in 1072, and that he had been the young Alfonso’s guardian. By contrast, the whole relation of the episode of struggle over the royal succession between 1068 and 1072 was so framed as to make Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, *El Cid*, its epic hero, complete with stirring speeches as well as hardy deeds.<sup>8</sup> That perspective, emphasizing as much as could be the relative importance of all things Castilian in contrast to those Leonese, accords well with the putative assignment of authorship to a monk of the area of the Rioja, perhaps of Nájera, familiar with the works of Cluny and Paris as well as those of Iberian provenance.<sup>9</sup> But that same emphasis upon things Castilian would also reinforce the argument for the composition of the *Chronica* in the period well after the 1157 division of the kingdom following the death of Alfonso VII,

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<sup>4</sup> Benito Sánchez Alonso, ed. *Crónica del Obispo don Pelayo* (Madrid, 1924). Again see the useful introduction and commentary of Barton and Fletcher, *El Cid*, pp. 65–89. Also Linehan, *Historians*, pp. 156–57.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey, CCCM 70 (Turnholt, 1988), pp. xiii–xxi.

<sup>6</sup> *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún*, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Zaragoza, 1987). Only the early modern Spanish text survives. The initial portions of it were likely written in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

<sup>7</sup> “*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*”, ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII. Part I*, CCCM 71 (Turnholt, 1990), 109–248. Again Barton and Fletcher furnish a useful introduction and translation: *El Cid*, pp. 148–263.

<sup>8</sup> CN, pp. 170–175. The same period has been examined with an eye to all the historical materials available in Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 41–67.

<sup>9</sup> CN, pp. lxxxix–xciv.

when that separation bade well to become permanent and the realms of León and Castile had settled into a chronic state of antagonism.

The second appearance of Count Pedro in the chronicle record was quite distinct in character and the language of its narration, although the historical context is the same. In his *Chronicon Mundi*, Lucas, subsequently bishop of Túc but of Leonese origin, apparently knew rather more of Leonese popular lore or was more inclined to employ it.<sup>10</sup> Lucas clearly was familiar with some of the tales of *El Cid*, but independently of the *Chronica Naierensis*. The latter was not a source that he utilized. In fact, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar had a much-reduced role in Lucas' narration.<sup>11</sup>

Instead, he recounted that three most wise and noble brothers, Pedro Ansúrez, Gonzalo Ansúrez, and Fernando Ansúrez accompanied Alfonso VI to exile in the Muslim city of Toledo in 1072 by permission of Sancho II.<sup>12</sup> Lucas then supplied, complete with dialogue, a highly dramatic story in which the Infanta Urraca, Alfonso's sister, cautions her brother not to let his Muslim captors know that Sancho II has been killed before the walls of Zamora but to make his escape before they are so informed. At this juncture it is Count Pedro, learned in Arabic we are told, who takes the necessary precautions. Stationing himself well north of Toledo, he intercepts two messengers dispatched by traitors to carry the news of Sancho II's death to al-Mamun of Toledo. Feigning interest in their commission, Pedro lures them off the highway and decapitates each in turn. After the interception of a third messenger, this one from Urraca, the count returns to Toledo and secretes horses outside the city. Under cover of darkness, Alfonso VI and his entourage leave Toledo clandestinely and ride all night to reach the cover of Christian Zamora.<sup>13</sup>

The continuing growth of Count Pedro Ansúrez's fame next found expression in Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispanie*,

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<sup>10</sup> For a consideration see Bernard F. Reilly, "Sources of the Fourth Book of Lucas of Túc's *Chronicon Mundi*," *Classical Folia* 30 (1976), 132–36. *Lucae Tudensis: Opera Omnia. Vol. 1. Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque, CCCM 74 (Turnholt, 2003), pp. c–cv, (hereafter CM) is noncommittal about my speculations but without suggesting an alternative explanation. Diego Catalán, *La épica española* Madrid, 2001), pp. 66–67 believes that these insertions have a more diverse origin.

<sup>11</sup> CM, p. 297.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300–301.

completed in 1243.<sup>14</sup> In any evaluation of this latter work the truly remarkable and profound dependence of the archbishop of Toledo and primate of Iberia on his contemporary historian, also his fellow courtier, Lucas of Túy must be kept in mind. As a Castilian by career, although he was Navarrese by birth, he was rather more inclined than his Leonese model to note the deeds of *El Cid*. The latter's genealogy, marriage alliances, and military exploits were all chronicled.<sup>15</sup> In Archbishop Rodrigo's narration of the succession struggle between Alfonso VI and Sancho II the role of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar was generally that already assigned him in the *Chronicon Mundi*.<sup>16</sup> However, the Toledan archbishop not only repeated Lucas' information as to the central importance of Pedro Ansúrez's role in the exile of Alfonso VI in Toledo but assigned him a role, with the Infanta Urraca, in the negotiations at Carrión de Los Condes to secure the consent of Sancho II to allow the defeated Alfonso VI to take the vow of religion and to enter the monastery of Sahagún. Moreover, when Alfonso VI demurred from this settlement, the archbishop named Count Pedro the instigator of a secret flight by night from the court of Sancho II to seek refuge in Muslim Toledo. Finally, the *De Rebus* did not simply identify the brothers of Pedro but described the specific assignment of them, along with the count himself, in the counseling of the exiled ruler.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, Archbishop Rodrigo added an entirely new episode to the story of the career of Count Pedro set during the stormy reign of King Alfonso's daughter and successor, Queen Urraca (1109–1126). From the very outset of her rule Urraca's marriage to her cousin, King Alfonso I, El Batallador (1104–1134) of Aragón, ignited controversy on a variety of dynastic, political, and religious grounds.<sup>18</sup> The archbishop of Toledo was clearly no partisan of Urraca, whom, he said, in a spirit of ingratitude turned against the old adviser of her father and her own one-time guardian and confiscated his lands. King Alfonso of Aragón repudiated this action of his wife, we are told, and restored Count Pedro's lands to him. In turn, Alfonso's action became one more

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<sup>14</sup> *Roderici Ximenii de Rada. Opera Omnia: Vol. 1, Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 (Turnholt, 1987) (hereafter DRH).

<sup>15</sup> DRH, pp. 149, 172, 178, 210, and 212–13.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 199, 201.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197–201.

<sup>18</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton, 1982) is still the handiest guide to the particulars.

issue between the increasingly estranged royal couple and open warfare ensued between them that became more or less endemic between the years 1110 and 1117, when an uneasy truce was effected that lasted until the queen's death. The separation and hostilities of the royal pair created both opportunities and problems for all of the great nobles and courtiers of Urraca's realm. Relatively early in this process, we are not told when of course, Alfonso I repudiated his wife and called upon the magnates of Castilla to declare their loyalty to him.

At this juncture Count Pedro Ansúrez approached the king in the stronghold of Castellar slightly northwest of Zaragoza, clad in scarlet and seated on a white horse, bearing a noose in his hand. He declared to the Aragonese monarch that he must restore the lands given him in fief by that king to Queen Urraca who was his natural lord. Nonetheless, he declared himself ready to accept the consequences of that action even to the point of death at the hands of Alfonso. The latter was initially enraged and inclined to condemn the Leonese but his counsellors intervened. They pointed out that such fidelity to one's natural lord deserved to be rewarded rather than punished. Persuaded, Alfonso dismissed the count with honors in an incident, we are told, that the "Hispani" emulated up to the Rodrigo's own times.<sup>19</sup>

The public persona of Count Pedro Ansúrez traceable in the Latin histories of the high Middle Ages in Iberia comes to completion with the relation of this episode. Yet his fame endured and found further reflection even in the foothills of Aragón in the late fifteenth-century *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*.<sup>20</sup> But the interest of this latest compiler was elsewhere and his repetition of the episode of the confrontation of Count Pedro and Alfonso I added next to nothing to the relation of Archbishop Rodrigo. The sole major difference was that the discovery by the king that his marriage to Urraca was within the prohibited canonical degrees of kindred was emphasized and became the focal point of the dispute between them. The charge that the queen had earlier dispossessed Count Pedro of his lands and that Alfonso had restored them to the count was omitted entirely. The central question of the account had become the now divided allegiance of their former joint subjects.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> DRH, pp. 220–21.

<sup>20</sup> *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Valencia, 1961), pp. 72–74. There is also an edition of the Aragonese version: *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, ed. Carmen Orcastegui Gros (Zaragoza, 1985).

<sup>21</sup> Ubieto Arteta, *Crónica*, pp. 72–74.



Taken together then, the above heroic picture is largely what was known, but for scattered bits and pieces, of the career of the good count before the appearance of Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández's brief biography in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> This distinguished Leonese historian was the first to begin the fuller depiction of Count Pedro based upon the more comprehensive record of the surviving documents. For that purpose, as a native son of León, he had privileged access to many of the then largely unpublished records of that kingdom and its documents.

Since that time, those of us who began the study of this distant and initially unfamiliar place with the uncertain cachet of mere aspiring historians have been blessed with the veritable avalanche of printed collections of medieval documents of the kingdom of León-Castile that began in the mid-sixties and continues still.<sup>23</sup> Rather less completely, the medieval documents of the medieval kingdom of Aragón have begun to find their way into print in the last two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>24</sup>

The combined result has been impressive. By my current count we may now base our history of the good Count Pedro on no less than 464 documents in which he figures in one fashion or another. Their variety includes 24 of Count Pedro's own documents, 114 documents of King Alfonso VI and his sisters,<sup>25</sup> 30 documents of Queen Urraca,<sup>26</sup> and another ten that record his actions in the kingdom of Aragón. The count also appears in some 295 private documents.

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<sup>22</sup> Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez* (León, 1966).

<sup>23</sup> Most of them have been published under the patronage of the Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León and its worthy director José María Fernández Catón. It might be noted that, for example, my own history of Queen Urraca and her reign done in 1982 has recently been massively supplemented by Irene Ruiz Albi, ed., *La Reina Doña Urraca (1109–1126): Cancillería y colección diplomática* (León, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> José Angel Lema Pueyo, ed., *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona, 1104–1134* (San Sebastián, 1990) is particularly pertinent here. But then so are local collections such as Cebrià Baraut, "Els documents de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," appearing in *Urgellia* from 1978 until the present.

<sup>25</sup> Andrés Gamba, ed., *Alfonso VI; Cancillería, curia e imperio*, 2 vols. (León, 1998), 2: 539 has a handy introduction to the list. 12 August 1091: Carlos M. Reglero de la Fuente, *El monasterio de San Isidro de Dueñas, 911–1478* (León, 2005), pp. 364–68 is a donation of the *Infanta* Urraca. 6 September 1096: Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, ed., *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Carbajal* (León, 2000), pp. 60–62. Gamba did not include charters of the other members of the royal house in his collection.

<sup>26</sup> Ruiz Albi, *Urraca*, p. 628.

Employing these records we may enlarge, correct, and refine much of what the chronicles have earlier told us. For instance, it was always doubtful that Count Pedro was the guardian of the future Alfonso VI of León-Castile. Such responsibility would imply that the bearer was himself of adult years, but Alfonso and Pedro appear to have been rough contemporaries. The king died on 1 July 1109, at approximately seventy-two years of age.<sup>27</sup> The count appeared for the last time in a document of the future Alfonso VII of 9 December 1117 and died, in all probability, not long after.<sup>28</sup> The king and his loyal courtier, not yet a count but royal *majordomo*, appeared together in the first two of the known royal charters in the summer of 1067.<sup>29</sup> But soon after, before the climactic clash with Sancho II and the subsequent exile to Toledo, Pedro first appeared with the comital title in the charter his royal master dated 22 November 1068.<sup>30</sup> It is likely, rather, that the two had been companions and friends from childhood.

Concerning Count Pedro's putative knowledge of Arabic the documents will, of course, tell us nothing. On the whole it seems to this writer that it is likely that he had at least a smattering of that language. As frontiersman, a landholder, and a warrior, often in contact with Arabic speakers, some advantage would have accrued from the ability to communicate simple commands and questions directly and persons such as the count would have been quick to perceive them. Formal learning in Arabic among the Christian nobles of the northern *meseta*, on the other hand, would have been most unlikely outside of high clerical and scholarly circles, particularly those found in Toledo and other Mozarabic centers.

The purported confiscation of the count's lands by Urraca raises problems of considerable complexity. At present I find no reason to modify the hypothesis that I advanced in 1988 that it was, in fact, her father who effected the confiscation of his old friend's estates and his exile as a political necessity in the struggle after 1100 to secure a suitable male successor to continue his dynasty.<sup>31</sup> After confirming virtually every known charter of his royal master, Count Pedro did not appear in a

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<sup>27</sup> Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, p. 363.

<sup>28</sup> José Antonio Fernández Flórez, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún* 4; 1110–1199 (León, 1991), pp. 51–52. Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, pp. 83–84.

<sup>29</sup> Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 1, 3–6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10–12.

<sup>31</sup> Reilly, *Alfonso VI*, pp. 327–35.

single one after 22 June 1103 and the end of the reign.<sup>32</sup> This political purge seems to have extended to his elder brother, Gonzalo, as well and most likely to Count Pedro's allies, or at least to those of like mind. In the last known of his own documents that place him in the Leonese realm on 7 November 1103 Count Pedro donated his foundation, the collegiate church of Santa María de Valladolid, and all of his possessions therein to the bishop of Palencia. The charter irresistibly suggests a winding up of one's affairs in preparation for a departure.<sup>33</sup> Two documents of the royal monastery of Sahagún, one of 2 April 1104 and another of 28 August 1104, may indicate that he lingered about the territories of his family until the latter date.<sup>34</sup>

When next Count Pedro appears he confirmed instead a private donation to the church of Santa María de Solsona, in the county of Urgel on 2 June 1105.<sup>35</sup> He was already acting as guardian of the young Count Armengol VI of Urgel whose father had lost his life at the battle of Mollerusa in September of 1102 fighting against the Almoravid invasion of the Christian northeast of the peninsula. Count Armengol V had been married to a daughter, María Pérez, of Count Pedro and the young Count Armengol VI was the grandson of the Leonese magnate.

Over the next few years a variety of documents enable us to follow the rather distinguished career of Count Pedro in Urgel. He allied the county with the more considerable realms of Barcelona under Count Ramon Berenguer III and of Aragón under King Alfonso I.<sup>36</sup> Joint efforts by these three warriors not only repaired the losses of 1102 but wrested most of the fortresses of the plain north of Lleida from the Muslims. In particular, the strategic town of Balaguer was taken in late 1105 and fashioned into a new center for the counts of Urgel. Other documents

<sup>32</sup> Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 2:454–56 and 485–88. The latter charter of 30 December 1107 is a forgery.

<sup>33</sup> Teresa Abajo Martín, ed., *Documentación de la catedral de Palencia* (Palencia, 1986), pp. 54–56, but incorrectly dated to 6 November 1103.

<sup>34</sup> María Herrero de la Fuente, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*. 3 (León, 1988), pp. 459–60, in which he is cited "In saldania comite petrus," and pp. 470–71 in which he confirmed simply as "Petrus comes."

<sup>35</sup> Antoni Bach Riu, ed., *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Solsona*. 2 vols. (Lleida, 2002), 1:95–96.

<sup>36</sup> 3 November 1105: Francisco M. Rosell, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945), 1:165–66. 1106: Antonio Durán Gudiol, ed., *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1965), 1:123. 1105–1106?: Lema Pueyo, *Colección*, pp. 18–21. 8 October 1105: Cebrià Baraut, "Diplomatari del monestir de Sant Sadurni de Tavèrnoles (segles IX–XIII)," *Urgellia* 12 (1994–1995), pp. 7–414, at p. 186.

of 1106 illustrate the activities of Count Pedro in the more mundane affairs of the county of Urgel.<sup>37</sup> However, after 1106 the count disappears from the documents of the northeast of the peninsula as well. We may assume that he continued to be active in the affairs of Urgel but the scant documentation available to date shows the young Armengol VI acting alone. Thus the count in 1107 confirmed two documents of the collegial church of Ager.<sup>38</sup>

Twice in 1109 there is again evidence of Armengol VI acting alone in ordinary comital activity.<sup>39</sup> In 1110 he again acted twice, once with the acknowledged consent of a variety of nobles of Urgel and subsequently apparently with complete independence.<sup>40</sup>

Pedro Ansúrez, meanwhile, seems to have been reinstated for a private charter to the monastery of Sahagún of 27 March 1109, was confirmed by “*Petrus Comes*.”<sup>41</sup> Then only three weeks after the death of Alfonso VI and in the first known charter of Urraca’s reign the Leonese magnate confirmed as “*Petrus Ansuriz, Carrionensium comes*.”<sup>42</sup> It seems most likely then that Count Pedro’s exile was the work of Alfonso VI, shortly before the end of whose reign he was allowed to return and then was immediately reinstated in his honors by Urraca within at least three weeks of her father’s death. At the kindest, the popular legends have it confused and the later Latin chroniclers blundered along in their track.

That Count Pedro was an early supporter of the troubled marriage of Queen Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragón does seem clear. Between December of 1110 and October of 1111 he confirmed all four of the only

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<sup>37</sup> 26 March 1106: Manuel Riu, “La canònica de Santa Maria de Solsona. Precedents medievals d’un bisbat modern,” *Urgellia* 2 (1979), 211–256, at p. 231. 6 April 1106: Barault, “Tavèrnoles,” 186–87. 28 August 1106: Riu, “La canònica,” 231. November 23, 1106: Bach Riu, *Diplomatari*, 1:98–100.

<sup>38</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona. MS 941: *Compendi de tots els instruments antics y moderns que es traban en l’Arxiu de la Molt Insigne Iglesia Colegial de San Pere de Ager*. A. 1766: 1107: fol. 188r–v; 6 August 1107: fols. 204v–205r.

<sup>39</sup> 18 May 1109: Barault, “Tavèrnoles,” 187. September 1109: *ibid.*, 206.

<sup>40</sup> 7 June 1110: Cebrià Barault, “Els documents de l’Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d’Urgell,” *Urgellia* 9 (1988–1989), 89–90. 21 December 21 1110: Bach Riu, *Diplomatari*, 1:142–43.

<sup>41</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:544–45. The charter is an original and the likelihood of another Count Petrus at this time is small.

<sup>42</sup> Ruiz Albi, *Reina*, pp. 353–56. The charter is original. On 15 January 1110 another charter of the queen confirmed to the church of Valladolid, delicately, all of the donations of Count Pedro and his wife to that foundation “*usque ad exitum illorum de hac terra et post reversionem illorum*”: *ibid.*, pp. 363–65.

known charters issued jointly by the married couple.<sup>43</sup> The accounts in the chronicles of the quarrel between Urraca and Alfonso I were not, of course, dated but they uniformly imply that it occurred early in their relationship before their consanguinity could become the insuperable issue. Though there were to be subsequent reconciliations, partial and fleeting, the most likely date is the year 1110 or very early in 1111.<sup>44</sup> The chronicles are better as to place, locating the major developments on the frontier between Castile and Aragón, at Castelar to the north of Zaragoza and to its west at Soria, on one of the major routes between the two realms. The charters of both Urraca and Alfonso I support the notion that both were in that area in the late summer and fall of 1110, though not without some ambiguities.<sup>45</sup>

Possibly at the same time, at least in 1110, Count Pedro Ansúrez and his wife made a grant to the cathedral of Pamplona, the dating formula of which cited Alfonso I as “regnante... in Toletto, et in Legione et in Pampilona et in Aragone.”<sup>46</sup> Clearly the count was in the same region at the time and was still capable of recognizing Alfonso I as his legitimate liege. Curiously, Armengol VI of Urgel also confirms the text, at least in the best of its preserved versions.

Whatever the literary dynamic behind the tantalizing relations of the chronicles, the surviving documents provide more sober information about the great count of the Ansúrez. As every great noble needs to be, he was a courtier. The evidence here is that he confirmed roughly one half of all the known charters of Alfonso VI in the time before his exile in 1104. After he had been restored to his dignities and lands under Urraca, he confirmed just a little less than one third of all of her charters issued during his lifetime, the last of those being that of 1 March 1117.<sup>47</sup>

That courtier status rested securely on his descent from an ancient family that had moved from the foothills of the Cantabrians, with the early Leonese kings, to become the counts of Saldaña and Carrión. It enabled him to move naturally at the highest levels of society. His

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 379–80, 380–82, 382–84, and 391–93. Their marriage agreement, *carta de arras*, of December 1109, does not preserve the names of any of those who must have confirmed: *ibid.*, pp. 360–62.

<sup>44</sup> Reilly, *Urraca*, pp. 65–78 for the context.

<sup>45</sup> For Urraca, see n. 43. For her husband, see Lema Pueyo, *Colección diplomática*, pp. 56–64.

<sup>46</sup> José Goñi Gaztambide, ed., *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Pamplona, 829–1243* (Pamplona, 1997), pp. 127–28.

<sup>47</sup> Ruiz Albi, *Reina*, pp. 488–90.

father, Count Ansur Díaz, confirmed eight of the thirty one charters of Fernando I issued by 28 June 1046. That count's death followed not long after.<sup>48</sup> Pedro's brothers, who figured in the popular tales, left only modest traces in the documents.<sup>49</sup> Count Pedro himself would marry Elo, daughter of Count Alfonso Muñoz, and one of their issue, María, would marry Count Armengol V of Urgel before 1101. After Pedro's death their grandson, Count Armengol VI of Urgel, inherited Count Pedro's position and became a major figure in the court of Alfonso VII. He married a daughter of the Castilian comital house of Lara as well and was to aid, in his capacity as ally of Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Aragón-Barcelona, in the *reconquista* in the northeast that resulted in the latter's capture of Tortosa in 1148 and Lleida in 1149.<sup>50</sup> A great-grandson, Count Armengol VII (1154–1184), became a very important figure at the court of Fernando II of León (1157–1188), married a sister of King Alfonso II of Aragón-Barcelona, and eventually met his death campaigning against the Muslims on the borders of Valencia.<sup>51</sup>

As is always the case in a kingdom and society based on agricultural wealth, the family of Pedro Ansúrez owed its prominence at court to its holdings in land at the same time that it owed its wealth in land to its prominence at court. Such a combination of royal favor and royal necessity was doubtless the reason that he was cited as commanding Zamora on 27 April 1084, in Zamora, Toro and Tordesillas on 6 May 1085, in Zamora and Toro on 30 August 1087, in Zamora and Toro again on 23 June 1088, and in Toro on 16 August 1090, but with Zamora and Tordesillas then in the hands of others.<sup>52</sup> When Alfonso VI launched his final assault on the Muslim *taifa* of Toledo in 1085, its fall led to an Almoravid invasion of al-Andalus in 1086 from North Africa and

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<sup>48</sup> Pilar Blanco Lozano, ed., *Colección diplomática de Fernando I, 1037–1065* (León, 1987), pp. 217 and 104–07. Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>49</sup> Rodríguez Fernández, *Pedro Ansúrez*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>50</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia, 1998), p. 121.

<sup>51</sup> Twelfth-century counts of Urgel deserve a modern, critical history in light of printed documents now more easily available. My own "Prince into Mercenary: Count Armengol VI of Urgel, 1102–1154," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 2 (2004), pp. 39–52 is but an introduction and the older accounts leave yet more to be desired. See Simon Barton, "The Count, the Bishop and the Abbot: Armengol VI of Urgel and the Abbey of Valladolid," *The English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 85–103 on other of the count's activities in León-Castile.

<sup>52</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:105–06, 118–20, 138–39, 109–11 (incorrectly dated by the editor to 24 December 1084), and 172–74.

their defeat of the Leonese king at Sagrajas in October of that year. Then these three strong-points controlled a 65-kilometer stretch of natural fosse along the north bank of the Duero river that was critical to the support of an army operating in the still only marginally settled lands between it and the Guadarrama mountains or even to the south of that chain. After the defeat at Sagrajas the same bases continued to be crucial if Toledo were to be retaken by the Muslims or flanked by them. That threat persisted for 125 years, until the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. This line of defense was subsequently to be subsumed into a more general reorganization of the western portions of the kingdom and entrusted to Count Raymond of Burgundy, Alfonso VI's son-in-law, after 1094.<sup>53</sup>

However, that reorganization seems still to have left Count Pedro in command of the then outpost of Madrid, which sat on the southern approaches to the critical pass of Navacerrada through the Guadarramas. He had been placed there as early as 1095 and he claimed authority there in his own document of 4 January 1096. That authority was bolstered by fairly extensive grants in the newly captured Toledo to the south.<sup>54</sup> His control of the eastern portions of the frontier continued. In May 1095 he founded and richly endowed the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor in Valladolid.<sup>55</sup> That act strengthened and consolidated his position in and around this frontier site from which the rivers that drained the eastern portion of the northern *meseta*, the Arlanza, the Arlanzón, the Pisuega, and the Carrión flowed finally down into the Duero. Just upstream of Valladolid Count Pedro had controlled Cabezón since at least 7 April 1088 and continued to do so as late as 11 December 1115.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, "Count Raimundo of Burgundy and French Influence in León-Castilla (1087–1107)," in Therese Martin and Julie Harris eds., *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 85–109, at pp. 89–90.

<sup>54</sup> José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, Irene Ruiz Albi, Mauricio Herrero Jiménez, eds., *Colección documental del monasterio de San Román de Entrepeñas, 940–1608* (León, 2000), pp. 57–59. Also see Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1960), 1:123 and 118.

<sup>55</sup> Abajo Martín, *Documentación*, pp. 43–47. It is worth remarking that even in such an originally private foundation such as this, the authority of the count was not necessarily exclusive. See the useful study of Adeline Rucquoi, *Valladolid en la Edad Media*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1985), especially 1:166–67; cf. Barton "The Count", 93–103. The age simply did not know exclusive public authority.

<sup>56</sup> Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, eds., *Documentos de la iglesia colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*. 2 vols. (Valladolid, 1917–1920), 1:7–10 and 109–112.

Just downstream of it he later commanded the town of Simancas, from at least 13 June 1113 until 11 December 1115.<sup>57</sup> In Torremormojón, 35 kilometers northwest of Valladolid, Count Pedro held the castle from at least 17 September 1114 to 19 November 1115.<sup>58</sup> Two documents of the Leonese monastery of Sahagún, dated to 26 February 1111 and 23 January 1113, cite him as count in Melgar, probably Melgar de Arriba, 15 kilometers south of that monastery.<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that these latter commands may well have had more to do with Queen Urraca's defense of her realm against Alfonso I of Aragón than with Alfonso VI's provisions against attack by the Almoravids.

Consonant with the military practice of the age, to fulfill his military obligations to the crown Count Pedro would have had to support an independent force of 40 to 50 horsemen and another 150 to 200 foot out of his own resources. Half of the number of this armed band would likely have been the expected military contribution to royal offensive actions due from a count or bishop of the realm. The resultant financial and logistic burden fell chiefly upon the properties of the count and especially the more settled and protected inheritance of an established family of the northern *meseta* such as the Ansúrez.

In Count Pedro's own time the core of these holdings stretched north and south, principally along the line of the Carrión River, from Liébana high in the foothills of the Cantabrian Mountains,<sup>60</sup> down through Saldaña roughly 70 kilometers due east of the royal city of León itself,<sup>61</sup> and then on to Carrión de los Condes, some 80 kilometers southwest of León and 70 kilometers west of Burgos and on the main pilgrim road that connected the two towns. Pedro was cited as count in Carrión no fewer than thirteen times between 22 February 1093 and 9 February 1116.<sup>62</sup> It is likely that to these citations another ten, dating

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<sup>57</sup> José Antonio Fernández Flórez, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún 5, 1110–1199* (León, 1991), pp. 36–37 and Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:109–12.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:91–92 and 95–97. Luis Miguel Villar García, ed., *Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia, 1115–1300* (Salamanca, 1990), pp. 45–46.

<sup>59</sup> Fernández Flórez, *Colección*, 5:29–30 and 32–34. The editor calls both originals but I believe that they are copies at best.

<sup>60</sup> 3 June 1101: Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:67–71.

<sup>61</sup> The most frequently cited of all of Pedro's comital holdings at no less than seventy-four times. 21 September 1081: Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:86–88, an original. 27 December 1115: Ruiz Ascencio, Ruiz Albi, and Herrero Jiménez, eds., *Colección*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>62</sup> Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 2: 314–16 and Ruiz Albi, *Reina*, pp. 465–67.



from 23 January 1080 to 18 August 1110, that style him as count in Santa María should be added for the citation is probably short for Santa María de Carrión<sup>63</sup> An important outlying position was at San Román de Entrepeñas, a monastery near present-day Santibáñez de la Peña, some 30 kilometers north of Saldaña. Pedro was styled count there as early as 21 July 1077 and as late as 12 December 1115.<sup>64</sup>

The actual extent and richness of the patrimony of the Count Pedro is, of course, impossible to reconstruct completely. We ordinarily become aware of its contents only when a property is being alienated by a gift, transfer, or sale described in one of the 24 surviving documents of Pedro and his wife. There are a few instances of grants to individuals for services rendered but the bulk of the documents that have survived illustrate rather the network of patronage, influence, and mutual interests that bound the count to no fewer than the two bishoprics of León and Palencia, to the great collegiate church of Valladolid, and to six monasteries.

Two of these are worth particular attention here for they indicate something of the dimensions of the resources involved. On 25 March 1085 Abbot Hugh of Cluny sold to Count Pedro the holdings that the latter's deceased stepmother, the Countess Justa, the second wife of Count Ansur Díaz, had previously willed to the great Burgundian abbey. The list of properties is impressive but even more so is the cost of the transaction, 2500 silver *solidi*.<sup>65</sup> Some time later, the Count himself donated some of these properties to the bishopric of León and added to the gift 1000 silver *solidi*, 300 gold *metkales* in the coin of Oviedo, gave an additional 300 silver *denarii* in the mintage of León to the canons of that church, and a gold vase valued at 500 *solidi* to King Alfonso VI who confirmed the charter.<sup>66</sup>

For such surmises as are possible of the methods and means through which the resources, produce, rents, fees, livestock, and persons of these holdings were exploited we must rely upon the further, if indirect, testimony of the count's own documents and the glimpses they provide of the comital court which was the essential mechanism of control. The

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<sup>63</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1.690, no. 3, is a private document in a copy of the twelfth century: Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:82–84.

<sup>64</sup> Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, and Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 52–53 and 59–60.

<sup>65</sup> José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, ed., *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León*. 4 (León, 1990), pp. 519–20.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 557–559. The editor dates this latter to the period 1088–1091.

model for Count Pedro's court was, of course, the royal court itself. At this period the royal court exploited its particular domains through the office of *merinos*, individuals who were at once estate managers, judges, and even military recruiters and organizers in their districts when need be. Local public concerns were, to some extent, in the purview of judicial officials called *sayones*. Ongoing supervision of lands and localities was supplemented primarily by the direct royal control offered by the circulation of the royal court itself through the countryside. That court itself displayed only a rudimentary specialization in its breakdown into the offices, honors might be the better description in this period, of *majordomo*, *alférez*, and chancellor.<sup>67</sup>

Because of the relative paucity of his own documents, only fifteen of them spread over a period of thirty years, the glimpse that they afford of the comital court is but a paler reflection of the royal one.<sup>68</sup> However, a happy concentration of three of them, all issued in 1115 near the end of the count's life, provides evidence for the existence of that most prominent of court officials, the *majordomo*. Within seven months one Aznar Sánchez was cited in that post.<sup>69</sup> He was, it appears, a man of considerable substance, on 11 December 1115 donating both a church and a village to the collegiate church of Valladolid.<sup>70</sup> His name is atypical for a Leonese and he may even have been an Aragonese who had entered Count Pedro's service there. In the following year, 1116, three different diplomas of Alfonso I of Aragón cite one Aznar Sánchez as tenant in Burgos, as his "stabularius," and then as tenant in Belorado in the mountains some 50 kilometers east of Burgos.<sup>71</sup> This was at a critical season when Alfonso was bidding for support in Castile against the offensives of Urraca, his former wife.

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<sup>67</sup> One must be aware that strict delimitation of public from private authority was exceptional in the age and that most studies of such functions have been based on the better documented and legally more conscious Later Middle Ages. With that in mind, the most useful general summary is still found in Luís G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de las instituciones españolas* (Madrid, 1968).

<sup>68</sup> An additional nine of Pedro's documents issued in the county of Urgel are not informative in this respect. This was an interlude of special circumstances and the diplomatic of the documents of Aragón was quite distinct from that of León.

<sup>69</sup> 16 April 1115: Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 58–59. 27 June 1115: Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:106–07. It is perhaps an original. 19 November 1115: Villar García, *Documentación*, pp. 45–46. It is an original.

<sup>70</sup> Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:109–12.

<sup>71</sup> Lema Pueyo, *Colección*, pp. 90–92, 103–07, and 107–09.

More continuity is indicated in the appearance of Count Pedro's chief military officer, i.e. his *alférez*. Jimeno Pérez is cited in that office in 1098 and again in 1103.<sup>72</sup> In this latter document there is the sole mention of a *dapifer*, or butler, one Pedro Guillermez, in the count's entourage. Other officers mentioned in his charters include Munio Gutiérrez, who confirmed as *merino* in San Román de Entrepeñas on 4 January 4 1096.<sup>73</sup> Again on 13 April 13 1101 one Muño Díaz confirmed as *merino* in Carrión de los Condes.<sup>74</sup>

All of these officials come to our knowledge in those documents that were, typically, the product of the comital writing office. In a period when the royal chancery itself was only just beginning to take an institutional shape the arrangements of lesser potentates might be expected to be even more informal. Nonetheless, written instruments were both essential and customary for some purposes and scribes had to be to hand. In the instance of Count Pedro what may be the first of his documents that preserves the notary's name was produced by one "Lucius qui notuit."<sup>75</sup> However, Lucius does not reappear in subsequent comital documents and it is more likely that he was a scribe and cleric of the cathedral of León, the recipient of Pedro's grant. This was not unusual. Even kings in this period occasionally pressed clerics of the receiving institution into service of this sort.<sup>76</sup>

On 7 September 1090 and 16 September 1090 two other closely related documents of the count were prepared by a certain "Romanus."<sup>77</sup> Since both are originals they would constitute a precious insight into the practices of the comital writing office but, again, it is more likely that the scribe was a monk of the monastery of Sahagún, the receiving institution in this case. "Romanus" did not again appear in Pedro's documents but he was very busy at the monastery during 1090 and 1092.<sup>78</sup> Five years later, on 21 May 1095 Count Pedro's foundational grant to the collegiate church of Valladolid bore the subscription "Petrus qui notuit et conf." The latter may have been a cleric of the count's household but it is impossible to be sure. The name was very common and document was issued

<sup>72</sup> 21 May 1098: Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:365–67; and 7 November 1103: Abajo Martín, *Documentación*, pp. 54–56.

<sup>73</sup> Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 57–59.

<sup>74</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:413–15.

<sup>75</sup> Ruiz Asencio, *Colección*, 4: 557–59, dates it between 1088 and 1091.

<sup>76</sup> For this Lucius see Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 1:169.

<sup>77</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:176–77 and 178–79.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168–206.

in a meeting that included the greatest men of the realm and the king himself.<sup>79</sup> The next document, 3 May 1096, with a notarial subscription, is hardly that of Count Pedro himself. It is rather the record of a judicial decision, those documents called in the period *agnitiones*, in which the count was the judge. The “Pelagius notuit” may have been a cleric who constituted his writing office or a monk of Sahagún for the monastery was interested in this case.<sup>80</sup> Not a year later, 8 March 1097, “Ernaudus notuit” appeared in an exchange of properties and rights between the count and the monastery of San Zoil de Carrión.<sup>81</sup> It was the notary’s only appearance. On 21 May 1098 one “Petrus presbiter notuit” appeared in the count’s grant to a private individual and the modest nature of the diploma makes it likely that the former was indeed a cleric, even perhaps the chaplain, of Pedro’s household and perhaps thus constitutes the first solid evidence of a regular comital notary.<sup>82</sup>

On 13 April 1101 Count Pedro and the Cometissa Eilo agreed that they should be buried in the royal monastery at Sahagún, making the appropriate donations, in an original document, which “Sancius notuit et cf.”<sup>83</sup> Hardly more than a year later, on 26 July 1102, the comital couple exchanged some properties with that same monastery in another original document also written in the Visigothic script and subscribed “Monnio presbiter scripsit et confirmat.”<sup>84</sup> Then on 7 November 1103 Count Pedro and Countess Eilo donated all of their property, including the collegiate church of Valladolid, to the bishop of Palencia in a prelude to their journey into exile in the county of Urgel. The notarial subscription is peculiar in that it is Pyrenean rather than Leonese in character, “Gilabertus presbiter, notuit die et anno quo supra et hec signum (S) fecit, Guidone dictante.” One suspects that clerics of a delegation from Urgel, then waiting upon the count, were called upon to draft the document.<sup>85</sup>

When Count Pedro returned from Urgel much had changed in the Leonese realm and so had his court. In 1112 he and his wife granted a charter to the monasteries of San Isidro de Dueñas and its motherhouse

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<sup>79</sup> Abajo Martín, *Documentación*, pp. 43–47.

<sup>80</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:307–08.

<sup>81</sup> Pérez Celada, *Documentación*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>82</sup> Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección*, 3:365–67. The editor calls it an original but my judgment is that it is a copy made with a deliberate attempt at archaism.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413–15.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 432–33.

<sup>85</sup> Abajo Martín, *Documentación*, pp. 54–56.

of Cluny that was subscribed either “Martinus notarius” or Martinus notuit.<sup>86</sup> Probably the latter, for just so will “Martinus” subscribe another four of the count’s charters between then and 1117. Moreover he will add the place of issuance to the date in three of them.<sup>87</sup> This latter practice is an innovation in the diplomatic practice for even royal charters will not regularly add the place of issuance for another twenty years. Nor was it a personal quirk. Already on 13 June 1113, when the count rewarded his servant María Fernández, the charter was subscribed “Petrus Ihoannis [sic] presbyter notuit in Capecon et cf (S)”<sup>88</sup> Again a “Petrus,” perhaps the same man, followed the same practice in two comital charters of 1115.<sup>89</sup> The first of these was a grant by the count to “Martino meo clerico” which may mark the retirement of that notary.

All in all, the surviving documents furnish a richer and more varied picture than do the chronicles of the great Count Pedro Ansúrez, his family and his court. This record has been accumulating in the edited sources over the past half century and its information even testifies, in some degree, not just to the existing state of affairs in his household but also that in the Leonese kingdom and society, together with some of its modifications and development. There is a proper satisfaction in that for us. At the same time, our all too human nostalgia may move us, occasionally, to long once again for the simpler vision of the heroic, red-clad figure astride his white charger.

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<sup>86</sup> Carlos M. Reglero de la Fuente, *El monasterio de San Isidro de Dueñas, 911–1478* (León, 2005), pp. 371–74. The charter exists in two slightly differing copies. Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, and Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>87</sup> 17 September 1114, “Martinus notuit in Baladolid”: Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, *Documentos*, 1:91–92 and 95–97. 16 April 1115, “Martinus notuit in Sancto Romano de Pennas”: Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, and Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 56–59. 27 June 1115, “Martinus notuit in Saldania”: Mañueco Villalobos and Zurita Nieto, 1:106–07. 9 January 1117, “Martinus notuit”: Reglero de la Fuente, *Monasterio*, pp. 381–82. This last is an early modern copy.

<sup>88</sup> Fernández Flórez, *Colección*, 4:36–37. The editor calls it an original but I think it is a copy. The script employed is Caroline.

<sup>89</sup> 15 November 1115, “Petrus presbyter notuit et (sic) collar”: Villar García, *Documentos*, pp. 45–46. The editor calls it an original but describes the script as Caroline. 27 December 1115, “Petrus scriba scripsit in Sancti Romani”: Ruiz Asencio, Ruiz Albi, and Herrero Jiménez, *Colección*, pp. 59–60.

“PRINCIPES ET POPULUS”:  
CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

*Christopher Tyerman (University of Oxford)*

A recent article on the years 1640–42 to the outbreak of the English Civil War identified elements that encouraged the development of public involvement in the political process: “Elections, sermons, processions, petitions, demonstrations, pamphlets and politicized conversations brought “men that did not rule” (and sometimes women too) into active engagement with public affairs.” The author argued that in these years “it was as if ordinary people had gate-crashed the political arena.” “The genie was out of the bottle.” “A revolution from which there was no going back”.<sup>1</sup> Each item on the list of features supporting this revolutionary change may strike medievalists as familiar, as does the presence in political action of those beyond the normal pale of the powerful elites of church and state. When Charles I raised the spectres of Jack Cade and Wat Tyler in rebutting his critics, he was on surprisingly solid historical ground.<sup>2</sup> The rebellious events of 1450 and 1381 exposed what Steven Justice has described as a “political culture in the countryside,” the rebels forming “a rational and disciplined community with a coherently articulated program.”<sup>3</sup> This perception is strengthened by Samuel Cohn’s recent work on popular protest and social rebellion further back in time, from the mid-thirteenth century, with its emphasis on the coherence and effective political challenge to existing elites presented by peasant and artisan generated and led protests and revolts.<sup>4</sup> David Carpenter has pointed to peasant engagement in the

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<sup>1</sup> David Cressy, “Revolutionary England 1640–42,” *Past & Present* 181 (2003), pp. 68, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, p. 68 and note 155 for source.

<sup>3</sup> Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 5, 258.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Cohn, “Popular Revolt and the Rise of the Early Modern State,” *The Historian* 89 (2006), 26–33, and his *Popular Protests in Later Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 2004).

English civil wars of the 1260s.<sup>5</sup> Thirteenth-century chroniclers were impressed—not entirely favourably—at the independent involvement of *viles personae*, low-born, and the *vulgus*, crowd or commons, in the wars in Languedoc to suppress the Cathar heretics and their patrons.<sup>6</sup> Evidence from both crusader armies and the societies from which they sprang confirms the existence a wide civil society of informed public opinion and action that required rulers and leaders to expand their customary range of counsel, consent and, ultimately, in the later Middle Ages, control and repression.

The example of how the First Crusade (1095–99) conducted itself is suggestive. The image of First Crusade armies created by early twelfth-century Benedictine observers has been likened to a “military monastery on the move.”<sup>7</sup> Yet, away from such cloistered myth-making, a more apt metaphor might liken them to secular models, derived from civilian society. When combined in Asia Minor during the spring of 1097, these armies, in ways similar to the large Viking forces of the ninth century, later mass-crusading expeditions to the eastern Mediterranean and successive eruptions of mercenary *routiers*, *condottieri* and adventurers, such as the fourteenth-century Catalan Company, operated as a self-reliant, autonomous political and social community, generating an evanescent, temporary *patria* or people in a microcosm of a state. The First Crusade possessed its own clergy, judicial systems, markets, currencies and exchange rates. Members of the community developed their own unique stories, songs, traditions, favoured relics, religious ceremonies and sense of identity.<sup>8</sup> The circumstances of recruitment imposed a collective leadership in which the high command was a council of generals, each with their own independent divisions for which they were paymasters and lords. Study of decision-making

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<sup>5</sup> David Carpenter, “English Peasants in Politics 1258–67,” *Past & Present*, 136 (1992), 3–42.

<sup>6</sup> For their presence at the attack on Béziers in 1209, *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. and trans. Eugene Martin-Chabot (Paris, 1931–61), I:48–62, trans. Janet Shirley, *The Song of the Cathar Wars* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 19–22; William of Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, trans. William A. and Michael D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 33 and note 6; pp. 127–8 for the legates’ sniffy comments; Peter of les-Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. William A. and Michael D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 48–51, 289–93.

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> The best modern account of the military aspects of the expedition that touches on its organization is John France, *Victory in the East* (Cambridge, 1994).

and the implementation of policy both by that high command and by individual commanders reveals that the mechanics of authority and obedience owed as much to the habits of urban and village government as to the patriarchal spiritual bonds of a religious community. Jonathan Riley-Smith in a recent paper has sketched the pathology of communal politics during the Fourth Crusade of 1202–04, with crucial and controversial decisions being reached, in the language of eye-witness memories, by the *comun de l'ost* in *parlements* of knights and popular representatives.<sup>9</sup> Given the nature of the enterprise, which assumed a sort of spiritual equality between all those who had taken the cross, it might be argued that the First Crusade demonstrated a form of proto-democracy. Such an interpretation would be anachronistic as well as unsupported by the evidence. Nonetheless, the behaviour of leaders and led during the march to Jerusalem exposed methods of political involvement and action that, while not being democratic, were certainly communal, dependent on consent, often formally achieved, as much as on command or shared conviction, confirming in this military context Susan Reynolds's "assumption of collectivity" in medieval civilian law, politics and government.<sup>10</sup>

Such an understanding is consistent with some of Timothy Reuter's general conclusions about medieval "assembly politics". Not only did the language of armies and assemblies overlap, *exercitus* becoming in places a synonym for a civil gathering; military campaigns themselves, he argued, "were often enough a kind of assembly on the march."<sup>11</sup> This had particular consequences if it is recognized that, in a medieval setting, the widest self-conscious political community, or "public", regularly manifested its corporate existence and exerted a collective influence through assemblies, particularly those summoned in times of crisis. The assemblies of the First Crusade proceeded, at least from the siege of Antioch in the autumn of 1097, in an almost permanent state of crisis which encouraged the participation in its conduct of a permanent "public" or, in the communal language readily apparent elsewhere in

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<sup>9</sup> The paper was delivered in Oxford in January 2004. See Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1961), I:200. Cf. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984), p. 244.

<sup>11</sup> Timothy Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth", *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London, 2001), p. 440; cf. p. 435 and generally pp. 432–50.



contemporary western society, what eyewitnesses recorded by the collective noun “populus”, defined by Reynolds as “a community of custom, descent and government—a people.”<sup>12</sup> From their surviving letters, as well as the earliest literary accounts by participants, it is evident that members of the army of the First Crusade saw themselves as just such a community, the “army of Christ,” the “army of the Lord,” “the militia of the Lord,” “the army of God.”<sup>13</sup> This community is usually seen in religious terms, as in the “monastery” motif referred to already. Yet the sources describing how the crusade army actually worked expose a matching, and no less decisive secular identity, whose existence and political operation proved central to the expedition’s cohesion and therefore to its ultimate success.

A most striking account of the involvement of the wider community of crusaders is provided by Raymond of Aguilers, chaplain of Count Raymond of Toulouse, in his description of events in northern Syria in the autumn and winter of 1098–99. In late September, Raymond of Toulouse attacked the town of al-Bara, forty miles south east of Antioch, which the westerners had captured three and half months earlier. With the count, so his chaplain recorded, went “populo pauperum et paucis militibus.” After seizing the town and massacring or enslaving much of its population, Count Raymond proceeded to appoint a bishop, Peter of Narbonne, the first Frankish bishop in the lands conquered by the crusaders. The process of Peter’s elevation, in its dependence on the will of a secular ruler, ran counter to the fondest reformist principles of the crusade’s instigator Pope Urban II. As described by Raymond of Aguilers, perhaps to cover this awkwardness, the count deliberately went through an elaborate procedure of consultation, first with a council of clergy and princes, in this case nobles, “capellanis suis et principibus.” Then at a general assembly (“convocatis omnibus qui ibi secum aderant”), held in the open air, one of Count Raymond’s chaplains announced the choice as bishop “omni conventui.” The assembly—designated by the collective noun “populus”—insisted on a form of election (“populus multum instaret ut electo fieret”) and was asked by the count’s representative whether there was anyone who would enjoy their support (“qui

<sup>12</sup> Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 256.

<sup>13</sup> The phrases used respectively by Stephen of Blois (March 1098), Anselm of Ribemont (Feb. 1098), the patriarch of Jerusalem and the other bishops on crusade (Jan. 1098) and Stephen of Blois (June 1097): Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 138, 144, 146, 149.

fideliū vota susciperet"). A convenient silence ensued after which Peter of Narbonne was presented to the assembly, and, following his public agreement to undertake the office, gained its unanimous assent. ("laudavit eum omnis populus unanimiter").<sup>14</sup>

This show of constitutional propriety may have been concocted by Raymond of Aguilers to establish Bishop Peter's legitimacy, the count's nomination being possibly over praised as "satis laudabiliter et honeste." If an accurate account, it shows how important formal political theatre was in running affairs within the crusade armies, just as it was in the political communities in Western Europe from which they sprang. Hardly the stuff of constitutional wrangling, nonetheless the ritual of consultation and assent lent cohesion to the army, as well as unimpeachable validation to the episcopal appointment. The al-Bara assembly hardly suggests a debate, more a ritual of choice. However, popular activism in Raymond of Aguilers' account acted as more than mere window dressing for Count Raymond's exercise of patronage. Throughout the winter of 1098–9, the *populus* played a significant and increasingly dissident role in the direction of crusade policy not as an amorphous rabble but as a coherent body with specific demands and quasi-institutional means of expressing them.

Returning from al-Bara to Antioch, the need to appear to defer to the wishes of the mass of crusaders to press on to Jerusalem forced the crusade leadership to hold a council ("omnes principes convenissent") in the cathedral of St. Peter to resolve whether or not to confirm Bohemund in possession of Antioch or await the approval of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I. The public nature of this council backfired, as the leaders almost came to blows. Again the *populus*—distinguished by Raymond of Aguilers from the poor (*pauperes*) whose precarious plight the leaders' dissension appeared to aggravate—took a hand. Negatively, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine and Count Robert of Flanders concealed their true inclinations towards allowing Bohemund's claim to Antioch for fear of public opprobrium. Positively, the *populus* began to agitate among themselves against further delay. They regarded the princely dispute over Antioch and Raymond of Toulouse's argument for maintaining the Byzantine alliance equally as ploys to prevent the march on Palestine. Their pressure was politically precise and effective,

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<sup>14</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Occidentaux (Paris, 1844–1906) (hereafter RHC Occ.), 3:266.

including a plan to elect (“eligamus”) a new leader prepared to undertake the Jerusalem mission. Their tactic seemed to have worked. The rivals Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemund of Taranto were forced into a “discordant peace” (“discordem pacem”).<sup>15</sup>

This pattern of intervention by the wider crusader community was continued at the siege of Ma'arrat al-Numan, twenty-five miles east of al-Bara (c. 27 November–12 December 1098), and during the following month while the commanders negotiated on the next move. As in the dark days of the previous June, when the crusaders had been penned in the city of Antioch between the stubbornly resisting Turkish garrison in the citadel and the large relief army of Kerbogha of Mosul camped outside the walls, the supernatural was pressed into the service of the arguments of the *populus*. As food ran short at Ma'arrat, Peter Bartholomew, the well-connected partially educated Provençal peasant whose visions and tenacity in promoting them had led to the “discovery” of the morale-boosting Holy Lance in Antioch in June, once more proclaimed he had been visited by the Apostles Peter and Andrew. Their mission was to reassure the besiegers that Ma'arrat would fall, but also to insist on a moral reform of the Christian army. The saints were evidently politically informed and partisan. They expressed concern at the famine in the ranks, but, more pointedly, relayed via Peter Bartholomew specific instructions for the sharing of property confiscated from those who oppressed the *pauperes*, a reference to the elaborate internal judicial system within the crusade armies and the existence of a common fund, both run by the princes, and, perhaps, a more general dig at the richer elements, including the nobles themselves. The day after hearing of this vision, Count Raymond and the bishops of al-Bara and of Orange, on whom part of the mantle of the dead papal legate Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy had descended, summoned an assembly of the *populus* (“convocavit populum”) at which prayers and, more tangibly, alms (“largissimas elemosynas”) were forthcoming, the distinction between *populus* and *pauperes* again being evident. This round of politicized vision, publicity, assembly and targeted action was shortly followed by the capture of Ma'arrat during which the social and economic fissures in the army manifested themselves when the *pauperes* stole a march on the *milites* by looting the town during the night before the knights launched their attack. That Peter Bartholomew's vision had been—or

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<sup>15</sup> RHC Occ., 3:267–8.

had been used as—a political weapon became further apparent when the Normans under Bohemund ridiculed the communal force of the Apostles' instructions, retaining a major share of the spoils, despite, as Raymond of Aguilers remarked in some dudgeon, the Provençals having earlier revealed the divine orders to the *populus*. While reflecting his attempt to portray the visions and the Provençals in a morally favourable light against the behaviour of the rest of the army, Raymond acknowledged that the alliance of divine intervention and the attempts of the Provençal leadership to seize control of the crusade's strategy and decisions inevitably provoked resistance in other contingents. More worrying for Raymond of Toulouse, whatever the chronicler's slant, the policy did not seem to be working.<sup>16</sup>

Events after the fall of Ma'arrat (11–12 December 1098), while further demonstrating Count Raymond's feeble and contested grasp on the expedition, exposed even more clearly a structure of wide political exchange within the army. Bohemund and Count Raymond both tried to use Ma'arrat as a counter in their play for control of Antioch. For once this united the other ranks, *militēs* and *populus*, knights and people or commons, who petitioned the *principes*, a tripartite division familiar across Western Christendom, for example in later twelfth century evidence of the Angevin kings of England. Receiving no joy from Bohemund, a section of the army, called by Raymond of Aguilers "popul[us] pauperum", probably chiefly Provençal, met with the bishop of al-Bara and some nobles (*nobiles*). Together they confronted Count Raymond. The bishop preached, presumably on the virtue of an immediate expedition southwards to Jerusalem. In another staged ceremony, the "militēs et omnīs popul[us]" knelt before the count begging him to lead them to Jerusalem. If Raymond refused, they suggested he hand over the talisman of the Holy Lance to the *popul[us]*, an echo of the earlier scheme to choose a new commander. Reluctantly, Raymond appeared to bow to the pressure and agreed to embark in a fortnight. However, he immediately aroused further suspicion by calling a conference of *principes* (Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and Tancred of Lecce) in the Ruj valley, away from the demotic politics of the army at Ma'arrat. Without waiting to learn the outcome of this meeting, but alarmed at news that Count Raymond planned to establish a garrison at Ma'arrat, the *pauperes*

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:268–70.

decided on direct action to prevent further princely squabbling over profit in northern Syria. Flouting the wishes of the bishop of al-Bara and members of Count Raymond's household, the *populus* systematically and thoroughly demolished the walls of Ma'arrat, thus rendering the town untenable as a new base for the count in the region.

This devastating, deliberate, organized and wholly effective operation, conducted in the teeth of official disapproval, exerted a decisive influence on subsequent events. On his return from the Ruj conference, where he had tried to hire his fellow princes into his service, Count Raymond was furious ("graviter irascebatur") at finding himself so outmanoeuvred by his followers. He had no option but to submit when he learnt that the *populu[s]* were impervious to the threats and beatings ("minis vel verberibus") of the bishop of al-Bara or other leaders.<sup>17</sup> A modern translation renders *populu[s]* here as "mob".<sup>18</sup> If so, it was a mob of the sort examined by George Rudé and others in the early modern and modern world, a sensitive and forceful political agent, not some mindless rout. Yet, as has been noted, *populus* was a term that could carry far less disreputable connotations, the translation of "mob" saying more about the translators' presumptions than the reality of political structures of eleventh-century societies, including constructed societies such as armies. In the teeth of the opposition of their leaders, the *populus* got its way, not least by understanding the commanders' difficulties and by exploiting the channels of contact and communication to present and refine an independent, contrary policy. As revealed by the career of the layman Peter Bartholomew, a man who knew at least bits of the liturgy, there were some among the *populus* well able to exploit their opportunities to impose their will on their lords, by confrontational but largely peaceful and deliberative means.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps not too much weight should be placed on Raymond of Aguilers' use of language or even his narrative. It is always difficult to deduce precise allusions to social or political institutions from non-legal or non-academic texts. Raymond of Aguilers, in common with others writing of the First Crusade, wished to emphasize the special role of the poor and unmighty as the vehicles for God's purpose, especially in moral

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 3:270–2.

<sup>18</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, trans. John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 82.

<sup>19</sup> For Peter Bartholomew's travels and liturgical knowledge, RHC Occ., 3:254–5, 257–8.

opposition to the actual power of the often venal and selfish wealthy. The visions and miracles he recorded were cast to originate mainly, although not exclusively, among the common crusaders not the elites, an exception being Anselm of Ribemont's vision of the recently killed Engelrand of St. Pol who prophesied Anselm's own death at the siege of Arqah (c. 25 February 1099).<sup>20</sup> However, in certain places, a deliberate distinction was drawn between the *pauperes*, necessarily indigent, and the *populus*, a collective noun for a group not necessarily starved of funds and certainly not outside the scope of political action. What matters perhaps as much as whether such things actually occurred in the manner described is how Raymond chose to portray events and how much his account of the social and political exchanges of the winter of 1098–99 finds corroboration elsewhere in his own chronicle and in those of other contemporary accounts. The themes of election, consultation, debate and formally acquired consent of the wider community do not seem to have been either an eccentric gloss, Raymond's invention or an over-technical misreading of literary language.

The necessity to choose or to elect leaders presented a familiar feature of the crusading expeditions as of other enterprises involving disparate groups thrown together for long periods or to travel long distances. Even the 49er prospectors from the eastern United States during the 1849 Californian Gold Rush elected captains, lieutenants and quartermasters. The First Crusade was little different, even if the nuggets it sought were less directly convertible into cash. The high command repeatedly agreed on Bohemund taking the battlefield lead during the sieges of Antioch (October 1097–June 1098). They also elected ("elegant") Stephen of Blois "ductor" of the army (before 29 March 1098) and Godfrey of Bouillon ruler of Jerusalem in July 1099. The *Gesta Francorum* describes how Italian and German crusaders of the first wave elected ("elegant") their own separate leaders once they had crossed over the Bosphorus to Nicomedia in August 1096.<sup>21</sup> Secular elections were not uncommon in Western Europe, a process of achieving consensus through discussion rather than hustings. Ecclesiastical elections were more controversial.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:276–7.

<sup>21</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), pp. 3, 65–6, 75, 92–3. Cf. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ., 3:361 ("omnis populus dominici exercitus...elegit" Godfrey; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, RHC Occ., 3:301 "ut aliquis eligeretur in regnum"; "ob hoc pariter elegerunt (i.e. the *principes*) duces".

Again, Raymond of Aguilers appeared more interested in the details of such events than other writers, the *Gesta Francorum* being content merely to mention that Peter of Narbonne was chosen as bishop of al-Bara by the “sapientissimi”.<sup>22</sup> Raymond of Aguilers echoed his version of the al-Bara appointment in his brief account of the election of Robert of Rouen as bishop of Ramla in June 1099 by “the leaders and all the people” (“majoribus et omni populo”), a phrase reminiscent of one he employed regularly when describing corporate action or decisions, “principes et populus”, an almost formal designation of the public body that constituted the crusade’s political legitimacy in public discussions.<sup>23</sup> The mere fact of “popular” elections should not itself excite surprise; elections to town councils even kingdoms were familiar across Western Europe; in parts of Italy and Germany parishioners regularly “elected” their priests.<sup>24</sup>

Consultation lay at the heart of medieval lordship and government, on crusade as at home. No single unit of the First Crusade, still less its collective leadership, could operate without regular and well-oiled systems, both ritualistic and practical, of communication and consent. According to Ralph of Caen, Alexius I, apparently accurately, ascribed Tancred’s desire to possess the emperor’s imperial tent to his need to accommodate assemblies of his growing band of clients (“congestos satis explicitura clientes”).<sup>25</sup> Albert of Aachen noted how Peter the Hermit, Gottschalk, Emich of Flonheim and Godfrey of Bouillon all consulted their leading followers over matters of diplomacy, policy and tactics.<sup>26</sup> On arrival in the Balkans in the autumn of 1096, Bohemund established disciplinary rules for his army at a council of his men (“ordinavit concilium cum gente sua”). Raymond of Toulouse, according to the *Gesta Francorum*, held conferences at Coxon and Arqah to discuss military strategy (“in suo invenit consilio”; “consilium habuit cum suis et mandat”).<sup>27</sup> Ralph of Caen’s *Gesta Tancredi* reported Count Raymond holding a public assembly (“concione habita”) to discuss the first news of Peter Bartholomew’s vision of the Holy Lance. The urgent need for such regular parleys was indicated by Ralph of Caen’s mention of Tancred’s

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<sup>22</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 75.

<sup>23</sup> RHC Occ., 3:292.

<sup>24</sup> Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, RHC Occ., 3:631.

<sup>26</sup> Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ., 4:279, 291, 293, 301, 309.

<sup>27</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 8, 26, 84.

night-time conferences ("et deliberandis opportuna consiliis nox ruit") at the siege of Tarsus (September 1097).<sup>28</sup> The exchange was not all in one direction. The *Gesta Francorum* described how men from northern France ("Francigenae") publicly begged Bohemund for leniency towards their countryman William the Carpenter, viscount of Melun, who had been caught trying to desert from the siege of Antioch.<sup>29</sup> While Raymond of Toulouse had begun besieging Arqah in February 1099, according to Ralph of Caen, pressure was put—successfully—on Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders to join Raymond by the "Franci militia", a phrase seemingly designed to suggest a collective action by the army (a modern published translation of "militia" as "troops" perhaps not entirely catching the word's flavour or contemporary polemic resonance).<sup>30</sup> Albert of Aachen noted the "magni et pauci" who petitioned Godfrey of Bouillon at Arqah to lead them to Jerusalem, a phrase similar to one ("magnis et parvis") he used elsewhere to describe a general assembly at Antioch (probably, although misdated, that of 1 November 1098) that agreed to a muster date, 1 March 1099, for the march to Jerusalem. Much earlier in the campaign, according to Albert, during a planning conference or assembly at Kibotos in October 1096, the *populus*, in this case seemingly the infantry, united behind their spokesman Godfrey Burel to contradict the caution of the leaders left behind by Peter the Hermit and successfully insist on an immediate attack on the Turks of Nicaea, with disastrous and fatal consequences.<sup>31</sup>

None of this is surprising. Nor was the range and nature of the authority of the collective leadership, the council of *principes* or *majores*, including the higher clergy that quickly became established at the siege of Nicaea. The committee of princes dealt with the major executive decisions. These ranged from diplomacy, with Alexius I, the Egyptian Fatimids or Kerbogha; to strategy, such as the decision to send Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne to Cilicia or for the main army to travel through the Armenian Anti-Taurus mountains; and military decisions such as the foraging expedition into the Ruj valley in December 1097, Bohemund's night-time commando raid to enter Antioch in June 1098 and the day to day conduct of the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. The

<sup>28</sup> RHC Occ., 3:631, 677.

<sup>29</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 34.

<sup>30</sup> RHC Occ., 3:682; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* trans. Bernard S. and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot, 2005), p. 125.

<sup>31</sup> RHC Occ., 4:286–7, 450, 455.



princes dealt with patronage, such as the choice of Peter of Alipha as governor of the Armenian town of Comana (September/October 1097), Tancred to man the fort built outside the walls of Antioch, Stephen of Blois as “ductor” or “gubernator” of the army and Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem. The council of princes played a central role in handling the increasing appearance of miraculous visions in the ranks during and after the siege of Antioch and, as we shall see, they acted as judges in the army’s judicial procedures.<sup>32</sup> The princes established and administered the common fund, which may have been set up as early as the aftermath of the battle of Dorylaeum in July 1097 and was certainly in place early in 1098, being described by Raymond of Aguilers as a “fraternitas” and “confraternitas”, a formal brotherhood into whose coffers leaders such as Count Raymond at Antioch donated money which was then communally distributed according to military need. At Jerusalem, the common fund was still being operated by the northern lords to pay construction teams for the siege engines. The confraternity, a device familiar in both secular and religious contexts in the west, also echoed the sworn procedures surrounding the establishment of Peace and Truces of God, like the one proclaimed by Urban II at Clermont. Employed repeatedly in later crusading expeditions, the confraternity reveals that arrangements within the army of the First Crusade were not merely ad hoc, but possessed public institutional structure.<sup>33</sup> Within this, the collective princely council’s authority was based, as Albert of Aachen remarked, on its members being the army’s divisional commanders (“ductores et columnae exercitus”).<sup>34</sup> However, the princes—*principes*, as distinct or even opposed to *populus*—could not act unilaterally or make decisions in isolation. They naturally relied on negotiations with the wider community, “the people”.

Here again, caution is required. When sources talk of “common counsel”, as Raymond of Aguilers did when describing the princes’ oaths not to flee Antioch in June 1098 “nisi de communi consilio”, this did not necessarily imply consultation of a wide formal body of crusaders, although in this case it did suggest the requirement for public transpar-

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<sup>32</sup> See, e.g., *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 25–6, 39, 43, 44, 45, 58–9, 60, 63, 65–6, 72, 75–6, 80, 87, 92–3; RHC Occ., 3:245, 251, 258, 285, 300–01, 303; 688; 4:328, 332, 370, 378, 380–1, 420, 470, 485–6.

<sup>33</sup> RHC Occ., 3:245, 297; 4:332, 370, 378; cf. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> RHC Occ., 4:332.

ency in decision-making. However, Bohemund, Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert of Flanders were despatched to reconnoitre breaking into Antioch on the night of 2/3 June 1098 similarly, in Raymond of Aguilers' account, "communicato consilio", which obviously did not imply either general public approbation or public transparency.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, there are sufficient references to consultation of a wider assembly of crusaders to suggest this was a regular and necessary part of managing the army and, alongside an accepted system of public justice, rituals of the official clerical establishment and the corporate assessment of miracles and visions, imposed control and order. Such consultation beyond the high command is reflected in the language used by those in the army in their letters to the west. Patriarch Symeon of Jerusalem and Adhemar of Le Puy wrote of taking the "communi[s] concili[um]", bishops, clerks, monks, dukes, counts and "ceteri boni laici", clearly an elite group. Stephen of Blois revealed he had been chosen *gubernator* of the expedition by the princes, but only after wide, even if formal, consultation "communi consilio totius exercitus". Anselm of Ribemont reported that Bohemund and Raymond of Toulouse had been sent from Antioch to the coast to fetch supplies and reinforcements "communi ergo consilio," and it was later explained that the penitential procession around the walls of Jerusalem prior to the final assault had been agreed after "habito consilio".<sup>36</sup> The need to consult illustrated the power of the *populus* as a body and the leaders' requirement to control it.

The language of the chroniclers consistently endowed the non-noble elements involved in consultation and debate in collective terms, *plebs* or *populus*, as opposed to the individual and plural language when describing the leaders: *principes*, *majores*, *nobiles* etc., although on at least one occasion, describing a moment during the siege of Jerusalem, Ralph of Caen collectivized both elements: "plebs reclamans . . . nobilitas reluctantans".<sup>37</sup> The lexicon of eleventh and twelfth century historiography was infused by the vocabulary of social orders and discrete communities. Yet there may have been more to it than a convenient literary device, especially as in a number of places writers draw distinctions between not just the great and the less grand but between different sorts of assembly and consultative processes. The contrast evident in some references

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 3:251, 256.

<sup>36</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 141, 149, 158, 170–1.

<sup>37</sup> RHC Occ., 3:688. For lexicon, Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, *passim*.

between the led as collective, *populus* etc., and the leaders as individuals, *principes* etc., bears strong echoes of the manner in which many western European political gatherings were summoned, from Charlemagne's armies to the taxation assemblies of Angevin England.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to the regular meetings of the leaders, sources identify a formal process of obtaining consensus and consent. The *Gesta Francorum* noted that, in planning the construction of a fort opposite St. Paul's Gate at Antioch, the leaders ("maiores nostri") met and constituted a council, whether just of themselves or afforded by others is unclear: "ordinaverunt concilium". The councils that sent Bohemund and Robert of Flanders to forage in the Ruj valley and planned for the battle of Lake Antioch comprised "seniores et prudentissimi milites".<sup>39</sup> Raymond of Aguilers distinguished between meetings of the leaders; the leaders and clergy; and assemblies of the "princes and people". The assembly at Ramla in early June 1099 that debated whether to attack Egypt was called by Raymond of Aguilers a *colloquium* ("habuimus ibi colloquium"), the same word Albert of Aachen used about the meeting at Antioch a few months earlier that tried to force an invasion timetable on the leadership.<sup>40</sup> On his return from his embassy to Kerbogha in June 1098, Peter the Hermit reported to all the leaders who had gathered ("conglobantur") with the knights, "cum ceteris Christiani milites". Wider still was the assembly addressed at Antioch by a Lombard priest in the desperate days after the flight of many leaders on 10–11 June 1098: knights, clergy, laymen, noble and non-nobles. Not only did such inclusion make sense and was feasible in the context of the relatively limited confines of an army, it matched similarly inclusive, large crowds at assemblies in the west.<sup>41</sup>

Alongside the consultative procedures at al-Bara reported by Raymond of Aguilers, another notable demonstration of an almost constitutional process was described by Ralph of Caen in his highly fanciful account of events before the capture of Antioch 2/3 June 1098. In order to establish Bohemund's rightful claim to rule in Antioch over against

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. François L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (London, 1971), p. 128 and note 27 to p. 138 (where the instructions for mobilisation clearly distinguish between those summoned to the army personally and those raised generally by the local *missus*); *Magna Carta*, clause 14.

<sup>39</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> RHC Occ., 3:292; 4:450.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 4:415, 421; cf. for example, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1087; Martin Biddle, "Season Festivals and Residence," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 8 (1985), 51–72, esp. pp. 57–8.

other crusade leaders and the Greeks, Ralph had Bohemund, before the night assault on the city, address a representative assembly: "exercitum rectores convocat et qui erant in populo majores". The upshot of Bohemund's rousing exhortation was the agreement of the assembly to allow whoever captured the city to keep it. This agreement was secured by oaths sworn in hierarchic order: "Ad haec universus concilii favor: prius qui primi, qui post primos posterius, pro dignitate sua singuli assonant".<sup>42</sup> While by no means the engagement of the *populus* as at al-Bara, Ralph of Caen evidently wished to convey the creation of a formal, open, legally and morally binding political consensus over the future disposal of Antioch and chose the model of a sworn, representative popular commune rather than that of a council of princes to do it. While community and hierarchy were similarly features of monastic houses, the lack of overt hierarchical diktat and the emphasis on the breadth of individual and collective decision and commitment speaks more of the secular not religious community. Such mutual binding together by leaders and representatives of the army finds a close parallel in the chaplain Raol's description of the deliberations of the commune established at Dartmouth during the Second Crusade in 1147. After much wrangling at Porto, that commune agreed a contract with Afonso Henriques of Portugal to help capture Lisbon, which, as its captors, they would be have the right to occupy and settle. The communards sealed the agreement with oaths. The process Ralph of Caen was describing or inventing was, in outline, hardly distinguishable, except that the Dartmouth commune was described with secular overtones, as a *coniuratio*, instead of the more religiously tinged *confraternitas* of the First Crusade sources.<sup>43</sup>

What emerges from these accounts of the First Crusade can be viewed from a number of perspectives. The expedition itself relied on a corporate consensus in order to exist in the first place and to surmount the great challenges it faced. Mechanisms, including a network of differently constituted assemblies, regular and wide consultations by the high command, the princely confraternity, the trappings of a general sworn commune, were constructed to allow for the imposition of unity and the acquiescence of the led to the policies of the leaders. Occasionally,

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<sup>42</sup> RHC Occ., 3:654.

<sup>43</sup> *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. Charles W. David (New York, 1936, reprint 1976), pp. 97–115, esp. pp. 100–1, 104–5.

as at Antioch, al-Bara and Ma'arrat, the *populus* asserted power to which the leaders, at least temporarily, had to accede. The operation of formal, deliberative consensual politics, in literary and, in all likelihood, actual life, supported the success of the campaign by enforcing cooperation, complicity and agreement. Nowhere is this displayed more prominently than in the process of justice.

Even during the settlement of issues that concerned the leadership alone, procedures were depicted as operating not just according to the model of a sworn commune but with a realization of the importance of judgements being made in public. Secrecy produced suspicion which then forced leaders into embarrassing public commitments or surrenders, as over their promises to pursue the Jerusalem campaign in the autumn of 1098 or the decision seemingly forced on Raymond of Toulouse to march south from Ma'arrat, both products of popular suspicion of leaders' motives. As described by the *Gesta Francorum*, the inconclusive debate held on 1 November 1098 over whether Bohemund should be granted Antioch took place in the cathedral of St. Peter, both a public and a sacred place. Judgement between the cases presented by Bohemund and his opponent, Raymond of Toulouse, rested with the chief commanders—Duke Godfrey, the counts of Flanders and Normandy and “aliique seniores”. The protagonists insisted on judgement by their peers (“nostri pares”). These, the other leaders, in their capacity as judges, removed themselves from the main body of the cathedral while deliberating their verdict. The whole ritualized judicial show was almost certainly conducted in public, hence the large venue and the theatrical elements of a trial. When the arbitration failed to deliver a clear verdict, both parties agreed on the delaying compromise that they would continue the journey to Jerusalem and subsequently abide by the judges' further decisions. This delay was secured by the attendant bishops receiving the contenders' oaths to this effect.<sup>44</sup> The whole elaborate show, some might have thought charade, only worked if the operation was witnessed. Across Western Europe, such assemblies as law courts were designed to resolve conflicts, often in a highly ritualized manner and in the context of religious ceremonial. Such judicial assemblies—hundred or shire courts in England; the *mallus publicum* in Francia—relied for their effectiveness on being witnessed by locals who each held a communal interest rather than any personal litigious

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<sup>44</sup> *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 75–6.

advantage in seeing arbitration achieved. On crusade, the involvement of the clergy, unnecessary for the essentially secular judgement being sought but common in the west, pointed not just to the customary ritualized nature of such gatherings but also to the increasing importance of divine approval in underpinning the popular acceptability of the leadership's decisions. That this was not necessarily the invariable context for judicial decisions may be deduced from Ralph of Caen's account of the arbitration after the fall of Jerusalem in July 1099 between Tancred and Arnulf of Chocques over the distribution of booty from the Temple Mount, specifically the Dome of the Rock, the crusaders' Temple of the Lord. The smooth-talking Arnulf presented Tancred's offence as a crime against the all the leaders and thus the expedition as a whole. The high command acted as the judges, *judicii* and, as at Antioch, reached a compromise arbitration. Even if this is another example of Ralph's special pleading, the manner portrayed of the possibly fictional judicial hearing is clear enough.<sup>45</sup>

Another instance of judicial review by the leaders conducted in public with the support of oaths was recounted by Raymond of Aguilers in his description of the reception of news of Stephen of Valence's vision of Christ and the Virgin Mary at Antioch, c. 11 June 1098. Shortly before, Peter Bartholomew had presented his vision of St. Andrew only to the Provençal high command who immediately placed the visionary under close, almost proprietorial guard (of Raymond of Aguilers himself). By contrast, Stephen submitted himself to the judgment of the leadership (excepting the absent Godfrey) at a “convocata concione”, a convened public meeting (*contio/concio* clearly implying a public rather than a private meeting).<sup>46</sup> At this assembly, Stephen asserted his and, by inference, his vision's veracity by swearing on the cross and promising to submit to the ordeal of fire. The public element was important for Raymond of Aguilers to stress, as he acted as a sort of semi-official recorder of the Antioch visions and keeper of the relics. It bears some credibility, perhaps, as it also stood in marked difference to his description of the Peter Bartholomew case, possibly caused by the very different outcome to the layman's vision, even in Raymond's sympathetic account, an outcome that also confirmed the central, if largely passive, role of

<sup>45</sup> RHC Occ., 3:699–702.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:256. Cf. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 188 and (for ‘concio’) note 89.

popular involvement in the judicial systems of the army that mimicked the operation of public courts in the west.<sup>47</sup> Even the Lance's fiercest critic, Ralph of Caen, noted that Raymond of Toulouse summoned an assembly ("concione habita") to hear about Peter Bartholomew's vision, a meeting Raymond of Aguilers mentioned apropos Stephen of Valence's vision but not Bartholomew's.<sup>48</sup>

The judicial position of the leaders within the wider context of the public witness was well established. Albert of Aachen noted that at a low point in the siege of Antioch the princes, in consultation with the bishops and clergy, established rules governing financial and commercial transactions and the exchange of money, a potentially combustible problem in an army that, according to the Raymond of Aguilers, used seven different currencies in the markets of army outside Antioch. The communal good was the stated reason for these regulations, lest any cheat his fellow Christian ("confratrem christianum"). Transgressions of these ordinances, as later in the 1147 Dartmouth ordinances, were to be heard and punished by appointed justices, but the impact of such measures in raising morale and confidence in the financial system of the army, depended on public witness.<sup>49</sup> Albert went on, immediately after describing these arrangements, to describe a similar procedure, where justice was played out on the most public of stages, when he recounted the fate of the fornicating adulterous couple who were stripped and paraded before the whole army ("coram omni exercitu"), who thus acted as additional judges and witnesses.<sup>50</sup> Careful, ritualized recognition of popular power was further confirmed in the handling of the potentially disastrously divisive and morale sapping case of Peter Bartholomew at Arqah in April 1099, a case that showed the *populus* taking a decisive and active part in tricky political and judicial debates.

One of the problems with the Antioch visions of Peter Bartholomew, and the subsequent discovery of the Holy Lance lay in the narrowness of the group who accepted the visionary's initial testimony and the Lance's authenticity. This undermined the Provençal hopes of making the Lance the army's totem and, by extension, its guardian, Raymond of Toulouse,

<sup>47</sup> For these events/visions: RHC Occ., 3:253–6.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 3:677. For the role of visions, Colin Morris, "Policy and Visions. The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch," in John Gillingham and James C. Holt, eds., *War and Government in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1984), 33–45.

<sup>49</sup> RHC Occ., 4:378–9; 3:278 (for currencies); *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 56–7 (for 1147 Ordinances).

<sup>50</sup> RHC Occ., 4:379.

the expedition's undisputed leader. More generally, it jeopardized the unifying potential of stories of miraculous visions of dead crusaders in paradise and prophecies of ultimate success that, in Raymond of Aguilers' admittedly highly slanted picture, became increasingly important in forging the necessary conviction to achieve the successful assault on Jerusalem. The presence of the story of Peter Bartholomew's trial at Arqah in other narratives testifies to the importance to the expedition of establishing the credentials of visions, miracles and relics. One of the silliest assumptions about the Middle Ages imagines an unthinking credulity on the part of believers. As intimations of the divine were regarded as so important, the establishment of their authenticity required a high degree of reasoned scrutiny and inquiry, not blind faith. In April 1099, the doubts over Peter Bartholomew and the Holy Lance threatened the unity of the whole enterprise, just at the moment when it had finally united for the final push to the Holy City.

The difficulty in this lack of popular acceptability across the army's political, regional and national divisions was recognized in the methods adopted to resolve the issue. Raymond of Aguilers reported on what amounted to a public trial of the visionary's testimony, especially surrounding the claims for the Lance. The witnesses included the Lance's leading critic, Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain to Robert of Normandy, as well as a number of priests whose evidence supported Peter Bartholomew's claims. This inquisition was crucial in Raymond of Aguilers' scheme of presenting the Lance, his Lance, as legitimate. His description highlighted the religious environment in calling the wider body of the army who had begun to express doubts about the Lance as "brothers" or the brethren and the assembly before which the inquiry was held as comprising "brothers and bishops" ("fratr[es] et episcop[i]"). The public dimension was made even clearer in Arnulf's alleged promise to do penance for his doubting the Lance "coram omni populo", a gesture unsurprisingly absent from other, less or differently partisan accounts.<sup>51</sup>

The evidence is less contradictory in charting the course of the ordeal by fire Peter Bartholomew undertook on 8 April outside Arqah, whether at his own insistence (Raymond of Aguilers) or that of the leaders acting as judges (Ralph of Caen).<sup>52</sup> In Raymond of Aguilers' account, Peter's

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:279–85 for the whole Bartholomew trial.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:283, 682.



decision to put his truthfulness to the test was aimed at reassuring the wider constituency of the army, and, as a gesture independent of any outcome, it worked (“placuerunt haec omnia nobis”).<sup>53</sup> Central to this strategy was that the ordeal was witnessed by the all the elements within the army, in Raymond’s familiar phrase “principes et populus”, princes and people. This recognized that only if the *populus* gave their approval could this increasingly divisive issue be resolved or set aside. As the opposition and support for the Lance had become a proxy for a struggle for authority within the army, the political resources of the leadership alone were inadequate. Whatever individual beliefs or alliances, the leaders had to submit the matter, formally at least, to the arbitration of God (through the ordeal) and the people, who witnessed and assessed the verdict. The “people” were being called upon to redress the imbalance among the princes. Although wholly contrary to Raymond’s account in attitude and tone, Ralph of Caen confirmed this. Peter Bartholomew had been summoned to appear before the council, “accito itaque in concilium”, presumably of leaders, but equally presumably in public. Its form established, the trial was witnessed by “another” (“iterum”) assembly, implying the previous council had comprised more than just the leaders.<sup>54</sup>

As was the way with trials by ordeal, the verdict was neither clear-cut nor universally agreed, dependent, as ever, on hardly unbiased observers’ interpretation of the extent, nature and causes of the wounds. Peter died of his wounds, but each side argued that this nonetheless proved their case. If the public trial had been designed to flush out Provençal influence, rather than create unity, then it succeeded. Yet, in a sense, this merely recognized the new political reality in the face of the arrival of the non-Provençals at Arqah only three weeks before. Either way, as a mechanism of unity, by itself the trial of Peter Bartholomew failed, even though his death removed an increasingly discordant and unpredictable voice, and so served to assist accommodation. There appeared to be a general understanding of the need for reconciliation. The wishes of “the people”, in some accounts (others ignore them almost entirely) became crucial in re-stabilising the army. According to Raymond of Aguilers, the attack on Tripoli, perhaps launched to take minds of Peter Bartholomew’s grisly fate, was prompted by shared discontent within the ranks

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 3:283.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 3:682.

of the army.<sup>55</sup> A few days later, and more surprisingly, popular opinion intervened in the intense leadership disagreements over diplomacy and strategy provoked by the arrival at Arqah of a Byzantine embassy. The public involvement went beyond the customary receiving of diplomatic embassies at assemblies, as was the habit at English crown-wearings under the first Anglo-Norman kings. Now the audience came onto the stage of discussion, debate and decision. Over whether to stay at Arqah and restore a Greek alliance or to march on Jerusalem, a move opposed by Raymond of Toulouse who saw his authority diluted by the day, the princes and the people faced problems. The *populus* supported a march on Jerusalem, but Raymond of Toulouse did not, so "consilia principum [except Raymond] et populi vota impediabant".<sup>56</sup> Once again Raymond of Aguilers' formula of "principes et populus" suggests an almost constitutional relationship and mutual recognition. The impasse was resolved, in Raymond of Aguilers' configuration, by the elevation, thanks to another vision received by Stephen of Valence, of Adhemar of Le Puy's cross as a sort of substitute Provençal relic to the now controversial Lance. Both this vision and another experienced by Peter Desiderius, that urged an immediate assault on Jerusalem, acted as spiritual validation of the popular pressure on Raymond to march south. The power of this force was recognized, according to Raymond of Aguilers, by Godfrey of Bouillon who encouraged popular pressure for a resumption of the march ("et plebem ad hoc commonefaciebat").<sup>57</sup> It may be, of course, that his hand lay behind the apparent "popular" pressure all along. If so, it remains instructive that Godfrey felt the needed to proceed under the cover of the *populus*.

Ralph of Caen, although dismissive of what he saw as the fraudulent Lance, agreed not only with the public nature of the justice meted out to Peter Bartholomew, but also the role of the *populus* in subsequent attempts at unity and reconciliation. Where Raymond of Aguilers concentrated on a new relic being promoted specifically, it seemed, to restore Provençal morale, Ralph described a rather peculiar attempt to create a new totem for the whole army. In order to provide a "new source of consolation" within the army now, in Ralph's version, the Lance had been utterly discredited, a new assembly was summoned,

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 3:285.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 3:286.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 3:289.

“denuo fit conventus”, at which it was proposed by the *populus* (“proponitur populo”) that a golden statue of Christ be moulded to act as the crusaders’ equivalent of the Old Testament Israelites’ tabernacle. The assembly saw discussion if not debate, led by Arnulf of Chocques and his friend, the scantily educated bishop of Marturana.<sup>58</sup> The impression left was that the renewal of devotion and united purpose came from the mass of the faithful crusaders rather than, as could possibly be read into Ralph’s account, simply a partisan act of populist politics by two Norman clerics on the make. Either way, Ralph was assuming, as did Raymond of Aguilers, that the common people mattered, certainly in the literary and religious scheme of things, and probably the political as well; hence their portrayal as playing active parts in the internal organization of power.

The question remains whether the role of the *populus* reflected actual events or operated solely within a series of conventional (or unconventional) representations that owed everything to invention and nothing to what actually may have occurred. One way of tackling this issue is to take a comparative approach. Between the different sources, there runs a common thread that picks out the active participation of a wider community of the crusade army, even if it is most evident in Raymond of Aguilers’ work. That these chroniclers slipped so easily into describing a measure of constitutionalism and an active commons itself may be suggestive and instructive; they and their audience recognized what was being described, even if it never happened precisely in that way. More widely, the political structures depicted match those in the crusaders’ home circumstances, from urban, suburban and rural communities where assemblies formed part of the basic organization of social and economic exchange; to local public law courts where decisions were tests and confirmation of social solidarity and power, only effective because engaging the locally powerful- knights and freemen of varying social and economic standing; to the model of a religious community or, more relevant perhaps in the chroniclers’ minds’ eyes, the Israelites of Exodus or the Maccabees; to princely assemblies on which effective eleventh-century rule, at least in Western Europe, depended. That these secular assemblies, like the army itself, embraced men beyond the nobility was evident. More difficult is to determine the extent of any wider

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:683.

social catchment. Armies threw up their own social structures, not least because of the fluidity of status, a knight one day; a foot soldier without money, food or, crucially, a horse the next, a common enough story on the First Crusade. The involvement of all arms-bearers in large assemblies who then occasionally acted in their own interests was not beyond reason or expectation. More frequently and more clearly, this wider involvement revolved around communal acceptance and validation of the actions of the leaders and nobles, a formal but no less political act. The commanders of the First Crusade and their followers were products of a sophisticated political culture which they carried with them under arms.

Another comparison would be chronological, with later crusades that shared some structural features and for which evidence may be more plentiful or less reliant on dramatic narratives. Formal sworn communes, that included all participants in disciplinary provisions, were a feature of the fleets that assembled at Dartmouth in 1147 and those of the Third and Fifth Crusades. The leadership of the Fourth Crusade acted as a commune and consulted the "commons of the host" and held *parlements* at moment of peril or urgency, descriptions of which, *mutatis mutandis*, look, in outline, very similar to parts of Raymond of Aguilers' account of how the First Crusade reached decisions in Syria and Palestine. Individual bands of crusaders were familiar with forming their own communal bands where no hierarchy lent immediate cohesion to a regional group, as during recruitment for the Second Crusade. Even leaders could be forced into divesting themselves of authority and setting up a communal structure of command, as Louis VII did in Asia Minor on the march to Adalia in the desperate early days of 1148. Wherever leaders, such as Frederick Barbarossa in 1189 or Richard I in 1190, imposed judicial ordinances on a crusade army or fleet, a formal community was created.<sup>59</sup> The commune provided a key and regular feature of crusade organization in the period before central fundraising and church taxation placed the power of organization into the more defined hierarchical grip of monarchs and rulers who used cash not consent as the prime cohesive agent before and during any campaign. As for the influence of the *populus*, even Richard I of England found

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<sup>59</sup> On these later crusading examples, see Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A new History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 299–301, 327, 414, 510, 530–1, 547, 627 and 631.

himself outmanoeuvred when his critics and opponents on campaign were able to harness the force of the wider commons of the army, as happened in southern Palestine in May 1192, forcing Richard to concede a second assault on Jerusalem against his will. Like Raymond of Toulouse at Ma'arrat and Arqah, he could do little except sulk, and would have been foolish to try. The decision to withdraw from the attack in July 1192 was reached by a committee formally constituted to represent the different sections of the army, excluding Richard's own, a form of constitutionalism regularly found, for example, during political crises in thirteenth-century England.<sup>60</sup>

More generally still, the involvement of knights and freemen, the commons, the *populus*, in the government of the First Crusade, would hardly have surprised attenders at public courts across western Europe. One of the great fallacies of medieval historiography is encapsulated in the self-image of kings, nobles and some of their neat-minded clerical apologists, that of a monolithic hierarchy. The First Crusade, like the society that produced it, demonstrated that the reality was far otherwise, a world of political activity that not only matched the diversity of society and the economy but reflected some of the most tenacious habits of western European political and judicial organization, embracing knights and freemen, the wider public, and legal procedures, consensual assemblies granting approval, validity and legitimacy to issues of communal importance.

To return to where this investigation began, political activity within the army of the First Crusade displayed precisely the features of the so-called seventeenth-century "public" revolution: elections, sermons, processions, petitions, demonstrations and political conversations, everything, in fact, except pamphlets. Written protests only appear in a crusading context with the popular crusades of the thirteenth century, unless, of course, credence is given to William of Tyre's account of the exhortatory letters carried by Peter the Hermit.<sup>61</sup> What is clear is that the collective action and ideology displayed on the march to Jerusalem were hardly new, as witnessed in the operation of Carolingian politics

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<sup>60</sup> On these political experiences of Richard I on crusade, Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 467 and 469 and references.

<sup>61</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 1.11, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Turnholt, 1986), p. 126.

and law, and that they very soon became even more evident in the legal procedures of Angevin England, the communes of Italy and Flanders or London, and the constitutionalism of Aragón, the kingdom of Jerusalem or the Lombard leagues. But these are other stories—or perhaps part of the same one.



ISLAM AND THE WEST:  
A VIEW FROM TWELFTH-CENTURY LEÓN

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Richard Fletcher once trenchantly described the twelfth-century kingdom of León as a “historiographical desert”.<sup>1</sup> And with good reason. Compared to other regions of the Latin West, precious few works of historical literature were composed in León—or indeed in any of the other kingdoms of Christian Iberia—during the period in question, and the four centuries prior to that had been even more barren.<sup>2</sup> To compound matters, for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained, the writing of history as an intellectual pursuit seems to have withered away to a large extent after about 1150, until it was resumed with gusto by Lucas of Tuy, Juan of Osma<sup>3</sup> and Rodrigo of Toledo during the third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century. Thankfully, however, there are a few precious oases to be found amid this depressingly bleak literary landscape. One such is the *Historia Silense*, a composite miscellany of Leonese dynastic history, which was in all probability composed by an inmate of the monastery of San Isidoro de León some time between 1109 and 1118.<sup>4</sup> Another is the *Historia Compostellana*, which relates

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<sup>1</sup> R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Benito Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía española*, 1 (Madrid, 1947) provides an overview, but is in urgent need of updating. On the twelfth-century, see Raymond McCluskey, “Malleable Accounts: Views of the Past in Twelfth-Century Iberia”, in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 211–25; and, above all, Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), chaps. 7–9.

<sup>3</sup> If he was indeed the author of the Latin Chronicle of the kings of Castile, as has been suggested: Derek Lomax, “The Authorship of the *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 40 (1963), 205–11.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia Silense. Edición crítica e introducción*, eds. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959). For a discussion of the work, its authorship and date of composition, see Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester, 2000) (henceforth *The World of El Cid*), pp. 9–23, with English translation at pp. 24–64. On the ideological purposes of the work’s author, see also John Wreglesworth, “Sallust, Solomon and the *Historia Silense*”, in David Hook, ed., *From Orosius to the Historia Silense: Four Essays on Late Antique and Early Medieval Historiography of the Iberian Peninsula* (Bristol, 2005), pp. 97–129.



the history of the see of Santiago de Compostela during the period 1095–1139 and the career of its redoubtable archbishop, Diego Gelmírez, and which was compiled by a succession of at least four authors, all of them canons of the cathedral chapter.<sup>5</sup> There is also the *Chronicle of Sahagún*, which was composed by a monk of that monastery some time after 1117 and the brief, unsatisfying *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, attributed to Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1101–30 and 1142–3).<sup>6</sup> The chief focus of this paper, however, is with the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, a panegyric in prose and verse dedicated principally to the deeds of the king-emperor Alfonso VII of León (1126–57), from his accession to the throne down to the eve of the conquest of the wealthy port city of Almería by a multinational expeditionary force in October 1147.<sup>7</sup> The *Chronica* furnishes the principal account of the political and military affairs of the Leonese monarchy during this period, yet it is equally important for providing what is without doubt one of the most vivid and well-informed depictions of the contemporary Muslim world to have survived from anywhere in the medieval Latin West.

The *Chronica* is hedged about with doubts and uncertainties, so much so that we cannot be absolutely sure when, where or by whom it was composed. We can, however, indulge in some informed speculation. First, there is the likelihood that the author was contemporary or near contemporary to the events he related. He claimed in the preface to his work, in an echo of the introduction to the Gospel of St Luke, that his account of the deeds of the Emperor Alfonso was based upon what he had “learned and heard of them from those who witnessed them” (“sicut

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<sup>5</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey, CCCM 70 (Turnhout, 1988), with a useful survey of research on the work at pp. xiii–xxi. See also Fernando López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 46–93. The purposes of the work and the career of its subject are brilliantly illuminated by R. A. Fletcher, *St. James’s Catapult: the life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>6</sup> *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún*, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Zaragoza, 1987). *Crónica del obispo Don Pelayo*, ed. Benito Sánchez Alonso (Madrid, 1924). For a discussion and translation of Pelayo’s work, see *The World of El Cid*, pp. 65–89.

<sup>7</sup> “*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*,” ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez, in *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII. Part I*, CCCM 71 (Turnhout, 1990), 109–248, and, in the same volume, “*Prefatio de Almaria*,” ed. Juan Gil, at pp. 249–67. For an introduction to the work, see Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, (Madrid, 1950), pp. ix–cxix; Maurilio Pérez González, *Crónica del Emperador Alfonso VII* (León, 1997), pp. 9–49; and *The World of El Cid*, pp. 148–61, with English translation at pp. 162–263. On the reign of Alfonso VII: Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia, 1998).

ab illis qui uiderunt didici et audiui”) and the sheer detail and immediacy of much of the prose section of the *Chronica* suggests that this was no mere literary topos and that he drew his material from well-informed sources, or even in some cases from his own eye-witness experience.<sup>8</sup> There are also the opening lines of the poetic account of the Almería campaign to consider, in which the author declares:

Sages have written of the wars of the kings of old, and we too must write of the famous battles of our Emperor, for they are anything but tedious. If it pleases the Emperor, let the writer be granted the greatest facilities so that he can recount the battles to come (vv. 5–9).<sup>9</sup>

The inference is clearly that Alfonso VII was alive at the time of writing, in which case we can narrow down the probable date of the composition of the *Chronica* to some time between the end of the Almería campaign in 1147 and the emperor’s death ten years later. It has also been suggested that the fact that the author makes no mention of the death of Alfonso VII’s spouse, the Empress Berengaria, which occurred in February 1149, makes it probable that the *Chronica* was substantially completed by that date.<sup>10</sup>

The knotty question of who might have composed the *Chronica* has yet to be resolved, but the clear front-runner in scholarly opinion, ever since Juan de Ferreras first aired it publicly in 1765, has been Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (1144–52/3).<sup>11</sup> Several factors have encouraged such an identification: the bishop features at the end of both the prose chronicle and its poetic colophon; he was a regular visitor to the court of Alfonso VII and was well-rewarded by the emperor for his loyal service;

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the chronicler’s vivid description of the triumphal procession Muño Alfonso led through the streets of Toledo in 1143 (2.74–9), or his account of the nuptials of the Infanta Urraca and King García IV of Navarre at Carrión in 1144 (1.92–4).

<sup>9</sup> Doctores ueterum scripserunt prelia regum;  
Scribere nos nostri debemus et imperatoris  
Prelia famosa, quoniam non sunt tediosa.  
Optima scriptori, si complacet imperatori,  
Reddantur iura, quod scribat bella futura.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Ubieto Arteta, “Sugerencias sobre la *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*,” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 25–6 (1957), 317–26, at p. 325.

<sup>11</sup> “Algunos sospechan que su autor fue don Arnaldo, obispo de Astorga, que se halló en la batalla de Almería”: Juan de Ferreras, *Synopsis histórica cronológica de España*, XVI (Madrid, 1775), appendix, p. 10. See further, Sánchez Belda, *Chronica*, pp. xvii–xxi; Ubieto Arteta, “Sugerencias,” pp. 321–6; H. Salvador Martínez, *El “Poema de Almería” y la épica románica* (Madrid, 1975), pp. 109–22; A. Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga en el siglo XII* (Astorga, 1985), pp. 295–99; Pérez González, *Crónica*, pp. 24–5.

it was Arnaldo who in 1146 was dispatched as the Leonese monarch's special envoy to the counts of Barcelona and Montpellier with the task of co-ordinating an anti-Muslim coalition for the forthcoming attack on Almería; and charter evidence confirms that, just as the *Chronica* tells us, the bishop was present with Alfonso VII's army during the campaigning of 1147.<sup>12</sup> It has been conjectured that the bishop was a Frenchman, perhaps a Cluniac monk from the abbey of Sahagún, but other scholars have thought it more likely that he was of Catalan extraction.<sup>13</sup> I have suggested elsewhere that between at least 1127 and 1143, before being raised to the see of Astorga, Arnaldo had held the priorship of the Toledan monastery of San Servando, a daughter house of the abbey of St-Victor of Marseille and that earlier still in his career he might have been educated at the prestigious Catalan monastery of Ripoll, another daughter-house of St-Victor and a veritable powerhouse of learning, which had produced a distinguished school of writers working in such diverse fields as mathematics, science, music, poetry and history.<sup>14</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, and if Prior, later Bishop, Arnaldo were indeed the author of the *Chronica*, it would help to explain a number of the most striking and paradoxical features of the work, such as the author's overt Leonese and Catalan sympathies, coupled with his extremely detailed knowledge of the topography of the city and region of Toledo and of the numerous military operations which were conducted in the region of the Tagus valley, his use of a number of lexical items of Hispano-Arabic origin, a number of which (*algaras*, *alcaceres*, *celatas* and the toponym *Jerez*) he explicitly refers to as being of *nostra lingua*, and not least his erudition, his historiographical interests and his training in the poetic arts.

The question whether Arnaldo of San Servando/Astorga was indeed the man responsible for composing the *Chronica* need not detain us further here. The fact remains that in an Iberian context the work is an eye-catchingly original piece of historical writing, for all sorts of reasons. First of all, let us consider its structure. The work is divided into two books, the first of which focuses principally on Alfonso VII's attempts to impose his authority over the kingdom after the death

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed study of the career of Bishop Arnaldo, see Quintana Prieto, *Obispado*, pp. 251–300.

<sup>13</sup> Sánchez Belda, *Chronica*, pp. xix–xx. On the possible Catalan connection, see Ubieta Arteta, “Sugerencias”, 321–6; Quintana Prieto, *Obispado*, pp. 253–5.

<sup>14</sup> *The World of El Cid*, pp. 159–61.

of his mother, Queen Urraca (1109–26), and to re-establish Leonese hegemony over the other Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula, a process that culminated in his imperial coronation in León at Whitsun 1135 (1. 69–72). The second book, by contrast, is given over to a detailed narrative of the regular and protracted military campaigns that were waged by Christian armies against the Muslims of Iberia and North Africa, from the time of the death of Alfonso's grandfather, Alfonso VI in 1109 down to the conquest of Córdoba in May 1146. To round off his work, the chronicler, keen to rescue his audience from the profound torpor into which he feared it might have sunk, launched into a vigorous poetic celebration of the campaign that was waged by Alfonso VII and his allies from Genoa, Navarre, Barcelona and Montpellier to conquer Almería in 1147.<sup>15</sup> The *Poem of Almería*, amounting to 385-and-a-half lines of rhythmic leonine hexameters, consists chiefly of a stirring roll call of the chief lay magnates and contingents of troops who accompanied the emperor on the 1147 expedition. Sadly, however, the poet was then seemingly either unwilling or unable to finish the task that he had set himself: the poem is interrupted in mid-line just as the bishop of Astorga stands up to urge on the emperor's flagging troops prior to the final, victorious push on Almería.<sup>16</sup> Poetic works of similar style and spirit have survived from Catalonia, and from the abbey of Ripoll in particular, but in a western Iberian context the poem is unique.<sup>17</sup>

The originality of the *Chronica* can be glimpsed in other ways too. For one thing, although our author demonstrated a nodding acquaintance with a few other works of peninsular historiography, such as the

<sup>15</sup> "Prefatio de Almaria", pp. 249–67. For a detailed discussion of the Poem, see Martínez, *El "Poema de Almería"*; Florentino Castro Guisasola, ed. and trans., *El Cantar de la conquista de Almería por Alfonso VII: un poema hispano-latino del siglo XII* (Almería, 1992). The metre of the Poem of Almería has been the object of a number of important studies by Marcelo Martínez Pastor: see, for example, "La rima en el «Poema de Almería»", *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* 21 (1988), 73–95; "Virtuosismos verbales en el *Poema de Almería*", *Epos* 4 (1988), 379–87; "La métrica del «Poema de Almería»: su carácter cuantitativo", *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica (Estudios Latinos)* 1 (1991), 159–93. Doubts about the unitary nature of the *Chronica* are expressed by Peter Linehan in his review of *Chronica Hispana saeculi XII. Part I*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 43 (1992), 731–7.

<sup>16</sup> On the possible reasons for the truncation of the *Poem*, see Sánchez Belda, *Chronica*, p. xx; cf. Salvador Martínez, "Poema de Almería", pp. 121–2, 126–8.

<sup>17</sup> Lluís Nicolau D'Olwer, "L'escola poètica de Ripoll en els segles X–XIII" *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 6 (1915–20), 3–84; H. Salvador Martínez, "Épica románica en Cataluña. Reliquias de una tradición latina", in *Studia in honorem Prof. M. de Riquer*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), 4:25–68.

*Chronicon* of his contemporary Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and the Pelagian version of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*, he steadfastly eschewed the “scissors and paste”, or compilatory, methodology that had dominated Hispano-Latin historical writing in the Peninsula in the past and would continue to do so for generations to come.<sup>18</sup> What is more, unlike many other historiographical practitioners of the age, our chronicler did not choose to hark back to the period of the Visigothic monarchy, its chastening defeat at Muslim hands in 711, and its supposedly miraculous rebirth in the region of Asturias a decade later in order to demonstrate the legitimacy and orthodoxy of the Leonese royal house; indeed, he pointedly chose to say nothing whatsoever about the royal ancestors of Alfonso VII. Instead, drawing inspiration chiefly from the canonical and apocryphal books of the Old Testament Vulgate, our chronicler set out to fashion a heroic biography shot through with a profound religious spirit, in which Alfonso VII was portrayed as an instrument of divine will and a scourge of the infidel Muslims, a latter-day Israelite king leading his people to redemption.

In terms of style, structure and content, therefore, there is much that sets the *Chronica* apart from other works of contemporary Leonese historiography. Yet, perhaps the work’s greatest claim to originality lies in the striking manner in which the author portrayed the societies of the Muslim world that lay to the south. In order to appreciate just how groundbreaking a work the *Chronica* was in this respect it is worth first briefly comparing it with some of its near-contemporaries.<sup>19</sup> Take the *Historia Silense*, for example. The stated purpose of its author was to write an account of the deeds of the “orthodox emperor of Hispania” Alfonso VI, but unfortunately he seems never to have completed his task and has left us instead with a collection of texts dealing with the origins of the kingdom of León and a narrative account of the Leonese monarchy between 1037 and 1072. For the latter above all, the *Silense* is rightly regarded as a key historical text.<sup>20</sup> Yet, despite the fact that

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<sup>18</sup> Evelyn Procter, *Alfonso X of Castile: Patron of Literature and Learning* (Oxford, 1951), p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> For an introduction to these matters, see Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (El enemigo en el espejo)* (Madrid, 1984), part 2, chap. 1. Cf. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, “The survival of a notion of *Reconquista* in late tenth- and eleventh-century León”, in Timothy Reuter, ed., *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays presented to Karl Leyser* (London, 1992), pp. 123–43.

<sup>20</sup> John Wreglesworth has suggested that the author intended to be obliquely critical of his subject and that the *Historia* is, in fact, a finished work: see above n. 4.

the work provides a relatively extensive account of the various victorious military campaigns that were waged by Fernando I (1037–65) in al-Andalus (Muslim Iberia) during the course of the 1050s and 1060s, the chronicler displayed precious little interest in or knowledge of the Islamic territories that lay just beyond León's borders. Al-Andalus only mattered to the chronicler insofar as it provided the theatre in which Fernando I was able to demonstrate his military prowess. The author's vision of the Islamic world, such as it was, was resolutely two-dimensional and his demography was notably vague: Muslims were routinely categorized under the pejorative labels of "barbarians", "Moors" or "pagans", or very occasionally "Amorites", "Ishmaelites", "Saracens" and "Chaldeans" too.<sup>21</sup> Islam was dismissed as a treacherous "superstitious sect."<sup>22</sup> His knowledge and understanding of the geopolitics of the southern regions of the Peninsula was equally hazy and he opted to use the long out-moded Hispano-Roman provincial names of Lusitania, Betica, Carthaginensis or even "the Celtiberian province", that is, Tarracensis, when referring to the various Islamic polities of al-Andalus. And although it is true that the author devoted some coverage to the campaigns that were waged by the all-powerful al-Manṣūr against the Christians in the late tenth century, to the account of recovery of the relics of St. Isidore from Seville in 1063 (which was itself copied from the work known as the *Translatio Sancti Isidori*), and to Alfonso VI's exile at the court of al-Ma'mūn of Toledo in 1072, he had practically nothing to tell us about contemporary political or social conditions in al-Andalus, let alone in North Africa.<sup>23</sup>

That same haziness of vision can be glimpsed in the *Historia Compostellana*. The *Historia* furnishes the most detailed account of the internecine dynastic wars that convulsed Christian León after the death of Alfonso VI and is particularly concerned to demonstrate the extent to which Archbishop Diego Gelmírez was able to defend his see against his enemies, secular and ecclesiastical alike. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that the *Historia* has little to say about the Muslim world. There is a description of the measures Archbishop Diego took to defend the shores of Galicia against Muslim pirates; a miracle story relating the way in which St. James supposedly cured a Muslim ambassador, who

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<sup>21</sup> Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 116–19, 135–8; Wreglesworth, "Sallust, Solomon, and the *Historia Silense*", p. 101, n. 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Historia Silense*, p. 177.

<sup>23</sup> *Historia Silense*, pp. 120, 122, 172–6, 199–204.

had visited Santiago de Compostela, of a tumour; and an account of the archbishop's crusading call-to-arms at the council held at Santiago de Compostela in 1125.<sup>24</sup> And that is pretty much that.

The focus of the *Chronicon* of Bishop Pelayo and the *Chronicle of Sahagún* is similarly introspective. The former, a brief sketch of events between 982 and 1109, is a work of painfully limited scope and ambition. Only a handful of Muslim figures are named, among them an anonymous "pagan king of Toledo", who is said to have married Princess Teresa Vermúdez, sister of Alfonso V of León (999–1032), "for the sake of peace" (*pro pace*), although she herself was unwilling and he paid the penalty, being struck down by the Angel of the Lord for his temerity.<sup>25</sup> The *Chronicle of Sahagún* relates some of the atrocities that were committed by Muslim troops in the service of Alfonso I of Aragon, but is otherwise mute on Islamic affairs.<sup>26</sup>

The apparent disinterest of these Leonese authors in the Muslim world can be explained in various ways. For one thing, the facts of geography were against them. These were men of strong local loyalties, writing in the far north of the peninsula at a considerable distance from the frontier with Islam. They may simply not have had access to the sources—written or oral—which might otherwise have led them to broaden their horizons. Moreover, at least two of them—the authors of the *Historia Silense* and the *Chronicle of Sahagún*—were monks, who may have been only fitfully aware of the political and military events unfolding far beyond the walls of their institutions. Equally significant were the political conditions in the Christian north at the time they wrote their works. The period between 1110 and 1130 was a time when bitter dynastic fighting among the various competing factions to the Leonese throne was at its height, aristocratic unrest was endemic, and the military struggle against Islam, which had dominated Leonese strategic thinking since the 1080s, was to a large extent on hold. In the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Chronicle of Sahagún* it is the Aragonese who appear as the arch-enemy, not the Muslims. In any case, the overt indifference of these Leonese authors towards the Islamic world may

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<sup>24</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, pp. 174–6, 307–12, 378–80; Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 119–24, 138–40.

<sup>25</sup> *Crónica del obispo Don Pelayo*, pp. 63–4; Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 118–19, 137–8.

<sup>26</sup> *Crónicas anónimas de Sahagún*, pp. 33–4; Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 138.

have been as much a matter of mind-set as of geography or politics.<sup>27</sup> In all likelihood these writers, along with their counterparts north of the Pyrenees, viewed the Muslim world as an alien, pagan and dangerously exotic place, its bewilderingly complex political situation utterly remote from their own concerns. In short, they were not fascinated by the Muslim “Other”; for the most part they simply ignored it. And the disinterest was amply matched on the other side of the frontier with Islam.<sup>28</sup>

In marked contrast, the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* was a man of strikingly broad horizons. His world view encompassed not just the whole of the Iberian peninsula, but the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, from Jerusalem to Constantinople, from Toron and Ascalon to Bari, Pisa, Genoa and Sicily; he even made mention of the English Channel. In Iberia he was not only familiar with the names of the major cities of al-Andalus—Seville, Córdoba, Valencia and the like—but lesser population centres too, such as Sintra, Mértola, Carmona, Montoro, Almodóvar, Baeza, Andújar and Úbeda. He also knew something of the geography of the Maghreb, mentioning Marrakesh by name on five occasions, as well as the Atlas Mountains, *Mons Colobrar* (which has yet to be identified) and the town of Bejaia (Bougie). Only once did his geographical knowledge let him down. The “very rich city that the ancients called Tuccis” was not Jerez, as the chronicler claimed (1.37), but rather the town of Martos near Jaén.<sup>29</sup>

The chronicler’s political and military horizons were equally broad. He was not only extremely *au fait* with the deliberations of the Leonese court and the military endeavours of Christian armies, not least the local militias of Toledo and other frontier towns, but he possessed information about Muslim affairs that was often notably precise, detailed and accurate. He knew, for example, the route that was taken by the expeditionary force led by Ali b. Yūsuf when the Almoravid emir crossed from Morocco to the peninsula to besiege Toledo in 1109 (2.1–2). He also knew that at the battle of Fraga in July 1134 the Muslim army had included units dispatched from Valencia, Córdoba, Seville, Granada

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Fletcher, *St. James’s Catapult*, p. 299.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from Muhammad to the Reformation* (London, 2003), pp. 65–6.

<sup>29</sup> Roger Wright, “Twelfth-century Metalinguistics in the Iberian Peninsula (and the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*)”, in *Early Ibero-Romance* (Newark, Delaware, 1994), pp. 277–88, at p. 283.



and Lérida, as well as Almoravids and “Arabs from overseas” (1.53). He mentioned the presence of *assecuti*, or crack Muslim footsoldiers, among the forces that took part in actions at Toledo in 1109 and Oreja in 1139 (2.4, 52). He was familiar not merely with the names of the members of the Almoravid ruling dynasty, but with those of a number of Muslim provincial governors, and he was particularly knowledgeable about the activities of the man he called Avengania (that is, Yaḥyā b. Alī b. Ghāniya), whose career he followed in some detail. He also knew something about the man he refers to as Alimenon (that is, Muhammad b. Maymūn), who was appointed commander of the Almoravid fleet in 1116 (2.9). He was similarly well informed about the Christian soldiers who had been forcibly recruited into Almoravid service in North Africa and he devoted particular praise to their leader, the Catalan noble Reverter (2.10–11, 101).

The author’s knowledge of Muslim military and political operations was supplemented by a certain amount of incidental detail too. He informs us, for instance, that in the aftermath of his defeat at Lucena in 1132 the Almoravid emir Tāshufin b. ‘Alī was wounded in the thigh by a lance and fled the field mounted on a saddleless horse, remaining lame for the rest of his life (2.23). He even knew the route taken when the dismembered remains of the defeated Christian warlord Muño Alfonso and his companions were conveyed to Marrakesh in 1143 (2.88).<sup>30</sup> It is also worth noting in passing that whereas other Christian writers resorted exclusively to crude generic labels such as “Moors”, “Saracens”, “pagans” or “barbarians” when referring to Muslims, without any regard to political or ethnic divisions, our author was sufficiently attuned to the political situation in al-Andalus and North Africa to draw a distinction between Muslims of Iberian extraction, whom he called “Hagarenes”, the Berber Almoravids, whom he designated “Moabites”, and their arch-rivals the Almohads, whom he dubbed “Assyrians” or “Muzmutos” (derived from the tribal term Masmūda). He also referred to the presence of “Arabs” in some of the Muslim armies and names them among those communities who suffered the consequences of the Almohad attack on Morocco (1.53, 2. 102–3).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The passage is inspired by the account of the treatment of Saul’s body by the Philistines: I Sam. 31:9–10.

<sup>31</sup> Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 142–3.

Perhaps most remarkable of all, our chronicler was well informed about Muslim internal political affairs. In particular, he devoted extensive coverage to the series of revolts that erupted against Almoravid authority in al-Andalus between 1144 and 1147, and to the simultaneous power struggle that raged between the Almoravids and Almohads in North Africa. The background to the anti-Almoravid revolts is set out in typically graphic fashion in chapter 93 of the second book of the *Chronica*:

Then, when the princes, commanders and all the Hagarene people saw that miseries were multiplied, and that the emperor and his forces did encamp themselves in their borders<sup>32</sup> every year, and that the armies of Toledo, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca and the other towns destroyed their land daily, they gathered in the squares, in the porticos of the towns, and in the mosques and they said: "What can we do, for we shall not be able to withstand war with the emperor and his commanders?" Some of them replied saying: "The Moabites eat the fat of the land,<sup>33</sup> they take away our possessions and our gold and silver from us, and they oppress our wives and children. Let us fight against them, therefore, let us kill them and cast off their lordship, for we have no part in King Tāshufin's palace neither have we inheritance in the sons of 'Alī and of his father Yūsuf".<sup>34</sup> Others said: "First of all, let us make a peace agreement with the emperor of León and Toledo, and let us give him royal tribute, just as our fathers gave it to his fathers." This seemed good in their eyes and they agreed to make ready for war against the men of Marrakesh. Then, returning to their mosques, they prayed, asking their pseudo-prophet Mohammed for mercy, so that he might help them in their undertakings and actions. Sending messengers, they called upon King Zafadola and all the lineage of the kings of the Hagarenes to come and make war on the Moabites.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> 1 Macc. 3:42.

<sup>33</sup> Gen. 45:18.

<sup>34</sup> 2 Sam. 20:1; 1 Kgs. 12:16; 2 Chr. 10:16.

<sup>35</sup> Videntes ergo principes et duces et omnis populus Agarenorum multiplicata mala et imperatorem et exercitum eius per singulos annos applicare ad fines eorum et Toletanas hostes, Secobie et Auile, Salamantice et aliarum ciuitatum quotidie destruere eorum terram congregati sunt in plateis et in accubitis ciuitatum et synagogis et dixerunt: "Quid faciemus, quia non poterimus substinere bellum imperatoris et ducum eius?" Responderunt nonnulli eorum dicentes: "Moabite medulas terre comedunt et possessiones nostras, aurum et argentum nobis tollunt, uxores nostras et filios nostros opprimunt. Pugnemus ergo contra eos et occidamus eiiciamusque dominium a nobis, quia non est nobis pars in domo regis Texufini neque hereditas in filius Ali et patris eius Iuzeph". Alii autem dicebant: "Faciamus in primis pactum et pacem cum imperatore Legionis et Toleti et demus ei tributa regalia, sicut patres nostri dederunt patribus suis". Quod bonum uisum est in oculis eorum et ut essent parati in prelio contra Marrochinos. Deinde conuersi in synagogis suis orabant petentes miserationes Mahometis, pseudoprophete eorum, ut adiuuaret ceptus et actus eorum. Et mittentes

As so often, the chronicler's prose is suffused with echoes of the Old Testament Vulgate. Here, the predicament of the Iberian Muslims is compared to that of Judas Maccabeus and the Israelites when the army of King Antiochus had occupied their land. It is this heavy reliance on scriptural phraseology that has led Norman Daniel to condemn the *Chronica*, and others of its ilk, for lacking immediacy and conviction in its writing.<sup>36</sup> The chronicler's account of the origins of the anti-Almoravid revolt was colourful and rhetorical in the extreme; his canvas was ample and the brush strokes were deliberately broad. Moreover, just as was the case with his contemporary William of Tyre, we cannot always be sure how carefully our author walked "that invisible line between legitimate imagination and serious distortion."<sup>37</sup>

In chapter 94, by contrast, there is a change of mood. The dramatic biblical rhetoric is toned down and the narrative is noticeably more detailed and precise than in the preceding chapter:

In the month of October in the Era 1183 [= A.D. 1145], the commander Muḥammad, who was of royal lineage, killed all the Moabites who were in Mértola and within all its borders. Afterwards, those who were in Valencia, Murcia, Lérida, Tortosa, and many other castles were killed in battle by the Hagarenes. At that time King Zafadola and all the citizens of Córdoba, Jaén, Úbeda, Baeza, Andújar, Seville, Granada, Almería, and that region which is near the Mediterranean Sea as far as Toledo, all joined in war against the Moabites, and against their leader Avengania, and many thousands of Moabites and Hagarenes were killed.<sup>38</sup>

The chronicler goes on to relate that the Almoravid governor Avengania (Ibn Ghānīya), was forced to seek refuge in the *alcázar*, or citadel, of Córdoba and that his allies also holed up in Almodóvar, Montoro, Carmona and Seville. There then follows an account of the anti-Almoravid

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uocabant regem Zafadolam et omne semen regum Agarenorum, ut uenirent et bella-  
rent contra Moabitas."

<sup>36</sup> Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1975), p. 94.

<sup>37</sup> Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 56.

<sup>38</sup> Et in Era CLXXXIII post millesimam et in mense Octobrio Mahomete dux, qui erat de semine regio, occidit omnes Moabites qui erant in Mertula et in omnibus finibus eius. Deinde illi, qui erant in Valentia et in Murtia et in Lerida et in Tortosa et in aliis multis castellis, ab Agarenis in pugna occisi sunt. In diebus illis Zafadola rex et omnes ciues Cordube et Iaen et Vbete et Baece et Anduger, Sibilie, Granate et Almarie et illius regionis, que est circa mare Mediterraneum usque in Toletum, omnes commiserunt bellum cum Moabitis et cum Auengania, duce eorum, et mortua sunt multa milia Moabitarum et Agarenorum."

conspiracy that was hatched by a certain “priest of the law of Mohammed”, Abenfandi (that is, Ibn Ḥamdīn), and his struggle for ascendancy with the Huddid pretender Zafadola (Sayf al-Dawla), about whom we shall have more to say later. We are told of Abenfandi’s installation as governor of Córdoba, his plot to kill Zafadola and the latter’s desperate appeal to Alfonso VII for military assistance, as well as his subsequent death at Christian hands (2.95–8). According to the *Chronica*, Abenfandi was later expelled from Córdoba by an Almoravid counter-attack led by Avengania and set up his alternative power base in Andújar, where he sought and received military assistance from Alfonso VII (2. 99–100). Daniel has described the chronicler’s narrative as “muddled”, but Muslim sources demonstrate that the essentials of his account are essentially accurate.<sup>39</sup> He does not provide the whole story, of course, nor is he infallible: the capture of Mértola is misdated; and Abenfandi is known to have sought asylum in Badajoz after his defeat by Avengania, before later taking up residence in Andújar. Yet, for all that, the general lines of the narrative are soundly drawn.<sup>40</sup>

The *Chronica* also devotes a good deal of attention to the final phases of the Almoravid-Almohad struggle in North Africa, which was to culminate in the fall of Marrakesh to the Almohads in March 1147. According to the chronicler, the catalyst for the collapse of the Almoravid empire was the death of the Catalan Reverter, “the leader of the captive Christian people”, which not only is said to have caused dismay and grief among the Christians resident in North Africa, but among the household of the Almoravid emir Tāshufīn b. ‘Alī too. After Reverter’s death, the author relates, the Almohad caliph Abdelnomen (that is, ‘Abd al-Mu‘min) launched a concerted attack against Almoravid territory, in the course of which he is said to have captured towns and castles, killed many nobles and commanders of the Christians, Almoravids and Arabs, and terrorized the civilian population (2.102). Finally, the chronicler recorded the dying days of the Almoravid regime, the death of Tāshufīn b. ‘Alī at Almohad hands, the fall of Marrakesh to the forces of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min and the jubilant reaction of the Iberian Muslims

<sup>39</sup> Daniel, *The Arabs*, p. 91.

<sup>40</sup> For details of the anti-Almoravid uprisings, see Francisco Codera y Zaidín, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides en España* (Saragossa, 1899; repr. Pamplona, 2004); Jacinto Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides* (Tetuán, 1956; repr. Granada, 1990), pp. 285–95; Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: a political history of al-Andalus* (London, 1996), pp. 189–95.

to his demise. Unfortunately, there is then a sizeable lacuna in all the manuscripts—two entire folios are missing according to Manuscript A<sup>41</sup>—but it is probable that the author proceeded to provide further details of the ensuing power-struggle between remnants of the old Almoravid order and rival Andalusian notables, and the intervention of Alfonso VII in the intensely confusing political maelstrom, which culminated in the short-lived conquest of Córdoba by the emperor and his ally Abenfandi in May 1146. However, the narrative only resumes in the aftermath of the fall of Córdoba to the emperor's troops and the death of the bishop of Burgos on 24 June 1146 (2.106).

It cannot be emphasized enough that such detailed knowledge of, and interest in, Muslim political affairs was unprecedented in an Iberian or even in a wider European context and leads one to wonder on which sources—oral or written—the chronicler might have drawn when he penned the *Chronica*. His incorporation of a number of lexical items of Hispano-Arabic origin, as well as the speech he put into the mouth of the Muslim governor Avenceta, in which the Christians were condemned as “sons of dogs” (*fili canum*) (2.71), may conceivably reflect an indirect knowledge of Arabic idioms, but it does not prove that our author read or spoke Arabic and it is unlikely that he relied on texts produced by Muslim writers. It is possible that he had access to written Christian sources, such as a set of annals, as Antonio Ubieto Arteta suggested, or at least “a series of popular tales originally composed separately and only subsequently tacked together in a literary, Latin text,” as Bernard Reilly has posited, although if that were the case there can be no question that he thoroughly reworked and reshaped those materials until he left us a narrative markedly homogenous in style and inspiration.<sup>42</sup> Besides, if our author had spent much of his career in Toledo, as I consider highly plausible, it is likely that he would have been able to draw on the eyewitness accounts of those who had either taken part in the various military campaigns that had been waged in that region during the first half of the twelfth century, or were at least well-informed about them.

But what of other sources? Our author's detailed knowledge of internal Muslim politics and his various references to North African

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<sup>41</sup> “Aqui faltaban dos oxas de la historia original y despues proseguia en la forma siguiente”: “*Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*”, ed. Maya Sánchez, p. 246, n. 105.

<sup>42</sup> Ubieto Arteta, “Sugerencias”, pp. 319–20; cf. Salvador Martínez, *El “Poema de Almería”*, pp. 184–207; Reilly, *The Kingdom*, p. 65, n. 45.

affairs, and his particular focus on what he calls the “captive Christian people” (*populus captiuus Christianorum*) (2.101)—perhaps in conscious comparison with the Israelites in exile—raises the intriguing possibility that he was able to draw on the testimony of a person or persons who had lived in al-Andalus and possibly also in the Maghreb. This is by no means fanciful. After Andalusian Mozarabs (Christians) had rallied to the banner of King Alfonso I of Aragón when he had raided the region of Granada in 1125–6, the Almoravid authorities had retaliated by transporting some of the Christians to North Africa.<sup>43</sup> However, this “Andalusian-Christian diaspora”, as van Koningsveld has dubbed it, which led to the production of a number of Christian manuscripts in Arabic in North Africa, was short-lived.<sup>44</sup> The *Chronica* reports that after the fall of the Almoravid regime in 1147 many of the exiles were able to return to the peninsula (2.110):

At this time, many thousands of Christian knights and foot-soldiers, together with their bishop and a large part of the clergy who had belonged to the household of King ‘Alī and that of his son Tāshufin, crossed the sea and came to Toledo.<sup>45</sup>

Some of those who did so were former prisoners-of-war of Leonese extraction who, like Tello Fernández and his companions, had been carried off to Morocco (2.14); others were Andalusian Mozarabs who had been deported after 1126, but for whom a return to their ancestral homes, at a time when Almohad forces were reportedly carrying out a reign of terror against Jewish and Christian communities in al-Andalus, was neither an attractive or a feasible option (2.109). The identity of the bishop who accompanied the Christians to Toledo is a matter for speculation. One candidate might be the bishop Mīqāl, or Michael, whose Arabic translation of the Gospels, now preserved in a fifteenth-century copy in the archive of León cathedral, was completed,

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<sup>43</sup> On the Aragonese raid of 1125–6, see Ambrosio Huici Miranda, “Los Banu Hud de Zaragoza, Alfonso I y los Almorávides (nuevas aportaciones)”, in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 7 (Zaragoza, 1962), 1–32, at pp. 21–3; Codera y Zaidín, *Decadencia y desaparición*, pp. 104–7; Pierre Guichard, *Les Musulmans de Valence*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1990–1), 1:90. According to Huici Miranda, the number of Christians exiled should not be exaggerated: “Los Banu Hud”, p. 22, n. 70.

<sup>44</sup> P. S. van Koningsveld, “Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: a Historical Interpretation”, *Al-Qantara* 15 (1994), 423–51.

<sup>45</sup> Quo tempore multa milia militum et peditum Christianorum cum suo episcopo et cum magna parte clericorum, qui fuerant de domo regis Ali et filii eius Texufini, transierunt mare et uenerunt Toletum.

so the colophon to the manuscript tells us, on Friday 23 July 1137 “in the city of Fez, in the West part of the [North African] shore, in the eleventh year after the exodus of the Christians of al-Andalus towards it, may God restore them! He wrote it at the age of 57 years.”<sup>46</sup> Whether or not it was Bishop Michael who was among the group of Christians who came to Toledo from North Africa in 1147, it is perfectly plausible that it was from one or more of these men or women that the author of the *Chronica* gathered much of the information about Muslim and Maghrebi affairs that he later included in his work.

There is another dimension to the *Chronica*'s portrayal of the Muslims that it is important to highlight. Until the twelfth century, with a few notable exceptions, Christian writers throughout the Latin West had demonstrated relatively little interest in the Islamic world or, indeed, in Islam as a faith. For Richard Southern, this was the “Age of Ignorance.”<sup>47</sup> In the kingdom of León, as we have already seen, that intellectual indifference towards Islam persisted into the early decades of the twelfth century. The catalyst for change was Pope Urban II's call to arms at the Council of Clermont in November 1095, in which he urged the laity of the West to take part in an “armed pilgrimage” that would restore the holy places of the Near East to Christian hands. The surge of crusading fervour that ensued was accompanied by an unprecedented outpouring of works—including religious polemic, chronicles, poetry, as well as art and song—through which the pent-up western hostility towards Islam could be articulated. However, the sheer volume of literary production did not lead to enlightenment.<sup>48</sup> More often than not, Christian writings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries display what Margaret Jubb has called a “caricatured and contemptuous denigration of the Muslim enemy,” according to which they were routinely stereotyped as treacherous, cowardly, lustful and idolatrous by turns.<sup>49</sup> Islamophobia was by no means the invention of the twelfth century—almost from the very beginning of the Islamic movement there had been those in the Christian world who had engaged in polemical attacks against the religious “Other”—but it is undoubtedly true that the volume of the

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<sup>46</sup> van Koningsveld, “Christian-Arabic manuscripts”, pp. 427–8.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Southern, *Western Views*, pp. 27–8.

<sup>49</sup> Margaret Jubb, “The crusaders' perceptions of their opponents”, in Helen J. Nicholson, ed., *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 225–44, at p. 225.

polemic, the intensity of the invective and the pitch of the confrontational rhetoric were ratcheted up to unprecedented levels with the advent of the crusading movement.<sup>50</sup>

In this respect, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* was a work fully in tune with its times. True, there are none of the more distorted depictions of Islam that are to be found in other contemporary works, such as the *Song of Roland*,<sup>51</sup> but the *Chronica* is suffused with negative images of the Islamic foe none the less.<sup>52</sup> Muslims were called “that abominable people” (2.7) or “infidel Saracens” (1.72). Alfonso VII was dubbed the “terror of the Ishmaelites” (2.107), while Muhammad was denounced as a “pseudo-prophet” (2.92). In a passage inspired by the description of the fall of Gaza to Simon Maccabeus (I Macc. 13:47–8), the chronicler declared that after the conquest of Coria in 1142 the town “was cleansed of the uncleanness of the barbarian people and of the pollution of Mohammed, and having removed all the filth of the pagans of that town and of their temple, they dedicated a church in honour of St Mary forever virgin and all the saints” (2.66).<sup>53</sup> Other negative images abound. The Christian Bishop of Lescar, carried off prisoner after the battle of Fraga in 1134, is reported to have been tortured and forcibly circumcized by his Muslim captors (1.59); Count Rodrigo González was supposedly given a potion while he lived in Muslim Valencia and caught leprosy (1.48); Christians captured in battle were either executed, tortured, in the case of Muño Alfonso (2.17), or deported to Morocco, as was the fate of Tello Fernández and his companions (2.14). The Almoravid emir ‘Alī b. Yūsuf was likened to a serpent thirsting in the summer heat (2.1).

The author of the *Chronica* infused his work with a spirit of revenge. Not only was he keen to emphasize that the raiding expedition which Alfonso VII led into al-Andalus in 1133 was undertaken to avenge earlier losses at Muslim hands (1.33, 42), but he also took delight in describing the many victories that were won over the Almoravids and their allies in

<sup>50</sup> See John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002).

<sup>51</sup> For an introduction to these matters, see Jubb, “The crusaders’ perceptions”, pp. 228–33.

<sup>52</sup> Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 141, 143.

<sup>53</sup> Postquam autem reddita est ciuitas imperatori, mundata est ab immunditia barbarice gentis et a contaminatione Mahometis et, destructa omni spurcitia paganorum ciuitatis illius et templi sui, dedicauerunt ecclesiam in honore sancta Marie semper uirginis et omnium sanctorum”.



this and subsequent campaigns, the copious spoils that were seized, the mosques and sacred Islamic texts that were burned, the prisoners that were captured, and the Muslims—not least the imams—who were put to the sword (1.36–7, 39–40; 2.36, 72–9, 82, 92). The *Poem of Almería* continued in similar vein and if anything took up the invective an extra notch, referring apocalyptically to

the evil pestilence of the Moors, whom neither the ebb and flow of the sea nor their land protected. They cannot sink from sight nor escape upwards into the air; their life was sinful, and so they were defeated. They did not know the Lord, and rightly perished. This people was rightly doomed: they worship Baal, but Baal does not set them free (vv. 21–7).<sup>54</sup>

At various points in the *Poem* Muslims are condemned as pagan, barbarous and evil (v. 13, 28, 164, 186). They are compared to sheep in order to emphasize their docility and vulnerability (vv. 33, 93–4).<sup>55</sup> The poet announces the imminent destruction of the Almoravids and the terrible death of the Moors (vv. 58–9) and stresses the readiness of the Christian soldiers to slaughter their foes once battle was joined (v. 355). The author was also at pains to emphasize that the campaigns that Alfonso VII waged against disaffected nobles within his own kingdom, or against his Christian neighbours in Aragón, Navarre and Portugal, were a deflection from the true destiny God had prepared for him (2.19–20). Warfare against the Muslims was presented as divinely ordained, “a distinctive and specially important kingly activity.”<sup>56</sup>

The spirit of crusade is also prominent in the *Poem*. The author tells us that the bishops of the kingdom summoned the faithful to battle, pardoned the sins of those who joined the expedition to Almería and promised them the reward of “this life and the next”, as well as prizes of gold and silver (vv. 38–45). As the trumpet of salvation rang out

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<sup>54</sup> Extitit et testis Maurorum pessima pestis,  
Quos maris aut estus non protegit aut sua tellus,  
Nec possunt iusum mergi uel ad ethera sursum  
Suspendi, uicta scelerata fuit quia uicta.  
Non cognouere Dominum, merito periere.  
Ista creatura merito fuerat peritura:  
Cum colunt Baalim, Baalim non liberat illos.

<sup>55</sup> The same use of animal metaphors can be glimpsed in other literary texts: Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, p. 117; Louise Mirrer, *Women, Jews, and Muslims in the Texts of Reconquest Spain* (Ann Arbor, 1996), p. 52.

<sup>56</sup> R. A. Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050–1150”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 37 (1987), 31–47, at p. 41.

throughout all the regions of the world, the poet tells us, the peoples of Spain were yearning to wage war on the Saracens (v. 53). Likewise, when the bishop of Astorga rose to rally the emperor's exhausted soldiers, he assured them that the gates of Paradise were open to them (v. 382).

Among the various Muslim figures that flit across the pages of the *Chronica*, one man stands out, for the very reason that he is not subjected to the same torrent of invective that is directed at his co-religionists. This is Aḥmād al-Mustanşir Sayf al-Dawla, known to the Christians as Zafadola.<sup>57</sup> He was the son of 'Imād al-Dawla, the last of the Huddid rulers of the *taifa* kingdom of Zaragoza, who when forced from power by the Almoravids in May 1110 had taken refuge in the nearby fortress town of Rueda de Jalón and had allied himself with Alfonso I of Aragón. In 1131, Imād's son and successor Zafadola was persuaded by Alfonso VII to enter into an alliance with the Leonese crown against the Almoravids. The political manoeuvring is narrated in chapters 27–9 of Book 1 of the *Chronica*. Zafadola, who is described as belonging to "the most illustrious lineage of the kings of the Hagarenes" ("ex maximo semine regum Agarenorum"), is portrayed considering his political strategy with his family and his courtiers (1.27):

Listen to my counsel: let us go to the king of León and let us make him king over us, our lord and friend, for I know that he will rule over the land of the Saracens, because God in heaven is his deliverer, and God on high is his help. I know that with his assistance my children and I will recover the other dominions that the Moabites plundered from me, from my parents and from my people.<sup>58</sup>

In response to Zafadola's overtures, the *Chronica* relates, Leonese envoys were dispatched to Rueda and then accompanied him back to the court of Alfonso VII, where he received a warm reception (1.28). In a passage inspired by the account of the queen of Sheba's acknowledgement of the virtues of King Solomon (I Kgs. and 2 Chr.), Zafadola was reportedly impressed by the wisdom and riches of the king of León and pledged his support to him (1.29):

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<sup>57</sup> For details of his career, see Codera y Zaidín, *Decadencia y desaparición*, pp. 40–2, 47–54, 137–43.

<sup>58</sup> "Audite consilium meum: et eamus ad regem Legionis et faciamus eum regem super nos et dominum et amicum nostrum, quia, sicut ego noui, ipse dominabitur terre Sarracenorum, quia Deus celi liberator eius est et Deus excelsus adiutor eius est. Et scio quia per ipsum recuperabo ego et filii mei alios honores, quos abstulerunt Moabites mihi et patribus et gentibus meis". Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, pp. 141–2.

And he gave the king great gifts and very precious stones.<sup>59</sup> He and his sons made themselves knights of the king and promised to serve him all the days of his life,<sup>60</sup> and he granted Rueda to him... The king of León gave to King Zafadola castles and towns in the land of Toledo, in Extremadura and along the banks of the River Duero. And Zafadola came and lived in them and served the king all the days of his life.<sup>61</sup>

Zafadola later accompanied Alfonso VII on the raiding expedition that the latter led deep into al-Andalus in 1133 and is reported to have received messengers from the “princes of the Hagarenes” who offered to pay tribute to the king of León if he would help them free themselves from Almoravid rule (1. 41). Muslim sources, notably the *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ* of Ibn al-Kardabūs, fully corroborate this account and suggest that Alfonso’s intention was to raise up Zafadola as a puppet king to whom the inhabitants of al-Andalus might offer obedience. Be that as it may, the planned revolt was stillborn.<sup>62</sup>

The final stages of Zafadola’s career are followed by the *Chronica* in some detail: his leading role in the revolt against the Almoravids in 1144; his power-struggle with Abenfandi (Ibn Ḥamdīn) in Córdoba in 1145; his attempt to establish himself as an independent ruler in Murcia the following year; and his death at the hands of the troops of Alfonso VII shortly afterwards (2. 93–8). The author is at pains to emphasize Alfonso VII’s grief at the death of his friend and ally and his insistence that he had not been party to his killing (2.98).

Given the relentlessly Islamophobic tone of much of the *Chronica*, the author’s essentially positive portrayal of Zafadola might strike us as surprising, were it not for the fact that Christians—both in León and elsewhere in the peninsula—had always been markedly pragmatic in their dealings with the Muslim south. The twelfth century was no different in that respect, the introduction of the ideology of crusade notwith-

<sup>59</sup> This passage is strongly influenced by 1 Kgs. 10:6–10 and 2 Chr. 9:3–9.

<sup>60</sup> 1 Kgs. 4:21.

<sup>61</sup> *Deditque regi magna munera et gemmas pretiosissimas. Et ipse et filii eius fecerunt se milites regis et promiserunt ei seruire ipse cum filiis suis cunctis diebus uite sue et dedit ei Rotam... Deditque rex Legionis regi Zafadole castella et ciuitates in terram Toleti et in Extremadura et per ripam fluminis Dorii. Venitque et habitauit in illis et seruiuit regi cunctis diebus uite sue.*

<sup>62</sup> *Historia del Andaluz por Ibn al-Kardabus y su descripción por Ibn al-Sabbat*, ed. Ahmad Mujtār al-Abbādī (Madrid, 1971), pp. 120–1; translation in Al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, 2 vols. (London, 1840–43), 2, Appendix C, pp. xlvi–xlvi; and Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Historia de al-Andalus (Kitab al-Iktifāʾ)*, trans. Felipe Mañillo Salgado (Madrid, 1986), pp. 145–7.

standing. In the 1130s, at a time when Leonese military efforts against the Berber Almoravids were moving up a gear once again, Alfonso VII clearly regarded Zafadola as a key ally in his wider political and military strategy, a figure of prestige who might be able to foment an Andalusian Muslim revolt against increasingly unpopular Berber domination and thereby break Almoravid power in the peninsula asunder. Seen from another perspective, the favourable depiction of Zafadola in the *Chronica* foreshadows the portrayal of other “good Muslims” that we find in subsequent literary texts, not least in the vernacular *Poema de mio Cid* (c. 1207). In that work, Israel Burshatin has argued, there is a “dichotomous vision” of the Islamic world: Muslims are either portrayed as dehumanized enemies and wretched losers in war, or as romantically idealized, hyper-noble friends.<sup>63</sup> Among the latter is the figure of Avengalvón, ruler of the town of Molina and a steadfast ally of El Cid, whose constancy, bravery and generosity were the object of considerable praise.<sup>64</sup> Yet, Avengalvón was admired in large part because he was no longer seen to pose a threat to the Christians and was only too willing to carry out their bidding. “The tamed Moor, the sentimental Moor, and the servile Moor are thus the colourful disguises of the assertion of Cidian power,” Burshatin declares.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, Colin Smith has claimed that the Avengalvón of the *Poema* is “perhaps the first of many idealized Moors in literary history.”<sup>66</sup> However, one could argue that that same distinction could justifiably be conferred on the equally noble, yet equally tamed Zafadola of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.

The highly sectarian, yet simultaneously well-informed and, in one respect at least, thoroughly pragmatic vision of the Islamic world that was articulated by the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* serves as an important reminder of the highly complex and volatile nature of Christian-Muslim relations in the Iberian peninsula, not just in the twelfth century, but throughout the medieval period. The author of the *Chronica* may have been more knowledgeable about Muslim affairs than any other historiographical practitioner of his age, but that did not temper his intense hostility towards the religious “Other”. On the

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<sup>63</sup> Israel Burshatin, “The Docile Image: The Moor as a Figure of Force, Subservience, and Nobility in the *Poema de mio Cid*”, *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 31(1984), 269–280, at pp. 269, 271.

<sup>64</sup> *Poema de mio Cid*, ed. Colin Smith (Oxford, 1972), p. 170; Colin Smith, *The Making of the Poema de mio Cid* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 101–2.

<sup>65</sup> Burshatin, “The Docile Image”, pp. 273–4.

<sup>66</sup> *Poema de mio Cid*, p. 170.

contrary, his work took the Islamophobic outlook of the Leonese clergy to an unprecedented level of intensity and demonstrated the extent to which the new-fangled crusading ideology had begun to impact on the consciousness of society.<sup>67</sup> Yet, the fact remains that attitudes towards Islam were never immutable, before or after the invention of crusade, and that the frontier between Christian and Muslim territories, far from being a hard-and-fast demarcation between two mutually hostile religions and cultures, remained a highly permeable one. Inter-faith conflict may have reached a new pitch of intensity during the twelfth century—the *Chronica* stands as witness to that—but ruling monarchs would continue to look for allies where they could find them; political exiles would regularly seek asylum in the courts of al-Andalus or the Maghreb; and Christian mercenaries would find ready employment in Muslim armies in ever-increasing numbers.<sup>68</sup> The reality of the relationship between Christian and Muslim in the Iberian peninsula, as Richard Fletcher understood better than anybody, was that religious ideology was but one among any number of competing political, social, economic and cultural forces which conditioned and drove human actions.

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<sup>67</sup> On the impact of crusading ideology in the peninsula, see Fletcher, “Reconquest and Crusade”, 31–47; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford, 1993), ch. 2; Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003).

<sup>68</sup> Simon Barton, “Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300”, in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, eds. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 23–45; and “From Mercenary to Crusader: the Career of Álvar Pérez de Castro (d. 1239) reconsidered”, in *Church, State, Vellum and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Julie Harris and Therese Martin (Leiden, 2005), pp. 111–29.

THE TOMB OF ST. JAMES:  
THE VIEW FROM THE OTHER SIDE

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Thanks to its majestic towered façade, the great cathedral/shrine of Santiago implies, semiotically, that its center of gravity lies a hundred yards west of the Apostolic tomb that has been and remains the goal of thousands of annual pilgrimages today and is the very reason for the building's existence. This deceptive configuration is the result of the canonical role of the towered façade in the later Middle Ages. In fact, the first impression is not altogether false. After penetrating the façade, an innocent visitor may well imagine that the west end is the focal point. Master Matthew's Pórtico de la Gloria is a commanding presence. But there are also popular rituals that solemnize the space and animate it to a degree that is not matched by the actual shrine found beneath the high altar.<sup>1</sup> This west-end bias is so despite a major reconfiguration of the shrine under the high altar in order to provide access to and an imposing setting for the tomb after its re-discovery at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The need to discover the tomb at the end of the nineteenth century may seem surprising if it was the Apostolic tomb that drew the legions of pilgrims since the ninth century. But that is what happened. As the Romanesque church rose in the twelfth century, priority of place gave way to a suitably impressive stage for the liturgy, as we are told by the history of the deed commissioned by the perpetrator, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez:

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<sup>1</sup> There is an irreverent description of these exercises in David Lodge's novel, *Therapy*, (London, 1995), pp. 309–10.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio López Ferreiro, *Altar y cripta del apóstol Santiago*, re-edition (Santiago, 1975); R. Otero Túniz, "La edad contemporánea", in *IX Centenario de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Barcelona, 1977), pp. 381–99. For the reinvention of James's tomb at the end of the nineteenth century and the result see Ramón Villares, "La Ciudad de los dos Apóstoles (1875–1936)", in *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Ermelindo Portela Silva (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), pp. 477–557, at 522.

[He] Installed without delay a silver frontal (*tabulum*) all along the magnificent altar, a work admirably begun and still more admirably finished. He also rebuilt the pavement and the stairs leading to the altar, with smooth surfaces suitably adorned. Moreover, to honor the Apostolic altar he had made of gold and silver with varied and appropriate skill a ciborium for all to admire.<sup>3</sup>

The new pavement effectively sealed the remains of the tomb from view. It was re-discovered in excavations after Cardinal Archbishop Miguel Payá y Rico in 1878 appointed canons Antonio López Ferreiro and José María Labín Cabello “to find out the truth about certain vague and particular accounts concerning the existence of a subterranean gallery communicating with the crypt of the Apostle”, and “to determine with finality and security the location, disposition and state of the venerated remains of our glorious patron”.<sup>4</sup> The result was the exposure beneath the choir of the actual cathedral of the basement storey of a structure whose ashlar masonry is arguably compatible with a Roman date and which was identified as the original tomb of St. James.<sup>5</sup> (fig. 1) It was rectangular and perfectly enough oriented with respect to the church to indicate that the tomb played an essential role in the genesis of the site as a Christian sanctuary. Its granite ashlar walls measured on the outside 8.10m north-south and 8.26m east-west. In thickness these

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey, CCCM 70 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 44; see also *Historia Compostelana*, tr. Emma Falque Rey (Madrid, 1994), pp. 106–8. This section of the *Historia* was written by Girardus of Beauvais, who arrived in Santiago a decade earlier. For the historical context of the *Historia*, see Ludwig Vones, *Die Historia Compostellana und die Kirchenpolitik des nordwestspanischen Raumes, 1070–1130* (Cologne-Vienna, 1980), pp. 4–74; Fernando López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta edad media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), pp. 46–93.

<sup>4</sup> Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, Copia del Espediente instruido acerca de la autenticidad de las sagradas reliquias de Santiago Apostol, Patron de Espanna, 1879–1883 [sin signatura], fol. 4v. This is a copy of the Proceso sent to the Vatican. For the first account of the excavations by those involved and lengthy transcriptions of the *proceso* which led to the bull of Pope Leo XIII, see Domingo Bartolini, *Apuntes biográficos de Santiago Apóstol el Mayor y exposición histórico-crítica y jurídica de su apostolado, traslación del cuerpo del mismo a España y su reciente descubrimiento*, translated from the Italian original by Silvestre Rongier Fullerad (Roma, 1885).

<sup>5</sup> See Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 11 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1898–1911), 1:296–307; José Suárez Otero and Manuel Camaño Gesto, “Santiago antes de Santiago”, in *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Portela Silva, pp. 23–48, see 31–33; José Suárez Otero, “Reflexiones en torno a la arqueología del edículo apostólico”, in *Jacobeo 99: Santiago, la Esperanza* (Santiago de Compostela, 1999) (Exhibition Catalogue), pp. 45–57, at 49–50.

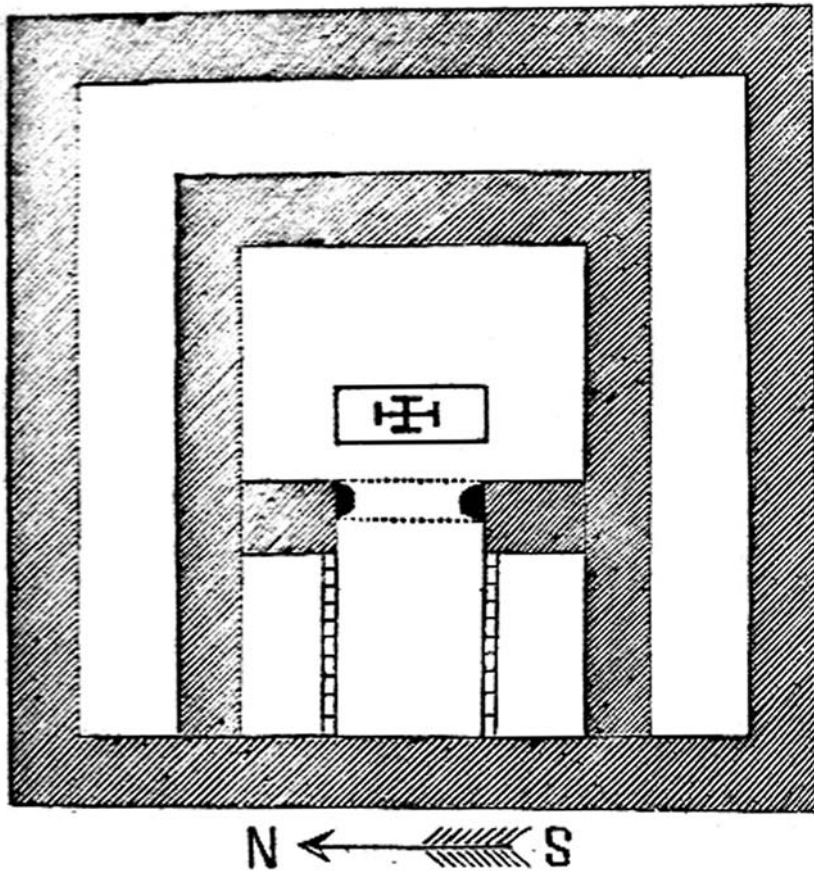


Fig. 1. Plan of Apostolic Tomb (A. López Ferreiro, in *Lecciones de arqueología sagrada* [Santiago de Compostela, 1889], fig. 31).



walls varied from .64m to .50 and rose from the bedrock as little as 1.20m at the northeast corner to as much as 1.75m at the southwest. Inscribed within this rectangle, to use López Ferreiro's description,<sup>6</sup> was another precinct attached to the center of the western wall, with walls .75m thick. It measured 6.4m east-west by 4.69m north-south on the outside. A rubble wall whose foundation López Ferreiro stated<sup>7</sup> was .5m thick had divided this inner precinct into eastern and western areas, the former 2.6m on the east-west axis, the latter 2m. López Ferreiro reported a threshold, which was still *in situ*, and showed that the two chambers communicated with each other.<sup>8</sup> The western side of the inner chamber was subdivided further: at the top level, brick walls .2m thick and .45m high segregated to each side *loculi* some 2m long and .75m wide, a size consistent with human burial. Logic led to their recognition as tombs. They were in fact the only part of the tomb whose function was taken as unequivocal. Yet the relationship, if any, of these graves to the original history of the structure is not clear.<sup>9</sup> Nor is their assignment to two disciples, Athanasius and Theodore, that tradition assigned to James and his tomb without its problem: only in the twelfth century was the number reduced to two from the three, with different names, that appeared in the ninth-century version of the so-called Leo Letter and established the Translation narrative.<sup>10</sup> In the bull issued in 1884 by Pope Leo XIII the Apostle James was placed between these two graves.<sup>11</sup> López Ferreiro may have contributed to this conclusion, but he would eventually place James's original interment in the eastern chamber because the fragments of a mosaic floor found there suggested to him an appropriately greater dignity for that part of the tomb.<sup>12</sup>

No remains were found within the structure, but a small stone casket with bones subsequently recognized as James's was found at the eastern end of the choir, the result, so López Ferreiro concluded, of the decision in 1589 to hide the apostolic relics as Admiral Drake's ships neared

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<sup>6</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 1:299.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 299.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>9</sup> Suárez Otero and Camaño Gesto, "Santiago antes de Santiago", pp. 31–32, indicated that these tombs do not seem always to have been buried.

<sup>10</sup> Torcuatus, Tesiphon and Anastasius appear in the Leo Letter, which offers the earliest account of the translation. For the so-called Leo Letter see López Alsina, *Ciudad de Santiago*, pp. 121–7, 187–88, 307–8.

<sup>11</sup> Bartolini, *Apuntes*, p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 1:291–92.

Santiago.<sup>13</sup> So that the tomb might be incorporated into the architecture of the cathedral in some organic way, López Ferreiro converted it into a vaulted crypt based loosely on Early Christian/Byzantine models, replete with an altar supporting a neo-medieval shrine.<sup>14</sup> A portal opened by López Ferreiro in the center of its western wall allowed the chapel to be viewed and entered. To convert the spaces between the inner precinct and the outer into corridors, openings were inserted at each end of the western and eastern outer walls. Despite López Ferreiro's efforts, the disjunction between form and function that I described at the outset—the relative neglect of the tomb in the average experience of the site—persists: lines seldom form to visit the crypt/shrine, but almost always one must wait to ascend the stairs nearby to accomplish a popular act of devotion, kissing the head of the figure of an enthroned James that perches above the altar.

Given its location with respect to the churches subsequently erected on the site, there is no reason to doubt that the ancient structure uncovered in 1879 was the tomb discovered around A.D. 830.<sup>15</sup> The circumstances of this discovery are recorded in written form first in 1077, when the cathedral and the monks of the monastery of San Salvador de Antealtares agreed on the compensation Antealtares should receive for making way for the new Romanesque church. After recounting how James's body had arrived in Spain, a narrative based on the archetypal, probably ninth-century narrative in the so-called Leo Letter,<sup>16</sup> the *Concordia* of 1077 states that

Angelic oracles, in the time of King Alfonso the Chaste, revealed to a certain anchorite named Pelagius, who lived nearby, the point where the apostolic body was interred. Also, sacred lights were revealed to the faithful of the church of S. Felix de Lovio, who presented themselves to the bishop of Iria, Theodomirus, revealing to him the sacred vision. He ordained a three-day fast and gathering the multitude of faithful, discovered the tomb of St. James covered with marble stones, and filled with great joy

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 8: 306. But see an alternative date offered by Jesús Carro García, *Estudios jacobeos* (Santiago de Compostela, 1954), p. 82.

<sup>14</sup> Antonio López Ferreiro, *El Pórtico de la Gloria, Platerías y el primitivo altar mayor* (Santiago de Compostela, 1975 [re-edition of original of 1891], pp. 125–37; Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones*, pp. 299–322; Otero Túniz, “La edad contemporánea,” pp. 381–99.

<sup>15</sup> Fernando López Alsina, “La invención del sepulcro de Santiago y la difusión del culto jacobeo,” in *El Camino de Santiago y la articulación del espacio hispánico* (XX Semana de estudios medievales, Estella, 1993) (Pamplona, 1994), pp. 59–83, see p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> López Alsina, *Ciudad de Santiago*, pp. 121–27, 187–88, 307–8.

they enjoined the king to join in. He, of pious spirit and an embracer of chastity, immediately erected a church in honor of the Apostle and near it another in honor of St. John the Baptist, and in front of these very altars raised a third [*ante ipsa sancta altaria tertiam*], not modest in size, that contained three altars: one in honor of the Saviour, another in honor of St Peter Prince of Apostles, and a third of St. John the Apostle.<sup>17</sup>

This is the essential record of the foundation of the *locus sanctus* that would grow into the city of Santiago. As an agreement between the bishop and the abbot of the monastery charged with the cult of James, it represents a history whose truth is effectively vouched for by representatives of rival parties. This crucial witness to the earliest history of the *locus sanctus* survived only by the slimmest of margins: it is a notarial copy of 1775 from another of 1435, now lost, in San Martín Pinario.<sup>18</sup> The failure of Tumbo A, the cartulary designed in 1129 for the cathedral, to include any foundational document other than later references to a “Dote del Rey Casto”, is extraordinary, and must result, as López Alsina concluded, from Diego Gelmírez’s decision not to reveal the powerful role assigned by Alfonso II to the monastery of Antealtares at the moment of foundation.<sup>19</sup> This decision was part of an effort, by 1129 on its way to success, to erase the memory of Antealtares’s part in the cult of James. The continuing life of this campaign may be seen in the way in which the earliest history of the site has been addressed. The decision during the excavations of 1946 to 1959<sup>20</sup> not to explore to the east of the tomb ultimately stemmed, one assumes, from the recognition that it was not part of the history of the church of St. James. Despite its lying open, only minor efforts have since been devoted to exploring the Plaza de la Quintana behind the cathedral, Antealtares’s original domain.<sup>21</sup> Although the lack of material evidence makes the

<sup>17</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3: append. I.

<sup>18</sup> Fernando López Alsina, in *Santiago de Compostela: 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen* (Ghent, 1985), pp. 203–4.

<sup>19</sup> López Alsina, “Invención del sepulcro”, p. 77; idem, *Ciudad de Santiago*, pp. 128–29.

<sup>20</sup> José Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apostol Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela, 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Manuel Chamoso Lamas, “Noticias sobre recientes descubrimientos arqueológicos y artísticos efectuados en Santiago de Compostela”, *Príncipe de Viana* 32 (1971), 35–48; José Suárez Otero, “Apuntes arqueológicos sobre la formación del Locus Sanctus Iacobi y los orígenes del urbanismo medieval compostelano”, in *Codex Aquilarensis (Cuadernos de Investigación del Monasterio de Santa María la Real, Aguilar de Campóo)*, 15 (1999), 13–42, see 21–27.

results conjectural, it is Antealtares's role in accommodating the apostolic cult architecturally that is my subject.

As we saw, the *Concordia* of 1077 states that with the discovery of a tomb identified in some unstated way as containing the body of the Apostle James, Alfonso II immediately erected a church in honor of the Apostle and near it another in honor of St. John the Baptist, and a third church to house the monks charged with the cult. Of these, only the tomb survives, as a crypt beneath the high altar of the cathedral, because Bishop Diego Gelmírez more or less sealed it from view when he installed the high altar of the Romanesque church in 1105. Just how the tomb was incorporated in the pre-Romanesque design of the complex is unclear. Unequivocal verbal and graphic descriptions of the structure discovered by López Ferreiro leave no doubt that the outer wall had no openings before he introduced them.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the original form of the tomb and its relationship to the basilicas attached to it in the ninth century offered by José Guerra Campos, the chief interpreter of the excavation of the 1946 to 1959, depended on denying this fact, while relying on questionable literary evidence. Despite the similarity in masonry between the exterior walls and those of the interior edicule, he decided to attribute the outer walls to the ninth century, making them part of a plan whereby the inner rectangle was made the centerpiece of an apse, and corridors on the north and south sides allowing access to steps with risers of over a half meter! leading to an upper chapel. This reconstruction resulted from Guerra's effort to reconcile the material recovered by archeology with tradition as it was presented in twelfth-century texts:<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, fortified by the prudent counsel of religious men, [Bishop Gelmírez] announced to the chapter of canons, who in this matter were strongly opposed, that he was going to destroy the *habitaculum* built by the disciples of the Apostle to be as large as the lower mausoleum,

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<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the plan presented by Antonio López Ferreiro in *Lecciones de arqueología sagrada* (Santiago de Compostela, 1889), p. 33, fig. 31, and the plan folded into Bartolini, *Apuntes*, where the openings, numbered IV, are identified as "Aberturas recientes hechas en los antiguos muros romanos para dar entrada á la cripta". See also those reproduced by Fidel Fita and Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *Recuerdos de un Viaje a Santiago de Galicia* (Madrid, 1880), p. 70 and by José María Fernández Sánchez and Fr. Freire Barreiro, *Santiago, Jerusalén, Roma: Diario de una peregrinación*, 3 vols. (Santiago, 1881), 1, drawing at p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones*, pp. 199–201, 286–88, 355–57, 371–72, fig. 105.

where we know without doubt that the sacred remains of the Apostle are enshrined.<sup>24</sup>

The survival of such an upper chamber over half of a millennium is unlikely. In my opinion, the *habitaculum* removed by Gelmírez, was not, as Guerra Campos assumed, the imagined second-story oratory of the original tomb, but the intrusive apse of the basilica of A.D. 899 that was removed only in 1114. The result of Guerra Campos's interpretation is a plan that not only made the basilica of St. James the dominant structure, but raised a wall between the monks of Antealtares and the very tomb they were charged to serve. (fig. 2).

The revelatory excavations of the 1950s uncovered substantial remains of the foundation of the basilica of St. James erected by Alfonso III and dedicated in A.D. 899, and of a rectangular structure 8 meters square on its north flank that was taken to be the oratory of John the Baptist.<sup>25</sup> Since it was assumed, without concrete evidence, to have been attached to the basilica, it was not taken then to be the original church of the Baptist mentioned in the foundation narrative. That building is thought to have been north of the church of St. James, but in a location not verifiable.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast, the church dedicated to the Apostle in the original foundation of Alfonso II, while largely conjectural, seems to be located. The modern excavations found a threshold in place two meters east of the west façade of the basilica of 899 and short segments of wall attached to it. If indeed this was the western façade of the first basilica of St. James, it was a church 20 meters long, assuming its nave ended at the tomb. Nothing was found to confirm its width. In a controversial decision, as indicated above, Guerra Campos assumed, after debate, that the outer walls of the tomb were in fact built by Alfonso II in imitation of those of the tomb itself, the inner rectangle. In his plan the width of the original church was that of the ashlar structure discovered by López

<sup>24</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, pp. 43–44.

<sup>25</sup> Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones*, pp. 360–62, plans pp. 328, 405.

<sup>26</sup> Suárez Otero, “Apuntes arqueológicos”, in *Codex Aquilarensis*, 13–42, see 13–14. The baptistery foundations found next to the basilica of Alfonso III has been defended as the structure raised in the original foundation of the site by J. Freire Camaniel, “Los primeros documentos relativos a las iglesias de Antealtares y Santiago. Una lectura más”, *Compostellanum* 44 (1999), 335–92, see 360–70; Part II. Intento de solución y conclusiones, *ibid.* 45 (2000), 725–55, see 739, fig. 4, p. 746.

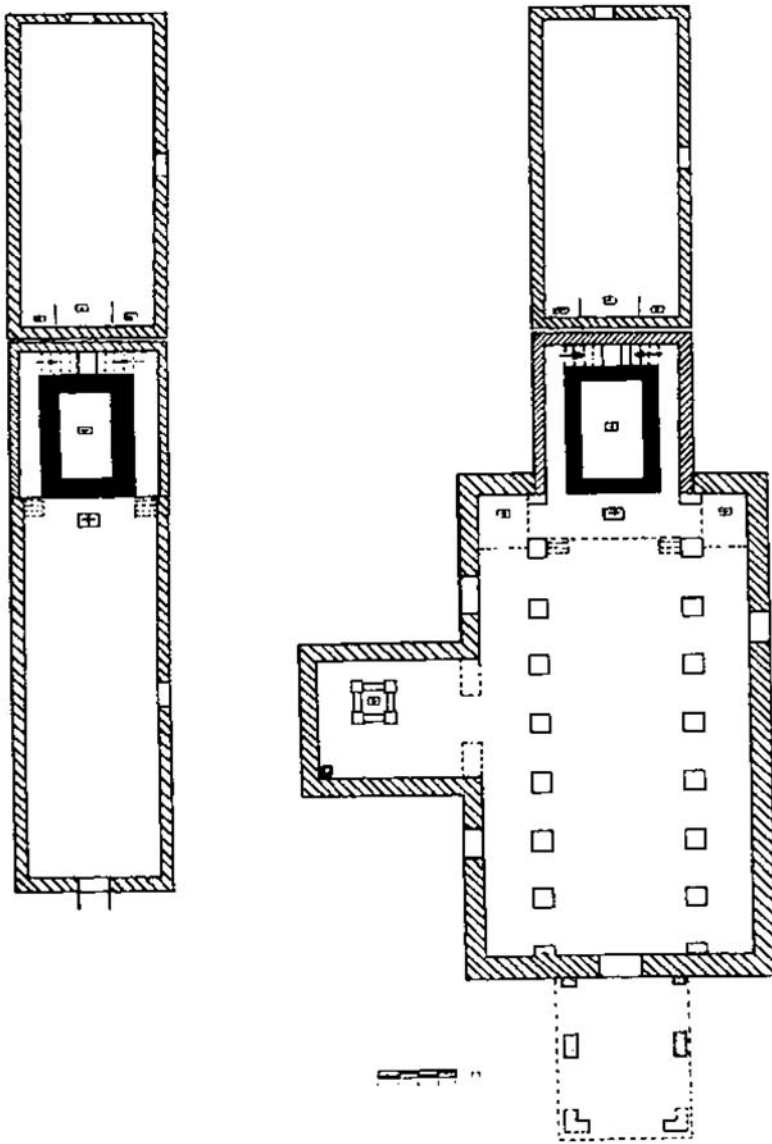


Fig. 2. Plans of Antealtares with Basilica of Alfonso II and Basilica of Alfonso III according to F. Guerra Campos (*Exploraciones arqueológicas en torno al sepulcro del Apóstol Santiago* [Santiago, 1982], figs. 105, 106).

Ferreiro above.<sup>27</sup> The result is a church of a single aisle, six meters wide. (See fig. 2, p. 182; fig. 3)

The third church, dedicated to the Saviour and served by the monks who were charged with the custody of the Apostolic tomb and its cult, has left no certain physical trace.<sup>28</sup> As an actual complex, it has received only cursory attention.<sup>29</sup> The *Concordia* includes the statement that in this church Alfonso II

assigned to the Abbot Ildefredus, a man of great sanctity, the custody of the apostle along with no fewer than twelve monks, dedicated to the divine office, who should sing the divine office and assiduously say masses, sharing among them by a charter of donation the place that faces to the east part in front of the same altars, where they were able to build a cloister and offices, according to the Rule of St. Benedict.<sup>30</sup>

What did San Salvador look like? All we are given is a vague reference in the *Concordia* that it was not of a modest size. We do not know if this means compared to the church of St. James on the other side of the tomb, or compared to architecture in general, which would mean a substantial building. The rivalry Antealtares offered to the basilica, eventually cathedral, of St. James led to the marginalization of the monastery in the memory of the *Locus Sanctus*. To this end the *Historia Compostellana* went so far as to claim that Antealtares was founded by Alfonso III (866–910), with gifts left by the pilgrims to the church of St. James.<sup>31</sup> Even the altars that belonged to Antealtares in the *Concordia* of 1077 were assigned to the basilica of St. James in a narrative that supposedly recorded the dedication of the basilica raised by King Alfonso III and his Jacobean bishop, Sisnando, a text based on an authentic dedication, but interpolated by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1101?–1130,

<sup>27</sup> Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones*, pp. 368–72, fig. 102.

<sup>28</sup> José Suárez Otero, “(Del *locus Sancti Iacobi* al burgo de Compostela”, in *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Portela Silva, pp. 49–77, see 62–65, has surveyed the scant remains possibly associated with Antealtares. It includes a cement floor 1.14 meters below the level of the actual presbytery, which Guerra Campos associated with Antealtares (*Exploraciones*, p. 112).

<sup>29</sup> Most recently and most substantially, Freire Camaniel, “Los primeros documentos”.

<sup>30</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 3: append. I, p. 4. It is anachronistic to think that they observed the Benedictine Rule.

<sup>31</sup> *Historia Compostellana*, p. 11.

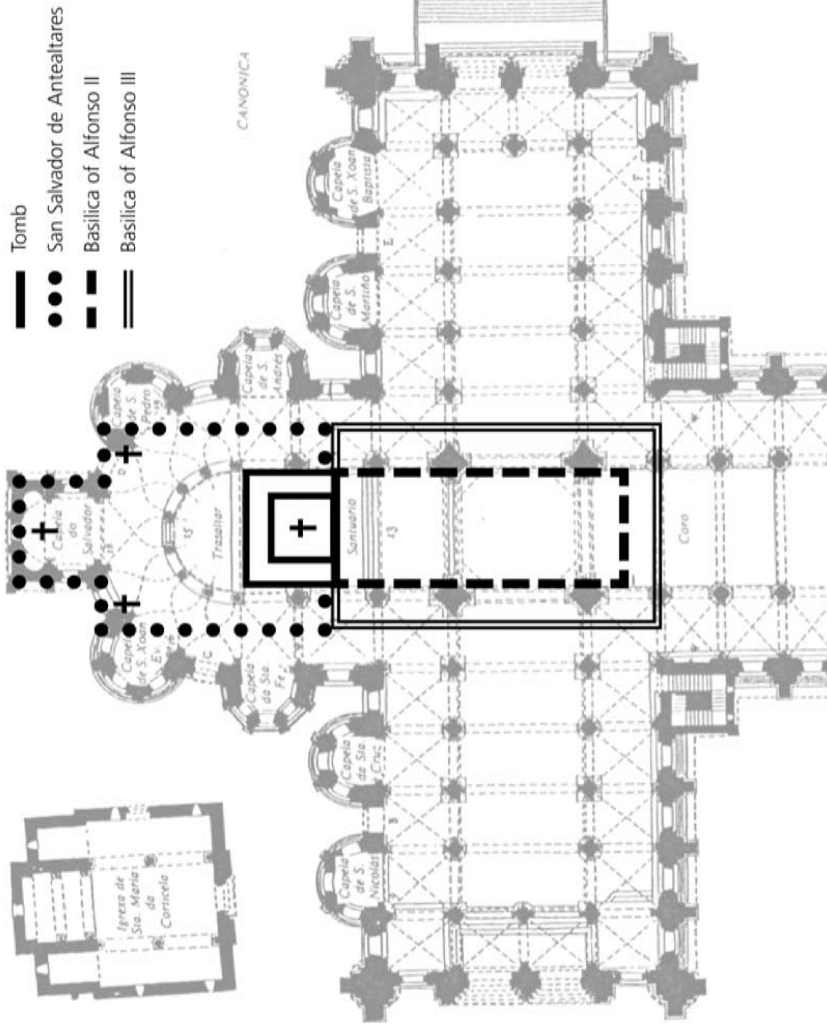


Fig. 3. Hypothetical plan of Antealtares with Basilicas of Alfonso II and Alfonso III (J. Williams)



1142–1143).<sup>32</sup> Like López Ferreiro,<sup>33</sup> in reconstructing the buildings of the *locus sanctus* Guerra Campos preferred to accept it as basically trustworthy.<sup>34</sup> López Alsina assumed that because of its lesser rank, the church of Antealtares probably was no larger nor in architectural quality superior to St. James, in spite of the fact that the *Concordia* says that it was not modest (*non modicam*) in size, a description he suggested actually reflected a later church of Antealtares.<sup>35</sup> There is no reason to conclude that the church charged with the cult was inferior in size and design to the first basilica of St. James. The honors conferred on Antealtares in order that it might fulfill its guardianship fittingly were substantial:

The king then ordered that the abbot and the monastery would have daily, by hereditary right, the altar of St. Peter found in the church of St. James, not in the same place where it had been but in the church being constructed; and that, while work on the altars proceeded, the bishop would obtain two other altars, with a portion of the offering of the monks at the altar of St. James. And that the said two altars of the Saviour and of St. John Evangelist would be restored to the abbot and the monks and be theirs in perpetuity. And finally, while the church was under construction, the bishop should enjoy the money from the altar of St. James. When work is finished, the monks would have a third part and the bishop two parts of the altar of St. James, in perpetuity.<sup>36</sup>

In the *Crónica Albeldense* Alfonso II is said to have taken refuge in *Abelania*, a monastery (Ablaña); vows taken there would account for his life-long chastity.<sup>37</sup> This monastic background might well have inclined him to invest principally in the monastery he established for the cult. The original basilica on the other side of the tomb, destined for a more public cult, was not a cathedral. That was in Iria Flavia.<sup>38</sup> Not only was

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<sup>32</sup> Freire Camaniel, “Los primeros documentos”, 344–57; José Manuel Díaz de Bustamante and José Eduardo López Pereira, “El acta de consagración de la catedral de Santiago: edición y estudio crítico”, *Compostellanum* 35 (1990), 377–400. Pelayo’s motive remains elusive.

<sup>33</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, II–185, plan p. 186.

<sup>34</sup> Guerra Campos, *Exploraciones*, p. 350.

<sup>35</sup> López Alsina, *Ciudad de Santiago*, pp. 143–44.

<sup>36</sup> López Ferreiro, *Historia*, 1:4.

<sup>37</sup> See Juan Gil Fernández, José L. Moralejo, Juan L. Ruiz de la Peña, *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), pp. 174, 248. For an explanation of the change of place of refuge to Alava in later chronicles, see Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 138–39.

<sup>38</sup> The idea that the see was considered duplex still in the middle of the eleventh century is reflected in the signature of Bishop Cresconio: *Cresconius Iriensis et apostolice*

the size of the church of Antealtares minimized, but hypothetical reconstructions have disregarded the link to the tomb that the monastery's charge to care for its cult called for. Walls are imagined in places that would have blocked their access to the tomb and altar of the Apostle.

When the tomb was discovered, Alfonso II had already laid out for his capital of Oviedo a complex involving multiple churches.<sup>39</sup> It involved a palatine church dedicated to the Saviour that effectively was the cathedral. Beside it he raised a church, dedicated to Mary, destined to serve as a pantheon. Already present was the monastery of Saint Vincent in a location behind the church of the Saviour, that is, "ante-altares".<sup>40</sup> Attached to the palace was a two-storey chapel. The lower storey was a vaulted crypt that housed the relics of Santa Leocadia, a confessor saint important in the former capital, Toledo.<sup>41</sup> The upper chamber, the Cámara Santa, eventually served as the repository of the Arca Santa, the reliquary/altar of numerous relics, which stood directly above the tomb of Santa Leocadia.<sup>42</sup> This arrangement reflected a traditional approach to martyrial shrines,<sup>43</sup> At Santiago, however, there was the need to share the tomb and its altar between the monastic church and the basilica, although it is possible that the precedent of an Antealtares monastery and martyrial shrine in Oviedo may have inspired the duplex arrangement.

In comparison to the other four churches of the so-called Pilgrimage Roads School, that of Santiago is singular in replacing the standard semi-circular chapel on the main axis with one rectangular in plan (see fig. 3, p. 184). The quadrangular shape is the signature apsidal formula for pre-Romanesque architecture in the peninsula; the conversion to

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*sedis*. See Vones, *Die Historia Compostellana*, p. 283; Fernando López Alsina, "Urbano II y el traslado de la sede episcopal de Iria a Compostela", in Fernando López Alsina, ed., *El Papado, la iglesia leonesa la basilica de Santiago a finales del siglo XI, El traslado de la sede episcopal de Iria a Compostela en 1095* (Santiago de Compostela, 1999), pp. 107–27, at p. 120.

<sup>39</sup> Achim Arbeiter and Sabine Noack-Haley, *Christliche Denkmäler des fruhen Mittelalters* (Mainz am Rhein, 1999), pp. 11–12, abb. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Freire Camaniel, "Los primeros documentos", Pt. II, 730.

<sup>41</sup> Arbeiter and Noack-Haley, *Christliche Denkmäler*, pp. 110–14, Abb. 55, 56, Taf. 10, 11a.

<sup>42</sup> Julie A. Harris, "Redating the Arca Santa of Oviedo", in *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), 83–93.

<sup>43</sup> André Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1943–1946), 1:574–76; E. Dygge, "Le type architectural de la Cámara Santa d'Oviedo et l'architecture asturienne", *Cahiers archéologiques* 6 (1952), 125–33.

curved apsidal walls signaled the arrival of the Romanesque style from the north. Without having any means of confirming such a conclusion, it may be that the decision to retain for the San Salvador chapel—note the dedication—a rectangular plan expressed a desire to pay homage to the earlier history of the site. It so happens that the shape and width of the Romanesque chapel of San Salvador duplicates that of the church of Santa María de Corticela, the church erected at the end of the ninth century under Bishop Sisnando I, when he wished to distinguish a group of clerics directly attached to the bishop<sup>44</sup> (fig. 4). This church, it has been suggested, was based on the basilica of Alfonso III, but it is more likely that it had a more normal model just as close by, San Salvador de Antealtares. Corticela was remodeled in the thirteenth century, but its original plan has been partially recovered. There is reason to think that it was longer by two bays.<sup>45</sup> If so, the resultant plan, when imposed on the Romanesque cathedral, yields a structure that in size fits not only the present plan of San Salvador, but extends towards the west to a point that reaches the mid-point of the tomb the monks of Antealtares were charged with serving (see fig. 3, p. 184). The arrangement would have involved an altar over the tomb. This seems to be the one now kept by the monastery of San Payo, which includes as a support a Roman inscription presumably from the original cemetery.<sup>46</sup> Presumably the basilica of St. James would have shared this altar of St. James with the monks of Antealtares.

To my knowledge there are no direct counterparts to this *ad hoc* duplex arrangement.<sup>47</sup> In the Rioja, however, a Roman ashlar tomb of the first century some four meters square and seven meters in height eventually served, with the removal of its west façade, as the apse of a three-aisled medieval, and eventually Baroque, basilica, Santa María

<sup>44</sup> López Alsina, *Ciudad de Santiago*, pp. 253–54.

<sup>45</sup> Manuel Núñez, *Historia da arquitectura galega: Arquitectura prerrománica* (Vil-laverde, 1978), pp. 153–56, fig. 45; Ramón Yzquierdo Perrín, *Galicia Arte 10: Arte medieval* (A Coruña, 1993), pp. 81–86.

<sup>46</sup> Serafín Moralejo in *Santiago, Camino de Europa* (Exhibition Catalogue, 1993), no. 5 (altar), no. 6 (support); Suárez Otero and Camaño Gesto, “Santiago antes de Santiago”, 32–33.

<sup>47</sup> For the issue of arranging for circulation between reliquary crypts and sanctuaries in the early Middle Ages, see Christian Sapin, “Cryptes et sanctuaires, approches historiques et archéologiques de circulations”, *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 34 (2003), 51–62.

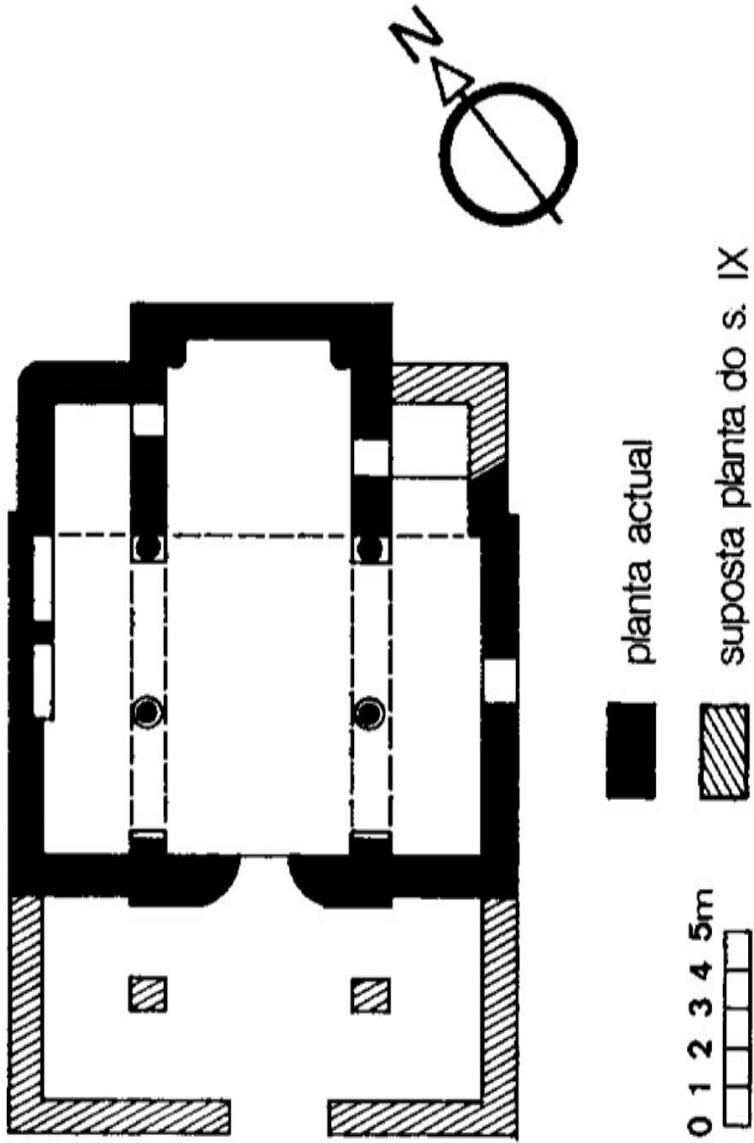


Fig. 4. Plan of Santa María de Corticela (Manuel Núñez, *Historia da arquitectura galega: Arquitectura prerrománica* (Villaverde, 1978), fig. 45).

de Arcos, in Tricio.<sup>48</sup> The resulting plan offers a counterpart for the incorporation of the tomb of James as an apse in the hypothetical and highly questionable reconstruction proposed by Guerra Campos. The Tricio tomb, however, was not dedicated to saintly burial. Burial of the blessed within churches took various forms. The best-known example was the basilica of St. Peter's in Rome, where the tomb served to locate the apse of the church above. Closer to Spain, in North Africa, a tradition of counter-apses that honored tomb shrines flourished in the Early Christian era. The cathedral at Orleansville (Algeria) is an example.<sup>49</sup> Dedicated in A.D. 324, it had an eastern apse raised above a crypt, and, after 475, a counter-apse to the west to honor the tomb of Bishop Reparatus. Counter-apses could be found in Spain as well, an early example, from around A.D. 500, being Casa Herrera, outside Mérida.<sup>50</sup> Such an arrangement would have allowed the monks of San Salvador a convenient way to carry out their duty as custodians. But if the altar of St. James, above the tomb presumably, had been in a counter-apse, it would have not have been accessible from the church that the *Concordia* states was established by Alfonso II in honor of St. James. While it could not serve as a model, the popular pilgrimage church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome offers an example of shared commemoration: a church of c. A.D. 600 incorporated the tomb of St. Lawrence in a retro-choir and was eventually joined by a second, addorsed, basilica whose apse also incorporated the tomb.<sup>51</sup>

While there is no direct evidence that the original shrine of the apostle was incorporated into addorsed churches, the arrangement at least responds to the evidence we have of the original intention: a monastery to the east of the tomb was charged with maintaining the cult and the tomb, while a more public church served the needs of visitors, including the bishop of Iria. The virtual disappearance of San Salvador de

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<sup>48</sup> María Luisa Cancela Ramírez de Arellano, "Ermita de Santa María de Arcos, Tricio (La Rioja)", *Estrato* 41 (1992), 42–46; eadem, Santa María de Arcos, Tricio (La Rioja): Campañas 1984–1986, *Museo de Zaragoza, Boletín* 5 (1986), 289–96. There is a documented dedication date of 1181. Earlier, mid-tenth century, conversion to Christian use was proposed, but without evidence, by Sebastián Andrés Valero, "Excavaciones en Santa María de los Arcos de Tricio (La Rioja)", in *I Coloquio sobre la historia de la Rioja. Cuadernos de Investigación. Historia* (Logroño, 1982), pp. 113–21.

<sup>49</sup> Noël Duval, *Les Eglises africaines à deux absides*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1973), 2:1–9.

<sup>50</sup> Helmut Schlunk and Theodor Hauschild, *Hispania Antiqua: Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* (Main am Rhein, 1978), pp. 175–76, Abb. 101.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum christianarum Romae*, 2 (Vatican City, 1959), pp. 113–31, fig. 122, pl. V.

Antealtares as a component of the original complex is understandable: history is written by the victors. With the conversion of the church of St. James into the cathedral, the monks of San Salvador were bound to be increasingly marginalized.<sup>52</sup>

With Bishop Diego Gelmírez, St. James's Catapult, the eminently suitable sobriquet recovered by Richard Fletcher, the Apostolic tomb literally disappeared beneath a new floor. Honored by an altar and baldachino of Gelmírez's design, the cathedral became, in effect, a monumental reliquary. A new, small, church of San Salvador was erected somewhere in the Quintana plaza behind the new Romanesque church. Under bishop Pedro Helías [1143–1149] the first cathedral cloister was under construction, and in the place where the ancient cloister of Antealtares stood, a dormitory larger than the previous one was erected. Abbot Rodrigo protested to King Alfonso VII, because rights bestowed in 1077 to the altars of Peter, John, Saviour and part of Santiago still were not restored in 1147, seventy years after the *Concordia*.<sup>53</sup> Alfonso saw that the boundaries of Antealtares and Cathedral were clearly established by a line going from the Salvador chapel to a tower on the north and then turning south to enclose the monks' residence and thence returning to the Salvador chapel. But by the middle of the thirteenth century, when Archbishop Juan Arias began to erect a huge new choir behind the actual one, a project never completed,<sup>54</sup> San Salvador de Antealtares was pushed off the space the Quintana occupies today, probably to the building that forms the eastern boundary of the Quintana, San Payo.

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<sup>52</sup> Although the *Historia Compostellana* (p. 9) claims that the translation of the see from Iria Flavia was done under Alfonso II, it was a gradual process. The papacy sanctioned the translation only in 1095, but some would locate the see effectively in Compostela much earlier, and point to the burial of Teodomiro (847) next to the church of St. James as proof. However, the tomb discovered in the excavations of the fifties was not in its original location, which is unknown and could, theoretically, have been in Iria Flavia. Even in 1055 the idea of a duplex see is reflected in the signature of Cresconio at the council of Coyanza as bishop *Iriensis et apostolice sedis*. See López Alsina, "Urbano II", pp. 110–11.

<sup>53</sup> Antonio López Ferreiro, "Apuntes históricos sobre el monasterio de San Pelayo de Antealtares de la ciudad de Santiago", *Compostellanum* 5 (1960), 315–61, see 342–43; Jesús Carro García, "El privilegio de Alfonso VII al monasterio de Antealtares", *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 7 (1952), 145–57; Freire Camaniel, "Los primeros documentos", 342.

<sup>54</sup> J. A. Puente Míguez, "La catedral gótica de Santiago de Compostela. Un proyecto frustrado de Juan Arias (1238–1266)", *Compostellanum* 30 (1985), 245–76.



THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF LUGO IN THE  
TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES:  
REFORM AND RETRENCHMENT\*

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Richard Fletcher sketched the landscape of ecclesiastical change in his book, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*. There, he explored the consequences of what he called “a radical assault upon a whole ecclesiastical way of life”: the wide-ranging changes urged by the papacy and implemented by an army of clerics from across the Pyrenees.<sup>1</sup> In the last thirty years, the bolted doors of ecclesiastical archives have been pried loose, innumerable documents have been edited, and there has been an avalanche of Spanish publications on medieval Spain. Yet many of the issues Fletcher raised have not been pursued. To a degree, his opening remarks about the treatment of Spanish history still ring true: “too many have been seduced by the flashy glamour of the *Reconquista* into a neglect of what went on behind its lines, into the mischievous error that the history of the *Reconquista* is the history of medieval Spain.”<sup>2</sup> Since then, the idea of the *Reconquista* and the national narrative it sustained have been shaken by changing ideological winds and the competing pressures of European integration and increased autonomy for the regions of Spain. Nonetheless, historians are still drawn in large numbers to the relationships among Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and the ways these experiences have shaped Spanish history and identity.

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<sup>1</sup> R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.



With this, it also remains true that, as Fletcher observed, “ecclesiastical history has been curiously little cultivated in modern Spain.”<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiastical documents have been thoroughly mined in efforts to map, graph, and tally the estates and income of medieval dioceses and monasteries, and examine their roles as seigneurial lords wielding political and economic power. Historians in Spain have devoted less attention to other facets of the ecclesiastical life of cathedral clergy.<sup>4</sup> Partly, this is due to the disproportionate weight of charter evidence, and the scarcity of narrative sources or texts more revealing of cultural and intellectual life. Beyond that, it attests to lingering divisions in modern Spanish society and education, the strength of an apologetic tradition within the church itself, and the problematic place of Spain’s Catholic heritage in contested narratives of the Spanish past.<sup>5</sup>

Studies of cathedral chapters in the medieval kingdoms of León and Castile reflect these trends.<sup>6</sup> Monographs have stressed the acquisition and administration of lands and income, with a decided emphasis on the later Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> Fletcher’s book centered on the episcopate, but

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 29. His remarks echoed those of Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> Some recent studies are important exceptions: Susana Guijarro González, *Maestros, escuelas y libros: el universo cultural de las catedrales en la Castilla Medieval* (Madrid, 2004); Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, *Las catedrales de Galicia durante la Edad Media. Claustros y entorno urbano* (La Coruña, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> The Spanish episcopate and individual dioceses have led recent initiatives to publish the patrimony and history of the cathedrals. These include the exhibitions and catalogues, *Las Edades del Hombre*, launched in 1988 in Castile-León with a markedly confessional orientation; the series, *Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa*, with over one hundred volumes of documents and studies, supported by the Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León; the annual conferences of the Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia de España, publ. *Memoria Ecclesiae*; and twenty-five projected volumes on the history of the dioceses of Spain in the *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, a project dubbed *Flórez 2000* and conceived of as a modern version of the eighteenth-century *España Sagrada*.

<sup>6</sup> Broad treatments are scarce: José Luis Martín, “Cabildos catedralicios en el Occidente español hasta mediados del siglo XIII,” in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel*, 2 (Sto. Domingo de Silos, 1977), pp. 125–36; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, “‘Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum.’ Vidas reglar y secular en las catedrales hispanas llegado el siglo XII,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 30 (2000), pp. 757–805. For a bibliographic summary: María José Lop Otín, “Las catedrales y los cabildos catedralicios de la Corona de Castilla durante la Edad Media: un balance historiográfico,” *En la España Medieval* 26 (2003), pp. 371–404.

<sup>7</sup> Juan Ramón López-Arevalo, *Un cabildo catedral de la vieja Castilla. Avila: su estructura jurídica, s. XIII–XX* (Madrid, 1966); Tomas Villacorta Rodríguez, *El cabildo catedral de León. Estudio histórico-jurídico, siglos XII–XIX* (León, 1974); José Luis Martín, *El cabildo de la catedral de Salamanca (siglos XII–XIII)* (Salamanca, 1975); Soledad Suárez Beltrán, *El cabildo de la catedral de Oviedo en la Edad Media* (Oviedo,

his comments on the obscurity that shrouds the bishops are even more apt for the canons whose careers must be constructed from terse charters. For these men, his caution still applies. "Until a great deal more work shall have been done, we can make only more or less ill-informed guesses about the sort of men who made up the cathedral chapters, and about the means by which they were chosen."<sup>8</sup>

The Galician cathedral of Lugo offers excellent opportunities for such work.<sup>9</sup> Fletcher himself appreciated the value of its numerous charters. He chose a diploma of Bishop Pedro III to illustrate the episcopal *acta*, transcribed six others, and remarked on the long series of charters by the notary, Román.<sup>10</sup> The spare notices in such documents do not easily yield a narrative: tantalizing bits of information remain opaque, and they are altogether silent about much of capitular life. Nonetheless, the shadowy profiles of the canons and the dim outlines of a story of reform and retrenchment can be teased from them. These remarks are but a tentative sketch of that tale of one cathedral chapter. It is an example, not a model. If anything, this story attests to the weight of local circumstances, and the role of accident and idiosyncrasy, untimely deaths and remarkable longevity, in shaping one corporate institution, against the background of the steadier rhythms of generational change and the ebb and flow of ecclesiastical reform.

The rich collection of documents from Lugo cathedral is, sadly, perhaps the largest ensemble of their date from the kingdom of León-Castile to linger unpublished.<sup>11</sup> In 1841, the state seized most of the

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1986); Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez, *El dominio del cabildo catedral de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media (siglos XII–XIV)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1994); idem, *La iglesia de Santiago de Compostela en la Edad Media: El cabildo catedralicio (1110–1400)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1996); María José Lop Otín, *El cabildo catedralicio de Toledo en el siglo XV: aspectos institucionales y sociológicos* (Madrid, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Fletcher devoted a section to the cathedral clergy: *Episcopate*, pp. 144–58; the quotation is on p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> The best survey is: Manuel Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo en la edad media," in *Historia de las Diócesis Españolas*, 15: *Iglesias de Lugo, Mondoñedo-Ferrol y Orense*, ed. José García Oro (Madrid, 2002), pp. 21–94. See also Antonio García Conde and Amador López Valcárcel, *Episcopologio Lucense* (Lugo, 1991); James D'Emilio, "Writing is the Precious Treasury of Memory: Scribes and Notaries in Lugo (1150–1240)," in *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval: actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> colloque du Comité international de paléographie latine (Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000)*, ed. Herrad Spilling (Paris, 2003), pp. 379–403.

<sup>10</sup> Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 104–05, 118–28; docs. 3, 6, 19, 21, 23, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Fourteenth-century documents are indexed in María José Portela Silva and José García Oro, *La iglesia y ciudad de Lugo en la baja edad media. Los señoríos, las instituciones, los hombres* (Santiago de Compostela, 1997), pp. 301–521. To be used with caution is

medieval documents, and they were taken to Madrid and deposited in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in 1896 and following years.<sup>12</sup> For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these include more than fourteen hundred charters, mostly well-preserved originals with various archival classmarks and endorsements; the mid-thirteenth-century cartulary known as the *Tumbo Viejo*; and the *Memoriale Anniuersariorum*, a three-volume calendar of anniversaries written in the late 1220s and followed by capitular acts that begin erratically in the late 1240s, become more systematic later in the century, and end in the 1340s.<sup>13</sup> The archive of Lugo cathedral retains a few charters, a lengthy report of a mid-thirteenth-century suit with the see of León over Triacastela, and a fine set of royal and papal privileges.<sup>14</sup> Several late eighteenth-century collections of copies of medieval documents were compiled, probably as part of the project for *España Sagrada* for which two volumes on Lugo were published in 1796 and 1798.<sup>15</sup>

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Pilar Solís Parga, *Estudio y catalogación de las fuentes documentales y historiográficas de la Catedral de Lugo (735–1217)*: a Universidad Complutense de Madrid *tesina*, published on-line at *Liceus: el portal de las humanidades* <<http://www.liceus.com>>).

<sup>12</sup> José Villa-Amil y Castro, "Inventario de los documentos que han ingresado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional en el presente mes," *Boletín de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* (1896), pp. 120–21, 142. For the history of the archive: Antonio García Conde, "El Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo* 3, no. 23–24 (1947), pp. 4–21.

<sup>13</sup> The charters are AHN, Clero, carp. 1325B–H, 1326A–H, 1327A–H, 1328A–H, 1329A–H, 1330A–H, 1331A–H, and 1334 (documents from the Sección de Clero will be cited as: AHN carpeta/no. of document). The *Tumbo Viejo* (hereafter *TV*) is: AHN, Códices, 1043B. The *Memoriale Anniuersariorum* is: Cód. 1040B, 1041B, 1042B. Códices 416–420B (formerly Libros A, B, C, E and F of the ACL) contain mostly late medieval documents. For the medieval and modern codices: Manuel Mosquera Agrelo, "Código y catedral: el tumbo viejo entre los códices del Archivo Medieval de la Sede Lucense," in *Iglesia y religiosidad en España: historia y archivos: actas de las V Jornadas de Castilla-La Mancha sobre investigación en archivos: Guadalajara, 8–11 mayo 2001* (Guadalajara, 2002), 2: 921–939. On the *Tumbo Viejo*: L. Barrau-Dihigo, "Note sur le Tumbo viejo de l'Eglise cathedrale de Lugo," *Revue Hispanique* 12 (1905), pp. 591–602. The *Memoriale* was published by Santiago Jiménez Gómez, "O 'Memorial de Aniversarios' da Catedral de Lugo como fonte para o estudio da sociedade medieval," in *Jubilatio. Homenaje de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia a los Profesores D. Manuel Lucas Alvarez y D. Angel Rodríguez González* (Santiago de Compostela, 1987), 1:161–227 (a not wholly reliable edition).

<sup>14</sup> Fifty private charters, mainly before 1100, are numbered chronologically. Libros 10 and 11 contain royal and papal documents respectively. Other loose documents—private, papal, and royal—are being sorted into *legajos*.

<sup>15</sup> Manuel Risco, ES 40, 41 (Madrid, 1796, 1798). Four manuscript collections (ACL) are José Vicente Piñeiro y Cancio, *Colección diplomática y memorias para la historia de la ciudad e Iglesia de Lugo*, 5 vols., written while the author was a canon in Lugo (1761–75); the *Tumbillo* compiled by Pablo Rodríguez, O.S.B., a well-organized

Few individual documents stand out as signposts in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century history of the cathedral chapter of Lugo, and its study must depend mostly upon charters. The most abundant—if laconic—sources are witness lists naming canons and providing clues to their interests, families, social ties, and standing within the chapter. Using such sources is laborious, progress slow, and the pitfalls many. Tracing the more than fifty-year career of Pelayo Pérez, alias Pelayo Sobrino, as scribe, royal clerk, episcopal notary, treasurer, and arbiter of conflicts between local religious houses involves first distinguishing him from his equally long-lived predecessor as treasurer, Pelayo Pérez Baldouino, who, like his namesake, had a brother called Pedro Sobrino.<sup>16</sup> The tenures of two men named Alfonso Martínez as choirmasters (*cantores*) were, helpfully, half a century apart.<sup>17</sup> It is less easy to split the successive tenures

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collection made between 1763 and 1771 and intended (Prologue, unnumbered folio; fol. 222r) to complete and correct the *Tumbo Viejo* and to be followed by a *Tumbo Nuevo* (never finished) of later documents; the *Colección Jorge Rubiera*, 2 vols., dated 1804 and including a chronological list of documents; and 593 transcriptions by a twentieth-century canon: *Colección diplomática de D. Buenaventura Cañizares del Rey*, 4 vols. The so-called *Tumbo Nuevo* (AHN, Cód. 267B) is a heterogeneous assemblage of documents of Lugo and Samos, seemingly gathered for a more systematic collection. Joaquín Antonio Camino y Orella, canon of Lugo (1795–1819), annotated the margins of the *Tumbo Viejo* and the versos of charters.

<sup>16</sup> Juan (Pérez) is last cited as treasurer on 23.3.1213 (AHN 1326G/1). “Pelagius” held the office by 26.6.1215 (1326G/19). His identification with P. Baldouino, canon since 11.7.1192 (1325H/22bis), is confirmed by the anniversary he set up (“frater eius thesaurarius Pelagius Baldouinus”) for his brother, Pedro Sobrino Baldouino: AHN, Cód. 1040B, fol. 4r (5.1.1226). After writing a will “infirmirate grauatus” (14.10.1227, 1327C/9), he last appeared as treasurer (“P. thesaurarius”) in a witness list in which Pelayo Sobrino was among the canons (8.1.1230, 1327D/12, 13). As treasurer, Pelayo Sobrino endowed an anniversary for his brother, Pedro Sobrino “de Oruezan,” dated 10.7.1231 (Cód. 1041B, fol. 16v). By 13.4.1233, he witnessed documents as treasurer: 1327F/7, 8, publ. José Ignacio Fernández de Viana y Vieites, “Documentos sobre peregrinos gallegos a Jerusalén en la Edad Media,” *Estudios Mindonienses*, 7 (1991), 419–20. Pelayo Pérez (Baldouino) retained a canonry and revised his will “senetute [sic] grauatus”: (26.6.1234, 1327C/9). His anniversary, which he endowed as a canon, was dated 13.3.1238: Cód. 1040B, fol. 20v.

<sup>17</sup> Alfonso Martínez is untitled among the canons in a witness list written by the episcopal notary (27.7.1205). As canon, he witnessed an episcopal lease (20.9.1207), and last appeared witnessing leases issued by the chapter and bishop (1.2.1214, 3.2.1214): AHN 1326E/4, 11; 1326G/10, 11. Archdeacon Alfonso is listed between 29.1.1216 and 9.1.1226 (1326G/24, 1327C/1). When Miguel Pérez became bishop, he succeeded him as choirmaster, an office he held between 30.6.1226 (1327C/5) and 13.4.1228 (ES 41, ap. 31). His anniversary is dated 8.9.1228 (AHN, Cód. 1041B, fol. 30v). His namesake, possibly the “Alfonsus Martini clericus” in a witness list of 1239, was a priest by 1246 (titled “presbyter et canonicus,” the latter probably in error), portionary by 1251, and canon from at least 1254 to 1268 (1327H/25, 1133/14, 1326G/7, 1328H/10, 1330F/23); he was choirmaster by 1275 when rival factions of the chapter elected him and Dean

of Juan Pérez and Juan Bermúdez as judge.<sup>18</sup> Uncovering the origins of Bishop Ordoño in the chapter means, first, sorting out the three canons of that name (two of them archdeacons) who simultaneously held office in the early thirteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Cases like these indicate the need for caution in picking out men like Pedro Yáñez, an episcopal notary, or Juan Pérez, the scribe who signed the *Tumbo Viejo*, from amongst the crowd of clerics sharing their names. Conversely, one must be careful lest figures like the canon and notary Román Bermúdez, the priest and scribe Juan Rolán, or the scribe and archdeacon Pelayo Sebastiánéz stand out simply because their less common names brighten the trail through their fifty-year careers.

The cathedral clergy of Lugo comes into view in the eleventh century as a largely undifferentiated community of nearly thirty clerics.<sup>20</sup>

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Juan Rodríguez to succeed Bishop Fernando Arias: García Conde and López Valcárcel, *Episcopologio*, pp. 239–40. He endowed his anniversary, as choirmaster, on 18.3.1282: Cód. 1040B, fol. 22r.

<sup>18</sup> Judge Pedro is last cited on 20.8.1171 (AHN 1126/19), and Juan Pérez appears as judge on 1.4.1174 (1325F/13). No patronymic is used after 1195 (1326A/14) until Juan Bermúdez “iudex lucensis” heads a witness list on 29.8.1208: Pilar Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, ed., *Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* (Madrid, 1976), 2: doc. 506. He was last cited as judge on 23.2.1240 (1085/4), and his will (9.4.1239, 1327H/23) sparked a dispute (29.9.1240, 1328A/ 9) after his death.

<sup>19</sup> Ordoño Miguélez appeared as subdeacon in 1193, episcopal notary from 1200 to 1214, and canon from 1202 to 1215: D’Emilio, “Scribes,” p. 400. His anniversary is dated 30.10.1220: AHN, Cód. 1042B, fol. 4v. Archdeacon Ordoño appears often in witness lists, beginning on 14.7.1196: AHN 1326A/23. He is titled *magister* on 4.2.1199 (1214/16), and, on 28.5.1201 (1326C/10), “Magister Ordonius lucensis archidiaconus” follows “Ordonius Veremudi lucensis archidiaconus.” Therefore, Magister Ordoño must be Ordoño “Suariz,” titled “Archidiaconus in Pedroso” in 5.1206 (1215/2). The archdeacon, Magister Ordoño, set up an anniversary dated 4.5.1211 (Cód. 1040B, fol. 33v), so later citations likely refer to Ordoño Bermúdez whose patronymic is only used again on 26.1.1211: 1326F/2. Ordoño Bermúdez appeared as canon from 11.7.1192 to 26.5.1201, and was last mentioned, as Archdeacon Ordoño, on 4.6.1218: 1325H/22bis, 1326C/9, 1327A/ 6. Significantly, Archdeacon Ordoño Bermúdez has no anniversary, and, three months after he last appeared (following the dean in a witness list), a calendar clause cites Bishop Ordoño: Miguel Romaní Martínez, ed., *Colección diplomática do mosteiro cisterciense de Santa María de Oseira (Ourense)*, 1025–1310 (Santiago de Compostela, 1989), 1: doc. 182, 27.9.1218. He succeeded Bishop Rodrigo II Fernández whose anniversary is dated 16.6.1218: Cód. 1041B, fol. 10v.

<sup>20</sup> Mosquera Agrelo mistakenly assigned to Lugo (“Diócesis de Lugo,” p. 27) the archdeacon, abbot, treasurer, and *primicerius*, cited in 902 (Manuel Lucas Álvarez, ed., *El Tumbo de San Julian de Samos (siglos VIII–XII)*, (Santiago de Compostela, 1986), doc. 33). This diploma was issued in Oviedo at the court of Alfonso III, and contemporary documents link Archdeacon Theodegutus with a Mozarabic see, and the others with Oviedo: Antonio C. Floriano, *Diplomática española del periodo astur*, 2 (Oviedo, 1951), docs. 146, 152, 174, 175, 181, 187, 192; Emilio Sáez, ed., *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de Leon (775–1230)*, 1:775–952 (León, 1987), doc. 17.

Thirteen priests, led by a *confessus*, and twelve deacons witnessed the testament of Bishop Pedro I in 1042; sixteen priests, headed by Gudesteo *primicerius*, and eleven deacons witnessed a gift in 1068.<sup>21</sup> Before the accession of Bishop Amor in 1088, these clerics were collectively addressed as monks.<sup>22</sup> In the Leonese kingdom, cathedrals respected monastic traditions, founded on the canons of the Visigothic councils and, in Galicia, on the example of the monastic bishops, Martin of Braga, Fructuoso, and Rosendo.<sup>23</sup> At the Council of Coyanza in 1055, the Leonese bishops drew partly upon this Iberian legacy, enjoining their clergy to adhere to the *uita canonica*, according to the rule of Isidore or Benedict.<sup>24</sup> The statutes said little about the structure of the communities or the regimen of clerical life, but, at councils in Compostela in 1056 and 1063, the bishops went further, assigning the responsibilities of officers, and specifying basic institutions of the common life—a refectory, dormitory, and liturgical office.<sup>25</sup>

Events at Lugo underscore the importance of the legislation. Bishop Pedro, titled metropolitan, headed the prelates at Coyanza, and his own generous gift of furnishings, liturgical vessels, vestments, and books anticipated the synod's solicitude for the proper trappings of the services.<sup>26</sup> The rulings of one Compostelan assembly, attended by Bishop

<sup>21</sup> AHN 1325B/7 (5.7.1042), 13 (12.10.1068). The *primiclerus* or *primicerius* was documented in Lugo by 15.5.974: 1325A/10.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., AHN 1325B/14 (5.3.1070), 17 (13.1.1084).

<sup>23</sup> Carrero Santamaría, "Vidas reglar y secular," pp. 760–63, 770–85. An excellent case study is: Fernando López Alsina, "De la *magna congregatio* al cabildo de Santiago: reformas del clero catedralicio (830–1110)," in *IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, 1: *O bispo D. Pedro e o ambiente político-religioso do século XI* (Braga, 1990), pp. 735–62.

<sup>24</sup> Alfonso García Gallo, "El Concilio de Coyanza: contribución al estudio del derecho canónico español en la Alta Edad Media," *Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español* 20 (1950), pp. 275–633, especially, pp. 372–416.

<sup>25</sup> García Gallo, "Coyanza," pp. 403–12; for the council of 1056: Gonzalo Martínez Díez, "El concilio compostelano del reinado de Fernando I," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964), pp. 121–38; for that of 1063: José Manuel Ruíz Asencio, ed., *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)*, 4: 1032–1109 (León, 1989), doc. 1127. For the thorny issues surrounding these councils and the eleventh-century reforms: Charles Julian Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980), pp. 16–18, 26–27; Hilda Grassotti, "La iglesia y el estado en León y Castilla de Tamarón a Zamora (1037–72)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 61/62 (1977), pp. 115–40; Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 184–203; Amancio Isla Frez, *Realezas hispánicas del año mil* (Sada, 1999), pp. 158–69.

<sup>26</sup> AHN 1325B/7; García Gallo, "Coyanza," pp. 287, 290–93, 394–96.

Vistrario, were added to a codex of the Visigothic canons at Lugo.<sup>27</sup> In the aftermath, one incident is particularly revealing. In 1070, a village priest, Pelayo Vimáriz, making amends for fornication, was ordered to submit to the monastic life, and he described the recipients of his penitential gift to the cathedral as “monachi qui ibi fuerint et in uita sancta persistent.”<sup>28</sup> Whether or not he was netted in a reforming campaign to enforce clerical celibacy, his story underlines the monastic character of the cathedral clergy in more than name. The errant priest first confessed to Abbot Sesegutus. This abbot later joined Judge Pedro and the *primiclerus*, Gudesteo Gundissaluiz, when the king heard the bishop’s dispute with Counts Vela and Rodrigo Ovéquiz in 1078.<sup>29</sup> There, he was described as governing the churches of the circuit, and Abbot Fidelis likely did the same in the neighboring county of Pallares.<sup>30</sup> Sesegutus, Fidelis, and two other abbots witnessed the settlement; three of them had witnessed a document written by the *primiclerus* in 1073.<sup>31</sup> Apparently, these abbots—members of the cathedral clergy—supervised local priests, a role later assumed by the archdeacons.

The cathedral clergy began to be called canons after the accession of Bishop Amor in 1088.<sup>32</sup> The new title heralded more far-reaching developments. The bishop took office after the king put down a revolt led by Count Rodrigo Ovéquiz.<sup>33</sup> The royal merino in Lugo was slain, and the city suffered a siege. The king needed a reliable ally to secure a vital stronghold in a troublesome region, and, in 1089, the new prelate received a royal grant of lordship over the town. Over the next two decades, his church earned privileges strengthening episcopal authority, protecting capitular property, and regulating markets.<sup>34</sup> Bishop

<sup>27</sup> Martínez Díez, “Concilio compostelano,” pp. 121–22.

<sup>28</sup> AHN 1325B/14.

<sup>29</sup> TV, doc. 81, fols. 37r–38v, publ. Andrés Gamba, *Alfonso VI: cancellería, curia e imperio*, 2: *Colección diplomática* (León, 1998), doc. 57.

<sup>30</sup> “...Sesegutus abbas qui ecclesias regebat in giro. Fidelis abba de comisso Paliarés...” The *giro* likely refers to the see’s reserve (*cautum*) surrounding the city of Lugo.

<sup>31</sup> AHN 1325B/15 (21.2.1073).

<sup>32</sup> E.g., AHN 1325B/18 (29.4.1091); Cód. 417B, fol. 133 (6.12.1094).

<sup>33</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI (1065–1109)* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 195–201. Bishop Amor is first named in a problematic series of gifts by Alfonso VI of confiscated estates and the monastery of Fingoi after the rebellion: *ibid.*, p. 201; Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 2: docs. 93–95, 98; M. Rubén García Álvarez, “Los monasterios lucenses de Santalla y Santuiño de Fingoy,” *Yermo* 5 (1967), pp. 64–66.

<sup>34</sup> The concession of lordship: Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 2: doc. 98. Later confirmations by Ferdinand II cite other grants by Alfonso VI, including a third of the royal coinage minted in Lugo: Luis Sánchez Belda, *Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes*

Amor's actions link him with the reformers favored by Alfonso VI.<sup>35</sup> In 1095, he attended the Council of Clermont with Bishop Dalmatius of Compostela and one or two other French-born prelates of Leonese sees.<sup>36</sup> There, he won papal support for his suit over large territories in dispute with neighbouring sees.<sup>37</sup> He was also one of the first Leonese bishops to divide the temporalities with the chapter, for Bishop Pedro III later cited Amor's grant.<sup>38</sup>

Witness lists reveal further reforms within the chapter. Beginning in 1089, archdeacons replaced the abbots who had overseen parish clergy. The new office responded to Bishop Amor's efforts to reassert control over diocesan territories, reform the liturgy, and collect revenues. Initially, there were continuities: Leouegild, titled abbot in 1088, is cited as archdeacon the next year.<sup>39</sup> Changes in personnel, however, were not slow in coming. Of the four archdeacons listed in 1089, only Pelayo appears again.<sup>40</sup> By 1094, a new cadre of archdeacons had formed whose prominence over the next twenty-five years suggests they were younger

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*a Galicia. Catálogo de los conservados en la Sección de Clero del Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Madrid, 1953), p. 91. The privileges of Raymond of Burgundy and Urraca: Manuel Recuero Astray, ed., *Documentos medievales del reino de Galicia: doña Urraca (1095–1126)* (Santiago de Compostela, 2002), docs. 8, 13–14. Doc. 14 (TV, doc. 25, fol. 16v–17r) must be redated to 1108: Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca 1109–1126* (Princeton, 1982), p. 50. Count Raymond's privilege protecting capitular property and that of the canons from illicit seizure is: TV, doc. 27, fol. 17v (9.4.1106).

<sup>35</sup> Risco proposed an identification with an Abbot Amor documented in Astorga in 1087: ES 40, pp. 181–82. The unusual name could make him another of the foreign clerics arriving in Iberia at this time. For a discussion of episcopal appointments in Galicia under Kings García and Alfonso VI: R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: the Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 43–46.

<sup>36</sup> Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 51; idem, "Las iglesias del reino de León y sus relaciones con Roma en la alta edad media hasta el Concilio IV de Letrán de 1215," in *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, 6 (León, 1994), pp. 468–69.

<sup>37</sup> The papal letter and a subsequent one are in: TV, docs. 83–84, fols. 38v–39r. The first (28.11.1095) is publ. García Conde and López Valcárcel, *Episcopologio*, p. 157.

<sup>38</sup> For other dioceses: Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 148–49; Pérez Rodríguez, *Iglesia de Santiago*, p. 29.

<sup>39</sup> Gamba, *Alfonso VI*, 2: doc. 95 (21.7.1088).

<sup>40</sup> Leouegild, Pelayo, Gutier, and Ouegild: TV, doc. 130, fols. 64v–65r (17.6.1089). If "Ouegildus" is the Abbot "Onegildus" who signed the testament of Bishop Pedro I in 1042, he would have been elderly. Pelayo is so common a name that it is not certain that one cleric continued in the office. Archdeacons Rodrigo and Juan, cited on 3.3.1092, are probably of the diocese of Mondoñedo: AHN 1325B/19.



men.<sup>41</sup> Bernardo was one, and, by 1118, he was prior of the canons.<sup>42</sup> His sign differs from traditional Leonese monograms, and his name identifies him as a foreigner, evidently appointed to direct the reform of liturgy, script, and language.

Learning the new script was a path to advancement under Bishop Pedro III (1113–33), a former chaplain of Queen Urraca and vigorous governor of the see under whom further differentiation of capitular offices took place.<sup>43</sup> The earliest charter issued under the new prelate is the first to display the new script. The scribe, Pelayo, was titled episcopal notary in 1122, and, six years later, he wrote a charter as archdeacon.<sup>44</sup> His career anticipates the *cursus honorum* of canons later in the century, but there are differences. Early twelfth-century witness lists include few but the dignitaries, indicating a narrow avenue for promotion. The advent of a new liturgy and script posed formidable challenges that took more than a generation to overcome. Significantly, another foreigner, Guido, with no trace of an earlier career at Lugo, became prior in 1130, and succeeded Pedro III as bishop.<sup>45</sup> Twenty-five years later, two of three *magistri* in Lugo were foreigners.<sup>46</sup> For their part, older dignitaries, like treasurer Martín, Rodrigo *primicerius*, or judge Pelayo, trained in the Visigothic script, wrote charters themselves, a sign there was not a deep pool of clerical talent.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> AHN, Cód. 417B, fol. 133 (6.12.1094): Archdeacons Bernardo, Pelayo, and Nuño. Archdeacon Nuño appears through 6.8.1130 (AHN 1325C/19), and he may be the deacon who wrote a charter on 13.1.1084 (1325B/17). Archdeacon Pelayo is recognizable by his monogram through 18.5.1112 (ACL, libro 10 no. 6); later, his tenure is difficult to separate from the scribe, Pelayo, titled archdeacon in 1128 (1325C/15).

<sup>42</sup> AHN 1325C/5 (4.1.1118) “archidiaconus Bernardus in illa canonica,” 6 (10.4.1118) “canonice prior,” 9 (21.8.1119) “eiusdem canonice archidiaconus.” He is not named again, and Archdeacon M. was cited as “kanonice prior” on 10.4.1122: 1325C/10.

<sup>43</sup> On Pedro III: Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>44</sup> AHN 1325C/4 (30.10.1113), 10 (10.4.1122), 15 (12.6.1128).

<sup>45</sup> AHN 1325C/19 (6.8.1130); a document of Samos (1.8.1149) confirms his foreign origin, “lucensem sedem francigena Guido regebat,” *Tumbo de...Samos*, doc. 160.

<sup>46</sup> “Iohannes magister francigena et canonicus” (AHN 1325D/8bis, 18.8.1152) exchanged a horse and mule for a house and urban lot, and may have been a new arrival. “Magister Gregorius” (1325D/9, 11, 31.1.1155, 2.6.1155) has a foreign name, and first appears during the legatine visit of Cardinal Hyacinth, witnessing an episcopal document confirmed by King Alfonso VII and his court at the Council of Valladolid.

<sup>47</sup> Martín: AHN 1325C/8 (16.1.1119); Rudericus: 1325D/1 (17.4.1124); Judge Pelayo wrote 1325B/26 (24.5.1105), 1325C/6 (10.4.1118), 16 (15.7.1128), and a privilege to Lugo from Queen Urraca (18.5.1112): Cristina Monterde Albiac, ed., *Diplomatario de la reina Urraca de Castilla y León (1109–1126)* (Zaragoza, 1996), doc. 39. Near the end of his long tenure, a scribe and later episcopal notary, Pedro wrote a charter for him in the new script: 1325D/5 (17.5.1148), D’Emilio, “Scribes,” pp. 381–83.

Such men moved laterally among offices whose boundaries, duties, and nomenclature remained fluid. Some offices overlapped, and others were not yet stable. The prior of the canons was typically an archdeacon, and even judge Pelayo was once titled archdeacon.<sup>48</sup> Martín was called sacristan (*sacrista*) in 1119, between citations as treasurer earlier that year and in 1122. In 1118, he was the *primiclerus*.<sup>49</sup> The next *primiclerus*, Rodrigo, had been titled archivist (*armarius*) in 1119.<sup>50</sup> That designation answered the demands of a new script and increasing litigation, but the short-lived office may soon have been absorbed by another. Similarly, the *albergarius*, documented the same year, vanishes thereafter.<sup>51</sup> Compared with these fleeting notices, the roster of dignitaries and members of the episcopal household who step into the light to confirm a settlement with the diocese of Oviedo in 1154 is deceptively straightforward: the prior of the canons, five archdeacons including the judge, the *primiclerus*, treasurer, episcopal chancellor, and two chaplains.<sup>52</sup>

The reorganization of capitular offices was accompanied by the division of the temporalities of the see. Following the appearance of the prior of the *canonica* in 1118, documents cite the building and institution of the *canonica*, and separate properties of the bishop and canons.<sup>53</sup> Between 1130 and 1133, Bishop Pedro III confirmed and augmented the grants of Bishops Amor and Pedro II to the canons.<sup>54</sup> References to properties held for a long time imply the clergy long had a recognized

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<sup>48</sup> Archdeacon Nuño was titled prior on 5.8.1130: AHN 1325C/17 (see also n. 42). Judge Pelayo was titled archdeacon in 1119: 1325C/9, publ. Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 230–31.

<sup>49</sup> Martín *primiclerus*: AHN 1325C/5; *tesaurarius*: 1325C/8, 10; *sacrista*: 1325C/9 (as previous note).

<sup>50</sup> Rodrigo *armarius*: AHN 1325C/8; *primiclerus* Rodrigo: 1325C/10. He held the office through 24.10.1130: 1325C/20.

<sup>51</sup> Suario *albergarius*: AHN 1325C/9 (as n. 48).

<sup>52</sup> Santos García Larragueta, ed., *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), doc. 163.

<sup>53</sup> In 1119, the bishop leased a church “de illa canonica” with provision for its return “ad illam canonicam”: AHN 1325C/9 (as n. 48). In 1132, a house is located “circa atrium capitis aeccliesiae sancte marie inter canonicam et palacium pontificale” (1325C/22); another property borders the “ortum palacii” and “ortus canonicæ” (1325C/21bis, publ. Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 118–19).

<sup>54</sup> *TV*, doc. 104, fols. 49r–50r, publ. ES 41, app. 2. The author of the *Tumbo Viejo* titled it, “Testamentum diuisionis inter episcopum lucensem et canonicam.” The publication adds a final section, dated 1120, from an unidentified source. Mosquera Agrelo linked a reference in the past tense to churches unjustly held by Oviedo to the intervention of papal legates in 1129 and 1130, “Diócesis de Lugo,” pp. 43, 45–46. Portions of the church of San Xoán de Pena, included in the list, were donated to the bishop and canons in 1123 and 1129 (*TV*, docs. 120, 123, fols. 60r–61r).

stake in the see's possessions.<sup>55</sup> Nonetheless, the thoroughgoing distinctions between the episcopal household and the canons were novel. Within Lugo, the bishop ceded jurisdiction over a quarter adjoining the cathedral, shares of revenues and offerings, and the entire tithe. Beyond the city, he expanded his predecessors' concessions, confirming or granting episcopal revenues from most lands east of the Miño river, the territory of Uliola straddling the pilgrimage road (*iter francorum*), and an area northwest of Lugo characterized as the archdeaconry of Archdeacon Pelayo. Finally, he gave or confirmed at least fifty-two *uillae*, twenty-six churches, shares of others, and smaller estates. Most are listed again in an inventory, probably of the 1130s, of thirty-three churches, shares of twenty others, part or all of more than one hundred *uillae*, and other properties.<sup>56</sup>

Despite these ample endowments, the chapter faced financial troubles in the middle of the twelfth century. In 1142, the canons cited a famine gripping virtually all of Galicia, when they sold a property for the modest sum of 90 *solidi* to help provision the refectory.<sup>57</sup> Bishop Guido's gift to the canons seems meagre, and, in 1155, Bishop Juan raised 120 *solidi* for the canons, complaining that daily rations were scarce and the cathedral lacked ministers.<sup>58</sup> He blamed famine and marauding knights, but his church's poverty had deeper roots. Protracted litigation with neighboring dioceses limited the ability to collect revenues. The dispute with Oviedo was particularly costly for it involved large tracts of the diocese, long suits at the papal curia, and, in 1150, a huge payment of 300 *maravedies*

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<sup>55</sup> "Confirmo uobis hereditates quas ab antecessoribus meis habetis iam longa possessione." Some were listed in the problematic eighth-century testament of Bishop Odoario and gift (897) of King Alfonso III: James D'Emilio, "The Legend of Bishop Odoario and the Early Medieval Church in Galicia," in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden, 2005), pp. 69–77. Almost none are in the legacies of Bishops Pelayo (998) (*TV*, doc. 102, fol. 47r–48v, publ. ES 40, app. 24) or Pedro I whose formulary does not distinguish the rights of the bishop and clergy.

<sup>56</sup> *TV*, doc. 109, fols. 51v–54r, publ. Antonio García Conde, "Inventario de bienes de la mesa canónica de Lugo," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo* 9 (1976), pp. 307–20. His date of c. 1160 is unexplained. Some acquisitions are linked with figures active c. 1110–40.

<sup>57</sup> "cogente nos graue famis miseria que pene totam Galliciam appresit, causa scilicet nostrae ecclesiae seruiendi, et refectorium nostrum tenendi dignum..." Martín Martínez Martínez, ed., *Cartulario de Santa María de Carracedo 992–1500*, 1:992–1274 (Ponferrada, 1997), doc. 21.

<sup>58</sup> "ita quod in canonica quotidianus deficeret uictus, et pene ecclesia cultoribus uacaret": AHN 1325D/11 (2.6.1155), publ. ES 41, app. 11. Bishop Guido's testament (21.10.1138): *TV*, doc. 105, fol. 50rv, publ. ES 41, app. 5.

to King Alfonso VII.<sup>59</sup> The debt was still being paid in 1168 when the bishop earmarked 50 *solidi* from the sale of a house to the settlement with Oviedo.<sup>60</sup> The case is a pointed reminder that royal gifts may not have made up for the seizures of estates and treasure that periodically took place when monarchs, pressed for resources, despoiled the see.<sup>61</sup>

Monarchs were not the only lay persons to threaten church property. At all levels, the church of Lugo struggled to protect ecclesiastical rights and enforce its civil jurisdiction over the town. In the early twelfth century, provisions for lay donors nibbled away the canons' income.<sup>62</sup> By the middle of the century, civil conflicts pitted an emerging commune against the seigneurial powers of the bishop and chapter, whose authority was only secured at the end of the century with royal intervention.<sup>63</sup> Throughout the diocese, the laity held churches. Many had been lay foundations, but a mid-twelfth-century list tallies those lost to the canons "per rapinam et sacrilegium."<sup>64</sup> This dreary litany of part or all of twenty-four churches, twenty-one *uillae* and other estates—some only recently acquired—provides sobering testimony to the chapter's inability to profit from its endowments.

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<sup>59</sup> Buenaventura Cañizares, "Los grandes pleitos de la iglesia de Lugo: la iglesia de Lugo y la de Oviedo," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo* 1, no. 9 (1944), pp. 229–33; Mosquera Agrelo, "Diócesis de Lugo," pp. 44–47. Editions of the diploma of Alfonso VII (21.2.1150): ES 41, app. 8; and, with a photograph and commentary: Francisco Vázquez Saco, "Un diploma de Alfonso VII," *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo* 2, nos. 21/22 (1947), pp. 285–98.

<sup>60</sup> AHN carp. 1325E/18 (17.7.1168).

<sup>61</sup> In return for lands, Queen Urraca seized church plate to pay her troops: *Diplomatario de... Urraca*, doc. 39; in 1159, Ferdinand II retracted a charter extorted by the burghers and infringing the church's rights: Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros de la ciudad de Lugo," *Archivos Leoneses* 33 (1979), doc. 1; Alfonso IX demanded 270 *maravedis* to confirm the see's possession of the church of Diomondi, and a privilege of Ferdinand III suggests the pact had not held: Julio González, *Alfonso IX* (Madrid, 1944), 2: doc. 35; idem, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, 2: *Colección diplomática* (Córdoba, 1980), doc. 311.

<sup>62</sup> Goncia Frolyat was promised "adiutorium in uictu et uestitu...et rationem in ipsa canonica et hospitale in uita mea honorifice," AHN 1325C/5 (4.1.1118). Similar arrangements in twelfth-century Salamanca were formalized in a lay chapter, the *concilium laicorum Beate Marie*: Martín Martín, *El cabildo... de Salamanca*, pp. 17–19. For lay canons at Vic: Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp. 22–25.

<sup>63</sup> Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros," pp. 321–44.

<sup>64</sup> AHN 1326C/3; TV, doc. 108, fol. 51rv. The original is attributable to the episcopal notary, Pedro, active as a scribe between 1148 and 1171: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 381–83.

Against this background, the reforms of Cardinal Hyacinth in 1173 were aimed explicitly at guaranteeing adequate revenues.<sup>65</sup> Directed to Bishop Juan and Dean Rodrigo, the legate's letter blamed the shortage of provisions on the size of the chapter. The bishop swore to limit it to thirty canons and twenty prebendaries.<sup>66</sup> Twelve members were to be assigned months for collecting revenues and distributing allowances, arrangements were made for the use of income from vacant canonries, and additional income and endowments were set aside for the dean. The statutes find parallels across Iberia, attesting to a coordinated movement for capitular reform in the years surrounding the legate's visit.<sup>67</sup>

At Lugo, change was underway before the legate's actions. The statutes were one part of a broader program, motivated by local pressures and linked with reforms in Braga, Compostela, and monastic communities closely associated with the see. New statutes were adopted at the metropolitan see of Braga in 1165, and the title of dean was introduced.<sup>68</sup> In 1167, Bishop Juan, a former abbot of Samos, mediated an agreement between the abbot and monks: a detailed division of revenue met the needs of the forty monks, and any increase in numbers was to be tied to an increase of income.<sup>69</sup> Abbot Vidal of Meira led the witnesses, signalling the involvement of the newly arrived Cistercians.<sup>70</sup> This accord mirrored and anticipated developments in the cathedral chapter. In fact, the witness list offers the first evidence of the new office of dean, held by Rodrigo Menéndez, a clerk of King Ferdinand II and an archdeacon

<sup>65</sup> AHN carp. 1325F/9 (31.3.1173), publ. ES 41, app. 17.

<sup>66</sup> The document has been read as specifying 25 prebendaries (e.g. Mosquera Agrelo, "Diócesis de Lugo," p. 43), but this misreads *u(ero)* as the roman numeral five.

<sup>67</sup> One may compare the statutes of Archbishop Cerebruno of Toledo in 1174: María José Lop Otín, "El siglo XII en la historia del cabildo catedral de Toledo," in *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del Congreso Internacional Conmemorativo del VII Centenario de la Batalla de Alarcos*, ed., Ricardo Andrés Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruíz Gómez (Ciudad Real, 1996), pp. 487–88. The appointment of monthly administrators accompanied the reduction of the size of the chapter of Vic in 1176: Freedman, *Diocese of Vic*, pp. 62–63. In Salamanca, the office of the dean appeared in 1173: Martín Martín, *El cabildo... de Salamanca*, p. 23.

<sup>68</sup> Maria Cristina Almeida, *A chancelaría arquepiscopal de Braga (1071–1244)* (Noia, 2005), pp. 89–93.

<sup>69</sup> *El Tumbo de... Samos*, doc. 51 (4.5.1167).

<sup>70</sup> For the arrival of the Cistercians in Galicia: James D'Emilio, "The Cistercians and the Romanesque Churches of Galicia: Compostela or Clairvaux?," in *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. Terryl N. Kinder (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 313–16.

since at least 1165.<sup>71</sup> At about the same time, Pedro Miguélez succeeded another Archdeacon Rodrigo as prior of the canons, but this position was now redundant.<sup>72</sup> By 1171, Pedro had the new title of *cantor* or choirmaster, an office that replaced the *primicerius*, last mentioned in 1168.<sup>73</sup> The appearance of the minor offices of *sacrista* and *ministri canonicorum* is a further sign of reorganization.<sup>74</sup>

The capitular reforms assigned territories to the new dean, and defined those of the archdeacons. Forty years earlier, the division of temporalities had identified several districts as part of the archdeaconry of Archdeacon Pelayo.<sup>75</sup> That is the only description of an archdeaconry before 1177, and the naming of a prelate, instead of a territory, suggests that districts were grouped and assigned on an *ad hoc* basis. In 1173, the legate earmarked revenues for the dean from a large area west and south of Lugo where later deans acted as archdeacons.<sup>76</sup> The demarcation of archdeaconries soon followed: in 1177, the archdeacons of Abeancos, Deza, Sarria, and Neira were named in the calendar clause of the dean's endowment of an anniversary.<sup>77</sup> This was precisely the year when the archbishop of Santiago fixed the boundaries of the four archdeaconries

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<sup>71</sup> The identification of "Rudericus" as "Rudericus Menendi," future bishop of Lugo, is confirmed by the witness list of an episcopal charter written by Pedro, the episcopal notary, AHN 1325E/18 (17.7.1168). See D'Emilio, "Scribes," p. 389. He was associated with Lugo by 1155 when his name followed "Pelagius Bennadi" (a future archdeacon) and the dignitaries among the witnesses of an episcopal act: 1325D/9.

<sup>72</sup> "Petrus prior eiusdem ecclesie" follows the dean at Samos. He is identified as Pedro Miguélez on 9.4.1168: AHN 1325E/17. Archdeacon Rodrigo last appeared as prior 24.1.1166 (1325E/12bis); he was archdeacon until 9.6.1176 (1325F/19bis), the year of his anniversary: Cód. 1041B, fol. 24v.

<sup>73</sup> AHN 1325E/24 (18.2.1171). Diego was *primicerius* between 27.12.1147 (1325D/3, 4) and 17.7.1168 (1325E/18).

<sup>74</sup> The *sacrista*, "Pelagius Piquitus," and the *ministri canonicorum*, "Petrus Pelaiz" and "Iohannes Martiniz," are mentioned on 5.1.1170 (AHN 1325E/19bis). The latter title only appears again in 1171: 1325E/25, 1325F/1. "Iohannes Martiniz" was treasurer between 8.11.1175 and 11.4.1184: 1325F/19 and TV, doc. 59, fol. 31rv, publ. Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros," pp. 339–40.

<sup>75</sup> "totum archidiaconatum archidiaconi domni pelagii... id est de nalare et de parrega et gaudiosi ac bravos et terram de aquilari": TV, doc. 104, fol 49v.

<sup>76</sup> The deanery included Monterroso, with the archpresbyterates of Lamela, Uliola, Repostería, and Novelúa; the districts flanking the Asma river; and the archpresbyterate of Camba. Dean Juan Arias disciplined a knight for striking a priest in the church of San Miguel de Cervela: AHN 1325H/12 (26.1.1190), the case is discussed in Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 161. Later, he led witnesses to two charters ceding shares of San Xián de Campo to the bishop: 1326E/4 (27.7.1205), 1326F/12 (22.2.1212).

<sup>77</sup> Suario (Abeancos), Pelayo "Beruegon" (Deza), Juan (Sarria), and Pelayo "Benenatus" (Neira): AHN 1334/4 (12.10.1177).

and deanery of his archdiocese.<sup>78</sup> For Lugo, no such document exists, and only a few scribes added the circumscriptions over the next twenty years.<sup>79</sup> In 1195, Bishop Rodrigo II, formerly abbot of Samos, capped the drive to restructure the territorial administration of the diocese by granting the abbots of Samos the authority and duties of an archdeacon within their monastic reserve.<sup>80</sup>

After 1195, the territories of the archdeaconries are not—to my knowledge—named until 1235, despite the increasing documentation. After that, they return with more regularity and new nomenclature.<sup>81</sup> The silence is particularly puzzling for a period when several archdeacons enjoyed long tenures, and the number serving concurrently reached five.<sup>82</sup> To a degree, one may map jurisdictions from indirect evidence.

<sup>78</sup> Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, 4 (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), app. 50.

<sup>79</sup> The young episcopal notary, Pelayo Sebastián, listed Archdeacons Juan Rodríguez of Abeancos, Pelayo “Benenatus” of Neira, and Pelayo “Beruegon” of Deza on 16.5.1191: AHN 1325H/16. Magister Rodrigo (later, archdeacon of Neira) listed Juan Rodríguez as archdeacon of Abeancos on 26.1.1190 (1325H/12). One scribe, Pedro, cited Pelayo (Benenatus) as archdeacon of Neira in calendar clauses of closely related deeds: 9.3.1180, 27.10.1188, 29.3.1189 (AHN, Órdenes Militares, 578/9; Clero 1325H/6, 10bis); he named Rodrigo as archdeacon of Neira on 29.3.1194 (1326A/5). Archdeacon Fernando Rodríguez “qui Sarrie archidiaconatum tenebat” witnessed the cession of a church on 6.8.1188 (1325H/5).

<sup>80</sup> *Tumbo... de Samos*, doc. 49 (28.1.1195). The originals are: AHN 1326A/14; 1241/4. Evidence of a similar arrangement with the monastery of San Vicente de Pino (Monforte de Lemos) is elusive: Plácido Arias y Arias, “Monasterio de San Vicente de Monforte,” *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo* 4, no. 35 (1951), p. 195.

<sup>81</sup> The archdeacon of Abeancos is referred to (but not by name) in a dispute between Sobrado and Breamo: AHN 540/8 (15.9.1235). Archdeacon Rodrigo Fernández (1235–58) is the archdeacon of Bubal cited on 1.5.1238 and 26.2.1246: *Colección diplomática... de Oseira*, 1: doc. 437; 1328C/10. Magister Viviano (archdeacon 1228–43) is twice cited as archdeacon of Deza: *Colección diplomática... de Oseira*, 1: docs. 467 (2.1240), 498 (5.1242). His successors were busy elsewhere: P. Fernández appears in the charters of Lugo only in a document written in Santiago (1328D/6, 20.1.1248), and Pedro Núñez (1329E/20, 9.1.1260) had to give up an archdeaconry in León in 1254: Augusto Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243–1254)* (Rome, 1987), no. 1028. Archdeacon Fernando Yáñez of Abeancos (1248–64) and Archdeacon Juan García of Sarria (1245–72) were often cited with full titles: Fernando Yáñez, beginning on 6.4.1249 (1134/7), and Juan García, beginning on 23.8.1253 (1130/16). Archdeacon Gonsalvo Rodríguez (1250–67) is the first known archdeacon of Dozón, documented from 1253 (1130/16).

<sup>82</sup> No territorial designations are given for Sancho Muñoz (1196–1214), Martín Yáñez (1208–34), Velasco Rodríguez (1213–27), Pelayo Sebastián (1215–37), Alfonso Martínez (1216–26), Ordoño Suariz or Ordoño Bermúdez (see n. 19). Between 1216 and 1218, Archdeacons Alfonso, Martín, Ordoño, Pelayo Sebastián, and Velasco Rodríguez held office concurrently.

Pelayo Sebastián, for example, is named in several charters of the monastery of Penamaior, suggesting that he held the archdeaconry of Neira.<sup>83</sup> However, he is also cited once as “archidiaconum lucensem in archipresbyteratu de Ferraria,” and this archipresbyterate, far to the south, lay outside of the four circumscriptions.<sup>84</sup> That is true of other districts, including the reserve of Lugo where Sancho Muñoz was once included in a calendar clause.<sup>85</sup> The dean and archdeacons doubtless aided in the consolidation of diocesan authority throughout the see in the last quarter of the century, but the absence of references to specific archdeaconries for forty years raises questions: did territorial circumscriptions remain fixed or had the titles simply responded to Compostelan practices while masking more fluid jurisdictions?

The capitular reforms of the 1170s found their most visible expression in the regular institution of anniversaries. Their endowment ensured a steady income and their celebration affirmed the continuity of the cathedral community and its central role in the town. The earliest dated entries in the *Memoriale Annuersariorum* are from 1176, and the dean set an example in 1177 with a magnificent charter of donation whose flowery preamble exhorted clerics to give to their churches.<sup>86</sup> None of the undated entries appear to predate the reform of 1173 with one telling exception: the commemoration of Judge Pelayo with the relatively large sum of 30 *solidi* that he had dedicated for a splendidly catered dinner for the canons on Holy Thursday.<sup>87</sup> More than a mere anniversary, this special event, emulating the Lord's supper, was a climactic moment in the annual liturgy, reminding the canons that they were successors of

<sup>83</sup> AHN 1215/5, 19, 21; 1216/1 (23.3.1220, 19.5.1235, 1236, 6.1237).

<sup>84</sup> AHN 1327B/23 (13.5.1225). The archipresbyterate of Ferreira de Pantón is in Lemos.

<sup>85</sup> AHN 1326D/23 (17.6.1204).

<sup>86</sup> Entries of 1176: AHN, Cód. 1041B, fols. 7v (Maria Cadadia), 22r (Bermudo Sánchez), 24v (Archdeacon Rodrigo). Dean's charter: AHN 1334/4, discussed in D'Emilio, “Scribes,” pp. 388–89. His gift and anniversary (as Bishop Rodrigo Menéndez) are in the *Memoriale*: Cód. 1041B, fol. 26r.

<sup>87</sup> “Annuersarium iudicis Pelagii qui assignat lucensibus canonicis in die cene domini cenam integram splendide ministratam...” Cód. 1040B, fol. 26v. Pelayo was judge between 1105 and 1148 (see n. 47). He witnessed a document dated 2.4.1155 (AHN 1325D/10), but it names Bishop Guido whose episcopate ended by 1152: Bernard F. Reilly, “On Getting to be a Bishop in León-Castile: The ‘Emperor’ Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s., 1 (1978), p. 65.



the apostles.<sup>88</sup> That idea was underlined by the carving of the Last Supper, probably in the 1170s, on the pendant capital of the north transept portal, the principal entrance to the cathedral.<sup>89</sup>

The three-volume *Memoriale* replaced an earlier book of which one leaf survives with six anniversaries spanning three weeks. The five datable ones fall between 1198 and 1225.<sup>90</sup> After 1225, the book was abandoned, and the anniversaries were transferred to the *Memoriale*. Preparing the new book involved more than merely copying the older necrology. The authors added the dates of endowments and expanded descriptions of properties by gathering information from other records. That work was going on after 1226, since an entry of 1223 followed one of 1226 in the space allotted to a single day.<sup>91</sup> Likewise, the endowment by Velasco Rodríguez, dated 1222, must have been entered after 1227, because he is titled as dean.<sup>92</sup> The consistent handwriting and layout make the new entries of the 1220s and 1230s indistinguishable from those of the previous fifty years, confirming that the *Memoriale* was produced in the late 1220s. By the 1240s, changes in style and layout are plain, and the variety of hands betrays a less systematic maintenance of the calendar.

Deterioration has obliterated a few notices, but nearly six hundred are legible. Their variability, however, frustrates statistical analysis, and their idiosyncrasies defy simple categories. Dates may mark a benefactor's death or an earlier endowment. More importantly, nearly half of the entries are not dated, although dates can be estimated from the script or contextual information. Some patterns, though, do emerge. Endowments began slowly, and most early donors were clerics or women. The pace quickened in the 1190s and then eased. In the 1210s, anniversaries increased sharply. That high rate was sustained for two decades, before tapering off in the 1230s. Over the next three decades, endowments subsided. Finally, interest revived in the last quarter of the century.

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<sup>88</sup> A notice, probably of the third quarter of the thirteenth century, mentions the ceremony of the washing of the feet: Cód. 1042B, fol. 23r.

<sup>89</sup> For the date: James D'Emilio, "Tradición local y aportaciones foráneas en la escultura románica tardía: Compostela, Lugo y Carrión," in *Actas. Simposio internacional sobre: 'O Pórtico da Gloria e a Arte do seu Tempo'* (Santiago de Compostela, 1991), pp. 87–89.

<sup>90</sup> Cód. 1042B, fol. 24rv. It extends from January 26 to February 18. The latest entry is the undated obit for Juan Rolán, documented in Lugo between 1171 and 1225: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 388–90.

<sup>91</sup> Cód. 1040B, fol. 29r.

<sup>92</sup> Cód. 1041B, fol. 23bis r.

That sketch needs qualification. Taken together, dated anniversaries are slightly delayed markers of earlier trends, since some record deaths for which gifts were already pledged. Secondly, fewer endowments from the 1270s onwards were left undated. That softens, but does not eliminate, the increase in that period.

The rhythm of endowments, the language of the notices, and the nature of clerical gifts chart changes within the chapter and its relationships with the laity. Endowments peaked during the short tenure (1218–25) of Bishop Ordoño who reinvigorated the institution.<sup>93</sup> He took the lead by setting up anniversaries for two earlier prelates, Bishop Juan and Archdeacon Juan Rodríguez, and authorizing one for his predecessor, Rodrigo II, arranged by the dean.<sup>94</sup> With new formulaic clauses, the bishop and chapter promised lay donors the dividends of their collective liturgy as an alternative to the canon's portion they had coveted a century earlier.<sup>95</sup> An archdeacon and veteran of twenty-five years in the chapter, Ordoño Bermúdez belonged to a cohort of men who entered the reformed chapter in their youth and went on to attain dignities and educate another generation. Several served the new bishop or held capitular offices, and they actively supported the institution of anniversaries. The treasurer, Pelayo Baldouino, and the episcopal notary, Pelayo Sobrino, for example, spread endowments for themselves and their relatives.<sup>96</sup> Like Ordoño, both were first documented among the cathedral clergy in 1192: Pelayo Baldouino as a canon and the younger Pelayo Sobrino as an untitled witness among the canons.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> These are the numbers of dated anniversaries for eight-year periods before and after the tenure of Bishop Ordoño: 1202–09 (9); 1210–1217 (32); 1218–25 (45); 1226–33 (45); 1234–41 (34); 1242–49 (10). Of the forty-five anniversaries dated in the first eight years (1226–33) of Bishop Miguel's episcopate, twenty-five were endowed in the first three years (1226–28) and only eight in the last three (1231–33).

<sup>94</sup> Cód. 1040B, fol. 31r, 1041B, fols. 4v, 10v.

<sup>95</sup> "uos ipsos recipimus imparticipium orationum et beneficii lucensis ecclesie ut uos in uita uestra defendamus cum omnibus rebus uestris tanquam fideles uassallos et ad obitum uestrum uelut proquolibet de nostris canonicis pro uobis faciamus," AHN 1327A/23 (5.1.1221). For related examples, all by the episcopal notaries, Pelayo Sobrino or Juan Núñez: 1327A/12 (8.3.1219), 15/16/17 (13.4.1220), 1327B/2 (28.9.1221).

<sup>96</sup> Pelayo Baldouino set up anniversaries, totalling 25 *solidi*, for his parents (1199), brother (1226) and himself (1238): Cód. 1040B, fols. 4r, 20v; 1041B, fols. 20r, 23bis r. Pelayo Sobrino gave a house and fisheries to fund anniversaries for his paternal uncle, father, mother (1224?), brother (1231), and himself (1236): Cód. 1040B, fol. 31v; 1041B, fols. 7r, 13v, 16v.

<sup>97</sup> For Pelayo Sobrino: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 395–97, 401. For Pelayo Baldouino, see n. 16.

The anniversaries established by these two men affirm the solidarity of their clerical community in a subtle way: they are among a few canons who address their fellows as *concanonici*.<sup>98</sup> It is a small detail, to be sure, but it bespeaks a sense of fellowship that also bound the generations. In his will, Pelayo Baldouino bestowed his choir cape on Pelayo Sobrino, his younger colleague and successor as treasurer.<sup>99</sup> By the middle of the century, this collective identity was weakening. After 1237, the term, *concanonici*, is not to be found, but a new practice catches the eye. In 1285, Dean Juan Rodríguez, a frustrated aspirant to the episcopacy, mandated a procession on the feast of St. John the Baptist; later, Pay Rodríguez, archdeacon of Deza, subsidized one with a hundred *solidi* for St. Mary Magdalen's feast.<sup>100</sup> Such public displays of individual status are in line with a shift from the collective celebration of anniversaries to the endowment of private chapels, and Bishop Ordoño's successor, Miguel, led the way. The anniversaries he set up were dwarfed by his construction and endowment of a chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, in the cathedral cloister in 1254.<sup>101</sup>

The length of Miguel's episcopate (1226–1270) has led some to hail it as a period of stability, a notion encouraged by the commissioning of the *Tumbo Viejo* and *Memoriale*.<sup>102</sup> In fact, the *Memoriale* tells a different story. Its creation responded to at least a decade of heightened activity, and the origins of this surge of piety lie in the good work of an earlier generation of reformers. Under Bishop Miguel, endowments tailed off, the chapter changed, and local clerics lost status. For the first decade of his episcopate, the dean, treasurer, choirmaster and three archdeacons

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<sup>98</sup> The others are the sacristan, Pelayo "Piquitus" (1190); the canons, "Reginaldus Petri" (1211), Magister Juan Rodríguez (1223), Bernaldo de Fonte (1223), Suerio Martínez (1234), and Pelayo Yáñez (1237); and the episcopal notary, Ordoño Miguélez (1220): Cód. 1040B, fol. 34v; 1041B, fols. 1r, 8r, 15r, 16r, 33r; 1042B, fol. 4v. Not surprisingly, the fullest expression is in a gift of Pelayo Sobrino, "assigno dominis meis *concanonicis*," Cód. 1040B, fol. 31v.

<sup>99</sup> AHN 1327C/9 (14.10.1227).

<sup>100</sup> Cód. 1040B, fol. 27r; 1041B, fol. 12v.

<sup>101</sup> Cód. 1041B, fol. 28v, publ. ES 41, app. 35. His mother, Ermesenda Ovéquiz, had set up her own anniversary (1236): Cód. 1040B, fol. 20v. Miguel established anniversaries for himself and his maternal uncle and aunt: Cód. 1041B, fol. 3r; 1040B, fol. 20r; 1042B, fol. 14v.

<sup>102</sup> "La brillantez de su gobierno y la efectividad de la organización establecida durante su obispado suponen una auténtica actualización de los sistemas tradicionales de la Iglesia de Lugo," Mosquera Agrelo, "Códice y catedral," p. 932.

were men who, like Bishop Ordoño, had ascended through the chapter.<sup>103</sup> By the 1240s, these men had died, the number of priests and *magistri* among the canons was declining, fewer canons witnessed charters, and few of the new dignitaries would be men who had climbed through the ranks. New statutes in the early 1240s, largely overlooked by modern historians, hastened this reshaping of the chapter.<sup>104</sup>

Bishop Miguel's own career anticipates that of later dignitaries. His parents belonged to wealthy landed families from both ends of the diocese.<sup>105</sup> His maternal uncle, Fernando Ovéquiz, was a canon from 1190 to 1214. He acted on behalf of the chapter, and frequently witnessed episcopal documents.<sup>106</sup> Miguel himself studied in Palencia.<sup>107</sup> He may have held a canonry during his studies, perhaps that vacated by his uncle, but he is first cited as a canon in April 1218. By January 1219, six months after the accession of Bishop Ordoño, Miguel had replaced the aged Lope Suárez as choirmaster.<sup>108</sup> Notwithstanding his training, family standing, and connections in the chapter, this was an unusual

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<sup>103</sup> Velasco Rodríguez was a canon by 13.11.1193, archdeacon by 23.3.1213, dean by 6.4.1227, and last documented on 22.9.1241: AHN 1326A/2, 1326G/1, 1083/19, 1085/10. The treasurer, Pelayo Sobrino, is last documented (as "Domnus Pelagius") on 13.4.1250: 1328E/3. The priest, García Eriz was episcopal chaplain by 18.6.1212 (Cód. 417B, fol. 80), canon by 17.8.1216, choirmaster by 15.7.1229, and last documented on 12.9.1243: 1326H/3, 1327D/5, 1328B/16. His anniversary is dated 30.7.1247: Cód. 1041B, fol. 21v. Martín Yáñez is documented as archdeacon from 21.8.1208 to 21.8.1234: 1326E/15bis, 1132/12. His anniversary is dated 1234: Cód. 1042B, fol. 3r. Magister Viviano was a canon by 11.8.1220, archdeacon by 11.4.1228, and last documented on 19.3.1243: 1327A/21, 1327C/15, 1328B/12. His anniversary is dated 16.4.1244: Cód. 1041B, fol. 5r. For Pelayo Sebastián, episcopal scribe and notary from 1182 to 1196, canon from 1191, and archdeacon from 1215 to 1237: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 398–400. Two earlier charters can be added to the work discussed there: 1325G/13 (30.9.1182), 16 (9.3.1183).

<sup>104</sup> The lost statutes are cited in notices concerning the administration of the months: Cód. 1042B, fol. 21r, 34r. The earliest describes the administration of July by Archdeacon Viviano "secundum statutum nouum"; the mention of Juan García, titled only as canon, dates it to 1241–44: Cód. 1042B, fol. 22v. Mosquera Agrelo suspected a revision of the statutes, "Diócesis de Lugo," pp. 59–60. For other statutes: Augusto Quintana Prieto, "Constituciones capitulares de cabildos españoles del siglo XIII," *Anthologica Annua* 28–29 (1981–82), 485–529.

<sup>105</sup> His mother was from Lemos in the south. His father was from Parga. Two early charters involve his mother's properties: AHN 1325F/21 (29.3.1177), 1325G/25 (28.9.1187). Later, his brother, the knight, Arias Pérez de Parga, is well documented: 1327F/18 (1233), 25 (20.4.1234); 1327G/20 (5.10.1235), 1327H/11 (25.6.1237), etc.

<sup>106</sup> He is documented as canon from 26.1.1190 to 3.2.1214: AHN 1325H/12, 1326G/11. He represented the chapter in a transaction with a noblewoman, D<sup>a</sup> Teresa Fernández: 1326G/10 (1.2.1214).

<sup>107</sup> In his will, the former episcopal notary, Pedro Yáñez, forgave a loan he had made to Miguel in Palencia for which he held a book as a pledge: AHN 1328B/5 (26.5.1242).

<sup>108</sup> AHN 1327A/1bis (1.4.1218), 10 (30.1.1219).

promotion to a dignity more typically reserved for experienced clerics. Lope Suárez had been episcopal chaplain and treasurer, while Miguel's successor, Alfonso Martínez, had been in the chapter at least twenty years, ten as archdeacon.<sup>109</sup> After seven years as choirmaster, the dazzling ascent of Miguel Pérez culminated in his election as bishop in 1226.<sup>110</sup>

The young bishop was surrounded by a close-knit group of older capitular officers who ensured the continuity of the late twelfth-century reforms. For two generations, the reformed chapter had invested in improving the spiritual and intellectual life of the diocese. Work on the cathedral, interrupted by conflicts and shortages in the middle of the twelfth century, resumed in the 1170s.<sup>111</sup> A new portal is mentioned in 1189, and, by the end of the century, an office of the cathedral works staffed by clerics supervised steady activity, as bequests, concentrated in the 1210s and 1220s, supplied modest gifts.<sup>112</sup> This made it possible to turn to the dependencies. Earlier, outbreaks of civil unrest had made it prudent—or necessary—to shore up the episcopal palace.<sup>113</sup> Now, construction of a cloister raised the profile of the cathedral clergy, refurbished the cemetery, and reminded the wider community of the crucial intercessionary role of the anniversaries. A few gifts were ear-

<sup>109</sup> Lope was titled episcopal chaplain on 11.4.1184 (Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros," pp. 339–40), treasurer between 20.1.1188 and 18.1.1189, and choirmaster between 16.5.1191 and 1.4.1218: AHN 1325H/1, 8, 16; 1327A/1bis. For Alfonso Martínez, see n. 17.

<sup>110</sup> He is cited as bishop on 8.2.1226 (AHN 1327C/2), and, in royal documents, as bishop elect on 2.3.1226: González, *Alfonso IX*, 2: doc. 474.

<sup>111</sup> For the building of the cathedral: James D'Emilio, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Lugo, East of the Miño*, Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988, pp. 111–78.

<sup>112</sup> The new portal is cited on 25.3.1189: AHN 1325H/10. In 1198, "Pelagius Suerii presbyter uocatus paredarius" endowed an anniversary: Cód. 1040B, fol. 12v. In 1248, "Petrus Pelagii de opere," who witnessed charters of 1212 and 1222 as "paredarius," endowed an anniversary for himself and his father, "Pelagius Suerii": Cód. 1040B, fol. 13r; 1326F/14, 1327B/5. A master of the works is named in a document of c. 1220–30: "Iohanne Pelaz magistrum operis ecclesie lucensis," *Tumbos... de Sobrado*, 1: doc. 397. "Iohannes Iohannis," a cleric and the son of "Iohannis Pelagii de opere," endowed an anniversary for both of them in 1275: Cód. 1040B, fol. 23v. Some of the bequests are listed in José Villa-Amil y Castro, "Reseña histórica de los establecimientos de beneficencia que hubo en Galicia durante la Edad Media," *Galicia Histórica* 1 (1902), pp. 385–93.

<sup>113</sup> The bishop spent 20 *solidi* "in opere domorum palatii" in 1168 and gave Pedro Yáñez a plot of land in 1171 for his carpentry work on the episcopal palace: AHN 1325E/18 (17.7.1168), 25 (27.3.1171).

marked for this project in the early thirteenth century, and it is cited in a description of an urban lot in 1228.<sup>114</sup>

The key initiative for the cloister had come in 1202 from a lay woman, Sancha Rodríguez. She left the considerable sum of 679 *solidi* to begin its construction, and to repair or replace the great bell damaged in the tower (presumably of the cathedral).<sup>115</sup> The monies were to be administered by the choirmaster, Lope Suárez; the priest, Nuño Peláez; and her brother, Velasco. The choirmaster and priest had been custodians of Sancha's money, and this sort of management of liquid assets would have allowed them to extend loans and invest in the urban real estate market. Nuño received bequests from Sancha and two other women.<sup>116</sup> Velasco Rodríguez, Sancha's brother, was a prominent canon whose relatively frequent appearance in witness lists of the first decade of the thirteenth century augured his distinguished career as archdeacon and dean.

The gifts from Sancha Rodríguez and her diverse relationships with the cathedral clergy underline the key role of women in the reforms. There were no nunneries near the city of Lugo, and those of the diocese were few and struggling. Within the city, women contributed significantly to the institution of the anniversaries, and their gifts underwrote building campaigns, the furnishing of the cathedral, and numerous charities. Nuño Peláez was not the only teacher rewarded in women's testaments, and the bequest by Jimena Froilaz of "unum quaternum scriptum" for the "libro Sancti Marci" hints that she wrote the folios herself.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, women were crucial partners in clerical dynasties, as canons prepared positions in the chapter for their sisters' sons, much as Fernando Ovéquiz likely did for the future Bishop Miguel. If their part of this story is yet to be written, it is largely because women's absence from witness lists, their lack of titles and smaller pool of names, and the prevalence of patronymics make it a harder tale to weave.

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<sup>114</sup> AHN 1327C/13 (11.2.1228).

<sup>115</sup> I could not find the testament in the ACL, nor could García Conde and López Valcárcel who cited it in *Episcopologio*, p. 213. Buenaventura Cañizares transcribed it, *Colección diplomática*, 3: doc. 331 (ms., ACL), and there is a microfilm of poor quality in the AHN.

<sup>116</sup> The bequests were from Jimena Froilaz (AHN 1326B/13ter, 15.6.1199) and, directed "magistro meo," from Urraca Pérez (1327A/1, 16.3.1218).

<sup>117</sup> Juan Rolán is named as a teacher in the will of Mayor Peláez (28.3.1195, AHN 1326A/15). Earlier, Sancha Osóriz referred to Martin the treasurer as her "magister": 1325C/22bis-24 (23.8.1137). Will of Jimena Froilaz: 1326B/13ter.

One figure, Urraca Fernández, is prominent enough, and her activities illustrate a different kind of relationship with the cathedral clergy. She was the daughter of a leading nobleman, Count Fernando Pérez de Traba, and the wife of Dean Juan Arias.<sup>118</sup> The dean was a knight from Monterroso, a guardian of Alfonso IX when infante, and the protagonist in the establishment of the Galician priory of the Order of Santiago at Vilar de Donas in 1194.<sup>119</sup> Urraca's extraordinary piety and benefactions were exemplified by her pilgrimage to Oviedo and her testament of 1199 with sizeable bequests to confraternities, clerics, and nearly one hundred and fifty monasteries, cathedrals, and parish churches.<sup>120</sup> Her exceptional standing explains her visibility, but closer scrutiny of charters will yield more evidence of canons' wives and offspring, not surprising, perhaps, in a diocese in which Bishop Miguel had to seek papal dispensations for the numerous priests censured for relaxing their celibacy.<sup>121</sup>

The tenure of Juan Arias as dean illustrates, to a degree, the secularization of the Spanish church, but the couple's generous patronage underscores the deep current of lay religiosity in the diocese in the two generations following the capitular reforms of the 1170s. Efforts to reform the system of proprietary churches are another manifestation of this.<sup>122</sup> This institution remained strong in Galicia, but traditional structures of lay control could be harnessed to ensure upkeep of the fabric, the appointment of a suitable cleric, and the distribution of a share of revenues to the bishop and chapter. Fletcher published a remarkable

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<sup>118</sup> The anniversary she set up in 1195 was endowed with a share of a house she had bought with Dean Juan Arias: Cód. 1041B, fol. 6v. Her husband is also named in the arrangements she made for their anniversaries in San Vicente de Oviedo: Luciano Serrano, ed., *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1929), doc. 312. For Fernando Pérez: Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 241–42.

<sup>119</sup> González, *Alfonso IX*, 1:30–31; José-Luis Novo Cazón, *El Priorato Santiaguista de Vilar de Donas en la Edad Media (1194–1500)* (La Coruña, 1986), doc. 1. He is cited as “Iohannes lucensis decanus” on 30.9.1182 (AHN 1325G/13, publ. Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 251–52), and, as “Iohannes Arias” from 3.3.1186 (1325G/22) to the date of his anniversary, 13.7.1214: Cód. 1041B, fol. 17r.

<sup>120</sup> Her testament: *Colección diplomática de Galicia Histórica* (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), doc. 20.

<sup>121</sup> The papal letter of 1234 is cited in Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 50.

<sup>122</sup> On proprietary churches: Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 159–74; James D'Emilio, “Los documentos medievales como fuentes para el estudio de las parroquias e iglesias gallegas: el distrito de Monte de Meda (Lugo),” *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos* 43 (1996), pp. 68–79. Recently, Ana María Framiñán Santas, “Notas acerca de los derechos de los laicos en las iglesias parroquiales de Galicia (s. XII–XV),” *Estudios Mindonienses* 21 (2005), pp. 315–78.

document of 1182 in which Bishop Rodrigo II leased a church to a lay woman with specific mandates for its construction.<sup>123</sup> In fact, the vast number of Romanesque churches built between the 1160s and 1220s is mute testimony to the efficacy of efforts to hold the laity accountable for their possession of rural churches.

The rhythm of transfers of churches tells a story like that of the *Memoriale Anniuersariorum*. From the late twelfth through the thirteenth century, gifts of churches to the bishop or chapter rise steadily. A closer look, however, sharply distinguishes earlier and later acquisitions. Between 1190 and 1229, documents from the cathedral archive record twenty-eight transfers—none of them outright sales—that involved shares of more than seventy churches from across the diocese.<sup>124</sup> Nine large gifts included three or more churches.<sup>125</sup> In the 1250s, thirty-seven transfers—fourteen of them as sales of one type or another—involved only twenty-nine churches.<sup>126</sup> Thirty-two refer to single churches, and fifteen transfer fractions of the churches of Mazoi, Muris (San Vicente de Burgo), or Sta. Marta, within eight kilometres of Lugo. In fact, most acquisitions in the 1250s are minuscule shares of nearby churches obtained in a drive to consolidate the patrimony of the cathedral, not to challenge lay ownership of churches.<sup>127</sup>

Among the earlier gifts, only a few cite canonical provisions or imply the sinfulness of laymen holding churches. Fletcher highlighted one instance in which Dean Juan Arias disciplined a knight for striking a priest in a church, and accepted, as part of the reparations, the layman's shares of that church.<sup>128</sup> He rightly cautioned that the scribe might be responsible for the citation of canon law, but that makes this case even more interesting. The scribe, Magister Rodrigo, was soon appointed archdeacon, and the elevation of *magistri* to that dignity attests to a

<sup>123</sup> Fletcher (as n. 119).

<sup>124</sup> The documents are in AHN 1325H, 1326A-H, 1327A-D.

<sup>125</sup> AHN 1326A/23 (14.7.1196); 1326B/3 (13.6.1197); 1327A/13 (2.8.1219), 15/16 (13.4.1220), 20 (27.5.1220); 1327B/3 (1.12.1221), 10 (15.5.1222), 11 (18.5.1222); 1327D/2 (21.5.1229).

<sup>126</sup> The documents are in AHN 1328E-H, 1329A-E. The fourteen I term "sales" are those with cash payments: some are outright sales, others combine lay property with shares of churches or the *ius patronatus*, and a couple justify the payments in more tortured ways, e.g., "accipio... CL solidos pro expensis quas feci ueniendo ad uos pro concessione ista," 1328E/18 (30.12.1250).

<sup>127</sup> D'Emilio, "Los documentos," pp. 71–74.

<sup>128</sup> Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 161.



desire to implement reforms.<sup>129</sup> Another archdeacon, Pelayo Sebastiánéz, had begun his career as an episcopal notary drafting similar charters.<sup>130</sup> In 1222, he was the executor of the will of a knight who made one of the largest gifts of churches before setting out to fight the Saracens whom he characterized as “enemies of the faith.”<sup>131</sup> Other cessions in the 1210s and 1220s accompany religious activities like pilgrimage or combat against the infidels.<sup>132</sup> These gifts also introduce the term, *ius patronatus*: first in a priest’s charter; then in the will of Dean Sancho Muñoz, a veteran of the reformed chapter who had served as archdeacon for eighteen years; finally, in a major gift by a local knight, written up by the episcopal notary.<sup>133</sup> The term spread widely after 1239, but its meaning was quickly diluted, and transactions became indistinguishable from the earlier sales and exchanges of churches.

The capitular reforms of the 1170s had culminated a century of change in the wake of the reorganization of the Iberian church, and they bore fruit over the next two generations. In those years, the chapter of Lugo flourished and forged a sense of corporate identity, based upon the institution of the anniversaries, the new prestige attached to writing and learning, and the leadership of a growing urban community. Their role in the city, of course, was not uncontested. The 1170s had seen not only the reform of the chapter, but also the appearance of town officials, shortly after Ferdinand II granted the town a charter in 1177.<sup>134</sup> Arguably, the emergence of communal institutions and the burghers’ resistance to their ecclesiastical lords spurred the solidarity of the cathedral chapter. In 1194 and 1195, two important documents, noted by Fletcher, supply nearly complete rosters of the canons, and several witness lists of the period record large numbers of clergy.<sup>135</sup> These compare neatly with the

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<sup>129</sup> Magister Rodrigo is cited as archdeacon between 13.11.1193 and 16.8.1194: AHN 1326A/2, 9bis. Magister Ordoño “Suariz” was appointed archdeacon by 1196, see n. 19.

<sup>130</sup> For Pelayo Sebastiánéz: D’Emilio, “Scribes,” pp. 398–400.

<sup>131</sup> “uolens ire in expeditionem contra sarracenos fidei inimicos”: AHN 1327B/11.

<sup>132</sup> E.g., the pilgrimage of the priest, Juan Bermúdez, to Jerusalem (AHN 1326E/19/20, 20.IV.1210, publ. Fernández de Viana y Vieites, “Documentos sobre peregrinos,” p. 418), or the gift of another of the knights evidently setting out to fight the Muslims in 1222 (1327B/10).

<sup>133</sup> Priest’s charter: AHN 1326E/19/20, cited above; will of Dean Sancho: 1327A/13 (2.8.1219); knight’s gift: 1327B/3.

<sup>134</sup> Charter of Ferdinand II: TV, doc. 58, fols. 30v–31r, publ. Rodríguez Fernández, “Fueros,” pp. 336–37. For the introduction of the notariate (1177) and *alcaldes* (1179, 1183): D’Emilio, “Scribes,” pp. 383–84.

<sup>135</sup> AHN 1334/7 (22.11.1194); 1326A/14 (28.1.1195); Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 94.

lists of one hundred and of fifty-one burghers who did homage to the bishop in 1184 and 1207.<sup>136</sup> The two communities mirrored one another, and, in the first decades of the century, achieved a measure of coexistence, expressed in the increasing participation of notable burghers in the endowment of anniversaries, an institution whose roots remained in the city and its environs.

The cathedral clergy participated in and benefited from a broader reform movement that encouraged lay religiosity. Across the diocese, foundations of the newly arrived Cistercians and military orders multiplied and amassed large estates. Traditional institutions adapted to changing times: proprietors ceded churches to ecclesiastical institutions or invested in their construction, and the ancient monastery of Samos was associated with the territorial archdeaconries whose consolidation strengthened oversight of parish clergy. The canons cooperated closely with the bishop and there was little distinction between the prelate's household and the chapter. In 1218, shortly before his death, Bishop Rodrigo II made a generous gift to the chapter including a house and vineyards in Villafranca del Bierzo. Earlier, King Alfonso IX, shocked to find the canons drinking cider instead of wine, had made his own contribution of vineyards and wine from the royal cellars in 1213 and 1216.<sup>137</sup> Together, these grants secured a supply of wine and a foothold in a lucrative market.

A degree of prosperity sustained the reforms, but also proved their undoing. The composition of the chapter and the careers of its members are good measures of the success of the reforms, and of the retreat that began in the 1240s under Bishop Miguel. One indicator of the religious life of the chapter is the number of canons ordained as priests and their status.<sup>138</sup> In the early 1190s, six priests were regularly documented among the thirty canons. Three of them had died or left the chapter by 1203. By 1215, six priests are again documented. Over the decade, new canons

<sup>136</sup> Rodríguez Fernández, "Fueros," pp. 339–44.

<sup>137</sup> Episcopal gift: AHN 1327A/1bis (1.4.1218), publ. ES 41, app. 28. González, *Alfonso IX*, 2: docs. 291, 332.

<sup>138</sup> The canons who were priests are: Juan Bermúdez (1179–95), Román Bermúdez (1179–1224, notary), Juan Rolán (1183–1225), Pedro Yáñez (1191–99, episcopal chaplain), Nuño Peláez (1192–1220), Pelayo Abad (1194–1202), Gonzalvo (Suárez) (1213–33), Munio (Bermúdez) (1215–26), Menendo Suárez (1215–29), García Eriz (1216–47, episcopal chaplain, choirmaster), Pelayo Yáñez (1219–44), Juan Froilaz (1220–41), Magister Pedro (1229–46, episcopal chaplain); Alfonso Martínez (1254–82, choirmaster), and Domingo Yáñez (1255–1268 or later, episcopal chaplain).

entered as priests, and others received ordination, increasing the total to nine under Bishop Ordoño, in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council. After the bishop's death in 1225, the numbers declined, remaining at four through the 1230s, all of them priests who had entered the chapter earlier. By 1246, these four men had died, and, in the next twenty-five years, only two canons were titled as priests: Alfonso Martínez, the future choirmaster, and Domingo Yáñez, the episcopal chaplain.<sup>139</sup>

Not only were priests relatively numerous among the canons from the 1190s to the 1230s, but they played important roles. Several had long and distinguished careers in the chapter. Their skills as scribes and judges were valued, and some attained important offices. Juan Froilaz was delegated by the archdeacon of Abeancos to arbitrate a dispute between the monasteries of Sobrado and Breamo.<sup>140</sup> Juan Rolán began his career as a scribe for the dean in the 1170s. Fletcher remarked on the extraordinary series of charters by the notary, Román Bermúdez, who was a priest and canon. His sixty-year career as a scribe spanned two generations of reform, and he played a key role in the education of a generation of clerics.<sup>141</sup>

Their work as teachers gave these priests, and other learned clerics, status as well as influence over some of those who held capitular dignities. García Eriz, for example, served as episcopal chaplain, and received a bequest in 1219 from Dean Sancho Muñoz, who described him as his teacher, though he had been a canon for more than twenty years—sixteen of them as archdeacon—when García Eriz first comes into view.<sup>142</sup> Priests, like Nuño Peláez, and other clerics were acknowledged in numerous wills as teachers. More formally, a growing number of canons earned the title of *magister* through university study at Palencia and other sites. Bishop Miguel had studied at Palencia with Pedro Yáñez, and the latter returned to Lugo in 1213 and served as episcopal notary.<sup>143</sup> Between 1219 and 1239, ten *magistri* entered the chapter. Some, however, served short tenures or rarely appear in local docu-

<sup>139</sup> For Alfonso Martínez, see n. 17.

<sup>140</sup> AHN 540/8 (15.9.1235).

<sup>141</sup> Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 104–05. For Juan Rolán and Román: D'Emilio "Scribes," pp. 388–98.

<sup>142</sup> Will of Dean Sancho: AHN 1327A/13 (2.8.1219). Sancho Muñoz was cited as canon from 1.8.1191 (1325H/16bis), archdeacon from 14.7.1196 (1326A/3), and dean from 22.9.1215 (1326G/21).

<sup>143</sup> For Pedro Yáñez: D'Emilio, "Scribes," pp. 400–01; see n. 107.

ments. By the 1250s, there were only four *magistri* among the canons, and two of them entered the chapter in that decade.<sup>144</sup>

The careers of two episcopal chaplains, García Eriz and Domingo Yáñez, highlight differences in the chapters of the early and late thirteenth century. García Eriz is first documented as an episcopal chaplain in 1212. By 1216, he was a canon, and in 1229, under Bishop Miguel, he rose to be choirmaster, an office he held for at least fifteen years.<sup>145</sup> Domingo Yáñez first appears as episcopal chaplain in 1241. He was a portionary by 1246, but only in 1255 did he gain a canonry.<sup>146</sup> Juan Pérez was less fortunate: documented as a priest from 1240 and a member of the choir from 1247, he served as a scribe and is likely the one who signed the *Tumbo Viejo*. His work as a scribe and his presence in numerous witness lists for more than twenty-five years demonstrates a close association with the influential notary, Fernando Peláez, but his efforts never earned him a canonry.<sup>147</sup>

The waning status of priests is more important than the reduction in their numbers. Priests remained numerous among the portionaries, scribes, and clerics of the choir, but, in the later thirteenth century, the road to preferment was difficult for local clerics. Their employment typically began, and ended, in the burgeoning households of the bishop and prominent dignitaries with their chapels and writing offices. Family ties within the chapter helped, but only to a degree: one nephew of García Eriz attained a canonry, but another had to content himself with serving Archdeacon Gonzalvo Rodríguez as notary.<sup>148</sup> Another cleric of their

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<sup>144</sup> The *magistri* in the chapter between 1220 and 1260 are: Viviano (1220–43, archdeacon 1228–43), Juan (1223–35), Simón (1225–26), Pedro (1229–30), Pedro (1229–44, priest and episcopal chaplain), Pedro Alfonso (1229–62), Alfonso García (1230–37, archdeacon), Pedro Arias (1237–45, archdeacon), Sancho (Viviáñez) (1237–46, episcopal clerk and portionary), Pedro Froilaz (1239–46), Pedro Yáñez (1242, the title was only used in his will and anniversary), Lope (Pérez) (1244–61), Dean Juan (Alfonsi) (1251–61), Fernando (1251–1266 or later, prior of Acoba).

<sup>145</sup> For García Eriz: see n. 103.

<sup>146</sup> Domingo Yáñez was episcopal chaplain from 20.7.1241 (AHN 1328A/18), portionary from 24.6.1246 (1328C/17), canon from 17.8.1255 (1329A/7).

<sup>147</sup> There are numerous references in AHN 1328A-H, 1329A-H, 1330A-H. He is likely the acolyte mentioned on 11.8.1232 and 8.1.1237: 1327F/5ter, 1327H/4. He had a brother by the same name “clericus frater eius” who may also have become a priest “alius presbyter de choro”: 1329B/2 (16.1.1257), 1330A/26 (30.3.1262).

<sup>148</sup> Pedro Yáñez and Pelayo Pérez, each titled “clericus de choro,” are described as “nepotes cantorís” on 28.6.1238: AHN 1327H/19. Pedro Yáñez is recorded as the notary of Archdeacon Gonzalvo Rodríguez in 12.1259: 1329E/18. The canon, Pelayo Pérez, had a share in the house whose rent funded the anniversary of García Eriz in 1247: Cód. 1041B, fol. 21v.

generation, Pelayo Froilaz, was documented as an acolyte between 1227 and 1236, and as a member of the choir from 1239 to 1250. Despite more than two decades of writing for the bishop, judge, archdeacon, and monastic houses, his anniversary confirms that he never rose to be more than a portionary.<sup>149</sup>

These distinctions were not new: the statutes of 1173 had provided for twenty prebendaries, and wills regularly remembered priests or clerics who were not canons, or had no prebend at all. The term *porcionarius*, however, only begins to appear in witness lists in 1231, and grows common after the 1240s.<sup>150</sup> The explosion in the numbers of clerics and priests who remained portionaries or held even lower ranks is a mark of sharper social divisions within the chapter and one sign of the different ways in which capitular offices were filled in the early and later thirteenth century. In the first four decades of the thirteenth century, Bishop Ordoño and many dignitaries rose from the ranks. Several had begun their careers as scribes, and witness lists disclose an inner circle of canons serving the bishop and conducting capitular affairs. Long before men like Velasco Rodríguez, Pelayo Baldouino, Pelayo Sobrino, or Pelayo Sebastiánéz attained dignities, their path was marked out by their assiduous participation in ecclesiastical business.<sup>151</sup>

Where the family origins of such men can be determined, many are found to belong to the landed gentry of parishes surrounding Lugo, evidently a recruiting ground for the cathedral clergy and the growing numbers of laymen employed by the bishop and chapter to collect rents and administer justice. The pattern changed under Bishop Miguel, as more offices were filled with men, like himself, from powerful landed families throughout the diocese who had spent little time in the chapter before their appointment. Fernando Yáñez is named only once as canon, in 1243, before his appearance as archdeacon in 1248.<sup>152</sup> Juan García, archdeacon of Sarria from 1245 to 1272, was first named as a canon only

<sup>149</sup> For his work as a scribe and service to the bishop and dignitaries: AHN 1083/19 (6.4.1227), 1132/12 (21.8.1234), 540/8 (15.9.1235), 1327H/23 (9.4.1239), 1328C/22 (1246), 1328D/29 (21.10.1249). His anniversary: Cód. 1041B, fol. 17r.

<sup>150</sup> Once the term is introduced, it immediately finds wide application. Seven different *porcionarii* are named in the first six instances between 1231 and 1233: AHN 1327E/13, 17, 19, 24, 1327F/5ter, 7.

<sup>151</sup> Fletcher noted the core group of canons and dignitaries who witnessed episcopal *acta*: *Episcopate*, p. 94; see D'Emilio, "Scribes."

<sup>152</sup> Fernando Yáñez as canon: Cód. 1042B, fol. 22v (18.4.1243); as archdeacon: Cód. 1042B, fol. 23v (8.3.1248); as archdeacon of Abeancos: AHN 1134/7 (6.4.1249).

in 1241, and he eventually held a canonry in Mondoñedo as well.<sup>153</sup> He replaced his brother, Magister Alfonso García who appeared as archdeacon in 1230, but died prematurely.<sup>154</sup> The contrast between the capitular dignitaries of the early and later thirteenth century is nicely summed up in the roles they exercised. Early in the century, distinguished canons and dignitaries arbitrated disputes and served as papal judges delegate.<sup>155</sup> Later, they appear more often as sureties for agreements.<sup>156</sup>

There are, of course, exceptions. Gil Sánchez served as an absentee dean in the 1220s, at the very moment when, I have argued, two generations of reform reached their climax. Later in the century, when Nuño Odoariz became choirmaster in 1249, he could look back on twenty years of service, beginning as a pupil of the cathedral treasurer.<sup>157</sup> On closer inspection, these exceptions confirm the rule. During the tenure of Dean Gil, mentioned only once in the documents of Lugo, the seasoned cleric Archdeacon Velasco Rodríguez acted as *uicedecanus* and, eventually, succeeded him, while Bishop Ordoño, himself a product of the chapter, guided the course of reform.<sup>158</sup> By contrast, Nuño Odoariz had hardly worked his way up through the ranks. As an acolyte, he had received a benefice in the parish of Lincora in 1230, and, in 1235, shortly

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<sup>153</sup> Juan García as canon: AHN 1242/7 (13.6.1241); archdeacon from 22.10.1245 (1328C/3) until his death in 1272, the date of his anniversaries (Cód. 1041B, fol. 23r, 1042B, fol. 5r). Canonry in Mondoñedo: Enrique Cal Pardo, *Catálogo de los documentos medievales, escritos en pergamino, del Archivo de la Catedral de Mondoñedo (871–1492)* (Lugo, 1990), p. 164.

<sup>154</sup> Magister Alfonso García was cited as archdeacon between 8.1.1230 (AHN 1327D/12) and 10.3.1237 (1327H/8). His anniversary, endowed by his brother and sister, is dated 1241: Cód. 1041B, fol. 16r.

<sup>155</sup> Juan Miguélez, canon between 1202 and 1235, arbitrated a dispute between Ferreira de Pallares and the Templars (AHN 1083/19; 1084/3), and served as a papal judge delegate in a dispute between Breamo and Sobrado (540/8). For Pelayo Sobrino: D'Emilio, "Scribes," p. 395.

<sup>156</sup> Fernando Yáñez was pledging surety in each of the three appearances cited above (see n. 152). Juan García frequently pledged surety, both as canon and as archdeacon, e.g., AHN 1134/7, Cód. 1042B, fols. 20v, 22v.

<sup>157</sup> He was likely the "Nunoni alumpno meo" to whom the treasurer, Pelayo Balduino, left books ("prosarium meum et librum hymnorum"): AHN 1327C/9 (14.10.1227). He is cited as choirmaster between 19.3.1249 (1328D/18) and 11.5.1263 (*Cartulario... de Carracedo*, 1: doc. 492/11).

<sup>158</sup> Gil Sánchez was dean between 2.8.1219, the last mention of Sancho Muñoz as dean (AHN 1327A/13), and 6.4.1227, the first mention of Velasco Rodríguez as dean (1083/19). He is only named as dean in one document of the cathedral (1327C/5, 30.6.1226) where a calendar clause describes Rodrigo Fernández as exercising the dean's authority in Portomarín. Archdeacon Velasco is termed *uicedecanus* on 15.3.1221 (1083/10) in a dispute over a church within the deanery.

after becoming a canon, he received the important capitular holdings at Atán.<sup>159</sup> These benefices were in the prosperous wine-producing regions of the southern part of the diocese where his family held large estates, and three brothers (all knights) witnessed charters of Bishop Miguel.<sup>160</sup>

By the time Bishop Miguel died in 1270, the church and chapter of Lugo had been transformed. Far from a time of stability, his long tenure saw enormous change. His first years brought earlier reforms to fruition in the preparation of the *Memoriale* and *Tumbo Viejo*, the completion of the cathedral cloister, and the settlement of disputes within and among local religious communities.<sup>161</sup> By the 1240s, those initiatives were ending, the men who sustained them had died, and the tide of reform had ebbed. Signs of financial crisis and divisions within the clergy multiplied. The regular use of the title of *portionarius* accents the widening gaps among the clergy. A stream of documents concerning the administration of monthly income betrays growing anxiety and contentiousness about the distribution of revenue.<sup>162</sup> A restructuring of the archdeaconries and a renewed emphasis on their circumscriptions reflects a tightening of territorial administration. This is the background for the new statutes of the 1240s, and it awaits further investigation.

The impact of the changes is clear enough: in the second half of his episcopate, Miguel relied more on an expanding episcopal household, the town notary, and his own family for conducting episcopal business. Distinctions between the ecclesiastical patrimony and that of his family fade in the numerous transactions of his brother, Arias Pérez, a knight of Parga, and his nephews, the knight, Pedro Arias, and Bishop Miguel's successor, Fernando Arias. Within the chapter, an elite circle of canons from powerful landed families shared the dignities with papal appointees and ambitious clerics of other dioceses. Fewer canons appear in witness lists, but the number of portionaries and clerics of the choir

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<sup>159</sup> Acolitus: AHN 1327D/19 (24.2.1230); clericus Sancti Petri de Linquora: 1327D/21, 22 (28.2.1230); canonicus: 1327G/2 (24.5.1234); canonicus tenens ipsam uillam de Atan: 1327G/23 (27.12.1235).

<sup>160</sup> Velasco, Rodrigo and Oveco Odoariz: AHN 1327D/19, 20, 21; 1327E/22 (15.3.1232).

<sup>161</sup> Bishop Miguel mediated distributions of rents at Samos (ES 41, app. 31) in 1228 and Ferreira de Pallares (AHN 1084/8, 12.10.1231); he arbitrated a dispute between the Templars and Ferreira de Pallares: 1083/18, 19 (6.4.1227); 1084/3 (15.1.1229).

<sup>162</sup> An undated reckoning of the daily allotments of bread and wine for a year follows the *Memoriale*, and several succeeding entries record agreements with the monthly administrators: Cód. 1042B, fol. 20v.

swelled. With slim hopes of gaining a canonry, such men flocked to the households, chapels, and writing offices of the bishop or dignitaries.

Bishop Miguel's death ushered in a difficult period of strife and instability in Lugo, but the changes that occurred during his tenure led to this. Ironically, the spiritual aims of the earlier reformers were undermined by their success. The stabilization of income made capitular office a more attractive prize, transforming the composition of the chapter, the role of its dignitaries, and its relationship to the bishop. In 1290, new statutes formally sanctioned these changes, reducing the number of canons to ten, but maintaining twenty portionaries. Meanwhile, the new configuration of the chapter made it an arena for factional strife, fuelling conflicts over episcopal elections and the settlement of the mendicants.

Bishop Miguel's long episcopate straddles a time of change within the chapter that mirrors dramatic events in the wider world. Miguel assumed the episcopate under the Leonese king, Alfonso IX. He took office in the wake of the reforms and legislation of Popes Innocent III and Honorius III, and he saw the frustrated efforts of the legate John of Abbeville to bring those reforms to the Iberian peninsula in 1228 and 1229. By the end of his episcopate in 1270, Rome was no longer providing an impetus for ecclesiastical reform, and the geography of the peninsula had been redrawn by the reunification of León and Castile and the southern conquests of Ferdinand III and Alfonso X. Galicia had lost the privileged place it had enjoyed in the kingdom of León and the heyday of the pilgrimage to Compostela.

At the same time, the events of the thirteenth century should not obscure the aspirations and achievements of the late twelfth-century reformers. They have suffered too from a kind of a historiographical neglect. Even among the few devotees of Spanish ecclesiastical history, the drama of the Gregorian reform, the tumultuous narrative of the *Historia Compostellana*, and the thirteenth-century comings and goings between Rome and the peninsula have diverted attention from the quieter reforms to both sides of the year 1200. The Spanish churches in this period deserve a closer look. Richard Fletcher opened a door upon this world, and he invited others to follow. To be sure, his judgement upon the prelates he studied was severe. "An air of mediocrity," he said, "hangs over these bishops."<sup>163</sup> He conceded, however, that the sources

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<sup>163</sup> Fletcher, *Episcopate*, p. 224.



were scanty, and the challenges these churchmen faced formidable. Piecing together shreds of evidence begins to yield a more complete narrative, and it may be that the clergy of provincial sees made the best of their straitened circumstances, finding avenues of collaboration with the laity, reinvigorating their religious life, and creating—for a time—a sense of community.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> The following important study appeared too late to be used in this article: Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, “Los obispos y sus sedes en los reinos hispánicos occidentales,” in *La reforma gregoriana y su proyección en la cristiandad occidental. siglos XI–XII* (Semana de Estudios Medievales 32. Estella, 18–22 de Julio 2005) (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 195–288.

FUENTES ISIDORIANAS EN *DE ALTERA UITA*  
DE LUCAS DE TUY<sup>1</sup>

*Emma Falque (Universidad de Sevilla)*

Al participar en este merecido homenaje al Prof. Richard Fletcher, lo hago sirviéndome de la obra que tengo ahora entre manos: el tratado antiherético de Lucas de Tuy, *De altera uita*, conocido también por el título que le dio su primer editor, el padre Mariana: *De altera uita fideique controuersiis aduersus Albigensium errores libri III* (Ingolstadt, 1612),<sup>2</sup> en el que nos encontramos ante otra faceta de don Lucas, distinta a la del cronista que escribe el *Chronicon mundi*, o la del hagiógrafo que nos transmite los milagros de San Isidoro, la del teólogo, cuya preocupación por la herejía queda reflejada en este texto, que tiene la particularidad de ser el primer tratado antiherético de la España medieval.<sup>3</sup>

Esta obra doctrinal cuenta, entre otras cosas, un caso de herejía sucedido en León en los años 1232–1234, en el que quizás intervino don Lucas personalmente, tal como parece sugerir el texto; aunque no está citada su participación de manera expresa, se hace referencia en él a *quidam diaconus* que podría identificarse con el propio autor. En esta posibilidad ha pensado la mayoría de los autores que se han acercado

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<sup>1</sup> Con Richard Fletcher compartí el interés por dos grandes figuras del Medievo español: el Cid y Diego Gelmírez, de quienes nos ocupamos desde puntos de vista diferentes, él desde una perspectiva histórica (*Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984) y *The Quest for El Cid* (London, 1989) y yo desde un punto de vista filológico, pues edité los textos relacionados con ambos personajes para el *Corpus Christianorum* (la *Historia Compostellana* en CCCM, 70 (Turnhout, 1988) y la *Historia Roderici* en CCCM, 94 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 1–98). Después de haber cruzado algunas cartas con él, finalmente lo conocí en el verano de 1995 en York, donde disfruté de su hospitalidad. Lo vi por última vez en Cambridge en St John's College en el año 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Esta edición fue publicada un poco más tarde en *Bibliotheca Patrum*, XII (Colonia, 1618) y posteriormente en *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, XXV (Lyon, 1677), pp. 193–251.

<sup>3</sup> Sobre los puntos de contacto de las tres obras de don Lucas, véase P. Henriët, "Sanc-tissima patria. Points et thèmes communs aux trois oeuvres de Lucas de Tuy", *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales* 24 (2001), 248–77 (p. 277).

a la obra, desde el Padre Flórez,<sup>4</sup> pasando por Menéndez Pelayo,<sup>5</sup> hasta los últimos, Fernández Conde<sup>6</sup> y Martínez Casado,<sup>7</sup> que consideran que el diácono perseguidor que actuó contra los herejes fue el propio don Lucas.

### 1. Fuentes fundamentales del *De altera uita*

Don Lucas utiliza fundamentalmente tres autores para componer su obra *De altera uita*, San Agustín, San Gregorio Magno y San Isidoro, a los que además menciona juntos en dos ocasiones, destacándolos al nombrarlos sobre los otros padres de la Iglesia: “...dicentes gloriosissimos Augustinum, Gregorium et Isidorum et caeteros patres aut idiotas uel imperitos philosophos extitisse” (DAV, 1.2). Y poco más adelante: “Haec sunt ueritatis documenta, quae nobis ueritatis philosophi, Gregorius, Augustinus, Isidorus et caeteri sancti doctores ecclesiae monstraerunt, ut in apostolicis praeceptis et in sanctorum patrum traditionibus persistamus...” (DAV, 2.7). También en este capítulo 7 del libro II que dedica a los santos padres y que Mariana titula en su edición *De sanctis doctoribus* los resalta, junto con San Jerónimo, comparándolos con el lucero matutino cuyo brillo destaca sobre las demás estrellas: “Inter quos gloriosissimi Gregorius, Augustinus, Hieronymus et Isidorus, quasi lucifer inter sidera, supernae sapientiae lumine decorantur” (DAV, 2.7).

Aplica don Lucas tanto a San Isidoro como a San Agustín y a Gregorio Magno el mismo epíteto, “malleus haereticorum”, muy apropiado, desde luego, en un tratado antiherético. A Isidoro lo llama así en 2.11, de la misma manera se refiere a Gregorio Magno en 1.12, y, por último, también San Agustín recibe igual tratamiento en 1.22 y 2.7, aunque con la peculiaridad de añadir en las dos ocasiones *fortissimus* (“malleus haereticorum fortissimus Augustinus”). Como ya he señalado en otra

<sup>4</sup> ES 22 (Madrid, 1767), pp. 121–2.

<sup>5</sup> M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, I, (Madrid, 1975), p. 530.

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Fernández Conde, “Albigenses en León y Castilla a comienzos del siglo XIII”, en *León medieval. Doce estudios*, (León, 1978), 96–114 (pp. 101–2).

<sup>7</sup> A. Martínez Casado, “Cátaros en León. Testimonio de Lucas de Tuy”, *Archivos Leoneses* 37 (1983), 263–311 (p. 274, n. 47).

ocasión,<sup>8</sup> este término (“*malleus haereticorum*”) es empleado también por Lucas de Tuy en el elogio a San Isidoro que aparece al principio del libro III del *Chronicon* (CM 3.3.19–20). Entre otras virtudes atribuidas al prelado hispalense, unas de corte laico (“*hospitalitate precipuus, corde serenus, in sententia uerax, in iudicio iustus*”) y otras de corte cristiano, que evocan citas bíblicas o tópicos habituales en la hagiografía (“*in helemosinis largus [...] in predicatione assiduus [...] consolator merencium, tutamen pupillorum ac uiduarum*”), se dice que fue “*persecutor et malleus hereticorum*”.

A San Isidoro, por otra parte, se refiere de diferentes maneras. Lo habitual es introducir el texto isidoriano con fórmulas como: “*ut dicit Isidorus, unde dicit Isidorus, sicut Isidorus dicit, unde beatus Isidorus dicit*” o simplemente, “*Isidorus*”, pero en ocasiones añade alguna referencia más. Así en la *Praefatio* que encabeza la obra, le llama “*Hispaniarum doctor*”, una de las fórmulas que va a utilizar en repetidas ocasiones, y al final de este prólogo, le llama “*sanctus confessor Isidorus*”, cuando nos da alguna información sobre la otra obra que había comenzado, que trataba de los milagros del santo y que había interrumpido para escribir el *De altera uita*.<sup>9</sup>

Como es sabido, la obra está dividida en tres libros, división que aparece en el manuscrito 4172 (s. XVI) de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y que sigue Mariana en su edición. En el primero además de las referencias habituales como “*Hispaniarum doctor Isidorus*”<sup>10</sup> (1.4; 1.12; 1.14 y 1.17), “*beatus doctor Isidorus*” (1.13) y simplemente “*beatus Isidorus*” (1.17), introduce el autor una cita diciendo: “*splendor sacerdotum Isidorus dicit*” (1.22), fórmula empleada en la obra sólo en este pasaje. En el libro segundo siguen utilizándose las mismas referencias: “*beatus Isidorus*” (2.2–5; 2.7–9; 2.19) e “*Hispaniarum doctor Isidorus*”<sup>11</sup> (2.1;

<sup>8</sup> E. Falque, “*De altera uita: una obra olvidada de Lucas de Tuy*”, en P. P. Conde Parrado- I. Velázquez (eds.), *La Filología Latina. Mil años más. Actas del IV Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos (Medina del Campo, 22–24 mayo de 2003)* (Madrid, 2005), 1121–30.

<sup>9</sup> Se trata de los *Miracula sancti Isidori*. Esta alusión incluida en el prólogo del *De altera uita* merece ser destacada pues sólo en contadas ocasiones don Lucas habla de sí mismo y da información sobre su trabajo (“*seponens ad tempus prosequi ea quae de miraculis sancti confessoris Isidori coeperam enarrare*”).

<sup>10</sup> Y la variante: *doctor Hispaniarum Isidorus* (1.20; 1.22).

<sup>11</sup> También como en el libro primero con la variante “*doctor Hispaniarum Isidorus*” (2.10; 2.17).

2.3; 2.9), pero junto a éstas aparecen otras no utilizadas anteriormente: “clarissimus philosophus catholicorum Isidorus” (2.7) y “sapientissimus et sanctissimus doctor Isidorus” (2.9), además de “malleus haereticorum Isidorus” (2.10), título que atribuye también don Lucas, como ya he dicho, a San Agustín y Gregorio Magno. Es en este libro II donde encontramos la alusión más extensa al santo, en la que además nos lo presenta como instruido por el propio Espíritu Santo: “Ecclesiae Christi philosophus peritissimus a Spiritu sancto doctus Isidorus dicit” (2.7). En el último de los tres libros que componen el *De altera uita* están incluidas un menor número de fuentes y por tanto las referencias a Isidoro y a los otros padres de la Iglesia son menos numerosas, no obstante, se le cita como “beatus Isidorus” (3.10; 3.17) o “beatus pater Isidorus” (3.22) y se le da, de nuevo como en el prólogo, el título de *confessor*: “beatissimus confessor Isidorus” (3.17) y “confessor Isidorus” (3.17). Se alude también al prelado hispalense diciendo: “Vnde regula catholicorum Isidorus dicit” (3.10), locución que aparece sólo en este capítulo de la obra y nos lo presenta como guardián de la ortodoxia, hecho al que don Lucas le da gran importancia, pues está en la misma línea que la calificación como “malleus haereticorum”, a la que ya he hecho referencia.

## 2. Fuentes isidorianas

Veamos ahora qué obras de entre el elenco de las de Isidoro que pudieron estar a su alcance en el momento de redactar la obra, utiliza Lucas de Tuy.

En el libro I don Lucas se refiere en treinta y cuatro ocasiones al prelado hispalense, unas citándolo de manera expresa y otras simplemente añadiendo por medio de la fórmula *Item idem* otra cita de Isidoro después de una referencia anterior. La obra de Isidoro más citada en este libro primero es, sin duda, las *Sententiae*, que utiliza Lucas de Tuy como fuente para *De altera uita* en numerosas ocasiones. Hay citas de las *Sententiae* en ocho capítulos (1.1; 1.5; 1.9; 1.11–14; 1.17), aunque conviene señalar la peculiaridad de que en algunos incluye varias referencias de esta misma obra isidoriana o entrelaza diferentes citas, como veremos un poco más adelante, lo que nos puede llevar a considerar que en el momento de redactar su obra disponía nuestro autor de un

manuscrito de las *Sententiae* de Isidoro. No obstante, aun siendo la obra más citada, se incluyen también otras de Isidoro en este mismo libro, el *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (1.7; 1.13; 1.18) y, como no podía ser de otra manera, pues fue una de sus obras más difundidas en la Edad Media, las *Etymologiae* (1.4; 1.12–13).

En el libro II son, de nuevo, San Agustín, Gregorio Magno y San Isidoro las fuentes fundamentales, los autores de los que se sirve don Lucas para entrelazándolos ir dando forma a su propia obra, construyendo algo nuevo a partir del material que le proporcionan estos padres de la Iglesia. El prelado hispalense es citado una y otra vez y de él va incluyendo textos don Lucas, la mayor parte de las ocasiones de las *Sententiae*, la obra isidoriana más citada en este tratado antiherético, pero también de otras, como el *De uiris illustribus*, que ya había utilizado en la *Praefatio*, el *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, los *Synonima*, las *Epistolae* y las *Differentiae*. Se mencionan las *Sententiae* en 2.3, 2.5, 2.7–9 y 2.17, el *De uiris illustribus* es recordado en 2.4, el *De ecclesiasticis officiis* en 2.1 y 2.11, los *Synonima* en 2.9, se cita en tres ocasiones las *Epistolae* (2.1; 2.9; 2.19), alguna de autenticidad discutida,<sup>12</sup> y una vez las *Differentiae* (2.17).

En diversos capítulos de este libro II la técnica de composición utilizada por el autor—similar, sin duda, a la empleada en los otros libros—es la misma: tomando como base un capítulo lo resume, omitiendo aquello que no le interesa o que prefiere dejar de lado, o bien, a partir de distintas citas de Isidoro construye don Lucas una, es decir, de alguna manera reescribe e interpreta el texto de Isidoro. Así en *DAV* 2.7 encontramos algunos ejemplos de esta utilización de las fuentes isidorianas, pues incluye varias citas tomadas de las *Sententiae*:<sup>13</sup> 2.29 (“Qui de sapientia...perornatum”) y 2.13 (“Quidam plus...iactantia”); o más adelante, en *DAV* 2.9 donde vuelve a utilizar las *Sententiae*, concretamente: 1.2.

Veamos, a modo de ejemplo, un pasaje tomado del Libro II. En primer lugar, cómo sintetiza algún capítulo de Isidoro, omitiendo algunos párrafos:

<sup>12</sup> Como la *Epistola VI (Isidori Claudio duci)*, que Díaz y Díaz incluye entre las obras atribuidas equivocadamente en los códices o ediciones a Isidoro: M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum* (Madrid, 1959), n. 134, p. 44.

<sup>13</sup> Cito por el orden en que aparecen en el capítulo de *DAV* (2.7).

Isidori *Sententiae*, 3.13

2. Quidam plus meditare delectantur gentilium dicta propter tumentem et ornatum sermonem, quam scripturam sanctam propter eloquium humile. Sed quid prodest in mundanis doctrinis proficere et inanescere in diuinis; caduca sequi figmenta et caelestia fastidire mysteria?

3–4. Gentilium dicta exterius uerborum eloquentia nitent, interius uacua uirtutum sapientia manent; eloquia autem sacra exterius incompta uerbis apparent, intrinsecus autem mysteriorum sapientia fulgent. [...]

5–6 .....

7. Fastidiosis atque loquacibus scripturae sanctae minus propter sermonem simplicem placent; gentili enim eloquentiae comparata uidetur illis indigna. [...]

8. In lectione non uerba sed ueritas est amanda. Saepe autem repperitur simplicitas ueridica, et composita falsitas quae hominem suis erroribus inlicit et per linguae ornamenta laqueos dulces adspargit.

9. Nihil aliud agit amor mundanae scientiae, nisi extollere laudibus hominem. Nam quanto maiora fuerint mundanae scientiae litteraturae studia, tanto animus arrogantiae fastu inflatus maiore intumescit iactantia.

Lucae Tudensis *De altera uita* 2.7:

Item idem: Quidam plus meditari delectantur gentilium dicta propter tumentem et ornatum sermonem, quam Scripturam sanctam propter eloquium humile. Sed quid prodest in mundanis doctrinis proficere et inanescere in diuinis?

Gentilium dicta exterius uerborum eloquentia nitent, <in>terius uacua uirtutum sapientia manent; eloquia autem sacra exterius incompta uerbis apparent, intrinsecus autem mysteriorum coelestium sapientia fulgent.

Fastidiosis atque loquacibus Scripturae sanctae minus propter sermonem simplicem placent; gentili enim eloquentiae comparatae uidentur illis indignae.

Saepe reperitur composita falsitas, quae hominem suis erroribus illiciat, et per linguae ornamenta laqueos dulces aspergit.

Quanto maiora fuerint mundanae scientiae litteraturae studia, tanto animus arrogantiae fastu inflatus maiori intumescit iactantia.

Y también, construyendo una única cita a partir de dos distintas, a veces incluso de algunas que proceden de capítulos diferentes, como en 2.7 donde una frases tomadas de *Sententiae* 3.11 y 3.14.

Isidori *Sententiae*, 3.11.2:

Numquam consequuntur legendo perfectam scientiam adrogantes.

Isidori *Sententiae*, 3.14.5:

Contentiosorum studium non pro ueritate sed pro appetitu certatur, tantaque est in his peruersitas, ut ueritati cedere nesciant, ipsamque rectam doctrinam euacuare contendant.

Lucae Tudensis *De altera uita* 2.7:

Item idem: Nunquam consequuntur legendo perfectam scientiam arrogantes.

Contentiosorum studium non pro ueritate, sed pro appetitu laudis certat tantaque est in his peruersitas, ut ueritati cedere nesciant ipsamque rectam doctrinam euacuare contendant.

El libro III es en el que encontramos menos referencias a las fuentes fundamentales de este tratado, no sólo por sus dimensiones pues es el menor de los tres, sino porque en este último libro don Lucas proporciona información de primera mano sobre los acontecimientos acaecidos en la ciudad de León e incluye también algunos *miracula*, que afirma haber oído de labios de otros,<sup>14</sup> dejando un poco de lado las obras de San Agustín, San Gregorio y San Isidoro que le habían servido para componer los dos libros anteriores. Sólo en 3.10<sup>15</sup> alude Lucas de Tuy a Isidoro, citando concretamente dos de sus obras: los *Synonima*, que ya había utilizado en el libro II, y una vez más las *Sententiae*, la obra del prelado hispalense de la que, sin duda, más se sirvió don Lucas para escribir este tratado, lo cual nos hace pensar que habría entonces un manuscrito de la misma en San Isidoro de León.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Fuentes no identificadas

Han sido varias las obras que se han atribuido equivocadamente a San Isidoro o cuya autenticidad ha sido discutida, además de las que podemos considerar perdidas. No es extraño por ello no haber podido identificar, a pesar de contar con instrumentos tan valiosos como las bases de datos de la *Patrologia latina* o del *CETEDOC (Library of Latin Texts)*, algunas citas atribuidas en *De altera uita* a Isidoro. Lo cual, por otra parte, no me preocupa, pues como decía el Arcipreste de Hita en el *Libro de buen amor*:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Como el acaecido en una ciudad de Lombardía (*DAV*, 3.4) del gato que atacó a un hereje o el ocurrido en la región de Borgoña (*DAV*, 3.15) del sapo enorme que surgió de una hoguera en la que eran ajusticiados unos herejes, milagros que don Lucas afirma haber escuchado de fray Elías, el Superior General de la Orden de los Franciscanos, referencia que es importante para establecer la cronología de las obras del Tudense.

<sup>15</sup> Titulado por Mariana en su edición: *Praelatis non detrahendum*, título que en el códice está añadido de mano del propio Mariana.

<sup>16</sup> No se encuentra ningún códice de León entre los citados por el prof. Díaz y Díaz de esta obra isidoriana, pero según señala en nota sólo incluye los manuscritos antiguos y completos, ya que hay numerosos códices incompletos pues en algunos lugares se leían fragmentos de las *Sententiae* mientras comían los monjes: Díaz y Díaz, *Index Scriptorum*, n. 111, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Sigo la edición de A. Blecua, quien explica el segundo verso: “más [espacio] tiene aquí para añadir y enmendar” (p. 422, n. 1629b y pp. 565–566, n. 1629b): J. Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. A. Blecua, 6ª ed. (Madrid, 2003).



Cualquier omne que-l oya, si bien trobar sopiere,  
 más á y [a] añadir e emendar, si quisiere

#### 4. Colofón

En otros lugares me he referido a la influencia del prelado hispalense en otra obra de Lucas de Tuy, el *Chronicon mundi*,<sup>18</sup> así como al hecho de que éste formara parte de la comunidad del monasterio leonés puesto bajo la invocación de este santo<sup>19</sup> e incluso al traslado de los restos de San Isidoro a León,<sup>20</sup> por tanto, es explicable y era de esperar que don Lucas utilizase una vez más las obras de San Isidoro y lo incluyera como una de sus fuentes fundamentales. En este sentido, no hay sorpresas: San Isidoro es, junto con San Agustín y Gregorio Magno, fuente primordial del *De altera uita*.

#### Apéndice

Ofrezco en este apéndice las referencias exactas de las citas de Isidoro incluidas por Lucas de Tuy en su obra *De altera uita*. La división en libros y capítulos es la del manuscrito 4172 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (s. XVI), que coincide con la de la edición de Mariana (Ingolstadt, 1612).

#### *Praefatio*

Gregorius Papa... unquam] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De uiris illustribus*, 40.53 (PL 83:1102A-B; C. Codoñer Merino, *El "De uiris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edición crítica* (Salamanca, 1964), 27.1–5, p. 148).

Vir hic excellentissimus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De uiris illustribus*, 40.56 (PL 83:1103A; Codoñer Merino, 27.24, p. 149).

<sup>18</sup> Lucae Tudensis, *Chronicon mundi*, ed. E. Falque, CCCM 74 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. xxxiii–xlix.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. viii–x.

<sup>20</sup> Emma Falque, "La *Translatio S. Isidori* en el *Chronicon Mundi* de Lucas de Tuy", en Peter Linehan (ed.), *Life, Law and Letters: Historical Studies in Honour of Antonio García y García* (*Studia Gratiana* 29; Roma, 1998), 213–219.

## LIBER PRIMVS

- 1.1** Quidam electi...bonorum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, III.62 (PL 83:738A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:329.38–40).
- 1.4** Gehenna est...ferantur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, XIV.9.9–11 (PL 82:526B–C; ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford Classical Texts, 1911; *Etimologías*, introd. M. C. Díaz y Díaz, ed. y trad. J. Oroz Reta y M. A. Marcos Casquero, 2ª ed. (Madrid, 1993–94), 2:210; Rabani Mauri *De uniuerso libri XXII*, 13.23 (PL 111:374D–376A).
- 1.5** Sicut fasciculi...testante] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.29 (PL 83:598A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:87.2–10).
- 1.7** Est ignis...peregerunt] *Isidoriana*, III, 86 (PL 81:650C–D).  
Sacrificium pro...damnatio] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.18 (PL 83:757A–B; ed. Lawson, CCSL 113:22–23.91–110).
- 1.8** Indulgentiae dierum...liberari] *Isidoriana*, III, 86 (PL 81:650D).
- 1.9** Dum quaedam...labimur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.29 [228] (PL 83:629A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:147.2–5).  
15–19 Sicut falsitatis...corrumpunt] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.29 (PL 83:629A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:148.13–19).
- 1.11** De carorum...meruisse] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.29 (PL 83:598A–B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:87.11–18).  
Non faciet...poena] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.30 (PL 83:599D–600 A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:89.2–10).
- 1.12** Saepe ad...sentit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.4 (PL 83:543B–544A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:12–13.2–28); Taionis Caesaraugustani episcopi *Sententiarum libri V*, 1.9 (PL 80:739D–740C).  
Dicuntur quidem...fuero] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 7.6.15–16 (PL 82:306–307A; [as 1.4] 1:706).
- 1.13** Boni angeli...Dei] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:557A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:35.121–3).  
Angeli corpora...demonstrentur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:556D; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:35.127–30).

Laudes, hoc... coniunctum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.13 (PL 83:750B–C; ed. Lawson, CCSL 113:15.2–9).

In epistola... interpretatur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 6.19.19 (PL 82:253C; [as 1.4] 1:611).

**1.14** Vbicumque in... intelligitur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:558A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:37.163–5).

Singulae gentes... uester] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:556D; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:35–36.131–5).

Boni angeli... Dei] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:557A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:35.121–3).

Quotiens Deus... cupiunt] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:556D–557A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:35.118–21).

Omnes homines... est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.10 (PL 83:557B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:36.136–41).

**1.17** Tunc fit... superbum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.29 (PL 83:703A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:267.7–11).

Saepe per... fraudulenter] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.29 (PL 83:698A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:267.5–6).

Dum aduersa... simulabat] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.29 (PL 83:698B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:267.2–4).

Latent saepe... decipiat] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.30 (PL 83:632A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:153.12–14); 3.26 (PL 83:701B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:264.12–14).

Amicitia certa... firma est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.29 (PL 88:698B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:267.16–17).

Melius orare... legere] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.8 (PL 88:679B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:228.3–4); Smaragdi abbatis *Diadema monachorum*, 3 (PL 102:597C).

A compatiendo... sumpsit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 10.164 (PL 82:348C; [as 1.4] 1:830).

**1.18** Festiuitates apostolorum... adiuuemur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.35 (PL 83:770A; ed. Lawson, CCSL 113:40.2–5).

**1.20** Praeuaricatores angeli... sensum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 8.11.7 (PL 82:316A; [as 1.4] 1:720).

**1.21** Argumenta machinationum...lapsuros] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.5 (PL 83:664A-B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:210–211.128–144).

Aliud est...electis] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.5 (PL 83:665B; ed. Cazier, CCSL, 111:212. 167–174).

Verba diaboli...cupiditatibus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3. 5 (PL 83:666B; ed. Cazier, CCSL, 111:213.192–194).

Diabolus non...abscedit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.5 (PL 83:661B; ed. Cazier, CCSL, 111:205–206.37–41).

### LIBER SECVNDVS

**2.1** Presbyteris enim...comprehendit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2.7 (PL 83:787B-788A; ed. Lawson, CCSL 113:65.8–24).

Quicumque Romano...poterit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Epistolae*, 8 (*Epistola Isidori Eugenio episcopo*) (PL 83:908C).

**2.3** Iudicio diuino...contemnunt] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.19 (PL 83:621B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:133.4–6); Smaragdi abbatis *Diadema monachorum*, 34 (PL 102:629C).

saepe peccatum...oritur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.19 (PL 83:621C; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:134.12–13).

Multi uitam...est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.18 (PL 83:620C-D; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:132.2–7).

Multa peccata...copiam] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.18 (PL 83:621A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:133.18–20).

Plerique sacerdotes...reddituri] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.38 (PL 83:709A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:279.5–9).

Deteriores sunt...diripiunt] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.38 (PL 83:709B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:280.22–4).

tanto maius...putatur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.18 (PL 83:621B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:133.22–5).

**2.4** ubi beatissimum...doctoribus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De uiris illustribus*, 40.53–6 (PL 83:1102A-1103A; C. Codoñer Merino, *El "De uiris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla*, 27.1–29, pp. 148–9).

**2.5** inuidiae liuore...tabescunt] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.25 (PL 83:700B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111: 262.15–16).

**2.7** Qui de... prudentes] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.29 (PL 83:629D–630A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:149.27–9).

A sentiendo... perornatum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.29 (PL 83:630A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:149.31–8).

Quidam plus... diuinis] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:686A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:236.7–10).

Gentilium dicta... fulgent] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:686D–687A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:236.14–17).

Fastidiosis atque... indignae] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:687B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:237.34–6).

Saepe reperitur... aspergit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:687D; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:237.40–2).

Quanto maiora... iactantia] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:688A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:238.44–6).

Nunquam consequuntur... arrogantes] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.11 (PL 83:682B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:233.6–7).

Contentiosorum studium... contendant] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.14 (PL 83:689A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:239.19–22).

Ideo libri... perducerentur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.13 (PL 83:687A; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:236–7.21–3).

**2.8** Tanta est... permaneamus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.12 (PL 83:684A–B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:235.23–36).

**2.9** In malis... decretum] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Synonima*, 2.58 (PL 83:858C).

Ita saepe... uitentur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.5 (PL 83:664B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:210.130–5).

Quod suggessisti... repellas] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Epistolae*, 6 (*Epistola Isidori Claudio duci*) (PL 83:904D–905A).

Non ideo... ipso] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.2 (PL 83:541A).

Immensitas diuinae... eo] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.2 (PL 83:541D).

Ideo Deus... est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 1.1 (PL 83:540C; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:9.18–26).

**2.11** Multa sunt... intelliguntur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 1.44 (PL 83:776B; ed. Lawson, CCSL 113:48.2–7).

**2.17** Anima dum... est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Differentiarum siue de proprietate sermonum libri II*, 2.29 (PL 83:84B; 2.27, ed. Andrés, CCSL 111A:61.22–3).

In personis... impium est] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Differentiarum siue de proprietate sermonum libri II*, 2.2 (PL 83:70D–71B; ed. Andrés, CCSL 111A:8–10.3–20).

**2.19** Leuior est... tormenta] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Epistolae*, 5 (*Epistola Isidori Helladio aliisque episcopis*) (PL 83:902B).

### LIBER TERTIVS

**3.10** Pari reatu... detrahit] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Synonima*, 2.52 (PL 83:857B).

uerbum iniquum... depromitur] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Synonima*, 2.59 (PL 83:858D–859A).

Diuinis iudiciis... absconditus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Synonima*, 2.60 (PL 83:859A).

Si a fide... distringendus] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 3.39 (PL 83:710B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:282.36–9).

Obedientiae, patientiae... itinere] Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Sententiarum libri tres*, 2.11 (PL 83:613A–B; ed. Cazier, CCSL 111:117–18.57–63).



COLUMPNA FIRMISSIMA:  
D. GIL TORRES, THE CARDINAL OF ZAMORA<sup>1</sup>

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In November 1254 D. Gil Torres, the cardinal of Zamora, died somewhere in Italy, perhaps at Naples where Pope Innocent IV was at the time—or perhaps not, since, even if not almost a centenarian, as one contemporary would allege,<sup>2</sup> after thirty-eight years in the service of the papacy he was almost certainly in no state by then to be carted round with an itinerant court.

The reports that we have of his demise come not from a Zamoran source. They come from the *Obituarios* of the cathedral churches of Burgos and Toledo.<sup>3</sup> Nor does Zamora, where Richard Fletcher and the present writer both cut their archival teeth, have any street or square named after one of its most notable sons, who at the time of his death was the second most senior cardinal, and over time that neglect, or indifference, which the pope who raised him to the purple commented on more than once, has allowed the Zamoran cardinal to be claimed by other places. According to Luciano Serrano, as well as “doctor en derecho” D. Gil was *burgalés*, “originario de Bureva”. But for this assertion the learned abbot of Silos offered no proof, and his misreporting of another Torres as “sobrino del abad de Valladolid” hardly encourages confidence.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the *apellido* Torres was hardly less common

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of a paper read in Spanish at the 2º Congreso de Historia de Zamora in November 2003. My warm thanks are due to Sr. José Carlos de Lera Maíllo, archivist of Zamora cathedral, for all manner of kindnesses.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Reporting the date as 11 November: Luciano Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos, y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1936), 3:391. The Toledo *Obituario* says 5 November (for “Egidius cardinalis, huius ecclesie canonicus”): Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS. 42–30, fol. 133v. But the Toledo *Obituario* is unreliable, with the obits of various fourteenth-century cardinals (for example) wrongly given.

<sup>4</sup> Luciano Serrano, *D. Mauricio, obispo de Burgos y fundador de su catedral*, (Madrid, 1922), p. 70 and n. 1. The source cited—Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de la iglesia collegial de Santa María la Mayor (hoy Metropolitana) de Valladolid. Siglo XIII (1201–1280)* (Valladolid, 1920), p. 150—refers to Johan de Torres as “merino del Abbat”.



in thirteenth-century Burgos than the *nombre* Egidius. The most that can be said for sure about D. Gil's connexion with Burgos is that at the time of his promotion in 1216 he was an archdeacon of that church, a dignity he had acquired sometime between March 1209 and November 1210.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the gift of tithes made in 1218 to the Portuguese bishops by their king, Afonso II, "pro amore magistri Egidii cardinalis," his alleged Portuguese origins are equally dubious. Like those of the Leonese Cardinal Ordoño Álvarez of the next generation, they are attributable to Portuguese cultural colonialism of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The reason for regarding D. Gil as *zamorano* is twofold. First there is the fact that whereas his bequests to the church of Burgos were for anniversaries for himself,<sup>7</sup> those at Zamora were also for his nearest and dearest, his parents and his sister, though at modest cost in comparison with his expenditure on the daily commemoration of himself there.<sup>8</sup> And although, by contrast with his senior Leonese colleague, Cardinal Pelayo Gaitán, he did not possess sufficient local property for the purpose,<sup>9</sup> suggesting that by the date of these endowments his mate-

<sup>5</sup> José Manuel Garrido Garrido, *Documentación de la catedral de Burgos (1184–1222)* (Burgos, 1983), nos. 410, 430; *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* [hereafter *Reg. Inn. IV*], ed. Élie Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1921), no. 4436.

<sup>6</sup> António Domingues de Sousa Costa "pro amore magistri Egidii cardinalis": idem, *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs* (Braga, 1963), pp. 67, 69; Peter Linehan and Margarita Torres Sevilla, "A Misattributed Tomb and its Consequences. Cardinal Ordoño Álvarez and His Friends and Relations," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 57 (2003), 53–63 at pp. 55–6; António Domingues de Sousa Costa, "Cultura medieval portuguesa. Português, o Cardeal Gil?," *Itinerarium* 1 (1955), 296–306 at pp. 303–6.

<sup>7</sup> ES 26 (Madrid, 1771), pp. 323–5; Serrano, *Obispado de Burgos*, 3:391.

<sup>8</sup> For this, and the testimony of Juan Gil de Zamora OFM, see Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 277; Zamora, Archivo de la Catedral [hereafter ACZ], 12/1; ACZ, Tumbo Negro [hereafter TN], fol. 131r–v (José Carlos de Lera, *Catálogo de los documentos medievales de la catedral de Zamora* (Zamora, 1999) [hereafter Lera], nos. 370, 373): eighteen *aurei* as against six hundred. Details have not survived of the original endowment of the anniversary on 4 May recorded in the 16th-century Zamora *Obituario* (ACZ, MS. 211, fol. 21v; Lera, no. 2332): "Yten aniversario por el cardenal don Guillen [sic] cient maravedís con missa cantada al altar mayor. Yaze en Roma. CVI maravedís."

<sup>9</sup> "Possessionem aliquam ydoneam usque ad sexcentos aureos alfonsinos ad arbitrium venerabilis patris Zamorensis episcopi qui nunc est volumus comparari": ACZ, TN, fol. 131v. Cf. the houses in León assigned to the same purpose by Cardinal Pelayo in 1230: José María Fernández Catón, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775–1230)* [hereafter *CDACL*] (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa), 6 vols. (León, 1987–91), 6: no. 1966. Pelayo's bequest was made at the end of his life. D. Gil's is undated. Lera's proposal of the year 1223 requires reconsideration.

rial links with Zamora were tenuous, the terms in which, on successive occasions, Honorius III rebuked the *zamoranos* for their reluctance to oblige D. Gil by accommodating his clients, cannot be ignored. If only the chapter of Zamora had reflected on the benefits that their association with the cardinal would bring them—the pontiff reflected in May 1218, in words which D. Gil himself may have supplied—rather than ignoring papal mandates on behalf of such people for promotion in their church, they would be falling over themselves to anticipate his wishes.<sup>10</sup> Honorius's register contains two further letters, framed in almost identical terms, on behalf of one or other of the cardinal's clients.<sup>11</sup> And of such clients, many of them the cardinal's *nepotes* and *consanguinei* for whom he secured papal support, there was to be no end over the coming decades. To one of them in particular, his *nepos dilectissimus* Master Esteban de Husillos, I shall return.

From information contained in the papal registers it might even be possible to reconstruct his family tree.<sup>12</sup> What is certain is that family tree included two bishops of Zamora, both named Pedro, who occupied the see between 1239×1243<sup>13</sup> and 1255 and 1286 and 1302 respectively. The second of these (Pedro Benítez before his promotion), was the *nepos* not only of Cardinal Gil and Esteban de Husillos (whose copy of the Gregorian decretals he disposed of in his will) but also of Bishop

<sup>10</sup> Pietro Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* [hereafter *Reg. Hon III*], 2 vols. (Rome, 1885–95), no. 1277 (ed. Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)* [hereafter MDH] (Rome, 1965), no. 169). Cf. the letter in the formulary of Thomas of Capua (datable from its context to 1218 × 1221 on behalf of “P”, a nephew of Cardinal Pelayo, urging the church of León “quatinus quem ad patrum geritis in nepote monstretis affectum”: Simon Fridericus Hahn, *Collectio monvmentorvm, vetervm et recentvm, ineditorvm, ad codicvm fidem restitutorvm, selectorvm, et rariorvm diplomatvm nempe, sigillorvm, litterarvm, chronicorvm, aliorvmque insignivm scriptorvm, Antiquitates, geographiam, historiam omnem, ac nobiliores ivris partes havd mediocriter illvstrantivm*, 2 vols. (Brunswick, 1724–6), 1:383–4; Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 291–2.

<sup>11</sup> *Reg. Hon III*, nos. 2405, 4878 (MDH, nos. 277, 498).

<sup>12</sup> Francisco, “nepos”, son of Teresa, herself allegedly the cardinal’s “nepta”; Rodrigo Domínguez, “consanguineus”; Johannes son of Rodrigo Tomás, “consanguineus”; Sancho Alfonso, “nepos”, all dating from the years 1252–54: *Reg. Inn. IV*, nos. 5808, 6696, 6870, 7710.

<sup>13</sup> Concerning the reasons for Pedro I’s differing status in the estimation of papal and royal courts during these five years, see Peter Linehan, “An impugned chirograph and the juristic culture of early thirteenth-century Zamora”: Mario Ascheri and Gaetano Colli (eds.), *Manoscritti, editoria e biblioteche dal Medio Evo all’Età contemporanea. Studi offerti a Domenico Maffei per il suo ottantesimo compleanno*, 3 vols. (Rome, 2006), 1:461–513 at pp. 475–6.

Pedro I,<sup>14</sup> while the fact that the latter (“*Petrus Bonus*”: Peter the Good) was yet another of the cardinal’s *nepotes* is confirmed by some English evidence to which we shall return.<sup>15</sup>

So the cardinal was a member—perhaps a founding member—of one of those episcopal dynasties with which the kingdom of Castile-León was well supplied during his century. One thinks in particular of the see of Burgos and of that of Cuenca, four if not five of whose thirteenth-century bishops were members of a single family.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, one may even think of Zamora itself where for more than forty years during the twelfth century the see had been governed by Bishops Esteban and Guillermo who, as well as probably being French, were also certainly uncle and nephew,<sup>17</sup> and where in the thirteenth D. Suero Pérez, who was elected in February 1255, just three months after the cardinal’s death, would accordingly have been regarded by the cardinal’s connexion as an intruder.<sup>18</sup> In 1216, however, the date of Cardinal Gil’s elevation, Zamora had a pastor whose origins were Galician, namely Martín Arias, Bishop Martín I.<sup>19</sup> And at the date of Cardinal Gil’s elevation in 1216 Bishop Martín’s pontificate was in the process of drawing to an untidy close.

<sup>14</sup> Idem, *The Ladies of Zamora* (Manchester, 1996), p. 86; *Reg. Inn. IV*, nos. 5564, 5805; José Carlos de Lera Maíllo, “El testamento del obispo de Zamora Pedro II, año 1302. Edición diplomática,” *Homenaje a Antonio Matilla Tascón* (Zamora, 2002), pp. 355–60.

<sup>15</sup> ACZ, 31/II/1 (Lera, no. 536), April 1247); Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 294n.; below, n. 78.

<sup>16</sup> Francisco Jávier Hernández and Peter Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal. The Life and Times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Florence, 2004), pp. 19, 42 and references there.

<sup>17</sup> Witness the testimony of “Rodericus presbiter et canonicus Bracarenensis” (*ante* 1193) concerning Bishop Esteban’s tearful deathbed repentance in 1175 for having failed in his obedience to the archbishop of Braga: “et dixit [Rodericus] quod ille episcopus tunc dixit cuidam suo sobrino qui nunc est episcopus Zamorensis: ‘Et tibi dico quod si forte Deus dederit tibi episcopatum Zamorensem ut Bracarensi ecclesie debeas obedire.’ Predicto episcopo mortuo, electus fuit ille sobrinus eius...”: Lisboa, Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo [hereafter IANTT], Coleção Especial, Mitra de Braga, cx. 1, no. 2. I owe this information to the kindness of Richard Fletcher. Cf. Peter Feige, “Die Anfänge des portugiesischen Königtums und seiner Landeskirche,” *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, 1. Reihe: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 29 (1978), pp. 318–23, 383–5.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Linehan, “The Economics of Episcopal Politics: the Cautionary Tale of Bishop Suero Pérez of Zamora,” *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law. Studies on the Iberian kingdoms and Papal Rome in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2002), item V, pp. 6–9.

<sup>19</sup> Richard A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), p. 44.

With these considerations in mind, let us return to the papal letter of May 1218, for it may have more to tell us than first appears. In it Honorius III states that he had already required the chapter of Zamora to confer the deanery upon the cardinal's brother. But they had failed to oblige. He now instructs the new bishop—Martín Rodríguez (Martín II)—to award him the archdeaconry that was vacant.<sup>20</sup> But the cardinal's brother was no more successful on this occasion than on the last. Under Martín II, who had come to Zamora from León and who returned there as bishop in 1238,<sup>21</sup> there was no archdeacon of Zamora with a name beginning with "P".<sup>22</sup>

Of course, one might regard such flagrant contempt of papal instructions as just another example of that overweening peninsular self-confidence that historians have observed in action in the years after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, particularly in the writings of the canonist Vincentius Hispanus. It was at this very time, indeed, in glossing a decretal of Alexander III—addressed as it happened to a bishop of Zamora (D. Guillermo) who had defied the summons of a papal legate, and had then lied to him, as well as having himself consecrated while excommunicate—that Vincentius asked rhetorically: "Why did the pope not depose him? Why did he tolerate such behaviour and dispense him?" and came up with the answer: "Because he was a Spaniard!"<sup>23</sup>

But in the present case the concerted defiance of bishop and chapter may be symptomatic of something more specific, namely schism within the chapter of Zamora itself in the transition from the rule of Bishop Martín I to Martín II between 1217 and 1219. In the final months of Innocent III's pontificate Martín I had requested and had been granted permission to resign the see. Then he changed his mind—or had it changed for him by forces within the chapter, other members of which later reported to Honorius III that in consequence the church was "tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus multipliciter (...) collapsa," with

<sup>20</sup> *Reg. Hon. III*, no. 1277 (above, n. 10).

<sup>21</sup> *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* [hereafter *Reg. Greg. IX*], ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890–1955), no. 4594; Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, *Documentos de Gregorio IX (1227–1241) referentes a España* (León, 2004), no. 803.

<sup>22</sup> The earliest appearance in the record of Pedro Pérez, archdeacon of Toro, is in June 1241: ACZ, 16/II/50 (Lera, no. 513).

<sup>23</sup> "Gratia yspanorum dicamus specialis, uel est maxima dispensatio": cit. Javier Ochoa Sanz, *Vincentius Hispanus, canonista boloñés del siglo XIII* (Rome-Madrid, 1960), p. 15, 21, 123. Cf. Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 296–7, 637.

the result that in June 1217 the pope positively required him to withdraw.<sup>24</sup> Yet although the royal chancery was already describing Martín II as bishop-elect by that date, in the capitular record it was not until May 1220 that he figured as bishop.<sup>25</sup> Indeed throughout those three years of obscurity between the two bishops Martín the capitular record is strangely silent, and during it the chapter's senior personnel had all been replaced,<sup>26</sup> with none of those who had profited in the process being a client or relation of the pope's principal advisor on all matters Zamoran, namely the cardinal of Zamora himself.

One thing most of these new men shared was a juristic training because, partly no doubt on account of the expertise of the two bishops Martín, early thirteenth-century Zamora was one of the peninsula's principal juristic centres.<sup>27</sup> Juristic expertise though was less the cause of this distinction than a symptom of Zamora's situation on the frontier with Portugal. At a time when successive kings of Portugal were so regularly at odds with Rome on account of their reportedly beastly treatment of their bishops, Zamora was the safest centre from which to attempt to exercise canonical control, as well as providing a haven for Portuguese bishops in exile.<sup>28</sup> This was a development that had been

<sup>24</sup> *Reg. Hon. III*, no. 629 (MDH, no. 64). Innocent III's permission must have been granted later than 6 Feb. 1216: Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III* (Rome, 1955), 542.

<sup>25</sup> Julio González, *Alfonso IX*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1944), 2:483, no. 369; ACZ, TN, fol. 96r (Lera, no. 330).

<sup>26</sup> Dean Juan made his will in June 1217 (ACZ, TN, fol. 88r-v; Lera, no. 305) and between Sept. 1217 and Feb. 1219 was replaced in that office by Florencio, archdeacon of Zamora (ACZ, 17/37, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zamora, pergaminos, 1/15; Lera, nos. 308, 317). In the same period Master Juan replaced Munio Muñiz as archdeacon of Toro, and by Aug. 1221 the archdeaconry of the city had passed to D. Isidoro (ACZ, 36/4; Lera, no. 342).

<sup>27</sup> For the former's glosses to the Decretum, see Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234): Prodromus corporis glossarum*; Studi e Testi 71 (Vatican City, 1937), pp. 11, 53; for the latter's to "Compilatio I" and his *Notabilia* to "Compilatio IV;" idem, "Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus," *Traditio* 1 (1943), 277–340 at p. 335; Antonio García y García, "La canonística ibérica medieval posterior al Decreto de Graciano," *Repertorio de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España* 1 (Salamanca, 1967), pp. 397–434, at p. 412.

<sup>28</sup> As evidenced by the depositions of witnesses arraigned at a hearing in 1252 of the dispute between the bishop and chapter of Coimbra and Santa Cruz de Coimbra relating to these years: "Interrogatus in quo loco fuit tempore exilii episcopus, respondit quod Zamore et in curia Romana"; "Interrogatus super alio articulo qui sic incipit 'Item quod episcopus fuit exul etc.," dixit quod nescit, audiuit tamen quod multo tempore fuit in curia et Zamore et non erat ausus uenire ad regnum propter regem et de hoc erat publica fama": IANTT, Cabido da Sé de Coimbra, 1ª incorporação. docs. particulares, cx. 26, rolo 4, membranas 8, 12.

facilitated by Innocent III's acquiescence in the detachment of the see of Zamora from the metropolitan authority of the church of Braga, a subject on which Richard Fletcher wrote such persuasive pages.<sup>29</sup>

For this and no doubt other reasons, in the first three decades of the thirteenth century Zamora was arguably the principal centre of juristic activity in the Spanish peninsula, with its chief practitioner the archdeacon, later dean, D. Florencio.<sup>30</sup> From this milieu Cardinal Gil emerged. *Dominus* Egidius in December 1206; by March 1209 he had acquired the title *Magister*.<sup>31</sup> And although at this date the title *Magister* did not necessarily imply attendance either at Bologna or indeed at any other legal academy,<sup>32</sup> there are other possibilities. One of these of course was Palencia. But there were others, Coimbra, Calahorra and Osma, to the last of which the celebrated Portuguese canonist Master Melendus came from Rome as bishop in 1210. Although the Master Melendus who was alongside our Master Egidius at Burgos in March 1209 was almost certainly not the episcopal Melendus,<sup>33</sup> it can be demonstrated that the episcopal Melendus had been at Palencia at or shortly before that date. Moreover, Zamora lies on the road between Coimbra, from whose Augustinian church of Santa Cruz Melendus seems to have emerged, and Osma, where he ended his days.<sup>34</sup>

It is possible that the future cardinal's *cursus studiorum* paralleled that of Melendus.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, since the Roman reputation of Gil Torres was such as to merit advancement within the first six months of Honorius III's pontificate (though not, be it noted, to be included in Innocent III's promotion of cardinals in the previous year), a possible explanation for his absence from the Burgos record after November 1210 (and perhaps the most likely) is that he was at Rome on capitular business,<sup>36</sup> that he

<sup>29</sup> Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 199; Fletcher, *Episcopate*, pp. 195–203.

<sup>30</sup> See Linehan, "An Impugned Chirograph," pp. 467–71.

<sup>31</sup> Garrido, *Documentación de Burgos*, nos. 392, 410.

<sup>32</sup> Olga Weijers, *Terminologie des universités au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome, 1987), pp. 133–42.

<sup>33</sup> Garrido, *Documentación de Burgos*, nos. 410–11. Cf. no. 471, "domnus Melendus decanus" (April 1214).

<sup>34</sup> Peter Linehan, "D. Juan de Soria: unas apostillas," *Fernando III y su tiempo (1201–1252): VIII Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (León, 2003), 375–93 at pp. 386–7; Ingo Fleisch, *Sacerdotium—Regnum—Studium. Der westiberische Raum und die europäische Universitätskultur im Hochmittelalter* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 120–7.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 238–9.

<sup>36</sup> As capitular or episcopal proctor in relation to litigation against the collegiate church of Castrojeriz and the abbey of Oña, as surmised by Serrano, *D. Mauricio*, pp. 70–1; Garrido, *Documentación de Burgos*, no. 430.

remained there for the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215, and that it was then that he caught somebody's eye.<sup>37</sup>

Once installed in Honorius III's curia, Gil Torres assumed a low profile. Sometime in the year after April 1217 he was listed by a Roman agent of Philip Augustus as one of the cardinals "who are attached to (*qui diligunt*) King Frederick (i.e. the young Hohenstaufen emperor-elect) and the lord king of France (i.e. the ageing Philip Augustus)."<sup>38</sup> But there was nothing surprising about that. In 1217, after all, as well as there being an Infanta of Castile (Doña Blanca: Blanche of Castile) installed at Paris as queen-consort in waiting, there was also the same lady's nephew in the process of ascending the throne of Castile (as King Fernando III) and awaiting delivery of his Hohenstaufen bride.

The English diplomatic records of the following decade refer to the cardinal occasionally, but only *very* occasionally.<sup>39</sup> Unlike his senior Spanish colleague, Cardinal Pelayo, and his junior, Cardinal Guillermo the former abbot of Sahagún, Gil Torres did not become involved in diplomatic missions abroad.<sup>40</sup> Rather, he remained at the curia, active as an auditor of disputes, sometimes in combination with Cardinal Pelayo, until the latter's death in 1230. But it would be too wearying to repeat here the details of these that are recoverable from the Vatican

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<sup>37</sup> Although, admittedly, documentary confirmation of his attendance is lacking, we may regard Bishop Melendus, who was present (Juan Francisco Rivera, "Personajes hispanos asistentes en 1215 al IV Concilio de Letrán," *Hispania Sacra* 4 (1951), 335–55 at p. 343) as at least as likely to have advanced his career as the Leonese Cardinal Pelayo and the Portuguese Hospitaller "frater Gundisalvus Hispanus" who have been credited with doing so: Serrano, loc. cit., whence Amancio Blanco Díez, "Los arcedianos y abades del cabildo catedral de Burgos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 130 (1952), 267–98 at pp. 273–5. Be it noted that fr. Gundisalvus, papal factotum in the Spanish kingdoms and Portugal since at least 1213, was to be appointed sacrist of Osma during Melendus' pontificate, despite his membership of the Order of the Hospital: Linehan, "Juan de Osma," pp. 384–5; Fleisch, *Sacerdotium*, p. 239. However, the dedication by João de Deus of his "Notabilia cum Summis super titulis Decretalium" to Gil Torres and João's description of himself as the cardinal's "humilis clericus" (Costa, "Cultura medieval portuguesa," pp. 299–300) are neutral witnesses as to Gil's relationship with Melendus.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Davidsohn, *Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Ingeborg* (Stuttgart, 1888), pp. 318, 320.

<sup>39</sup> Pierre Chaplais (ed.), *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 1, 1101–1272 (London, 1964), nos. 153, 184. For further details see Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 144, 265.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986); Augusto Quintana Prieto, "Guillermo de Taillante, abad de Sahagún y cardenal de la iglesia romana," *Anthologica Annua* 26–7 (1979–1980), 11–83.

registers and elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> Suffice it to say that although, by contrast with both both Melendus of Osma and Cardinal Pelayo,<sup>42</sup> Cardinal Gil enjoys no reputation as a glossator, and that descriptions of him as “prestigioso canonista” and “jurista de gran reputación en la curia pontificia”<sup>43</sup> appear excessive, he was nevertheless well served by that expertise in procedural law which would be exemplified in the following generation by the Zamoran author of the *Summa aurea de ordine iudiciario*, Fernando Martínez.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the best efforts at the time of the chapters of both Tarragona and Toledo to recruit him as their archbishop and the assurances of various historians since, most recently the author of a work on the diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo who remembers him as “el cardenal Gil Robles” (*que es otra cosa*), Cardinal Gil never returned to Spain.<sup>45</sup> The belief that he did so arises from a confusion between the functions of delegate and legate (“delegado” and “legado”). Accordingly, the description of him as “Visitador Apostólico” of Burgos in 1252<sup>46</sup> is without foundation.

Instead Spain came to him. It came to him, at the papal curia, in the form of contingents of prelates and *capitulares* anxious to negotiate under his chairmanship there the division between bishop and chapter of their *mensae communes* and the assignment of particular rents to particular members of the chapter. These constitutions, start-

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<sup>41</sup> For these see Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 280–5, and Maria João Branco (forthcoming).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Stephan Kuttner, *Gratian and the Schools of Law* (London, 1983), *ad indicem*; Gérard Fransen, “Les gloses de Melendus et l'apparat d'Alain l'Anglais sur le Décret de Gratien,” *L'Église et le droit dans le Midi (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> s)*; Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 29 (Toulouse, 1994), pp. 21–35.

<sup>43</sup> Cit. Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 277; Serrano, *D. Mauricio*, p. 71.

<sup>44</sup> Antonio Pérez Martín, “Estudiantes zamoranos en Bolonia,” *Studia Zamorensia* 2 (1981), 23–66 at pp. 34–7; idem, “El Ordo iudiciarius “Ad summam noticiam” y sus derivados,” *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 8 (1981), 195–266 at pp. 254–60; 9 (1982), 327–423 at pp. 354–417. Further revelations may be expected from investigation of the connexion of this man with the jurist “Ferrandus Zamorensis” whose *siglum* is found attached to various *additiones* and *summulae* in the Liber Extra MS. Pistoia, Comune Portoguerriana A.65: information kindly supplied by Dr Martin Bertram; cf. G. Murano *et al.*, *I manoscritti medievali della provincia di Pistoia* (Florence, 1998), pp. 95–7. In the papal chancery “Bern[ardus] Zamorensis” was active as both scribe and proctor in the mid-1270s: Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 295n.

<sup>45</sup> Juan José Sánchez-Oro Rosa, *Orígenes de la iglesia en la diócesis de Ciudad Rodrigo. Episcopado, monasterios y órdenes militares (1161–1264)* (Ciudad Rodrigo, 1997), p. 194.

<sup>46</sup> Blanco Díez, “Los arcedianos,” 274. Vicente Beltran de Heredia, *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600)*, 6 vols. (Salamanca, 1970–73), 1:61, 71, is similarly mistaken.



ing with those for Salamanca in April 1245, had the practical purpose of placing the cathedral and other churches of the kingdom of Castile on a sounder economic footing and of minimising occasions of strife within their governing bodies. Curiously, no such constitutions were adopted at Zamora itself at this time.<sup>47</sup> Can that have been because the bishop of Zamora, Bishop Pedro “the Good” (the cardinal’s nephew, it will be remembered) may not have been overly anxious to surrender to the chapter certain prerogatives, prerogatives of the sort which the cardinal was insisting that other Castilian and Leonese bishops must surrender?

The economic and social objectives of D. Gil’s constitutions were described by Mansilla in 1945 and discussed again in 1971.<sup>48</sup> A further purpose might now be suggested, namely that they were part of a concerted response on the part of the papacy to Fernando III’s attempt in these years to effect a revolution from above by governing the Castilian Church through the agency of *infantes*: a royal strategy without parallel in post-Hildebrandine Europe, and for earlier generations of Spanish historians unthinkable behaviour in “*un rey santo*”, but one which had been facilitated by the virtual elimination of D. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada as a political force after 1230.<sup>49</sup> Hence, incidentally, the chapter of Toledo’s desire to secure D. Gil as their archbishop in 1247, an ambition in which they were disappointed. All that they secured of him (*via* Archbishop Sancho of Castile) was the silver enamelled bowl “*con reliquias (...) que fue del cardenal don Gil*” listed in the inventory of the sacristy of that church in 1277.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Pace José Sánchez Herrero, *Las diócesis del Reino de León. Siglos XIV y XV* (León, 1978), p. 98 (“También hacia 1240 elaboró [Gil Torres] unas constituciones para la catedral de Zamora”), what the source cited (“ACZ, *Liber Constitutionum*”) actually states is that it was not until 1266 that even a preliminary division of the *mensa communis* was achieved: ACZ, 10/4, fols. 96rb-97vb. The assignment of particular *praestimonia* to particular *personatus*, dignities and others, in the manner of the procedures adopted by Cardinal Gil, must therefore have come later, at a date unspecified in the *Liber Constitutionum*, fols. 105vb-108rb. See further Linehan, “Economics of episcopal politics,” p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> Demetrio Mansilla, *Iglesia castellano-leonesa y curia romana en los tiempos del rey San Fernando* (Madrid, 1945), pp. 194–8; Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 269–75.

<sup>49</sup> Hernández and Linehan, *Mozarabic Cardinal*, pp. 54–9; Peter Linehan, “D. Rodrigo and the Government of the Kingdom,” *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 26 (2003), 87–99.

<sup>50</sup> Archivo de la Catedral [hereafter AC] Toledo, X.12.B.1.1. For the date 1277 (rather than 1281, as proposed by Ramón González Ruíz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo* (Madrid, 1997), p. 709), see Hernández and Linehan, *Mozarabic Cardinal*, p. 168.

Now either that item had been repatriated by D. Sancho (the Infante-archbishop of Toledo, son of Fernando III) in respect of debts of his predecessors, D. Rodrigo and D. Juan de Medina, for which don Gil had gone surety,<sup>51</sup> or it was a bequest—which in the absence of record of any such endowment at Toledo must be adjudged unlikely.<sup>52</sup> But not more than that, because although in 1311 the papal library at Avignon possessed a copy of the cardinal's will bound into a handsome paper cartulary,<sup>53</sup> the text of it has not survived. All we know about its contents is that it charged Cardinal Giovanni Orsini (the future Pope Nicholas III) and D. Gil's *nepos* Pedro Benítez the future Bishop Pedro II of Zamora) with the task of collecting debts owed to him.<sup>54</sup> On his death in November 1254, the cardinal to whom had been entrusted the last wishes of others—Cardinal Pelayo<sup>55</sup> and the exiled Archbishop Silvestre Godinho of Braga (yet another glossator)<sup>56</sup>—left no mark of his own.

But, as said, Spain came to him, and came to him in droves. His curial household hummed with Spanish visitors and Spanish proctors. His own mark on the dorse of papal letters testifies to the personal interest he took in the affairs of all the peninsular kingdoms. All this has already been described and although, if space permitted, more might be said about it, and lists of names made *ad infinitum*,<sup>57</sup> here instead attention may be addressed to two different issues, namely signs of change both in the cardinal's Zamora during his years at the papal curia, and in the cardinal himself in the later years of his residence there.

<sup>51</sup> AC Toledo, O.4.L.1.18; Hernández and Linehan, *Mozarabic Cardinal*, p. 167.

<sup>52</sup> See above, n. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Franz Ehrle (ed.), *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis enarrata* (Rome, 1890), p. 82, no. 485.

<sup>54</sup> Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 217n. (now printed, José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *CDACL*, 8 (1230–1269) (León, 1993), no. 2276); Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *I testamenti dei cardinali del Duecento* (Rome, 1980), p. 14.

<sup>55</sup> Above, n. 10.

<sup>56</sup> Who at Città di Castello in July 1244 appointed him his sole executor (“confido tantum de domino meo Egidio cardinali...”): Isáías da Rosa Pereira, “Silvestre Godinho, um canonista português,” *Lumen* 26 (1962), 691–8 at pp. 693–5; Kuttner, *Gratian and the Schools of Law*, item VII, p. 310 and *retractationes*. See additional note at the end.

<sup>57</sup> See meanwhile Peter Linehan, “Proctors Representing Spanish Interests at the Papal Court, 1216–1303,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 17 (1979) [repr. Linehan, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (Aldershot, 1992)], nos. 485a–c, 523–4 (for bishop and chapter of Palencia, April 1247, ‘Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani’; for bishop and chapter of Burgos, May 1252, ‘Dominus Egidius cardinalis’); also for bishop of Lisbon, Nov. 1231 ‘D(omi)n(u)s Egidius (-----)’: IANNT, Cx. Bulas mç. 35 no. 10. Usually of course the donkey-work was done by others, many of them the cardinal's chaplains: Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 280–6.

As to the first, it is to be noted that soon after the death of D. Florencio, sometime before November 1237,<sup>58</sup> the frenetic activity of Zamora's jurists seems to have abated. So where had all the Zamoran jurists gone? To Salamanca? Presumably. To Bologna? Evidently.<sup>59</sup> To royal service at Husillos? An interesting possibility.<sup>60</sup> Or to the papal curia and the household of Cardinal Gil? Certainly, if D. Florencio, who survived until half way through the cardinal's public career, was representative of the Zamora from which Gil Torres emerged, it is the cardinal's own nephew, Master Esteban the abbot of Husillos, who may be regarded as epitomizing the latter part of it. One of the mega-pluralists of his generation, with a portfolio extending from Prague to Palencia, in August 1252 Master Esteban was granted papal provision to one of Zamora's two archdeaconries (which in fact he had already been in possession of for at least seven years).<sup>61</sup>

But well before 1252 pluralism on this scale had created disaffection and tension in Zamora. For whereas, in his will of 1230 the chanter of Zamora, Garsias de Uliolo, had acknowledged that all the advantages he had enjoyed since his boyhood, "in scolis" and elsewhere, he owed to the church of Zamora,<sup>62</sup> in May 1233, Bishop Martín Rodríguez complained to Gregory IX that over the previous seventeen years, at the instance of Cardinal Gil *inter alios*, thirteen of Zamora's benefices had been awarded by papal provision to outsiders, with the result that there had been none to spare for local men who had had spent their entire lives in the service of the church. And the pope acknowledged the justice of the bishop's complaint, conceding that favours shown to individuals "were injurious if they redounded to the disadvantage of the many."<sup>63</sup>

Now here was a startling statement of principle, and one to which historians of the period have not given sufficient attention. For sentiments such as these were wholly subversive of the practice and system

<sup>58</sup> Arquivo Distrital do Porto, Mitra da Sé do Porto, pergaminhos, caixa 1867, n. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Pérez Martín, "Estudiantes zamoranos," pp. 31–3.

<sup>60</sup> Amongst the many other benefices Master Esteban had acquired since 1229 was the secular abbacy of Husillos, which he had added to his portfolio by November 1251.

<sup>61</sup> Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 294–5; ACZ, TN, fol. 135v (Lera, no. 532); *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 5912. Stephanus Geraldus, the canon who appears in the capitular record in 1217 and 1220 (ACZ, 17/37, 31/I/2; Lera, nos. 308, 337), is not seen there again.

<sup>62</sup> "Cum (...) ego Garsias, cantor Zamorensis ecclesie, a puericia mea de bonis ecclesie alitus et nutritus ab eadem, non meis meritis set sola sua gratia multa in scolis et alibi receperim beneficia (...)": ACZ, TN, fols. 88v–89r (Lera, no. 431).

<sup>63</sup> "Quam injuriosa est gratia que fit uni si in grauamen uideatur plurium redundare": *Reg. Greg. IX*, no. 1318; Domínguez Sánchez, *Gregorio IX*, no. 282.

of papal provisions upon which the operation of the thirteenth-century Church at large depended. At issue was the very morality of that practice and system. What the papal *obiter* implied was the need for fairness and moderation, for “moderation in applying the rules of positive law, and in softening the rigours of the law according to the circumstances in unusual cases”—to quote a contemporary translator of Aristotle’s Nichomachean Ethics on the concept of *ἐπιείκεια*: a concept corresponding to what Catholic theologians once described as an “outward sign of inward grace”, the inward grace in this case manifesting itself (and again I quote) in “thoughtfulness, modesty and love of self-knowledge”, in short what we would call a spirit of equity.<sup>64</sup>

As the bishop’s complaints of 1233 make clear, in Zamora the argument for selflessness cut no ice. There, as elsewhere, the situation continued unchanged, because the mind of the pope and the hand of the papal chancery were not effectively co-ordinated. Since there was no reason in canon law why provisions to benefices in the diocese of Zamora should have affected the cathedral church of Zamora at all,<sup>65</sup> if they did it can only have been because someone at headquarters with an interest in the matter was making them do so. And that someone can only have been the Zamoran cardinal.

In 1234, and again in 1236, the pontiff was alerted to the dire consequences for laity as well as clergy of the disruption of the local clerical economy.<sup>66</sup> What made them so dire were unemployment and its effects. In the overpopulated Europe of the 1230s that was the case everywhere. But nowhere more so than in a community whose temper was anyway volatile, as the social history of twelfth-century Zamora attests,<sup>67</sup> and where it was not just unemployment that was the problem,

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<sup>64</sup> Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste. The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. 289.

<sup>65</sup> Although not enshrined in canon law until the end of the century (Sext 3.4.4), according to Bonaguida de Arezzo (his “*Consuetudines curiae Romanae*”) the rule was already observed in the papal curia of his day “quod generale mandatum pape super provisione alicuius de aliqua canonia in aliqua civitate vel diocesi non extendatur ad ecclesiam cathedralem” (cit. Geoffrey Barraclough, “The English Royal Chancery and the Papal Chancery in the Reign of Henry III,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 [1954], 365–78 at p. 376 n. 16).

<sup>66</sup> *Reg. Greg. IX*, nos. 2009, 3258 (Aug. 1236): Domínguez Sánchez, *Gregorio IX*, nos. 379, 579.

<sup>67</sup> Ernesto Fernandez-Xesta y Vázquez, “‘El motín de la trucha’ y sus consecuencias sobre don Ponce Giraldo de Cabrera,” *Primer Congreso de la Historia de Zamora* (Zamora, 1991), 3:261–83.

but also—given the evidence of high-grade juristic expertise in the vicinity—*graduate* unemployment. If consequences so far-reaching could follow—or be thought to have followed—upon the ownership of a dead fish, what was the response to invasion of the career structure by aliens and absentees likely to be?

Violence remained endemic. Not long after his promotion as cardinal, Gil Torres had to intervene on behalf of one of his clerics (another Gil), charged with having caused the death of “a certain scholar” who reportedly had attacked him.<sup>68</sup> By 1249 such emotions were feeding the development of a clerical proletariat, with “los clérigos del choro que non an racion” receiving two bequests from the layman D. Mateo, and two years later the chanter García Peláez similarly favouring “la confraría de los clérigos.”<sup>69</sup> Then there was the disruptive effect of another element in Zamoran society to be allowed for, namely the mendicant orders, and in particular the Dominicans, whose influence on Europe’s delicate ecclesiastical ecology was already being felt by that date and whose representatives, significantly, were also present at D. Mateo’s deathbed.<sup>70</sup>

In the view of some historians, it was not only D. Mateo who was moribund in 1249, so was the medieval Church itself. If so, one of those responsible for its condition was D. Gil Torres. For he it was who had been instrumental in dismantling the stringent disciplinary programme imposed by the papal legate John of Abbeville.<sup>71</sup> True, he was viewed otherwise at the time, as the case-sensitive medic who rejected a universal panacea and instead responded to the needs of the individual patient.<sup>72</sup> Not for nothing perhaps were his cardinalatial titulars Saints Cosmas and Damian, the patron saints of doctors. It was by shifting responsibility for the aforementioned scholar’s death to the medic who

<sup>68</sup> *Reg. Hon. III*, no. 1367 (MDH, no. 170), May 1218.

<sup>69</sup> ACZ, 18/15, 18/12a (Lera, nos. 550, 563).

<sup>70</sup> “A los predicadores el so lecho con una cocheda e con tres xumazos. (...) E esta manda lexa en mano del chantre, presentibus predicatoribus duobus et multis aliiis”: ACZ, 18/15; Linehan, *Ladies of Zamora*, pp. 1–11. The Order’s rising stock is indicated by the level of bequests during these years: four maravedís (Pedro Pérez, “hermano de Vimani”: ACZ, 18/2, Aug. 1230); five maravedís (Martín Martínez, canon: ACZ, 18/6, July 1236); ten maravedís (García Peláez: ACZ, 18/12a, 1251); Lera, nos. 427, 476, 563.

<sup>71</sup> Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 20–34; idem, “A Papal Legation and its Aftermath: Cardinal John of Abbeville in Spain and Portugal, 1228–1229,” in Italo Biocchi *et al.*, eds., *A Ennio Cortese*, 3 vols. (Rome, 2001), 2:236–56.

<sup>72</sup> Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1803–52), 5:286; Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 279n.

had attended him that the cardinal secured the acquittal of the cleric of his who had struck the fatal blow.<sup>73</sup>

As to the Church at large, however, and to the church of Zamora in particular, it was the likes of *el sobrinísimo*, Master Esteban, who struck that blow. As archdeacon of Zamora, he should have been there, keeping an eye on the place, functioning as the bishop's eye indeed, which was precisely how the role of archdeacons was defined.<sup>74</sup> On all the evidence so far, therefore, Gil Torres emerges in stark contrast to Innocent III, the pope who had stipulated that a cleric who had petitioned him for provision at Zamora be subjected to rigorous examination,<sup>75</sup> the pope who had not promoted him cardinal.

And so D. Gil would deserve to be remembered, were it not for some discrepant English evidence concerning his relationship with the Englishman who, first amongst all of the churchmen of his time, set his face against the abuses that Master Esteban typified: that is, Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln famous for lecturing Innocent IV and the cardinals in person and by letter on their misconduct of the government of the Church in general and the evils of pluralism in particular, and the author *inter alia* of the gloss on the concept of *ἐπιείκεια*, reported by Walter Burley († c. 1344), to which I referred earlier:

Notandum est hic secundum Linconensem quod hoc nomen epichia multas habet significationes. Nam uno modo significat studiositatem i. virtuositatem et decentiam et moderationem et modestiam et amorem cognitionis sui ipsius qualis sit in virtute ex prudentium et cognoscentium ipsum iudicio. Alio modo significat virtutem cognoscitivam moderaminis legum: qualiter scilicet leges positivae de his quae ut frequentius et in pluribus contingunt non sunt obervandae in aliquibus casibus quae contingunt raro et paucioribus, sed moderandus est earum rigor secundum circumstantias rarius accidentes cuius rei exempla satis inferius patebunt. Haec Linconiensis.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> "... qui non tam propter acerbitatem vulneris quam imperitiam medici, ut creditur, expiravit": *Reg. Hon. III*, no. 1367.

<sup>74</sup> The address of *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 5806 (5 March 1252) establishes that Esteban was archdeacon of the city.

<sup>75</sup> Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 134.

<sup>76</sup> Publ. Martin Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen d. xiii. Jhdts.* (Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters 17, 5–6) (Münster.i.W., 1916), p. 252.

Cardinal Gil was not one of the cardinals present at the confrontation of 1250.<sup>77</sup> But he had been in contact with Grosseteste since at least 1229–32 when he had written to him on behalf of his nephew Petrus Bonus (the future Bishop Pedro I),<sup>78</sup> a letter to which the then archdeacon of Leicester might well have replied, as he had replied tongue-in-cheek to another cardinal regarding an Italian providee, that this son of the south was unlikely to flourish in sodden Lincolnshire.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, in 1245 the two men met at Cluny.<sup>80</sup> Then, in 1253, Grosseteste refused to obey a papal mandate of provision on behalf of one of the pope's own nephews, denouncing the system of provisions as encompassing the "most manifest destruction" of the Church, and delivering a lecture to Innocent IV of all pontiffs on the meaning of "plenitudo potestatis". Grosseteste's finest letter, the English chronicler Matthew Paris called it.<sup>81</sup>

And Paris had more to report. When the letter was read out, the pontiff was incandescent, and threatened terrible reprisals against the man he was later to describe (again according to Matthew Paris) as one of his two greatest enemies. But the cardinals restrained him. The bishop of Lincoln was renowned both for his sanctity and for his learning, they reminded him. Moreover, "what the bishop said was true." "Thus spoke

<sup>77</sup> Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250. Edition of the Documents," *Collectanea Franciscana* 41 (1971), 340–93 at p. 350. Cf. Joseph W Goering, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia," in Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman, eds., *A Distinct Voice. Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1997), 253–76, at p. 257 n. 22.

<sup>78</sup> "Quando fui archidiaconus Leicestrensis, pro speciali et amicissimo mihi in Christo magistro P. bono nepote vestro, in archidiaconatu praedicto beneficiato, mihi subscripsistis familiaris" (Grosseteste to Gil Torres, ?1236, referring to the years 1229–32): Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.) (London, 1861), pp. 127–8.

<sup>79</sup> "A wise gardener in a cold region will know that he should choose plants from that region, for although they are not equal in quality to the luxuriant plants of warmer climes, they will at least bear fruit": cit. Leonard E. Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979), 3–51 at pp. 17–18. There was also the language question. Cf. the high-minded refusal of another English prelate to award a benefice to an Italian client of the future Boniface VIII, "quoniam, ut nobis dicitur, non solum linguae Anglicanae inscius est, verum etiam satis literaliter loqui nescit": Charles T. Martin, ed., *Registrum epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (Rolls Ser., 3 vols.) (London, 1882–5), 1:351 (May 1282).

<sup>80</sup> Reported in the Cluny Chronicle, cit. Hernández and Linehan, *Mozarabic Cardinal*, p. 43, and referring to Grosseteste as "episcopus Lingonensis".

<sup>81</sup> "Breviter autem recolligens dico, quod Apostolicae sedis sanctitas non potest nisi quae in aedificationem sunt, et non in destructionem, haec enim est potestatis plenitudo, omnia posse in aedificationem. Haec autem quae vocant provisiones; non sunt in aedificationem sed in manifestissimam destructionem; non igitur eas potest beata sedes Apostolica [acceptare]": *Epp. Grosseteste* (n. 78), 437; Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 290–1.

lord Egidius the Spanish cardinal,” Paris reported, “and others whose own consciences were touched.”<sup>82</sup> Had he known the language, Paris might have described the intervention of don Gil and his colleagues as a plea for *ἐπιείκεια*.

It was Paris who reported that Cardinal Gil was “almost a centenarian” when he died in 1254,<sup>83</sup> as to which he is hardly to be believed. For Matthew Paris, most elderly gentlemen were “almost centenarians”. But Paris also described the Zamoran cardinal as incorruptible and as a unique pillar of truth and justice at the Roman court: “columna veritatis et justitiae”, and that was a judgement confirmed by Innocent IV himself. When refusing to allow D. Gil’s election to Toledo seven years earlier, Innocent had described him as the “columpna firmissima” on which the stability of both Roman Church and the Church at large depended.<sup>84</sup> Coming from a pope such an encomium was almost a cliché of course. But coming from the English chronicler for whom on the whole the only good cardinal was a dead cardinal, it was more remarkable. And all the more remarkable was it in view of his career as a trafficker in benefices, culminating in the activities of the *sobrinísimo* in the very last year of both his life and that of the pontiff whom his successor, according to Paris, described as “venditor ecclesiarum”.<sup>85</sup>

Hence the paradox, an explanation for which eludes me. For Paris, it is now acknowledged, was on the whole rather well informed on the Roman matters he reported.<sup>86</sup> Can it have been that it was *only* in his dealings with Grosseteste that the cardinal exhibited the characteristics so admired by the English chronicler? There is some reason for suspecting as much.<sup>87</sup> Alternatively, or additionally, may it be that after all he really *was* very old when he died, that in his final years he had lost not

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<sup>82</sup> “...‘Ut enim vera fateamur, vera sunt quæ dicit. (...)’ Hæc dixerunt dominus Ægidius Hispanus cardinalis et alii, quos propria tangebatur conscientia”: *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (Rolls Ser., 7 vols.) (London, 1872–83), 5 (1880) p. 393; *ibid.*, p. 460.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:529 (cit. Linehan, *Spanish Church*, 278n.); *Chronica Majora* 4 (London, 1877), p. 162 (of Gregory IX, who was probably only in his seventies when he died in 1241).

<sup>84</sup> *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 3654.

<sup>85</sup> *Chronica Majora* 5:492.

<sup>86</sup> Southern, *Grosseteste*, pp. 6–13, 291–2. Cf. James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 64–6.

<sup>87</sup> His reported inability to determine the dispute between the papal subdeacon John of Vercelli and the archdeacon of Buckingham (dioc. Lincoln) in January 1236 was subsequently ascribed to his absence from the curia. But if so, where was he? *Reg. Greg. IX*, nos. 2948, 4836–9; *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 568.



only the plot but also control of his stylistically interesting seal<sup>88</sup> and that Maestre Esteban and others were operating in his name whilst the cardinal himself was afflicted with Alzheimers and in a Roman old people's home, though enjoying remissions frequent enough to enable him to attend the occasional consistory and, as a venerable, and therefore indulged member of the college of cardinals, occasionally to speak out there, as he is reported to have done in favour of Grosseteste for example.

Though none of them is decisive, there are various reasons for entertaining such suspicions. There is the fact that don Gil had ceased to subscribe papal privileges as early as July 1246.<sup>89</sup> Then there is the notable acceleration after 1252 of provisions in favour of persons allegedly related to him, and, if so, also of course related to Master Esteban and Bishop Pedro I. Now in theory, petitions for such provisions were subject to close scrutiny at the curia, being publicly read out no fewer than three times. That close observer of the curial scene, Bonaguida de Arezzo, described the process as analogous to a process that Romans really were concerned to have done properly, namely the process of baking bread. For many hands were involved, as well as fire, water and cool before, like good loaves, petitions could be declared "done."<sup>90</sup> Such was the theory. But it was a theory to which curial practice in the last years of the pontificate of Innocent IV too often failed to conform. Take, for example, the case of the papal letter of March 1252 addressed to

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<sup>88</sup> For the following description of which I am indebted to Professor Julian Gardner: "Vesica showing two standing nimbed male figures on architectural plinth supported by foliate(?) capital within frame moulding. The left beardless figure approaches from the left with right hand raised. He holds a round object (?jar) in left hand. Frontal bearded figure on right turns head towards left towards companion. He raises his right hand in blessing. Holds a book(?) in left hand. The drapery style of the figures is timidly gothic, but there is not enough evidence to say where from. It could be Spanish or French. If you compare sculpture c. 1250, say Burgos or Reims, it precedes anything like this in Rome by about a generation. But so much metalwork is lost one can't be certain." Damaged impressions are preserved in Cuéllar, Archivo parroquial, no. 11t (Lyons, 25 Jan. 1250), and AC Burgos, vol. 7.i, fol. 370 (Perugia, 1 July 1252).

<sup>89</sup> Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di curia e "familiae" cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254* (2 vols.) (Padua, 1972), 2:424–5.

<sup>90</sup> "Et nota, quod omnes litterae beneficiales sunt legendae coram domino papa. Leguntur primo in petitione, secundo in nota, tertio in littera grossa, at aliter transire non sinuntur, et per multas manus transeunt, et quasi per ignem et aquam currunt ad refrigerium, et ad magnam maturitatem decoquantur": *Summa introductoria super officio advocacionis in foro ecclesie*, ed. Agathon Wunderlich, *Anecdota quae processum civilem spectant* (Göttingen, 1841), p. 332.

Bishop Pedro of Zamora in favour of his *nepos* Francisco, described as “son of Teresa, niece (or so you say: *ut asseris*) of Cardinal Gil.”<sup>91</sup>

*Ut asseris*. Now it hardly sounds like good baking practice, this failure to check that what the supplier’s sack contained was wheat and not sand. Furthermore, there was the allegation made by Bishop Pedro Pérez of Salamanca early in the pontificate of Alexander IV, that after the cardinal’s death his seal-matrix had been appropriated by interested parties “in those parts” and used to fabricate letters which purported to “interpret” and thereby extend to other churches of the city and diocese of Salamanca the restrictions on the appointment of aliens contained in the cardinal’s constitutions for the cathedral chapter: an allegation which, because in the following March it was found to be proven,<sup>92</sup> inevitably implicates Master Esteban de Husillos. There is also the deletion from the

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<sup>91</sup> “nato Tarasie, nepte, ut asseris, dilecti filii E. Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diaconi cardinalis”: *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 5808. And the bad old ways continued into the next pontificate. In October 1257, three years after the death of don Gil, Egidius Guillemi received a dispensation to enjoy the church of S. Frontón, Zamora “cum cura animarum” to be enjoyed in plurality with his prebends in the chapters of Zamora and Palencia, on account of his alleged relationship with the cardinal “cuius nepos esse diceris”: Charles de la Roncière *et al.* (eds.), *Les Registres d’Alexandre IV*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895–9), no. 2298.

<sup>92</sup> “(...) Super hoc [the “interested parties”] litteras cardinalis eiusdem post ipsius obitum in illis partibus, ostenderunt,” D. Pedro reported, continuing: “Verum quia in partibus istis, pro eo quod sigillum prefati cardinalis, non fractum post ipsius obitum, apud quosdam remansisse dicitur, huiusmodi littere admodum sunt suspecte:” *ibid.*, no. 747 (Aug. 1255). The finding of the judges delegate to whom the matter was referred (or rather, of one of them together with the canon of León to whom the others had remitted their authority) is found appended to the transcript of Alexander IV’s mandate in Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereafter ASV], Reg. Vat. 46, fol. 129r. In the failure of the “pars concilii, canonicorum et portionariorum” to appear at the hearing, and for that reason alone, “(...) quia nobis per ipsam ordinationem cum vero filo et vera bulla nobis exhibitam ac alias plene constitit de premissis, habito peritorum consilio prefatas ordinationem et interpretationem auctoritate apostolica denunciamus secundum mandatum apostolicum non tenere ac reverendum patrem episcopum et capitulum Salamantinum, clerum et populum civitatis et diocesis Salamantini ad earum observationem iuxta mandatum apostolicum non teneri” (*Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 2 vols. [Paris, 1887–93], no. 6365): a judgment that appeared to nullify not only the attempted “interpretation” but also Cardinal Gil’s *ordinatio* for the chapter, the earliest of his sets of constitutions, which Innocent IV had confirmed in May 1245: *Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 1262. This doubtless was why in 1291 the bishop of Salamanca (D. Pedro Fechor) was moved to seek copies of the documentation from the papal chancery. The influential comma before the word *ostenderunt*, supplied by Bourel de la Roncière to the text of the letter cited in the first sentence of this note, may be thought to imply that, as well as visiting Spain as cardinal (as some have imagined), Gil Torres had died “in illis partibus”, viz. in or near Salamanca. In fact, as the evidence of ASV, Reg. Vat. 24, fol. 90v makes clear, all that had happened *in illis partibus* was that the “interested parties” had published (*ostenderunt*) their (spurious) letters.

papal register itself (a remarkable enough event in any circumstances) of two letters of provision, both of mid-August 1252 and both in favour of Master Esteban de Husillos, and their replacement by other letters hedged round by even more *non obstante* clauses.<sup>93</sup> And finally there is that plethora of *non obstante* clauses itself.

For it was the profligate use of such clauses in papal letters of provision that was bringing the entire system of papal provisions into disrepute. As Leonard Boyle observed years ago, it was the “supercumulation” of such clauses, clauses that negated existing papal privileges without so much as acknowledging their existence, that had been fomenting the “cataclysm” of vices by which mid thirteenth-century Church and society were beset.<sup>94</sup>

But then, just three weeks after receiving Grossesteste’s final damaging indictment of his government of the Universal Church, Pope Innocent acknowledged the justice of the Englishman’s criticisms. The pontiff’s encyclical letter of October 1253, *Postquam regimini*, acknowledged that in the matter of papal provisions mistakes had been made. Serious mistakes. There had been dishonesty amongst petitioners and in the procedures. On occasion the pope himself had been prevailed upon to authorize provisions against his better judgement. In future, bishops and chapters and other patrons were to “tear up” papal letters purporting to appoint foreigners to benefices in their gift.<sup>95</sup>

*Postquam regimini*, which was issued on the pope’s own motion (“*proprio motu*”) was not only “quite unusual” but also, as Boyle rightly remarks, “dramatic”.<sup>96</sup> But in his conjecture that, as well as having been prompted by Grossesteste’s latest outburst, the encyclical may have been

<sup>93</sup> ASV, Reg. Vat. 22, fols. 202r–v, 203r (*Reg. Inn. IV*, no. 5913, 5919; cf. *ibid.*, nos. 5951, 5992, printed Augusto Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243–1254)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1987), 2: nos. 788, 785, 788, 790 respectively, where the editor complicates the task of comparison by substituting for the chancery’s *eidem* forms of address of his own devising.

<sup>94</sup> Boyle, “Grossesteste,” pp. 30–1, citing *Epp. Grossesteste*, no. 128 (p. 434). Cf. Brian Tierney, “Grossesteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1955), 1–17 at p. 15.

<sup>95</sup> “. . . licitumque sit vobis universis, & singulis, tanquam nostris, in hâc parte, ministris, nostras seu legatorum nostrorum lacerare litteras, siquæ, statuto ipsi contrariæ, vobis, aut alicui vestrûm, fuerint presentatæ”: T. Rymer, *Fœdera . . . fideliter exscripta*. [1727] (London, 1816), 1.i:294 (Augustus Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2 vols. [Berlin, 1874–5], 1: no. 15162).

<sup>96</sup> Boyle, “Grossesteste,” 34–5.

directed exclusively at the English Church, he was mistaken.<sup>97</sup> In Castile, for example, the churches of Palencia and Segovia both secured copies.<sup>98</sup> The church of Zamora, however, did not—and, if it did, there is no sign of it in the cathedral archive now. And if it did not, perhaps that was because what *Postquam regimini* referred to was *foreign* providees. And, thanks to don Gil, all or most of Zamora's providees over the previous thirty years had been local men, the cardinal's own friends and relations. If the Zamoran cardinal had saved his native church from anything during that period, it was from the intrusion of *foreigners*, whether from Palermo or from Palencia.

Almost all we can know about don Gil Torres comes from the papal registers, and this may well give us a skewed view of him. After all, how would Grosseteste appear if that was all we had to judge him by? We have to remember that we know next to nothing about the cardinal's intellectual preparation. We have no correspondence between him and the Spanish rulers of his day. Yet such correspondence there must have been, and in abundance, between them and the man who wrote so "gracefully" to the bishop of Lincoln. What would we not give for just some part of it? Regarding the cardinal's role in the complex matter of Fernando III's relations with the papal curia, for example? Or the reasons for the lengthy delay in confirming Pedro I's episcopal election? And, above all, as contributing to a better understanding of the Cardinal of Zamora and providing him with the third dimension that he still lacks?

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 35–6, influenced perhaps by the fact that Potthast's principal sources for *Postquam regimini* were Matthew Paris and the (also English) Burton annalist. However, in stating that "scholars in general have not paid [it] much attention" (p. 34), the author is absolutely correct. In his study of Grosseteste, for example, Southern does not so much as mention it.

<sup>98</sup> AC Palencia, 2/1/59; AC Segovia, caj. 5, no. 12 (*aliter* Bulas, no. 9) (ed. respectively, and in both cases with numerous misreadings, Quintana Prieto, *Inocencio IV*, no. 928; Luis-Miguel Villar García, *Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia (1115–1300)* (Salamanca, 1990), no. 154). The church of Santiago acquired a copy at one remove: AC Santiago de Compostela, leg. no. 13, "Tumbillo de privilegios, concordias, constituciones", fols. 112r–113v.

*Additional note.*

The will of Archbishop João Egas of Braga (?Oct. 1255) records the bequest to the Roman house of Santa Anastasia (O.Cist.) of the *hereditas* 'de S. Marina de Oleiros quam comparavi de morabetinos quos mihi dedit Egidius cardinalis de argento quod sibi dimisit [Silvester]': Braga, Arquivo Distrital, Liber de testamentis I, no. 19.



# THE ABUNDANCE AND SCARCITY OF FOOD IN THE INQUISITION RECORDS OF LANGUEDOC<sup>1</sup>

*Peter Biller (University of York)*

## 1. *Food in Abundance*

Esclarmonde d'en Geivanet sent to the heretics Peter and William Autier a measure of wine and some bread called *tonhol*, aniseed bread that is still known by this name and is a speciality of Lavellanet in the Ariège. On another occasion she sent them grapes called *bromests* (cows' udder grapes), contained in a painted basket.<sup>2</sup> Another witness saw the Autiers with a basket containing honeyed figs.<sup>3</sup> Though they ate a lot of bread and fruit, the Autier heretics did have cooked meals, three times a week. These they prepared themselves, with olive oil, and they made use of their supporters to source good things. Learning that someone was going to Puigcerda, Peter Autier asked him to obtain spices, specifically two ounces of pepper and saffron.<sup>4</sup> A widow, Alissendis, commissioned another supporter of the heretics, Peter of Gaillac, to spend twelve pennies buying a trout in the market-place at Tarascon, which Peter of Gaillac then gave to the Autiers. They gave Peter a piece of the trout, whose taste still remained in his memory when he gave evidence to the inquisitor. The Autiers had cooked it wonderfully, he said, preparing it with good spices.<sup>5</sup> Two of the Autiers stayed for a day and a night with Gerald of Artigues. When desposing to the inquisitor Bernard Gui, Gerald recalled that he searched on their behalf for better and clearer

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Centre for Antiquity and the Middle Ages Seminar at the University of Southampton for comment on an earlier version of this paper, to Miggy Biller for detailed criticism of a later draft, and to Chris Sparks for help with references to food.

<sup>2</sup> Annette Pales-Gobillard, ed., *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les Cathares du comté de Foix (1308–1309)* (Paris, 1984), p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

wine than he had in his own house.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the Autiers were not only fine cooks but rather choosy about their wine.

The topic of food and its appreciation was one of the many pleasures of conversation with Richard Fletcher, to whose memory this paper is dedicated. Richard would have immediately seen both the point and the fun in the inquisition records of medieval Languedoc. Food—and drink—occur frequently, and there has been no systematic investigation.<sup>7</sup> What is presented in the first part of this paper are some examples of the evidence and the problems and opportunities which it throws up: a taster of what would be used in and illuminated by a fuller study of the topic.

Here are a few examples of the evidence, drawn randomly from one Toulouse manuscript of depositions taken down in 1245–46.<sup>8</sup> There are many witnesses from Mas-Saintes-Puelles, ranging from Jordan, the Lord of Mas, who simply gave the heretics figs,<sup>9</sup> to a married woman, Ermengart, who together with her husband, Peter Boer, lodged two female heretics in their house for a year. Ermengart and Peter needed to see to their feeding, and they were fortunate in being able to rely on many friends in Mas sending supplies to their house for the heretics. William Vital and his wife Segura and Companhet sent them bread and wine, Arnold Mestre sent them a bushel of corn, William of Castanet sold them a flask of oil, and the priest's mother, Richa, sent them bread and wine. And—the word in the manuscript is perfectly clear—Saurimunda sent them whale (*balena*)!<sup>10</sup>

There are witnesses from Avignonet, including Pons Faure. He saw William Richard, a deacon of heretics, and his companion, in a wood between La Garde and Terrasse. He named ten others who were with

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<sup>6</sup> Eadem, ed., *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308–1323*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2002), 1:416.

<sup>7</sup> Nearly all studies of Catharism deal briefly with the topic, for example Arno Borst, *Die Katharer*, (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 12) (Stuttgart, 1953), pp. 183–5, and Jean Duvernoy, *La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 173–5. Particularly useful are the brief accounts by Pales-Gobilliard, “Nourriture des Parfaits,” in the register she edited, *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, pp. 72–4, and by Jean Duvernoy, “La nourriture en Languedoc à l'époque Cathare,” in his *Cathares, Vaudois et Béguins: dissidents du pays d'Oc* (Toulouse, 1994), pp. 229–36.

<sup>8</sup> Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 609. The fundamental study of this manuscript is by Yves Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition Toulousaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1233–1273)* (Bordeaux, 1959), chapters 2–3. Annette Pales-Gobilliard has announced that she is preparing an edition.

<sup>9</sup> Fol. 16r.

<sup>10</sup> Fol. 20v.

them, including a notary and a tailor of Avignonet. All of them adored the heretics, and then ate together with them—bread, wine, figs and grapes.<sup>11</sup> Another witness from Avignonet was Bertrand of Quiders. Although his interrogation mainly bore upon his part in the killing of inquisitors in Avignonet in 1242, it also turned to food. Together with three other men he had seen two heretics in a house in Avignonet, and after the ritual of adoration they ate some hare and other things the heretics gave them.<sup>12</sup> Among several witnesses from Cazalrenoux one, Pons Raire, brought bread and cabbages to the heretics, who were at the spring of Revel. Another man from Cazalrenoux brought them figs, often *fogassiae* (see below discussion of what these were), and a barrel of wine. He had seen the heretics fishing in a particular small lake called Vessay, and he referred to the other man from Cazalrenoux, Pons Raire. He said that Pons had brought the heretics beans, but they did not want the beans.<sup>13</sup>

Seventy years later Bernard Gui's sentences contain similarly vivid vignettes: Jeanne of Sainte-Foy of Toulouse preparing a fish-pie, Sybil Bourrel of Bouillac using bread, water, cabbage and herbs to prepare a sauce, Dominic Durand carrying a dish of rice and almonds, and Bernarda of Toulouse preparing a piece of salmon to put inside bread—enough to create stirrings of hunger across time!<sup>14</sup>

The references to food are raw material for the history of food in medieval Languedoc, and they provide problems to be sorted out by the specialists of this discipline. For example, modern French patisseries contain a sweet pastry called *fougasse*, while the round olive oil bread called *focaccia* has become widely known outside its native Genoa. Which of these was the *fogassia* so often given to heretics in Languedoc?

The references to food also provide apparent problems for the historian of heresy. Given that the Cathar heretics did eat vegetables, why did one pair of them not want beans?<sup>15</sup> Given Cathar heretics' avoidance of meat, why did another pair provide their followers with hare?<sup>16</sup> Clearly the starting-point of a study of heretics' food will be the juxtaposition on

<sup>11</sup> Fol. 135v.

<sup>12</sup> Fol. 140r.

<sup>13</sup> Fol. 145v.

<sup>14</sup> Pales-Gobilliard, *Livre des sentences*, 1:404, 446, 454, 900.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Dr Sarah Pearce for pointing out an interesting parallel with the Pythagorean sect, which forbade the eating of beans.

<sup>16</sup> Above, n. 12.



the one hand of the formal clarity of the descriptions of heretics' views of food to be found in contemporary Catholic polemical treatises, and on the other hand of the lived religion of the heretics, in all its messy variety and—sometimes—contradictions.

The commonplace is a supporter confessing giving food to heretics. Consider the following examples. In 1243 the wife of a knight of Puy-laurens, Berbegueira, confessed to having given onions and unspecified fish on one occasion, and fresh salmon on another.<sup>17</sup> The next year the wife of the Lord of Mirepoix confessed to being the regular supplier to a Cathar bishop and his companions of bread, wine, fish and vegetables.<sup>18</sup> A confession from around 1284 provides a more circumstantial vignette. The woman confessing is Faidita, now wife of a knight and in her mid-fifties. Forty years before, when she was between the ages of twelve and fifteen, she had been the damsel (*domicella*) of Lady Petronilla of Penne d'Albigeois, who used to receive the Cathar bishop Aimery of Collet and his companion. These would stay secretly in the solar in the house, and, on Lady Petronilla's instructions, Faidita would adore them and bring them bread, wine and fish.<sup>19</sup> While all sorts of people and both men and women gave food to the Cathar heretics, a comprehensive study would probably show some distinct patterns, including the one suggested by these three examples, where girls and women of high estate were playing a particular role in the feeding of the heretics.

In 1308 a highly educated man, Peter of Luzenac, a notary from Ax, wrote his own confession for the inquisitor. During the years of his studying in the schools at Toulouse he had met one of the Autier heretics, those exquisite cooks of fish and connoisseurs of wine, Peter Autier. Autier invited the notary to dinner. Peter of Luzenac duly rolled up at Peter Autier's house where he met the two other guests, and the four men dined together. The menu included a delicious salmon and several trout. When Luzenac left, Autier said that he was going to show him a book, and he did this shortly afterwards. It was a very beautiful book, in best Bolognese script and finely illuminated.<sup>20</sup> Here an attempt to convert a highly educated notary has the setting of a precious book and a dinner party. The topic of food in this example shows that, in

<sup>17</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat 24, fols. 140r, 142v.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 199v.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 26, fol. 59r.

<sup>20</sup> Pales-Gobilliard, *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, pp. 372, 380.

some milieux, being a Cathar in Languedoc pertained to the *bon ton* and high culture of some rather classy people.

Finally, supporters said things through food. One friend told heretics that, while they were staying with him, they should eat as many grapes as they wanted from the vineyard. 'He would love the grapes that they would eat more than those that were left in the vineyard'. While this particular man used a statement about food to express the intensity of his love for the Cathar heretics,<sup>21</sup> another used the gift of food to do the opposite. He sent the heretics 'three rotten salted fish, by way of mockery'.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. *The Inquisition Records of Languedoc*

Let us now turn away from this preliminary survey of food, and remind ourselves of the elementary facts that lay behind the extraordinarily circumstantial reporting of food that is found in these records. Two major heretical sects had grown up and spread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, those of the Cathars and Waldensians, each divided into an elite who preached—*Good Men* and *Good Women* among the Cathars, *Brothers* and *Sisters* among the Waldensians—and their *believers* and supporters. During the 1230s the Church had responded to the threat posed by the Cathars and Waldensians by producing a new group, professional *enquirers* into heresy, *inquisitores*, usually friars belonging to the Orders founded by St Dominic and St Francis. Very quickly these professional enquirers had been equipped with the law and how-to-do-it advice manuals needed for getting on with the job. They quickly began to interrogate people, usually people suspected of being the followers and believers of the Cathars and Waldensians, and they kept rather full records of what they did. The records show them in many respects like policemen, interested above all in actions, times, places, and the names of anyone else involved. Like policemen anywhere, they were ever ready to insert their own vocabulary into the written version of what someone said to them.

<sup>21</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 24, fol. 223r: "rogavit ipsos quod dum essent ibi acciperent de racemos vineae suae ad voluntatem eorum, quia plus diligeret illos racemos quos ipsi comederent quam illos qui remanerent in vinea." The Doat collection consists of copies made in the seventeenth century, hence the post-renaissance spelling of Latin.

<sup>22</sup> Toulouse, MS. 609, fol. 250v: "tres pisces salso putridos, pro derisione."

In Languedoc they were good at preserving these records, keeping them in depots at Toulouse and Carcassonne. A later inquisitor sentencing someone who had appeared earlier could cite an earlier register by its register number and folio. Although the records were getting dissipated well before the destructions of 1789, many have survived, partly in medieval copies, and mainly in (very reliable) seventeenth century copies. Statistically, the most impressive is the Toulouse manuscript used in the first half of this paper, which contains the depositions of 5471 people.<sup>23</sup> Another example of the extant records is one register of depositions taken down in the 1270s, recording the interrogations of over ninety individuals,<sup>24</sup> while the best known example from the early fourteenth century, Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences*, contains 940 acts dealing with 637 individuals.<sup>25</sup> If we try to count, we have to reduce the number in the Toulouse manuscript, which contains many witnesses who simply appeared and denied any knowledge. The other records would easily make up for this, bringing the total to well over five thousand, and this figure would itself need to be increased. Each person who confessed named other people, a few, dozens, or occasionally over a hundred. We have to take note of duplication, which could artificially inflate the figures: some of those thus named also appeared as witnesses themselves, and some were named often and by different witnesses. An overall census has never been attempted. But a reasonable ballpark figure would be something over ten thousand people living in thirteenth and early fourteenth century Languedoc.

Food is just one example among many of the astonishingly vivid and detailed view of people's everyday lives which these records provide. As any reader of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's classic *Montaillou* knows, people can be glimpsed talking, eating, making love, going to the market place, and meeting heretics in the town square or in the woods.<sup>26</sup> Faith dominates, orthodox or heretical, in manuscripts that record members of religious Orders, inquisitors, questioning ordinary people about their enthusiastic support of heretics. Faith is what people lived, breathed and talked about.

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<sup>23</sup> It has been used more recently by Mark Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: the Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 25 and 26, fols. 1r-78r.

<sup>25</sup> Pales-Gobilliard, *Livre des sentences*, 2:1646.

<sup>26</sup> *Montaillou, village Occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975); *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324*, trans. Barbara Bray (London, 1978).

The abundance and colour of these sources can lull readers, making them slow to ask the historian's elementary questions. What is *not* there? And how do these records skew things?

Inquisitors shaped the field of knowledge created by these records.<sup>27</sup> This is not to say that they were like the inquisitor of novel and film, torturing wretched suspects into saying what the inquisitor wanted to hear. Rather, the inquisitors were interested in some things rather than others. This does not mean that, if something came up in which they were not very interested, they suppressed it. Rather it—whatever 'it' was—would only occasionally be found in their records, simply because they were not actively looking for it. And the fact that only a few traces of it can be found in their *records* does not mean that there was not a lot of it out there. It only means that the inquisitors were not specially interested.

Inquisitors were concerned with detection and they dealt with evidence and proof. This had one very important consequence with regard to the questions they asked. "When did you first see a heretic? Where did you see a heretic? Who else was there? Did you give the heretic anything? Did you act as a guide?" These are the questions inquisitors put to those they were interrogating. They dealt with actions. Inquisitors did not put questions asking why people did things, or what they thought and felt about them.

Here it is worth looking at one sad and touching confession from 1273.

Questioned on the aforesaid article concerning divine power, he said that when his son, named Peter of Roussiac, whom the same witness loved very much, had gone overseas with merchants, four years ago, to Alexandria, and the same witness had prayed and begged God day and night to bring him back alive and well, he at last learned that his son had died at Acre. And, devastated by this, he said that it did a man as much good if he prayed to God as if he did not.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See the fundamental discussion of this proposition by John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 25, fol. 23v: "Item addidit circa prædictum articulum de potestate divina quod cum filius suus, nomine Petrus de Rofiac, quem ipse testis summæ [leg. summe] diligebat, ivisset cum mercatoribus ultra mare, quatuor anni sunt elapsi, in Alexandriam, et ipse testis die et nocte oravisset et precatus esset Deum quod reduceret eum vivum et sanum, tandem intellexit quod decesserat in Acon: et ex hoc turbatus dixit quod tantum valebat homini si Deum rogaret quantum si non rogaret."

Here we read the record of a deponent explaining the ground for his belief (or rather, in his case, lack of belief) and talking about his deepest feelings. The significance of this is that it is an exception. The reader of inquisition records can read hundreds of confessions without ever coming across anything remotely like this. In this particular case, the inquisitor did not suppress the explanation from the record of the witness's confession. But he is very unlikely to have encouraged it with the question, "Why did you lack belief?", because inquisitors in general did not ask "why?". They asked, "*What did you do?*"

This preference was a conscious choice. Inquisitors were very aware of what they were doing when asking questions about actions rather than reasons and inner disposition. There was anxious discussion among the jurisconsults of mid-thirteenth century Languedoc on this issue. "Deep is the heart of man and inscrutable", wrote one jurist in the 1260s, before going in to argue that inquisitors should concentrate on external signs of heresy. The reason was simple. External signs—actions—are amenable to proof, while a person's inner dispositions are not. It was a commonplace of legal thought, which can be seen in very different milieux. At the Council of Lyons in 1245 Taddeo of Suessa, Frederick II's procurator, brought it up in the defence of his master against the charge of heresy. No one could have sure knowledge of what lay in Frederick's heart, but they could assess this accusation on the basis of his actions.<sup>29</sup>

What is usually excluded from the records or at least underplayed in them, therefore, are the grounds and reasons individuals gave to themselves for thinking or doing this or that. It is the first black hole in these records. As a result the inquisition records tend to produce a two-dimensional picture of what were three-dimensional people.

As we have seen, the inquisitors interrogated particular sets of people—Cathars, Waldensians and their supporters—and by the early fourteenth century we should add the preachers and followers of two other formally designated sects, those of the Pseudo-Apostles and the Béguins. These were the people for whom the inquisitors were actively looking.

There are a few other people in the records. Over the ninety years of the inquisition trials some nosy parker neighbours reported a few

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<sup>29</sup> See Peter Biller, "Deep is the Heart of Man, and Inscrutable: Signs of Heresy in Medieval Languedoc," in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. H. Barr and A. M. Hutchison (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 267–80.

other people to inquisitors, usually men or women who had made their objections to the faith very obvious, including, for example, the father stricken by grief because of his son's death at Acre.

Thus, for example, one low-lifer in Roussiac called Gaubert of Bénas was to be seen urinating both against the wall of the local church and in the cemetery. It seems that quick-witted neighbours deduced from these actions some lack of respect for the Church, and they reported him to an inquisitor.<sup>30</sup> Others were heard shooting off their mouths in public places, usually about not believing in anything. They said that there was no soul other than blood. When you died, that was it. There was no heaven, no hell. The only world is this world, there is no other.<sup>31</sup> Though neither these people nor the inquisitors had or were using such words like *atheism* or *agnosticism*, there is no doubt that their thoughts were individual examples of what that vocabulary generalises. When pressed by the inquisitor on various theological doctrines, one deponent repeated the same reply—"nec credebat nec discredebat"—he neither believed nor disbelieved: as precise an example of the modern phrase *agnostic thought* as one could wish for.<sup>32</sup>

There was only a trickle of these people in the records, a few in the 1270s, and a few more around 1320. Because the inquisitors' real interest lay in proper heretics, quite good evidence survives about disbelievers or agnostics *within* heretical sects. By this time affiliation to the Waldensian and Cathars sect was in part a matter of transmission from one generation to another within families, and this meant that within Waldensianism and Catharism there were the exceptions, the rebels against the Waldensian or Cathar faith of their parents. One lively example comes from a much later inquisition, in another country, with a young man brought up in a Waldensian family expressing his lack of interest to the inquisitor. He would rather go off and have a beer!<sup>33</sup> Less colourful but sharper is the example of a woman brought up in a family of Cathar adherents in Languedoc, who used an abstract noun

<sup>30</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 25, fols. 24r–26r.

<sup>31</sup> See Walter Wakefield, "Some unorthodox popular ideas of the thirteenth century," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 4 (1973), 23–35.

<sup>32</sup> Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier évêque de Pamiers (1318–1325)*, 3 vols. (Toulouse, 1965), 1:303.

<sup>33</sup> Dietrich Kurze, ed., *Quellen zur Ketzergeschichte Brandenburgs und Pommerns* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin 45, Quellenwerke 6) (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 185.

to describe her attitude to their faith and cult. She said she was in a state of indifference, *in indiferencia*.<sup>34</sup>

There is this paradox. On the one hand we have enormous amounts of precise descriptive evidence about the behaviour of followers of heretics, so extensive that we can even get vivid glimpses of individual internal rebels. On the other hand, we have virtually nothing equivalent about ordinary people in the Church. For them we have to rely on manuals saying how parish priests should instruct their flock, and general statements by the Church's pastoral specialists. Here a comparison of numbers is needed. While we shall never be able to produce overall figures, something can be said about Cathars in towns. According to the best modern historian of urban Languedoc, Jean-Louis Biget, adherents of the Cathar heretics never formed more than ten per cent of the population of the larger towns, and most of the percentages he suggests for individual towns are much lower than this.<sup>35</sup> And the adherents of Waldensians were much smaller in number.

The result, as we look at this vast body of evidence about the adherents of heretics and the overall population of Languedoc, is a feeling of vertigo. We know so much about a few thousands, and next to nothing about the rest. This means, if we adopt historical demographers' statements about population in the early fourteenth century, that we know next to nothing about over one million, and probably several million, people.<sup>36</sup>

### 3. *The Scarcity of Food*

The evidence about food provides a stark parallel. It is copious, and there is lots more of it, varied, delicious, and even comic. Bernard of Montesquieu brought salted eels and some fresh fish to the witness, who passed

<sup>34</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre de Jacques Fournier*, 2:402.

<sup>35</sup> "L'extinction du catharisme urbain: les points chauds de la repression," in *Éffacement du Catharisme? (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 20; 1985), pp. 317-19.

<sup>36</sup> I can find no overall figure for Languedoc's population. "Over one million, and probably several million, people" is a compromise between the "approaching 20 million" which Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie gives as the population of the whole of France around 1330 in his *The French Peasantry, 1450-1660*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Berkeley, 1987), p. 4, and the 450,000 which Monique Bourin-Derruau's gives as the population of one part of Languedoc in the early fourteenth century, the *sénéchaussée* of Béziers, in her *Villages médiévaux en Bas-Languedoc: genèse d'une sociabilité, X-XIV siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987), 2:222.

these on to Isarn, who passed them on to Arnold of Puylaurens, and so on, down a food chain so long that one worries retrospectively about the state of the fresh fish by the time the Cathar heretics got at it.<sup>37</sup>

As we have seen, there is a vast amount of information in the records about food supplied to the Cathar heretics, cooked with spices by them, and eaten by them, and we even see them being sniffy about wine that was not good enough. The same records also include the Waldensian Brothers. One supporter of the Waldensians was so impressed by the size and girth of one Brother called Christian that he even recalled it when giving sworn evidence to the inquisitor Bernard Gui. Christian, he attested, was a 'large and fat man' (*hominem magnum et pinguem*). This Rabelaisian friar presumably needed considerable sustenance.<sup>38</sup> But when we turn to the records to look for the menus of the Waldensians we find virtually nothing. The Cathar Autier heretics ate lots, and we know all about it. Fat Christian must have eaten a fair amount of food, but we know nothing about his menus.

It is an extraordinary contrast. It is, of course, not difficult to explain. The inquisitor would take some interest in the *fact* of a supporter providing a Waldensian Brother with food, since this, along with gifts of money or acting as a guide or messenger, was on a long tick-list of what constituted being a supporter of a heretic. But the inquisitor was utterly uninterested in what kind of food was in Waldensian menus, because there was nothing in their choice of foods that mattered doctrinally. Waldensian Brothers and Sisters were entirely conventional with regard to food, fasting and abstaining sometimes, like religious in the Church, while at other times eating like any Catholic. Inquisitors knew this, and therefore they did not pursue the topic when interrogating those suspected of supporting the Waldensians. On the other hand, inquisitors were obsessively interested in Cathar menus, because Cathar doctrine was distinctive in banning certain foods.

The abundance of Cathar food and scarcity of Waldensian food in the records is a striking example of the effects of what did or did not preoccupy the inquisitors. Its role in this paper is to introduce another black and white contrast, one of much greater significance, between the people in whom the inquisitors were interested and those in whom they were not.

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<sup>37</sup> Paris, Collection Doat 25, fols. 88v, 103r-v.

<sup>38</sup> Pales-Gobilliard, *Livre des sentences*, 2:1580.



From the 1240s to at least the 1280s the inquisitors of Languedoc had one model questionnaire in their handbooks, which could be put to two uses, interrogating a follower of the Cathars or a follower of the Waldensians.<sup>39</sup> In the early fourteenth century Bernard Gui split them into two, one questionnaire for the follower of the Cathars and one for the followers of the Waldensians, and he added two questionnaires for two other designated groups, Pseudo-Apostles and Béguins.<sup>40</sup> These were the people the inquisitors were looking for.

But what was not there in the inquisitors' handbooks was a questionnaire for the person who thought this life was all there is, and that there was no other world apart from this.<sup>41</sup> What was not there was a questionnaire for the person who neither believed nor disbelieved. What was not there, most importantly, was a questionnaire for the person who toddled along to Church occasionally in a state of utter indifference. The inquisitor handled people like this when they were reported to him. But he was not looking for them, and his handbooks and the model questionnaires they contained were not conducive to the production of evidence about them. If the other millions of people in Languedoc were mainly a mixture of indifferent and agnostic, but they did not rock the boat, inquisition would not have generated much evidence about them.

On their first reading inquisition records construct for the modern reader a world concerned above all with belief, but a second reading shows that they could be consistent with a rather different world. They deal with a minority in the population, a minority of enthusiasts for heterodox faith.

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<sup>39</sup> Kurt-Viktor Selge, ed., *Texte zur Inquisition* (Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 4, Gütersloh, 1967), pp. 70–6; trans. Walter Wakefield, in his *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London, 1974), pp. 250–8. A southern French inquisitors' manual whose *termini* are 1278 and 1298, the *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos*, contains the same questionnaire; Antoine Dondaine, "Le Manuel de l'inquisiteur," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 17 (1947), 108–10.

<sup>40</sup> Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, 5.1.5, 5.2.9, 5.3.6–7, 5.4.7, ed. G. Mollat, *Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France* 8 (Paris, 1925–6; repr. 1964), pp. 26–32, 76–82, 98–104, 156–74; trans. Walter Wakefield and Austin Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969; repr. 1991), pp. 384–6, 402–4, 408–11, 428–34.

<sup>41</sup> For very interesting recent discussion of the Church's varying and sometimes tolerant policy towards tepidness and indifference, see Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, "Least of the Laity: the Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 395–423.

The argument put forward so far shows that the inquisition records of the interrogation of these enthusiasts are not incompatible with a world in which the majority were indifferent. But it does not demonstrate that they were indifferent—none of the extant evidence can do this. While pondering the problem, however, we should bear two things in mind. In modern scholarship there is an overwhelming preponderance of interest in faith, orthodox or heretical, and especially those who were very religious and pious, while there is relatively little scholarship devoted to indifference.<sup>42</sup> The bookshelves of university bookshops and libraries groan under the weight of the latest studies of female mystics, who were an infinitesimal proportion of the women in any medieval population, while very little is written from the point of view of piety (or lack of it) about the ordinary women who formed the majority.

When dealing with trends in historiography, all we can do is recognize them and lean in the other direction, in this case lean against the overwhelming interest taken by modern scholarship in very pious people. We can also look at evidence from elsewhere in Europe. See, for example, the people who were accused of various offences in the visitation of the Norman village of Littry in 1335. A woman called La Torte Fiquet was said not to have gone to church for three years. A similar accusation was brought against another woman of Littry, known only as Richard Richier's widow.<sup>43</sup> How much of this indifference was there?

We are left with the pastoral specialists, the Franciscan and Dominican friars who wrote manuals for confessors and preachers. In these how-to-do-it manuals they showed a consistent concern with the typical sins of particular estates and professions; they were proto pastoral sociologists. Alexander Murray pioneered the reading and analysis of these sorts of texts in order to get at lay people in the thirteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In a treatise

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<sup>42</sup> Splendid exceptions are articles by Alexander Murray (see n. 43), Susan Reynolds, "Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 1 (1991), pp. 21–41, and John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005).

<sup>43</sup> Gustave Dupont, ed., *Le registre de l'officialité de l'abbaye de Cerisy* (Caen, 1880), p. 401. See the scarce attendance of two women and another parish where the parishioners in general rarely go to church, noted in a Barcelona visitation of 1303, Josep M. Martí i Bonet and Leandre Niqui i Puigvert, ed., *Processos de l'arxiu diocesà de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 62, 71.

<sup>44</sup> "Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy," in Geoffrey J. Cuming and Derek Baker, eds., *Popular Belief and Practice* (Studies in Church History 8; Cambridge, 1972), pp. 83–106; "Religion and the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: the Testimony of Humbert de Romans," *Traditio* 30 (1974), 285–324; "Confession as an Historical Source

of preaching written between 1270 and 1274, Humbert de Romans wrote that many people “rarely go Church” (“raro vadunt ad ecclesiam”),<sup>45</sup> while in another treatise on preaching written before 1261 his fellow Dominican Stephen of Bourbon had referred to people who “do not bother about going to church or knowing feast days” (“non curant venire ad ecclesiam nec scire sollempnitates”).<sup>46</sup> These are typical examples of the comments made by these pastoral experts about the tepidness and indifference of ordinary people. The comments are only friars’ observations and, as Murray points out, we cannot translate these comments into statistics. But they constitute the most informed observation of ordinary lay people that can be found in this period. Humbert directed some of his model sermons at different estates of women, characterising most of them as worldly in outlook and uninterested in faith.<sup>47</sup> Townswomen love their children in a human way, they are only concerned with living together in prosperity and with house care (though some are slovenly about this), and they are not concerned with their own or their children’s or their husbands’ salvation. As for adolescent girls—ideally, they should be reading the Psalter, but in his eyes these young girls were obsessed with make-up, dress and personal appearance, and with spending time on pop songs, dances and gadding about.

The picture is utterly recognizable, and as telling as any statistic. Humbert travelled through much of Latin Christendom, and his picture of ordinary lay indifference may also be true for Languedoc. Despite the scarcity of Waldensian menus, we can be sure they ate, and, despite the scarcity of indifference in the inquisition records, we can... Unfortunately, the sentence cannot be completed with a confident parallel phrase about lay indifference. We can only suggest that the Church’s lack of interest in and tolerance of tepidness and indifference among the lay Catholics of Languedoc is a plausible conjecture.

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in the Thirteenth Century”, in Ralph H. C. Davis and John M. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R. W. Southern* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 275–322.

<sup>45</sup> Idem, “Religion and the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France,” 301.

<sup>46</sup> Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, in A. Lecoy de la Marche, ed., *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d’Étienne de Bourbon, Dominicain du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1877), p. 273.

<sup>47</sup> Humbert of Romans, *De modo prompte cudendi sermones*, 1.96–100, in Margarinus de la Bigne, ed., *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* 25 (Lyons, 1877), cols. 503–6.

FROM THE BELLES OF ST CLEMENT'S TO THE  
BOOK OF GOOD LOVE: THE LATE SURVIVAL OF  
MOZARABIC CULTURE IN TOLEDO

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Between 1085 and 1391 the ancient walled city of Toledo, in the heart of the Iberian Peninsula, became the unique symbol of a mostly harmonious coexistence of three faiths and five social groups.<sup>1</sup> Three of these were Christian: the Mozarabs, survivors of the original Hispano-Roman Visigoths who lived under Moorish rule from the early eighth century—a group later enlarged by Mozarabs fleeing from Muslim persecution in the south; the *castrenses*, newly arrived Castilian settlers from the north; and the Franks, mainly from Gascony, Aquitaine, the Auvergne and Toulouse, but not exclusively from the territory we now call France, since the group included any immigrant from northern Europe, who bore such names as Willelmus de Stradfort and Roberto de Wales.<sup>2</sup>

There had been a Jewish community in the city from time immemorial, whose descendants would later argue that they had not been responsible for Christ's Passion, since they had left Palestine and arrived in the south of the Iberian Peninsula two centuries before the event.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a full description of the culture of Mozarabic Toledo, see Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (Leiden, 1994), ch. 1; for the resettlement of New Castile and its culture, see Julio González, *Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), and Manuel Criado de Val, *Teoría de Castilla la Nueva: la dualidad castellana en los orígenes del español* (Madrid, 1960). In his recent survey of five modern scholarly approaches to the survival of Toledan Mozarabic culture: religious, national, cultural, social and revisionist, Diego Adrián Olstein points out that the revisionist approach (in the face of the not inconsiderable amount of surviving documentation) “reduces Mozarabic existence to the level of myth and historiographical manipulation” (my translation; see his *La era mozárabe: Los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII) en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia* (Salamanca, 2006), pp. 26–50 (at p. 50). The present article takes a more limited socio-cultural approach, concerned in particular with the rise of Averroism (or heterodox Aristotelianism) in Toledo and its literary products.

<sup>2</sup> Ramón González Ruiz states that *los francos* encompassed all Christians from outside the Iberian Peninsula, from whatever region of Europe they had originated; see his *Hombres y libros de Toledo* (Madrid, 1997), p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 16–18.

Like the Christian Mozarabs, the Jews living under Muslim rule had undergone acculturation, becoming Islamicised in their dress, language and customs, speaking Hebrew and Arabic as well as Spanish Romance. Their first Toledan quarter under the walls of the Alcázar with their great synagogue proved too small when persecuted Jews from al-Andalus sought safety there, causing them to take over a more extensive western quarter, still *intra muros*, where nine smaller synagogues were built, with five *madrassas* or schools; a tenth synagogue was added in the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> These served, it is estimated, a community of about 350 families (not counting the poor), giving a possible total of about 1,500 to 2,000 souls. In Olstein's analysis, of the total number of persons mentioned in the extant notarial documents in Arabic, the Jews account for only 4% of the total of 7,810 names, the Mudejars (Muslims) only 1%, the Mozarabs 38% and the Christians from the north of the Peninsula and beyond the Pyrenees 51%.<sup>5</sup> These figures would suggest that the total number of inhabitants within the walls of Toledo was of the order of 25,000 to 32,500; González gives a figure of 25,000 in the eleventh century, rising to 37,000 in the fourteenth.<sup>6</sup> The Jews were not confined within the *aljama* (ghetto), being free to live and practise their trades and professions throughout the city, just like the Mozarabs or Castilians or Franks. For much of the period, the Toledan Jews were exempt from wearing a distinctive sign on their clothing, as the laws of Castile had stipulated following the canons of the Church councils.

When the Moorish emir ceded the city to Alfonso VI of Castile and León in 1085, the king, familiar with the religious and social organization of Toledo from his earlier exile there, hastened to issue legal guarantees to the Muslim citizens to the effect that they could retain their customs, legal system, mosques for worship, and status as freemen by paying the same taxes to the Crown as they had to the Moorish emir. Because of the increasing military and moral pressure of the fanatical Berber sect, the Almoravids, who invaded the Peninsula in 1086 intent on imposing strict Sunni Malikite law and who were now seriously threatening the very lightly defended underbelly of Castile recently acquired by Alfonso, most of the Muslim inhabitants deserted Toledo by the early 1090s for

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<sup>4</sup> See Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Sinagogas de Toledo, Segovia y Córdoba* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 17–32.

<sup>5</sup> Olstein, *La era mozárabe*, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 53–54.

one of their independent *taifāt* (emirates) in the south. Most of the Arabic leaders such as al-Waqaxi the poet, Azarquiel the astronomer, ibn Wafid the physician and ibn al-Bassani the agriculturist, had left almost immediately, but some Mudejars of the lower classes remained to work as slaves in the households and farms of the wealthier Christians, including those of the archbishop, canons, monks and nuns, as surviving notarial documents amply testify.<sup>7</sup>

One of Alfonso VI's first acts had been to appoint Bernard de Sédirc as the new archbishop of Toledo, who, against the terms of the capitulation, restored the cathedral from its use as a mosque and began to impose the Roman reforms or Gallic rite. All his successors until the end of the twelfth century were also Frankish clerics, to the dismay of the original Christian Mozarabs, whose dream of the full restoration of their earlier social and clerical dominance was thereby thwarted.<sup>8</sup> The invading Castilians together with the Franks started to form a majority of the citizens, finally having twenty of the parishes, with only six designated for the surviving Mozarabic community.<sup>9</sup>

At first there were at least three mosques still in use, possibly with their *madrassas* or religious schools, but during the twelfth century the one mosque still in use was in the Frankish quarter, serving the three *aljamas* or Muslim quarters within the Mozarab parishes of San Román, Santa Justa and San Ginés.<sup>10</sup> Toledo became an important stopover in the slave trade between al-Andalus and the Christian north, as well as a manufactory for goods made of precious metals, iron, damascened steel, ceramics and punched leather, and a trading post for silks, spices and other Oriental delicacies.

<sup>7</sup> See Ángel González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926–30), and González, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 58–62.

<sup>8</sup> See Peter Linehan, *History and Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 214–222, and his “La reconquista de Toledo y la supuesta feudalización de Castilla”, in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes* (Toledo, 1988), pp. 27–42.

<sup>9</sup> See González, *Repoblación*, II: pp. 67–94 (at p. 91); González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 56–57, and his “Las minorías étnico-religiosas en la edad media española”, in *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, ed. R. García Villoslada, 5 vols in 9 (Madrid, 1979–82), vol. 2.2, pp. 505–543.

<sup>10</sup> González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*, p. 60. For plans of medieval Toledo and its *alfoz*, see González Palencia, *Los mozárabes*, vol. preliminar, and Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, *Historia de las calles de Toledo* 3 vols (Toledo, 1982), and his *Planos de Toledo* (Toledo, 1989).

As well as a contingent of their correlative refugees from the south, Toledo contained a number of influential Mozarabic families who had been there since Visigothic times, and still practised one of the two principal forms of the Visigothic Catholic rite, the Toledan and the Sevillan, which in a revised form had also continued to be used in the rest of Castile, León, Galicia and Portugal, whereas Catalonia had already introduced the Roman or Gallic rite in the early eleventh century. They also went on using the old Visigothic script for their Latin texts, whereas the rest of Spain had adopted the Carolingian script in the eleventh century. The Mozarabs acquired this name among the Muslims (*musta' arib*, "like an Arab") because they gradually adopted Moorish dress, household furnishings and eating habits, while Arabic became their mother tongue, displacing the older Hispano-Romance, thereby Arabicizing even the forms of their names, and causing their notarial documents to be drawn up in Arabic. The leading Mozarabic families paid particular attention to the sound education of their sons and daughters, maintaining schools in their six churches and in the convent of St Clement's.<sup>11</sup> In their excellent study of the last Mozarabic archbishop of Toledo, Francisco J. Hernández and Peter Linehan point out that for a Mozarabic child in the 1240s early instruction in Arabic and Latin, in that order, was essential, with Romance coming later, since these were the official languages of the city.<sup>12</sup> González states that Mozarabic education began at the age of ten in reading and writing Arabic, since that was the maternal tongue, and extended to Latin grammar with the use of a Latin-Arabic glossary such as that preserved in MS 99–30 (late twelfth-century) in the library of the Toledan Chapter.<sup>13</sup> This education, necessary for reciting the Visigothic liturgy, also extended to the study of the bible and other Christian commentaries composed in Arabic as well as Latin.

As the Christian Reconquest advanced, those Mozarabic families who had been liberated from Muslim rule still clung to their Islamicized life style, almost to the end of the fourteenth century, and retained their social identity in a minority of cases until the seventeenth. In 1086 Alfonso VI promulgated a *fuero* for them, guaranteeing their existing rights at the time of the capitulation of the city, their Visigothic forms

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<sup>11</sup> González, *Hombres y libros*, p. 87.

<sup>12</sup> *The Mozarabic Cardinal: The Life and Times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Florence, 2004), pp. 28–29.

<sup>13</sup> González, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 304–305.

of the Catholic liturgy used in their parish churches with their own churchmen, and in civil matters their own judge, constable and notaries. In it the king distinguished clearly between those families which had always lived in Toledo, and those numerous newcomers who greatly swelled their ranks by taking refuge in Toledo after the ravages of the Almoravids in their own cities. They had come with their churchmen, physicians and lawyers from as far as Morocco, Málaga, Guadix, Seville, Mérida, Córdoba, Alcaraz, Denia, Valencia and Aragón, and were resettled within the city of Toledo and in its *alfoz* or surrounding farmlands. They greatly enriched Toledan culture by bringing books in Arabic and linguistic varieties from different regions and levels of Islamic culture.

Alfonso VI also issued a separate *fuero* to the Frankish immigrants in the year 1100. This small but influential group belonged to one parish in the Alcaná (or Cuatro Calles), the heart of the commercial quarter near the cathedral, and mainly consisted of churchmen enjoying benefices from the new Frankish archbishop, some knights who joined Alfonso VI's army after the conquest of the city, scholars from the north or north-east who came to study Arabic mathematics, science and philosophy, and last, but by no means least, merchants. Their *fuero* was confirmed by Alfonso VII in 1136, when its provisions included: (1) the right to have a *merino* or judge, and a *sayón* or court officer or sheriff, with exclusive jurisdiction in the Frankish quarter; (2) exemption from the duty of *cabalgadura*, the hardest form of military service; and (3) exemption from *fazendera*, the obligation to participate personally in public works such as the repair of roads, bridges and the city walls. These privileges extended to Franks engaged in warfare as much as in commerce and industry. Their parish church was dedicated to St Mary Magdalen, for whose cult the Franks had long shown a special devotion.

The Frankish priests and monks, the only ones trusted by the Roman curia in the twelfth century according to González,<sup>14</sup> tried to ensure that the Toledan church fully observed reformed Catholic discipline, with varying success, since the old Spanish customs were deep-rooted and difficult to eradicate, especially in three respects: first, the tendency of Spanish clerics to take minor orders only and not the *ordo sacer*, thereby allowing themselves to live more or less as laymen while enjoying ecclesiastical benefices; second, by failing to observe the rules of

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



celibacy, openly keeping concubines and fathering illegitimate children who even acquired special rights under Castilian law as *fijos de abad*,<sup>15</sup> and third, the high level of absenteeism from the duties of their benefices. The Frankish monks played an important role in the reform of the Toledan monasteries and convents; the monks of Saint-Victoire de Marseille, for example, took over the old Mozarabic monastery housed in the castle of San Servando, on the eastern side of the Tagus gorge overlooking the city (in which El Cid had once lodged) and even gained for it the *libertas Sancti Petri* or freedom from the jurisdiction of the Toledan archbishop.

Before the capture of Toledo, Alfonso VI had been on good terms with the Jews in his kingdoms, who supported the economy in loans and tax collection. His Jewish physician and chief adviser, Yosef ben Ferrusel also known as Cidellus, even signed documents in the king's chancery. This closeness to the Jews brought Alfonso a reprimand from the pope, and when the monarch died in 1109 there was a popular rising against the Toledan Jewish community on the eve of 15 August, perhaps as a reaction to the king's favourable attitude towards them.<sup>16</sup>

The Jewish intellectuals collaborated with Mozarabic and Latinate colleagues in undertaking translations into Latin of Arabic scientific and philosophical texts, Arabic and Romance or dog-Latin being their working languages. This growing school of studies attracted scholars from the whole of Christendom, such as Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scottus, Herman the German, and Adelard of Bath, anxious to learn the new science and gain access to the Greek philosophers through the Arabic commentators. Some of these returned to Northern Europe bearing the precious Latin translations, others, such as Herman, stayed and worked in Toledo, obtaining high offices in the Church.<sup>17</sup>

The Jews also gained for Toledo a more dubious reputation as the place to learn necromancy, based on the shadowy figure of the magician Don Illán or Julian who was said to inhabit a cave deep below the city. He is immortalised in Don Juan Manuel's *El conde Lucanor* (c. 1335) in the almost Borgesian story of "Don Illán and the Dean of

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<sup>15</sup> See Linehan, *History and the Historians*, pp. 210–212, and Juan Carlos Bayo, "La datación del *Cantar de Mio Cid* y el problema de su tradición manuscrita", in *"Mio Cid" Studies: "Some Problems of Diplomatic" Fifty Years On*, ed. Alan Deyermond et al. (London, 2002), pp. 15–36 (at pp. 20–22).

<sup>16</sup> Baer, *History*, I, p. 51.

<sup>17</sup> González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 66–68; Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 518.

Santiago”, with its cleverly disguised lapse of time.<sup>18</sup> The stories about black magic there, combined with the translations made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of Avicenna, Averroes and other Muslim philosophers, made Toledo a place suspected of heresy in the eyes of the popes and cardinals.<sup>19</sup>

The heyday of the Toledan Jews came first in the reign of Fernando III and the pontificate of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, when they were awarded the right to work the rents of the cathedral chapter, causing two capitular *racioneros* to take proceedings against the archbishop in the Roman curia, in which they seem to have been successful.<sup>20</sup> In the second half of the thirteenth century, in the reigns of Alfonso X the Wise and his son Sancho IV, the Jewish intellectuals were heavily involved in the translation and preparation of all the major Alphonsine works: the astronomical tables and other scientific books, the legal codes, and the two great historical projects, while important Toledan Jewish families were much involved in public administration, some of them controlling, according to Baer, the entire Castilian economy, thereby greatly enriching themselves.<sup>21</sup>

There were occasional outbreaks of anti-Semitism during the thirteenth century, including widespread stories included in the growing number of Marian miracle collections to the effect that the Toledan Jews had crucified a Christian boy, that they had secretly tortured an image of Christ, and that one of their number had placed his young son, who had been converted by seeing an image of the Virgin Mary, into a red-hot oven where he was miraculously protected.<sup>22</sup> With the arrival of the Black Death in Europe in 1348, the attacks got worse and culminated in the great catastrophe of 1391, when massive pogroms started in Seville and spread to all the cities of Castile. This was accompanied by a growing internal schism within the Toledan Jewish community caused by Averroist ideas clashing with mystical cabbalism. Now matters got worse with the forced conversions, giving rise to a new group in the city, the *conversos* or new Christians, who clashed with their former correligionists. These events marked the end of the old *convivencia*

<sup>18</sup> Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor o Libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio*, ed. José Manuel Blecua, (Madrid, 1971), exemplo XI, pp. 93–99.

<sup>19</sup> Linehan, *History and Historians*, pp. 435–436.

<sup>20</sup> González, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 170–172.

<sup>21</sup> Baer, *History*, I, pp. 112–129.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Juan Carlos Bayo and Ian Michael (Madrid, 2006), miracles nos. XVI & XVIII.

and the multi-cultured society that had lasted for over three centuries, and hastened the Castilianization and Christianization of the Toledan region, in common with the rest of Castile and Andalusia.

One of the best examples of the achievements of the Mozarabic community in Toledo at its zenith is provided by the Bernardine convent of St Clement's, governed by a succession of Mozarabic mothers superior from Doña Matrí (1158–93) to Doña Orabona, daughter of Yahyāh ben Ayūb, the Mozarab judge and mayor. She was prioress under her predecessor Mother Cecilia from 1201 to 1213, then mother superior until her death in 1248. The convent was the oldest and richest in the city, with its daughter house of Santo Domingo in Talavera de la Reina further down the Tagus. Mother Orabona is very frequently mentioned in the numerous notarial documents written in Arabic involving her convent, being deeply involved in commerce by acquiring houses, shops and lands in Toledo, and vineyards and farms in the *alfoz*. Under her rule the nuns also engaged in buying and selling Moorish slaves, lending mortgages on property to lay people for interest in money or kind, and buying and doing up a disused bath-house in the middle of the city and putting it to commercial use; there were in all five of these establishments for the different ethnic and religious groups in the city. This convent was on the edge of the Mozarabic parish of San Román, conveniently near the *arrabal de los judíos* or Greater Jewry. Most of their notarial documentation survives in Arabic, no doubt so that it should be under the jurisdiction of the Mozarabic judges, whose offspring some of the nuns were. They are likely to have been entirely bilingual in Arabic and Romance, and their mothers superior, who witnessed notarial documents in Arabic, Latin and Romance, may well have had some knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet. Local legend has it that they were the inventors of marzipan from their stock of honey and almonds during the unsuccessful Almoravid siege of the city in 1109, but it is much more probable that they adopted Moorish recipes for the rich sweetmeats that survive in Toledan Christmas delicacies to the present day.

Two of the other five Mozarabic churches were near the commercial heart of the city, San Ginés, and Santa Justa and Santa Rufina, while the other three lay to the south, near the river, San Cebrián, San Sebastián, and San Lucas. On the right wall of the entrance of the church of Santa Justa and Santa Rufina there survived until recently an inscription of 1156 in Latin and Arabic commemorating “Michael Semeno” (or Miguel Jimeno) that began: “In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi / Bismillah

al-rahman al-rahim" ("In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ / In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate").<sup>23</sup>

The collaboration between the scholars of the three faiths meant that the chief intellectual debates up to the beginning of the thirteenth century were principally concerned with the rivalry between religions. As Burman points out, the anti-Muslim treatises had originated soon after the Moorish invasion of the Iberian Peninsula: to Felix of Urgel is attributed the eighth-century *Disputatio Felicis cum sarraceno*, mentioned by Alcuin in a letter to Charlemagne; after that in the 820s or 830s a Cordoban abbot called Spera-in-Deo wrote an anti-Muslim tract of which only a paragraph survives in Eulogius's writings.<sup>24</sup> This abbot responded to the Muslim claim that in paradise "beautiful women will be given to us [...] prepared for our enjoyment" with the comment: "This is not paradise, but a whorehouse (*lupanar*)". Felix also wrote a defence of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which were the usual targets of Islamic attacks on Christian dogma.

The learned amongst the Mozarabs had become familiar with Islamic books, religious language, and typically Muslim patterns of thought.<sup>25</sup> Although they remained Christian, worshipping according to the Visigothic rite, and speaking their Romance dialect or the newly arrived form of Castilian, as well as Arabic, only their clergy retained or acquired some knowledge of Latin. They had their bibles and biblical

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<sup>23</sup> Burman, *Religious Polemic*, p. 13. The twelfth-century bilingual Mozarabic inscription reported by Burman is no longer to be seen (on 18 March 2007), because the inner walls of the Christian porch of the former mosque have recently been replastered and the upper third of the main façade coated in cement, with restored Mudejar brickwork below, leaving visible only the right half of a Moorish horse-shoe arch (probably one of three originally) on the right (southern) side, and a small, rectangular, moulded stucco inscription in Kufic characters from the eleventh century on the left (northern) side, of which the parish priest kindly showed me a Spanish translation kept in the sacristy: it consists of an extended praise of Allah the Omnipotent, but the weathering on its upper part has rendered lines eight to ten illegible. Above the fifteenth-century Christian porch with its wooden canopy there is a niche with carved statues of Saints Justa and Rufina. In the nave, for the most part relined in modern white stone blocks, with the altar orientated towards the south, there stands against the west wall part of the stone pillar of a Moorish arch with carved foliage which has been preserved under glass, while in the chapel on the east side the original *mirhab* of the mosque can still be seen, surrounded by the faded remains of a Mozarabic polychromed fresco, and opposite it, along the upper range of the west wall, runs the fine latticed screen of the Muslim women's gallery with the splendidly carved wooden vaulted ceiling above. (I am indebted to Dr M.<sup>a</sup> Luisa López-Vidriero for her invaluable assistance in carrying out this inspection).

<sup>24</sup> Burman, *Religious Polemic*, pp. 73–74.

<sup>25</sup> González, *Hombres y libros*, p. 58; Burman, *Religious Polemic*, p. 13.

commentaries translated into Arabic, which became the more frequently used language of many of their notarial records until the fourteenth century. Some of the documents are in a mixture of Arabic and Hebrew, the latter alphabet being used for transliterating Arabic words; there are also references in the Arabic texts to other relevant documents being presented to the notary public in Spanish Romance. In the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents there are cases of witnesses signing in Latin or in Romance form, while in the Castilian documents published by Menéndez Pidal there are signatures in Arabic among the Latin or Romance witnesses; the latest Arabic surname (“Gil Martines alffagem”) he prints dates from the year 1329 in Hita, and the latest Arabic signatures in 1349 in Toledo.<sup>26</sup>

The growing Almoravid persecutions drove some of the early Mozarabic victims to take refuge in León, as is demonstrated from the number of Arab surnames in notarial documents there, but the arrival of the even more severe Almohad regime in the mid-1140s compelled most of the Mozarabs remaining in Córdoba and the rest of al-Andalus to flee to Toledo, which became their principal centre, together with Talavera, Torrijos, Madrid, and the townships along the valley of the Henares from Alcalá and Guadalajara as far as Hita and Sigüenza, all forming part of the former Toledan emirate. Inside the walls of Toledo they settled in the central *barrios*, with the three parish churches surrounding the cathedral. According to Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, during the second half of the twelfth century the former bishops of Écija, Medina Sidonia, Niebla, and probably Marchena and Málaga, all took refuge in Toledo.<sup>27</sup> They brought a number of Berber slaves (called *esclavos morenos*), some chained and fettered, who passed into the ownership of churchmen, nuns and wealthy laymen. The new owners commonly employed them in the vineyards and *alquerías* or farms in the *alfoz* outside the city. Some of these were to obtain manumission from their owners either by conversion to Christianity or by payment of ransom; there were also frequent mixed marriages. Some of the educated Mozarabic women bequeathed religious works in Arabic to their male

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<sup>26</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos de España*, I. *Reino de Castilla* (Madrid 1966), doc. 295, p. 399, & doc. 293, p. 397.

<sup>27</sup> The Mozarabic refugees from the south increased the Mozarabic population, but remained separate from the original Mozarabic inhabitants: González, *Reoblación*, II: pp. 69–74; González, *Hombres y libros*, p. 57.

tutors,<sup>28</sup> while numerous canons of the cathedral testated in Arabic, leaving houses, land, money, and household goods to their female slaves (or concubines), or to their “nephews and nieces” (or their illegitimate children), and books in Latin or Arabic to their friends or protégés or to the cathedral chapter.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that many of these testators were perfectly bilingual in Arabic and Romance, and must have had a sufficient grasp of Latin to perform the offices in the Gallican rite, or in the Visigothic rite, which the Crown had ruled should be sung in St Leander’s version in three of their parish churches and in St Isidore’s in the other three (the nuns of St Clement’s had their own version, still sung today in Toledo on special feasts, and by the Carmelite nuns of Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas in Madrid on 18 December, the Visigothic feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin).

The Toledan Mozarabic texts studied by Burman concentrated on rebutting Muslim claims about Christian dogma and turning a critical theological eye on apparent contradictions in the Qur’an: the *Liber denudationis* (c. 1085–1132) and the Annotator of Robert of Ketton’s (or Chester) influential Latin translation of it (early 1140s),<sup>30</sup> point to the alleged confusion in the later surāt on the matter of whether heaven or earth was created first. In ethics they waxed indignant over the jealousy of Mohammad’s wives arising from his love for his servant, Māriyah the Copt; his repudiation of his wife Sawdah bint Zam‘ah; and his infatuation with Zaynab, the wife of Zayd, who repudiated Zaynab on Allah’s orders so the Prophet could marry her. The Mozarabic author of the *Tathlīth al-wahdāiyah* (c. 1150–1200) tries to demonstrate on the basis of Scripture that the Messiah had indeed come as the Incarnate Word of God, and points out that men of all three religions believe that the Jewish prophets are true, but Christians say that the new Testament abrogates the Jewish scriptures, while Muslims say that the Qur’an abrogates the Christian scriptures, and Jews merely argue that there are no true scriptures other than their own; he argues that the Jewish prophecies were fulfilled by the advent of Jesus and the founding of the Church.<sup>31</sup> The Toledan translations of Avicenna’s and Averroes’s

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Examples in the inventories, mostly post-testamentary, analysed by González, *Hombres y Libros*, pp. 88–91, 92–94, 94–97, 120–121, 122–125, 129–132, 134–137, 137, 141, 141–145, 147–155, 156–157, and 157–161.

<sup>30</sup> Burman, *Religious Polemic*, pp. 37–62 and 84–89.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

commentaries on Aristotle spread via Paris to Oxford and other European universities, bringing with them the new scholastic system of thought and education. It was accompanied with the tinge of heresy, however, and more and more the books that came out of Toledo began to be treated with suspicion in Paris and Rome. More importantly, from 1275, as Hernández and Linehan chart in detail, the see was paralysed by the long crisis over the archiepiscopal succession and its rents were in pawn to the crown.<sup>32</sup>

None the less, the learned collaboration of Toledan scholars of the three faiths from the late eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century produced an amazing cultural amalgam not to be matched again until the modern period. Not only did their texts come from India, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Constantinople, but through the Frankish community they had access to all the important Latin texts, as well as some knowledge of Celtic literary works that crossed into Brittany. Under royal and episcopal patronage during the thirteenth century, they translated into Castilian rich collections of Oriental tales of wisdom literature, such as *The Book of Sinbad* or *Sendebār*, and *Bidpai*, which they called *Calila et Dimna*.<sup>33</sup> One of their number was also responsible for the prototype of the Spanish romances of chivalry, the *Book of the Knight Zifar*, dated to c. 1301.<sup>34</sup> This still underrated work was composed by Ferrán Martínez archdeacon of Madrid, who had once been in the inner circle of the Mozarabic archbishop Gonzalo Pérez, who died in Rome in 1299.<sup>35</sup> Apart from the light it throws on the contemporary Toledan scene after 1295, the romance combines the Latin legend of St Eustace (*Plácidas* in Romance) with Arabic and some Celtic legendary and fantastic material, while also digressing into wisdom literature and

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<sup>32</sup> *The Mozarabic Cardinal*, pp. 247–248; see also González, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 369–372; on the decline of Frankish immigrants in the late thirteenth century, see González, *Hombres y libros*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>33</sup> See Ángel González Palencia, *Versiones castellanas del Sendebār* (Madrid-Granada, 1946); modern edition by María Jesús Lacarra (Madrid, 1989); Alfonso X el Sabio, *Calila e Dimna*, ed. J. M. Cacho Bleuca and María Jesús Lacarra (Madrid, 1984).

<sup>34</sup> *El libro del cavallero Zifar*, ed. Charles P. Wagner (Michigan, 1928, reprinted New York, 1980); for a study of possible Oriental sources, see Roger M. Walker, *Tradition and Technique in "El libro del Cavallero Zifar"* (London, 1974), and of possible Welsh and Irish sources, see Huw Aled Lewis, *The Other World in Popular Medieval Spanish Literature*, Oxford D.Phil. dissertation, 1992, ch. 3, pp. 82–113.

<sup>35</sup> See Linehan, *History and Historians*, pp. 535–548, for a fine detailed analysis of the political and ecclesiastical import of this text. See also Hernández and Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal*, for the career of Archbishop Gonzalo Pérez.

an attack on heterodox Aristotelianism, making it an eminent example of the broad range and late survival of Mozarabic culture.

The growth of such heterodox, at times heretical, Averroism under Siger of Brabant and his followers among the masters of arts in Paris during the thirteenth century has been well documented by Hissette.<sup>36</sup> Some of these allegedly heretical propositions have a direct relevance to the *Book of the Archpriest*, later known as Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* ("Book of Good Love"), c. 1330–43.<sup>37</sup> Although many of these propositions were condemned by Bishop Étienne Tempier in 1277 at the instigation of a Portuguese pontiff, John XXI, we can still detect some of them being debated through the literary personages of Johan Roíz, the Arçipreste de Fita, Don Melón, and even *el libro* itself. The Aristotelian propositions referring to the Prime Mover, who fixed the cosmological system in perpetual motion, and who made the world and the human race eternal, *natura ab ipso naturata*,<sup>38</sup> are referred to obliquely in the section on the Occupations of the Months depicted in Don Amor's Tent and are especially condemned by the Spanish poet in stanza 1553. The propositions that men are superior animals, governed by their passions, and that simple fornication is therefore not sinful, are debated but condemned throughout the most important parts of the Spanish poem. The Parisian Averroists had claimed that chastity was wrong, even for the religious, because it endangered the survival of the human race, so the Arçipreste as protagonist has no qualms about courting women of all types, including an under-age girl, a Moorish girl, and a nun, while the clerics of Talavera lament Cardinal Gil's order to renounce concubinage, which as we have seen, was a very widespread practice, confirmed in the Arabic and Romance documentation. The *Libro de buen amor* poet seeks to rebut these libertine views, although they were a long time a-dying in the Peninsula.

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<sup>36</sup> Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 Articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Louvain, 1977).

<sup>37</sup> Ed. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny (Madrid, 1998). Some of the relevant heretical propositions were first analysed by Francisco Rico, "Por aver mantenençia: el aristotelismo heterodoxo en el *Libro de buen amor*", in *Homenaje a José Antonio Maravall*, ed. M<sup>a</sup>. Carmen Iglesias et al. (Madrid: 1985), pp. 271–297.

<sup>38</sup> Linehan, *History and Historians*, pp. 435–437, recounts how in 1279 the Castilian episcopate complained to the new pope Nicholas III that "astronomers, augurs and 'aiusperiti' held sway at Alfonso X's court, denying the existence of God [...] and concerning themselves with his creation."



Of the various attempts to discover an historical archpriest called Juan Ruiz in the Toledan documents of the period, the most suggestive is that of Francisco Hernández, but it is not conclusive.<sup>39</sup> The flaw in his argument derives from the fact that the legal sentence emitted c. 1330 which he cites is copied on the back of the first folio of a late fourteenth-century cartulary from Toledo cathedral now preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. Since “Johanne Roderici archipresbitero de Fita” heads the list of “the most venerable witnesses” (*presentibus uenerabilibus*) of the brief sentence, there exists the clear possibility of interpolation of the famous name of the alleged poet to give more authority to the document, since it could have been lifted from the late fourteenth-century Toledo and Gayoso MSS of the *Libro de buen amor*, stanzas 19 and 575, preserved in the same archive at the time of the copying of the sentence. By that time copies of the poem had spread far and wide, even as far as Oporto, of which there is a fragment. The *Libro de Alexandre* and the *Libro de buen amor* were the only Spanish medieval poetic texts to travel far and be read or listened to by almost everyone with some culture. Even if Hernández’s identification were to be corroborated, where would it get us? as Gybbon-Monypenny asked in the introduction to his Castalia edition (p. 13), other than to place the poet in a particular epoch during the reign of Alfonso XI, which had in any case been generally assumed from the mention of Archbishop Gil de Albornoz and the dates 1330 and 1343 contained in the explicits of the Toledo and Salamanca MSS, respectively.

The name Juan Ruiz is extraordinarily common in documents of the period, as Hernández showed in a later article on the topic.<sup>40</sup> It is not impossible that an anonymous, very Latinate, Toledan Mozarabic scholar, bilingual in Arabic and Castilian, with some knowledge of French and Provençal, possessing such extraordinary poetic gifts and a heightened sense of irony as the *Libro de buen amor*’s author possessed, chose the name “Johan Roíz” for his libertine protagonist precisely because of its closeness to contemporary forms of the name of Ibn Rushd (“Ben Ruxd”,

<sup>39</sup> “The Venerable Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita”, *La Corónica*, 13.1 (Fall 1984), pp. 10–22.

<sup>40</sup> Francisco J. Hernández, “Juan Ruiz y otros arciprestes, de Hita y aldeaños”, *La Corónica* 16.1 (1988), pp. 1–31; for many more examples of the names, see Gonzalo Díez Melcón, *Apellidos castellano-leoneses (siglos IX–XIII, ambos inclusive)* (Granada, 1957), s.v. JOANNES & RODERICUS.

“Aben Royz” = Averroes),<sup>41</sup> and his supposed benefice, Fita,—the high landmark in the Henares valley—could have had an obscene connotation, like so much else in the book, suggesting the satirical name of “the Archpriest of the Phallus”, or “of Fiction”.<sup>42</sup> This subversive meaning is reinforced in the text by the description of the protagonist in phallic terms: Trotaconventos tells the nun Garoça, whose name means “bride” in Arabic, that the archpriest is very tall, with thick limbs, large head and ears, excessively long nose and thick bull-like neck, with a stiff walk like a peacock;<sup>43</sup> earlier she had addressed him as “Don Polo” (“axle or pulley on a ship’s mast”).<sup>44</sup> The text teems with poeticised versions of the historical types we meet in the Toledan documents: worldly nuns and clerics, rich widows, Franks such as Don Pitas Payas the painter from Brittany, randy shepherdesses and female cowherds, Moorish girls and a Christian baker’s girl, served by male and female go-betweens involved with all the ethnic and social groups in Toledo and its territory, since the action of this extraordinary work occurs exclusively in the Toledan lands up to the northern Sierras. The book of the Archpriest has the richest lexicon of any text of the period, with some of the words of the Latin liturgy turned into obscene Romance forms for comic effect, numerous Arabicisms, some of them rare, including snatches of the pert speech of Moorish girls, a few Hebrew words (such as *adefinas*, the dish taken on the eve of Passover), numerous French and Provençal words, Romance slang now unintelligible, and some Catalan and Italian

<sup>41</sup> “Ben Ruxd” is cited by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *La España musulmana según los autores islámicos*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1946), II: 240, and “Aben Royz” also occurs in an Averroist work of 1290, preserved in Toledo Cathedral Library, copied in BNM MS 6463: *Virgilii Cordubensis philosophia* (Virgil of Córdoba); ed. Gotthilf Heine, *Bibliotheca anecdotorum seu veterum monumentorum ecclesiasticorum collectio novissima ex codicibus bibliothecarum Hispanicarum* (Leipzig, 1888), p. 241. The first scholar to make the connection between the form of Averroes’s name and Juan Ruiz was Alberto Blecuá in the introduction to his edition of the *Libro de buen amor* (Madrid, 1992), p. xxxiii, n. 37, but he does not identify the one with the other: “Dos ‘Royzes’ enfrentados en el debate dialéctico sobre Dios, mundo y hombre.”

<sup>42</sup> Manuel Criado de Val, *Libro de buen amor (facsimil y transcripción del ms. Toledo)*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1977), III: 33–34, emphasised the likely erotic connotation of most of the onomastic forms in the poem. Fita (Hita) = “standing stone or boundary post”, <FICTA; the past participle could derive from FĪGO, FIGERE, FIXI, FIXUM or FICTUM (“to fix, implant”), or FĪNGO, FINGERE, FINXI, FICTUM (“to feign or invent”).

<sup>43</sup> “Las figuras del Arçipreste”, *Libro de buen amor*, stanzas 1485–89.

<sup>44</sup> *Libro de buen amor*, stanza 1331c, cf. Joan Corominas and José A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1981), IV: p. 591, col. a, s.v. “polea”.

forms.<sup>45</sup> It is as though, through the verses of the Mozarabic poet, we can still hear the crowded-street chatter and the strains of the myriad musical instruments of all the ethnic groups with which the city and lands of Toledo pullulated.

Even if this tentative hypothesis about the comic pseudonym and title of the author were to be rejected, that would not invalidate the centrality of the debates over the Averroist propositions condemned by the Church for a full understanding of the Spanish poem. After all, Bishop Tempier in his prologue to the articles had specifically condemned Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* as a product of the canker gnawing at the vitals of the arts faculty in Paris, together with its side-kick in heterodoxy, the second *Roman de la Rose* of Jean de Meun.<sup>46</sup> Whatever the reality that lay behind the authorship of the Toledan satirical poem, the text remains as the greatest literary product of the city of three faiths.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See Francisco J. Hernández, "Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo," *Boletín Burriel*, 1 (1989), pp. 29–48; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Nuevos arabismos en un pasaje del *Libro de buen amor* (941ab)", in *El Arcipreste de Hita, el libro, el autor, la tierra, la época: Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 202–207; Juan Martínez Ruiz, "La tradición hispano-árabe en el *Libro de buen amor*", *ibid.*, pp. 187–201.

<sup>46</sup> See Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, "Juan Ruiz and Andreas Capellanus," *Hispanic Review*, 40 (1972), pp. 390–411; G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, "Autobiography in the *Libro de buen amor* in the Light of Some Literary Comparisons", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 34 (1957), pp. 63–78, and "Guillaume de Machaut's Erotic 'Autobiography': Precedents for the Form of the *Voir-Dire*", in *Studies in Medieval Literature and Languages in Memory of Frederick Whitehead* (Manchester, 1973), pp. 133–152.

<sup>47</sup> This article is extracted from lectures I gave in the University of California (at Santa Barbara, Berkeley and UCLA) in May 2004.

## ROUND AND ABOUT WATER: CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN THE EBRO VALLEY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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Sheep raising in Spain, particularly the practice of transhumance, has a “black legend” among Spanish economic and social historians. They believe that the movement of large flocks of sheep from the northern mountains of the Peninsula to the southern plains of Extremadura, Castilla-La Mancha and Andalucía produced the overgrazing and deforestation of extensive areas, and that the protection by the monarchy of the shepherds’ main organisation, the *Honrado Concejo de la Mesta*, checked the development of a modern industrial economy. In the last two decades, however, this analytical paradigm has changed in favour of a more positive assessment of shepherds’ uses of natural resources and their effect on the landscape. Environmental historians and scientists are exploring the ability of extensive pastoralist societies to use large semi-arid and mountainous regions, and the thorough knowledge of shepherds of the requirements of the biology of their animals and the ecologies they frequented. Medievalists can contribute to this debate, despite our meagre sources regarding landscapes and environmental problems, by studying the way in which several factors, namely political, social and cultural, combine to explain past socio-economic systems of animal husbandry; hence, the interaction of environmental and social issues is the object of this essay. It examines the water conflicts in the Ebro river around the town of Zaragoza (Aragón) between an organisation of sheep-herders and other ethnic and religious communities in the fourteenth century. The paper argues that the interaction of individuals, communities and organisations with different aims and interests not only imposed a geographical, but also a social landscape.

The primary sources used for this research are the documents of a Confraternity called the *Casa de Ganaderos*, the association of shepherds and livestock breeders founded in Zaragoza in 1218 by King Jaime I of Aragón. This Brotherhood has maintained a continuous set of records of its activities from its origin in the thirteenth century until today, when it is still a co-operative of around 400 sheep owners. Julius Klein, in his seminal study on the Castilian *Mesta* in 1920, mentioned this Confraternity. He argued that Aragón, like Castile, was a land of

shepherds and sheep, but he noted that in Aragón there was not a sole and comprehensive organisation of shepherds, but several associations or *ligallos* in the main towns of the kingdom. Klein drew attention to the power of the *ligallo* of Zaragoza, whose main representative, the *Justicia* of the *Casa de Ganaderos*, was an official independent from the crown, elected by the members of the Confraternity. The *Justicia* had jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters and the *Casa de Ganaderos* had its own set of gallows. That was all Klein could say about the topic in his monumental work on the Castilian *Mesta*.<sup>1</sup>

During the thirteenth century, the *Casa de Ganaderos* became the most important organisation of shepherds in Aragón. It was hated and blamed by other villages and communities of the kingdom because it was a society protected by royal privileges that provided the right to access all the pasture and water on royal land. The privilege breached the traditional system of reciprocity known since the eleventh century as the *alera foral*. This customary right allowed coterminous villages to use the grazing lands and natural resources of the neighbouring communities as long as it was between dawn and sundown, and it regulated the relationship between villages from the northern Pyrenees to the Ebro valley.<sup>2</sup> The members of the *Casa de Ganaderos* defended their rights to access the municipal district of others without acknowledging the members of these communities a similar right into their land under the jurisdiction of Zaragoza. They always travelled with the battery of privileges granted by the king in their migration to other lands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Julius Klein, *The Mesta. A study in Spanish economic history, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 31–32.

<sup>2</sup> Víctor Fairén Guillén, *La alera foral* (Zaragoza, 1951), pp. 13–14.

<sup>3</sup> There are innumerable disputes with other communities due to the exerting of these rights to trespass in the jurisdiction of other villages: in the dispute against Longares (28 July 1296) they argued their right to *paxer abreuvar et usar por todos los montes terminus agues de la senyoria de Aragon franchament et quita* (“their right to graze, drink and use all the royal lands of the kingdom of Aragon freely and without prohibition”): Ángel Canellas, *Diplomatario medieval de la Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza, 1988), doc. 26, p. 78. In the dispute with María de Huerva they claimed: *lenyar... et pacentar cazar et cabanyar et abrebrar sus ganados et bestiares grosos et menudos* (“collecting firewood... and grazing and hunting and the building of huts and giving of water to their big and small animals”): *ibid.*, doc. 107, p. 274. The dispute Zaragoza/Fuentes de Ebro (13 December 1340) explains that they can enter that land *asi como termino de Zaragoza pasciendo con sus ganados, leniando, cabaniando, labrando, escaliando, cazando et otras cosas* (“as if it were the district of Zaragoza for grazing their animals, collecting firewood, building huts, tilling, assarting, hunting and other things”): *ibid.*, doc. 74, p. 164.

The frequent confirmation of charters by the Aragonese monarchs, and the continuity and unique preservation of the medieval documentation of Zaragoza, displays not only the interest of the monarchy in the re-population of this frontier region after its conquest in 1118, but also the extraordinary privileged status that this town had achieved in the thirteenth century. Two main charters shaped this platform of power for Zaragoza. The first of these is the privilege granted by King Jaime I on 28 January 1233, when he forbade all the communities from Épila to Alcañiz, in other words, from the Jalón river to the Huerva river, to create grass enclosures for the grazing of their draught animals (*vedados, dehesas o boalares*: see Fig. 1). He allowed the dwellers of Zaragoza, however, to enter and use the grass and water of the whole area.<sup>4</sup> With this document, Zaragoza assured its winter pastures in the valley and access to the rivers Jalón and Huerva, the two main sources of water, in addition to the Ebro River. The second document was issued by the same king on 3 April 1235 to ensure the right of the dwellers of Zaragoza to graze their flocks and to use the water in the whole royal demesne, except in two *dehesas* on the Ebro river: Signa and Retuerta de Pina. Zaragoza had gained the privilege called “Universal Pasture” (*pastura universal*) by which it could move its sheep across the whole kingdom, particularly to the Pyrenees where all the valleys were royal land.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these, there were two other charters issued three quarters of a century later (6 November 1300) by King Jaime II that reminded all the royal officials and subjects from the Pyrenees and from the Iberian mountains of Teruel that the people of Zaragoza had the right to *pastura universal*.<sup>6</sup> These documents prove that the people from Zaragoza were using these latitudes as summer grazing pastures and that the inhabitants of the mountains resisted their claims; it could not be otherwise, if we remember that the economy of these regions was equally based on the raising of livestock.

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<sup>4</sup> *concilio Epile et hominibus de rivo de Exalon et de rivo de Maria et aliis universis habitantibus citra Iberum, de Epila usque ad Alcanicium... nullos habeatis vel faciatis vetatos in dictis terminis... quod totum bestiarium Cesarauguste et aliorum hominum terre nostre possit pascere ibi et habere herbas et aquas sine omni impedimento*: Canellas, *Diplomatario medieval*, doc. 6, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *damus et concedimus vobis dilectis et fidelibus nostris civibus Cesarauguste... omnia prata erbas et pasqua et aquas ad usus vestri bestiarum et ganati per omnes montes et per alia omnia loca terre nostre exceptis defesis antiquis de Signa et de Retuerta de Pina quas nobis et nostris usibus retinemus*: *ibid.*, doc. 7, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> *concessa omnia prata, herbe, pasqua et aque ad usus sui bestiarum per omnes montes et per omnia loca terre seu dominationis nostre*: *ibid.*, doc. 28, p. 80.

Despite its privileges, however, the *Casa de Ganaderos* achieved varying levels of success in different regions. The institution succeeded in imposing its power upon the nearby villages of the Ebro basin; it faced problems in the Pyrenees, and eventually had to come to an arrangement with the villages by paying or compensating for the use of the *puertos* (upland pastures); and it failed in the southern mountains of Teruel where they developed their own municipal law or *fuero*.<sup>7</sup> This struggle is clearly represented in the records.<sup>8</sup> Around 70 per cent of the documents kept in the archive of the *Casa de Ganaderos* from the Middle Ages are settlements of disputes around pastures, water and village or town boundaries. The control of these two natural resources, water and grass, was vital for the survival and development of the Confraternity. If pastureland was the main dispute during the summer in the Pyrenees, however, water was the central issue in the Ebro valley during the winter months.<sup>9</sup> The length and detail of these documents about water are remarkable and they shed light not only on the use of natural resources in the area, but also provide a snapshot of the social landscape of the valley.<sup>10</sup>

### *A Physical Landscape*

Most conflicts involving the *Casa de Ganaderos* and the town of Zaragoza were centred on the rivers Jalón and Huerva, both tributaries to the Ebro River, south to the town, the area that the shepherds roamed with their animals in winter. The territory south of the river was not fully settled until as late as 1255 when Zaragoza founded the village

<sup>7</sup> In 1369, the town of Teruel rejected the right of Zaragoza to use their *montes*: *ibid.*, doc. 98, pp. 233–237 (3 July).

<sup>8</sup> The 176 documents that form the collection of medieval documents of the *Casa de Ganaderos* between 1218 and 1492 published by Angel Canellas López are complemented by the valuable collection of the Municipal Archive of Zaragoza.

<sup>9</sup> When the shepherds travelled to the Pyrenees in May, their access to water was protected by the *Fuero 2º De pascuis, gregibus et capannis* of the *Fuero General del Reino* de 1247. According to it, each transhumant herd could drink twice in the municipal boundaries of the towns they crossed: once above the village and once below it. The traditional Pyrenean custom of the *ademprivios de agua* or the right of all the coterminous villages to use the land of the neighbouring village from dawn to dusk did not apply to them: José Antonio Fernández Otal, “En pos del agua: la inspección de abrevaderos en las riberas del Jalón y Huerva por los ganaderos zaragozanos (1440)”, *Aragón en la Edad Media* 10–11 (1993), 251–267.

<sup>10</sup> José Angel Sesma Muñoz, Juan Fernando Utrilla Utrilla and Carlos Laliena Corbera, *Agua y paisaje social en el Aragón medieval. Los regadíos del río Aguasvivas en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2001).

of La Muela to bring the region under its control against other lords.<sup>11</sup> Despite a weak demographic profile and the fact that there was a lot of land available, the documents hint at competition between the shepherds and local farmers for control of the fertile riverbanks. The dwellers of Zaragoza claimed the right to the water of all the coterminous towns and villages independently of their status as royal, municipal or lordly villages. Nineteen villages feature prominently in the documentation. Eleven of them were on the Jalón river: Peramán, Bardállur, Plasencia, Coglor, Urrea, Rueda, Épila, Calatorao, Ricla, Codo y Fuentes de Jalón; a further eight were on the Huerva river: Cuarte, Cadrete, Santa Fe, María, Botorrita, Muel, Mezalocha y Longares.

The first mention of a conflict between the Confraternity and communities around a watering place appears at the end of the thirteenth century (28 April 1294), when the Lord of Épila, Pedro Jiménez de Rueda, and the municipal council of Épila acknowledged the privilege of Zaragoza to graze and use the land within the territory of their municipal estate. The right was expressed in the ability of Zaragoza to use two watering places that were part of the same channel: Viscota and Peña de Palacio. They recognised that the *Casa de Ganaderos* might use all the sheep paths within and without the riverbanks (*vega*) and on the wasteland (*montes no labrados*). Zaragoza, in turn, allowed Épila to create a grass enclosure or *boalar* in its district for its draught animals.<sup>12</sup> In its eagerness to reach water, Zaragoza breached its own privilege from 1233 that forbade villages to define grass enclosures, though Zaragoza was probably just acknowledging the *de facto* existence of an ancient *dehesa* created before the *Fuero* of 1247 and, hence, with the right to be preserved. Although violence is not often mentioned in the documents, the very few cases that refer to it show that it was part of the whole process of the settlement of disputes and a practice frequently used by all communities and organisations. For example, the prior of the Order of Montalbán, lords of Bardallur, claimed that men from Zaragoza set fire to some houses, towers, vineyards, fields, and the hospital of the village in 1311. They had also imprisoned the *alcalde*. The *Casa de Ganaderos* was fined and had to pay 2,530 *sueldos jaqueses*.<sup>13</sup>

A document dating from 14 April 1320 shows the main contradictions between the town and the villages around water. It is important to note, as part of the contentious nature and attitudes of the surrounding towns

<sup>11</sup> Canellas, *Diplomatario*, doc. 8, pp. 55–56.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 21, pp. 73–74.

<sup>13</sup> *et in ponendo ignem in dicto hospitali domibus et turri: ibid.*, doc. 45, p. 105.



and villages, that the procurator of Zaragoza presented the claims of the *Casa de Ganaderos* in Latin and the men of Ricla defended their case in the vernacular. In a public meeting in the village square, attended by eight Christians and two Muslims (*Mahomat Ferrero et Ebraym Zapatero sarraceni*), Zaragoza accused the people of Ricla of having stolen 27 sheep. The people of Ricla argued that the animals had trespassed onto the arable land, orchards, vineyards and the old *dehesa*, which the villagers reserved especially for critical seasons such as times of hard snow. They added that the animals entered the village watering place whose water, they argued, was not enough for their own animals.<sup>14</sup> The document speaks volumes about the rising tension between the nature of the economies of these communities of the Jalón River and the all-dominant pastoral needs of Zaragoza. The flocks of Zaragoza, in their search for water, entered and damaged the cultivated land of what were probably mostly peasants dependent on a mixed economy by bringing up stationary livestock and following an agriculture dedicated to cereal and vineyards around the banks of the rivers. In the fourteenth century, water appeared to be a scarce resource in this area. It is also clear that the open landscape, without enclosures claimed by the *ligallo*, was an ideal far from reality. The locals had their own grass enclosures, despite the prohibition, for the coldest months of the year when snow still visited the region. The people of the village added that their pond was “ancient”. In Aragón there were royal and municipal watering places. The royal pools were for the use of the locals and for foreigners in transit to other lands, or for flocks with right of pasture in the municipal estate. The municipal pools were only for the neighbours of the village.<sup>15</sup> Both were built, managed and cleaned by local communities. The battle was around the status of these places, however, and indeed Zaragoza would aim to give the status of “royal” to most pools in the kingdom. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on two water inspections that took place in 1350 and in 1373, which comprise two outstanding sources of information.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *el qual Ganado fue prendado en las messes e en las labores de Ricla e entre las vinyas fendo danyo e en la defessa de Ricla la qual yes antiga que no es memoria de homes que el Ganado de Ricla no y entra sino es con tiempo fuert de nieves, et encara en la bassa que yes propria del concello la qual fazen a sus proprias messiones e non cumple el agua de aquella a lures ganados: ibid., doc. 59, p. 129.*

<sup>15</sup> Manuel Marín y Peña, “La Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza. (Notas para la historia del régimen jurídico de la Ganadería aragonesa)”, *Universidad* 6 (1929), 50–52.

<sup>16</sup> The precedent for the two inspections is found in previous documents dating from 1324 and 1325. In January and February 1324, the representatives of Zaragoza

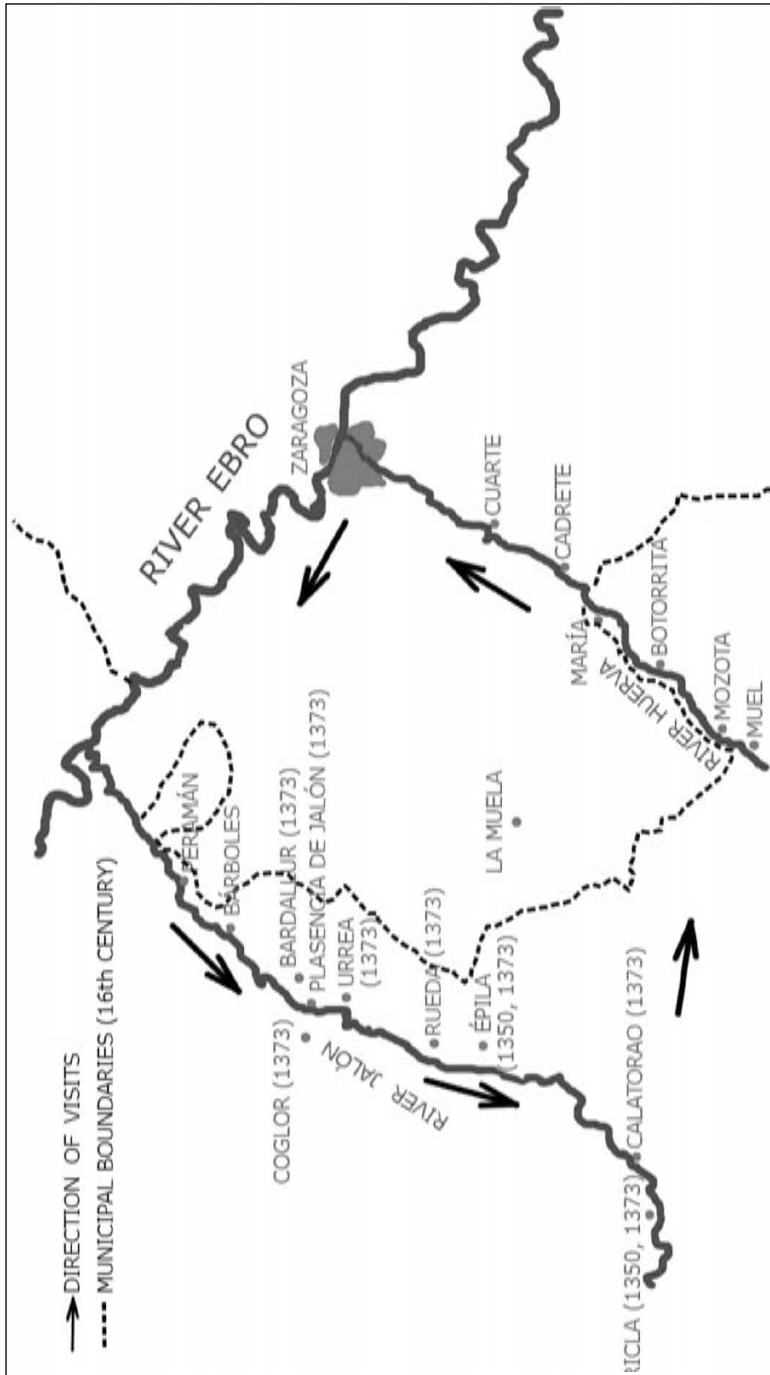


Fig. 1. Water Inspections of 1350 and 1373

In 1350, the officials of the *Casa* inspected the River Jalón, as the letter sent to the villages explains, to restore the traditional measures and condition of the pools.<sup>17</sup> Six villages were affected by the inspection: Épila, Rueda, Urrea, Pozuelo, Ricla and Calatorao. For eight days in winter (from 16 to 23 December), Johan de Mirón, Justice of the *Casa de Ganaderos* and Domingo Calvet, procurator of the town, accompanied by two good men from each village, surveyed all the irrigation ditches and watering places of the valley. Unfortunately, the document renders an account only of the inspection in Épila and Ricla, the two most important localities. In Épila, six watering places were inspected, comprising: Fortún de Rosa, Marenchá, Ortiello, Puente de Piedra or Puente Mayor, Viscota y Peña Palacio. In Ricla, there were a further six: “one above the village”, Juncar, De la Foz—which they argued was “far from the village” in order to dissuade the inspectors from visiting it—, Chanalavaca, Crebada de Utrillas and Torrillón or Torreón de Casanueva.<sup>18</sup> The ritual was identical in every place they visited. The representatives of Zaragoza claimed that the pool was *ancient and royal* and therefore their flocks had right to use it. The other party contested the claim, but had to accept it. Then the working party verified the status of the pool and its accesses and they set up the landmarks and paths defining the boundaries to reach the watering place. The *Casa de Ganaderos* pushed for their right to be granted the privilege of unmolested access to the river if there were no water in the irrigation ditch. Arbiters who deliberated on the spot usually settled the dispute. Finally, the locals protested against the result, claiming that it was contrary to their rights and interests.

The document shows that the power of Zaragoza was weaker in Épila than in Ricla. In the former, most watering pools were ruined, either invaded by tamarisks and esparto grass (*genista florida*) or surrounded by vineyards that blocked access to them; however, their royal status

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and the *Casa de Ganaderos* made a nine-day tour (24 January to 1 February) displaying their privileges to use water and pasture in the kingdom to the councils of Fuentes de Jalón, Rueda, Urrea, Pozuelo de Jalón, Mezalocha y Muel de Huerva: *ibid.*, doc. 64, pp. 143–145. A year later, the same conspicuous display happened, again in winter, when the herds of Zaragoza were around the Ebro basin. On 11 February 1325, they showed their privileges to Pedro Jiménez de Rueda, the lord also of Jalón and Sotiello: *ibid.*, doc. 65, pp. 145–146.

<sup>17</sup> *por reduzir aquellos a la amplexa et estado que antigament solian seer*: *ibid.*, doc. 83, p. 184 (14 December 1350).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 84, pp. 185–200.

was commonly acknowledged and accepted. In Ricla, on the contrary, the condition of the watering places was better, but clearly less institutionalised: some of them did not have a formal name to identify them, just a description of their location. It was not simply a matter of lack of ownership in the latter or a consequence of the different economic orientation of communities towards a more pastoral or agricultural economy. The contrast cannot either be explained by the stronger power of the lords of Épila. There is a clear correlation between the status of the pool and its preservation: royal status equates with abandonment by the local communities that had stopped considering it part of their resources; municipal status equates with local management, use and economic expenditure towards its conservation. This makes sense if we remember that in most disputes the citizens of Zaragoza rejected the obligation to clean the watering ponds that they shared with other communities. The locals had to do the work at their own cost. In both cases, and despite the legal battery of privileges of Zaragoza, the procurator of the Confraternity had to tolerate the fact that some land was under cultivation. The working party removed only part of the vineyards to open a path, while the owner of the vineyards had to wall the other half in order to prevent the flocks from entering the culture.<sup>19</sup> Zaragoza complained frequently regarding the narrowness of the new path.

In 1355 it was the turn of Calatorao, although it was listed as one of the localities visited five years earlier. In this document, the inspection defined the limits of four watering places: two on the Royal Ditch (*de la acequia del Rey a Santa María del Campo*), Filiellos and another one on the Jalón river. The *Casa de Ganaderos* were assured that if there was no water in the ditch, they could freely access the river at the bridge of Filiellos.<sup>20</sup>

The last inspection of the fourteenth century started on 13 November 1373, when again the *Casa* sent letters to all the villages of the Jalón river region to announce a visit.<sup>21</sup> In this case, nine villages were visited and the document gives an account of all the decisions in every single village: Épila, Rueda, Urrea, Bardállur, Turbena, Plasencia, Coglór,

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<sup>19</sup> E.g. the watering place called Fortún de la Rosa was: *estrenyido et ocupado por algunas plantaciones et que por la dita ocupación los ganados non podian haber entrada ni exida suficientment por abeurars...ansi emperor quel dito Salvador de Tuvo fuese tenido de tapiar o bardar o amotar la otra part del dito malluelo en manera que ganado non podiese danyo dar en aquell...: ibid., pp. 187 and 189.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 86, p. 30 (Oct. 1355).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 105, pp. 248–249.

Calatorao and Ricla. It took ten days to conduct, from 15 to 25 November. The watering places that appear on the documents are the same as 25 years earlier, but now the Confraternity claimed rights over 22 watering places rather than over 16. In this inspection, the problems were similar: access to the locations and the cleaning of the ditches, however the proceedings were more specific. First, pools were given a specific width: 31 and a half *varas* wide, where each *vara* equated to fourteen *palmas* (approximately 20 centimeters).<sup>22</sup> In total, the width was equal to approximately 90 meters.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, they specified who was responsible for cleaning the pools and the way it should be done: the mud had to be thrown in the other direction of the mountains where the sheep came from.<sup>24</sup> The representatives of the village of Urrea had extensive disagreements with Zaragoza over the watering place of *La Hermandad* that they shared with Rueda. The four arbitrators were not neutral since they were from Zaragoza and its village La Muela; their sentence was in favour of the town. It is a clear case in which we see a watering place changing its status from municipal to royal, in favour of Zaragoza. This was the way the big corporation stockpiled rights over new sources of water.<sup>25</sup>

All these documents of disputes around watering places give a glimpse of the landscape of the rivers at this time, displaying a terrain pierced by a complex network of ditches, fountains, ponds and pools, surrounded by cereals and vineyards as the main cultures. However, there are several mentions of wasteland as a clear, separated space outside the riverbanks. In the village of Fuentes de Ebro, Zaragoza argued that the path did not allow two *ramados de ganado* (two flocks of 1000 sheep each) to go through, therefore the best course of action would be to widen La Espartera (“the pool of esparto grass”) because it sat on the limits of

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<sup>22</sup> *en el qual spacio asignado de las ditas tapias entro al pontarron fueron mediadas trenta una bara et media de lanza, la qual bara era de mida de quatorze palmas . . . : ibid., doc. 106, pp. 249–272, p. 252.*

<sup>23</sup> When there was a wall to protect the vineyards the width was 15 *varas* and 4 *palmas* approximately, less than 20 meters: *ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 252. Other times, the width was between 8 and 24 *lances* (*astas de lanzas*): *ibid.*, doc. 74, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> *los ganados non podrian abeurar buenament en el dito abeuradero por ocasion de la tierra siquiere bardona que sacaban de la cequia et aquella ytaban enca la partida de fuera do los ganados debian beber, que daqui adelant los escombradores de la dita cequia qualesquiere fuesen que no itarian ni gitar farian la dita bardona enca la partida del mont . . . : ibid., doc. 106, p. 253.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

the fields and they would not damage the cereal crops or vineyards.<sup>26</sup> We may also note that the irrigation ditches were occasionally empty of water. There were three reasons given: firstly, that the river flooded and swept the watering place away<sup>27</sup> (this fits with the fact that rainfall was seemingly increasing in the fourteenth century); secondly, that there were works in the ditches as mud had to be removed once a year;<sup>28</sup> thirdly, that the water was not sufficient for the level of agriculture to the extent that two connected ditches might be drained of water.<sup>29</sup> This seems demonstrative of the irregular regime of the river Ebro and its tributaries. Irrigation appeared to be the main competitor with sheep and was a central activity of these communities.

Zaragoza's desire to control these watering places was expressed by the fact that these inspections continued during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the inspections, carried out in 1440, was published and studied by Fernández Otal. In this case, there were 38 watering places examined, not only on the Jalón River, but also on the Huerva and the Ebro itself, showing the increasing growth of the shepherders' Confraternity.<sup>30</sup> This visit noted similar problems to the two previous, but it also indicated the different economic climate in terms of the expansion of the agriculture and the demographic growth of the fifteenth

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., doc. 74, p. 167. In 1440, the path for the livestock to access the river banks was defined as a width that allowed 1000 sheep to pass: *a tal guisa e manera que mil cabezas de ganado o mas liberamente et franca podiessen pasar por la dita carrera a beurar*: Fernández Otal, "En pos del agua", 262, n. 26.

<sup>27</sup> In Ortiello, Épila: *el dito abeuradero del dito rio se haya levado et sya destruido por ocasion que el dito rio ha mudado su alveo et ha feyto grandes ribas por do el dito abeuradero yes perdido et los dito ganados abeurar non podrian en el dito rio sines grant danyo et periglo dellos...*: Canellas, *Diplomatario*, doc. 106, pp. 253–254.

<sup>28</sup> *en caso do agua no veniese en la dita cequia do yes el ditto abeuradero clamado de Biscota por escombra de cequia o en otra manera...*: *ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 254.

<sup>29</sup> In the controversy between Zaragoza and Codo (20 April 1320), they argued that they could not allow the people from the town to take water from the ditch because they did not have sufficient to water the fields: *Et quare aqua dicti fontis d'Almargi fuit et est in tantum modica quod non sufficit plene ad rigandum hereditates vegue seu regani de Codo*: *ibid.*, doc. 61, p. 133. The watering place of Vadillo de Alborge in Rueda explains this scarcity: *Et en caso que por escombrar la cequia do yes el dito abrevadero o en otra manera agua no oviessse en aquella que los ditos ganaderos puedan passer sus ganados a abrevar a la otra cequia siguiant que es entre el dito abrevadero et el rio de Exalon, et do por ventura en las ditas dos cequias no hoviesse agua que los ditos ganados puedan entrar a abrevar al dito rio de Exalon francament et libera...*: *ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 259.

<sup>30</sup> On the banks of the Jalón river: Peramán, Bárboles, Turbena, Bardállur, Coglor, Urrea de Jalón, Rueda de Jalón, Épila, Salillas de Jalón, Calatorao, Ricla y Cabañas. On the river banks of the Huerva river: Mozota, Botorríta, María, Cadrete y Cuarte: Fernández Otal, "En pos del agua", 258–260.

century. The references to *scalios* or assartings made by the peasants of the nearby villages that encroached on the *montes* and the grazing land are constant.<sup>31</sup> It is also interesting to note that the 1440 visit predates the creation of the future *dehesa* or grass enclosure that the *Casa de Ganaderos* defined on the wasteland of the municipal district of Zaragoza around 1444.<sup>32</sup> This *dehesa* was a reaction to the expansion of cultures and the visit to the network of watering pools four years earlier was probably part of the study of its viability. A month before the inspection, the works of the stone bridge that crossed the Ebro river were finished and finally the shepherds and their herds could safely cross the river on their annual journey to the northern mountains.<sup>33</sup>

All these documents refer to very similar landscapes, all squeezed together around the sources of water: the landscape of the rich orchards (*huerta*) of the Huerva, Ebro, Gállego and Jalón rivers. A landscape of poplars<sup>34</sup> and *sarga* (*Salix purpurea* L.)<sup>35</sup> with a dense river bank vegetation (*sotos*)<sup>36</sup> used for collecting firewood, suffocated by vineyards, plots of cereal and orchards, watering places, irrigation channels and sheep paths. A patchwork of stripes surrounded by vast extensions, that the documents cause us to think are probably mostly *montes*, wasteland, uncultivated land of Spanish junipers (*Juniperus thurifera*), common juniper (*Juniperus communis*), Aleppo and Corsican pines (*Pinus halepensis*), scattered evergreen oaks (*Quercus ilex*), and common oaks.<sup>37</sup> All this was accompanied by the Mediterranean and continental *matorrales* (maquia and savannah) of rosemary, esparto grasses, tamarisks,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Fernández Otal, "En pos del agua..."; 256, n. 12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>33</sup> Isabel Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV. Morfología urbana, huertas y término municipal* (Zaragoza, 1981), pp. 195–196.

<sup>34</sup> In Ricla: *chopo mayor*: Canellas, *Diplomatario*, doc. 106, p. 269.

<sup>35</sup> *et encara talliar sargas et qualesquiera arboles que en los caxeros de dicta acequia son o seran*: *ibid.*, doc. 74, p. 163.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 271.

<sup>37</sup> In the river banks or *sotos* of María, Zaragoza had the right to cut trees except Aleppo pines and evergreen oaks or their green branches or fallen Spanish junipers by the foot *excepto que no puedan tallar pino carrasca roble verde ni ramas verdes de aquellos ni sabina verde de su pie, mas puedan tallar toda otra lenya verde o secha qual querran et las ramas de la sabina verde o sechas excepto el tronco verde*: *ibid.*, doc. 107, p. 274.

<sup>38</sup> The tamarisk was the most frequent vegetation around the watering places: *et trobose la dicha entrada muy mala et empachada de muchas tamarizes, las quales se devian de necesidad tallar por tal que el dicho ganado sines danyo alguno podiese entrar e salir a abeurar al dicho rio* (fountain of La Filiellas in Calatorao), in Fernández Otal, "En pos del agua..."; 264.

thyme, *sisallo* (*Salsola vermiculata* L.) lavender, *cistus*, thistles, heather and Spanish broom; the outskirts of the irrigation lands, the world of the shepherds.

### *A Cultural Landscape*

The documents reviewed show that there was an asymmetric relationship between the communities of the rural villages, hamlets and farmsteads around Zaragoza and the level of organisation of the centre of power of the region. In almost all cases, the association of herders imposed its intentions, even if at some points it had reached an agreement with those communities and compensated them in one way or another. Who were these communities that seem unable to defend their watering places and their rights?

On re-examining the inspection of 1373, we find that the town of Épila contained a council of Christians referred as *muytos hombres buenos, vezinos et habitantes* (good men, neighbours and dwellers). They also had some judges, the *alcalde* (mayor) and the justices.<sup>39</sup>

In the village of Rueda, there was a council, *alcalde*, justice, juries and one squire. With them appears: Ali de Benamir *alamin*, Mahoma de *Aventatero* and Ebrahim de *Garbanzón moros del dito lugar* (“Moors of the aforementioned place”). The assembly was summoned by a Muslim: *criidado concello publicament en el dito lugar de Rueda assi de cristianos como de moros por Mahoma Dalmonezir moro corredor publico del dito lugar. . .* (“summoned the council of Rueda of Christians and Muslims by the crier Mahoma Dalmonezir from the same place”). Also present were Zayt de Beatan, Ali de Audalla *moros vezinos et habitantes* (“who are Muslims, neighbours and dwellers”) and the four good men to accompany the Zaragoza authorities were Muslims: Abrahimm de Benamir, Ali de Benamir, Hayt de Beazan and Saudalia del Harre, who were given full powers to represent the community. They took an oath in their own faith (*moros juraron por Bille alledille illeha illehita de ellos* (“they swore with their own oath. . .”).<sup>40</sup> In the village of Calatorao, the jury comprised ten Christians and two Muslims (*don Mahoma Sediello and Yuce Rugell*). Those accompanying the retinue from Zaragoza to

<sup>39</sup> Canellas, *Diplomatario*, doc. 106, p. 249.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257–258.



the pools were four Christians and four Muslims.<sup>41</sup> In Urrea, the village crier was again a Muslim, *Mahoma del Zarco*.<sup>42</sup> The good men who represented the community were three Christians and two Muslims from the same locality (*Ovecar Dalmazar, Mahoma Falconero alamin moros vezinos et habitantes del dito lugar*).<sup>43</sup> The status of the fountain of *La Hermandad* was changed, despite the complaints of the Muslims, by four Christian arbiters from Zaragoza, as we have mentioned above. Next, the retinue arrived at Bardallur, a small hamlet; the men summoned were seven Muslims.<sup>44</sup> The community intimated that they did not have a council, or a village crier, so they could not call the rest of the people who were working on the fields. After swearing an oath according to their own faith, they followed the representatives of the *Casa de Ganaderos* to Vinyarota (“pool of the cleared vineyard”), their sole watering place, shared with Urrea and Plasencia de Jalón.<sup>45</sup> The Muslims’ suspicions were expressed by the fact that they asked to see the accreditation of the people of Zaragoza and they dared to protest against the decision to designate the pond as royal, but it was done anyway.<sup>46</sup> The retinue’s next step was to travel to the small hamlet of Plasencia, the co-owner of the watering place of *Vinyarota*, to report its change in status. The community was fully Muslim, some of them representatives of the lords of the village, and they met in the square in front of the mosque. Zaragoza argued that Urrea had accepted the new status of the watering place; the community protested against the decision, arguing that they had never seen or heard that the pond was

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<sup>41</sup> *Mahoma Abenxento, Mahoma Abenari, Yuce de Gayan alamin, Halhaxi Monratexi*: *ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 268.

<sup>42</sup> *cridado concello publicament de cristianos et moros del dito lugar por Mahoma del Zarco corredor publico del dito lugar*: *ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>44</sup> *do eran plegados delant la puerta del dito lugar do otras vegadas los homes del dito lugar se han costumbrado plegar yes a saber el honrado Fortunyo de Vera lugartenient de alcalde... Mahoma et Curbo jurado, Mahoma Capzala, Yuce Abengalit alamin, Ebrahim de Annozarri, Ali de Calanda, Yuce Alhax, Ebrahim de Lousto*: *ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 261.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, doc. 106, p. 262.

<sup>46</sup> *Et los ditos Mahoma Zapzala et Yuce Alhat moros et diputados del dito lugar de Bardallur dixeran que nunca habian visto ni oydo quell dito abeuradero fuesse real sino a los ganados que erbajaban en los terminus de Bardallur et de Hurrea: et asi dixeran que protestaban del dreyto del dito concello...* (The villagers claimed that they were not aware that the watering place was royal, but thought it was for the use of the stock grazing in the co-terminous districts of Bardallur and Urrea): *ibid.*, p. 263.

royal, but without success.<sup>47</sup> The four Muslims of the farmstead of Coglor, who shared the watering place of Vadiello de Alborge with Rueda, could only accept the sentence of the envoys of Zaragoza.<sup>48</sup>

The Confraternity of the Christian brethren of Zaragoza, with the help of the town, was probably involved in a process of gaining sources of water at the expense of nearby communities since the thirteenth century, despite the fact we only see the process emerging in the fourteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The claims of Zaragoza and the *Casa de Ganaderos* on the river Huerva were not as highly formalised as those on the Jalón. We only see the extent of the power of Zaragoza there in the inspection of 1440. Nevertheless, a couple of documents regarding the village of María on the Huerva River are very significant. In 1376, the village of María accepted all the claims of Zaragoza to graze their animals by the boundaries of María's district in the land of Jaulín, Torrecilla and Valmadrid without any compensation.<sup>50</sup> The letter of appointment of an attorney given by María in 1371 shows that the lord of the village was Juan Fernández de Heredia, an under age boy, the town crier was *Jorach de Jodar*, and there were seven Christian and ten Muslim jurors, plus four other Muslims who witnessed the document. This was again a small community with a mixed population of Muslims and Christians.<sup>51</sup> By 1472, the *Casa de Ganaderos* had control of around fifteen watering places on the Ebro river and some others on the Gallego river, another process hidden to us until the fifteenth century, when the *Libro Registro* (1472–1494) of the archive of the *Casa de Ganaderos* provided a list of places.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> [The council] *plegado delant la puerta de la mezquita del dito lugar... Lop Abengal lugartenient de alcalde de la senyoria del infant don Martin, Ebrahim Nocer lugartenient de alcayde de la senyoria de la noble doña Elfa de Exerica, Juce el Pradiell, Ebrahim Abenrrabe, Juce Abengali, Mahoma Abenrrrega, Mahoma Algenza, Muza Abendie... nunca habian visto ni oydo que dito abeuradero... fuese real: ibid., doc. 106, p. 265.*

<sup>48</sup> *Mahoma Gualit, Farag de Foto, Mahoma de Abenauí et Mahoma el Conde vezinos et habitants: ibid., doc. 106, p. 267.*

<sup>49</sup> María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, "Notas sobre los mudéjares del Valle del Huerva siglos XII al XIV", *Aragón en la Edad Media* 3 (1980), 7–27.

<sup>50</sup> Canellas, *Dipomatario*, doc. 107, pp. 273–279 (3 October 1376).

<sup>51</sup> *Farach del Royo alamin, Jucef el Royo, Ali de la Madrina, Cauzala Braym Zalema, Mahoma Vinasech, Jaziel de Codo, Mahoma el Caravacero, Mahoma de Nuez, Mahoma de Rocha, Lop de Albahatan jurors; Mahoma el Morisco, Mahoma de Jodas, Mahoma Albalena, Mahoma Roncal Moors: ibid., doc. 101, p. 241.*

<sup>52</sup> José Antonio Fernández Otaol, *La Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza. Derecho y trashumancia a fines del siglo XV* (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 165–169.

*Conclusions*

The key issue regarding these documents is not the presence of Muslims, since it is well known that the overwhelming majority of Muslims remained in the Ebro basin after the conquest of Zaragoza in 1118. The region of the Jalón and the Huerva rivers became a traditional area of Muslim peasant settlement.<sup>53</sup> Most of the small villages that appear in these documents belonged to the lower lay nobility (the family of the Cerdán, Lanuza, Jiménez de Urrea), knights and *hidalgos*, with links with the upper houses, and ecclesiastical institutions (church of La Santa Cruz, the Cistercian monastery of Santa Fé, San Salvador, hospital of Santa María de Gracia) usually based in the town. They all burdened these communities with heavy rents.<sup>54</sup> What is striking about these documents, however, is that Muslims appear as the main protagonists and interlocutors of the powerful families and institutions of Zaragoza. These small communities of mixed, indeed poor, Muslim and Christian peasants sustained an entire economy, probably a mixed economy of stationary livestock and irrigation. They were the only permanent dwellers of these villages and managed to occupy positions as representatives, lieutenant, *alcaide* and *alaminus* of their lords; and village criers and appointees of their communities in the crucial issues of managing water and other rural activities.<sup>55</sup> They were farmers, small livestock breeders, experts in water channels and leaders in the hamlets, farmsteads and humble villages of lay lords, abbeys or monasteries. Their level of organisation was not very sophisticated; it was adapted by the necessities of the communities of peasants, Christians and Muslims, existing together. They were not isolated, however, but integrated in the web of forces and interests of their lords.

Muslims do not feature in the leading organisations, either in the municipal council of Zaragoza, or in the greatest institution representing

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<sup>53</sup> Carlos Laliena Corbera, *Sistema social, estructura agraria y organización del poder en el Bajo Aragón en la edad media (siglos XII–XV)* (Teruel, 1987), pp. 27–45; Ídem, “Expansión territorial, ruptura social y desarrollo de la sociedad feudal en el valle del Ebro, 1080–1120”, in Carlos Laliena and Juan F. Utrilla, eds., *De Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI* (Zaragoza, 1998), pp. 199–228.

<sup>54</sup> Francisco Javier García Marco, “Fiscalidad, feudalismo y señorío en el mudejarismo aragonés a través del ejemplo de las comunidades del Jalón y del Jiloca medio (siglo XII al XVI)” in *V Simposio internacional de mudejarismo. Actas*, 33–40 (Teruel, 1986), pp. 41–61.

<sup>55</sup> Brian C. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished. Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 126–127.

the shepherds: the *Casa de Ganaderos de Zaragoza*. This was genuinely a group of Christians around a Confraternity, a community prepared to fight for the natural resources, pastures and water that their flocks needed. Indeed, the *Casa de Ganaderos*, with the support of the town, attempted to secure the monopoly not only of the ponds and fountains that existed within the municipal district of the town's jurisdiction but also over all neighbouring territories and those that their animals traversed in their transhumance. Our documents support the suggestion that water was a scarce resource in the middle valley of the Ebro River at this time, or rather a resource on which there was increasing pressure coming from different groups and economic activities, namely agriculture and pastoralism, all fighting for the same fertile land along the river banks. The several communities were defining their areas of influence in the face of strong competition. The hypothesis that the population generated a polarised economy and society of Christian shepherds coming from the northern mountains of the Pyrenees versus Muslim farmers and peasants involved in irrigated agriculture does not seem an accurate portrayal of what was a much more complex reality. The main lines of conflict seemed to be those of the town versus the villages of its territory and also the town and its villages against the villages belonging to the lay and ecclesiastical estates surrounding it.<sup>56</sup>

As we have seen, since 1233, all the municipalities next to Zaragoza had to open their own districts (*montes*) for the people of Zaragoza. The pastoral economy of the town imposed an open landscape upon villages, which, at least theoretically, could not enclose their *dehesas*. The fight for water, though, was not only the outcome of the increasing needs of a specialised livestock husbandry, but also of a steady expansive agriculture, particularly since the fifteenth century. There is no doubt that the Brotherhood of Zaragoza increased its power steadily from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century; it achieved this with the support of refined institutions and apparatuses developed by the town, the king and its own organisation. Nevertheless, and despite this power, it is important to note that it had reached agreement with the surrounding small villages. It had to offer a trade-off with the enclosure of *boalares*; pay for services such as the cleaning and maintenance of the ditches;

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<sup>56</sup> José Luis Corral Lafuente, "Aldeas contra villas: señoríos y comunidades en Aragón (siglos XII–XIV)", in Esteban Sarasa Sánchez and Eliseo Serrano Martín, eds., *Señorío y feudalismo en la Península Ibérica*, 3 vols. (Zaragoza, 1993), 1:487–499.

leave some of the watering places for the use of the local owners; give explanations and show its privileges; develop arguments in support of its actions and define its limits. These municipalities were important in terms of the political tensions between local nobility and the town of Zaragoza. All these issues were equally complex, if with different protagonists, in the distant regions of the southern mountains of Teruel and in the northern latitudes of the Pyrenees. It is in this framework of the interaction between several communities, with various levels of organisation and functioning, that we need to analyse the process by which the physical and social landscape of medieval Zaragoza and Aragón was shaped.

NEW LIGHT ON THE *CONVERSO* DEBATE?  
THE JEWISH CHRISTIANITY OF ALFONSO DE CARTAGENA  
AND JUAN DE TORQUEMADA<sup>1</sup>

*John Edwards (University of Oxford)*

In July 2000, the Roman Catholic weekly paper, *The Tablet*, published a leading article that commented on the then recent public exchange between two noted current practitioners of Jewish-Christian dialogue, Edward Kessler and Eugene Fisher. In the editorial, the anonymous writer commented: “This is very much work in progress, even a journey into the unknown.”<sup>2</sup> The context of this remark was the need, perceived by these and other Jewish and Christian theologians, to confront two diametrically opposed claims. One of these, which comes from traditional Judaism, is that missionary activity by Christians among Jews is illegitimate, on the grounds that the Jews are still fully God’s “Chosen People” [Exod. 6:7], and can be fully redeemed (“saved”) by adherence to God’s original Covenant with Moses. The other is the equally traditional Christian claim that the only route to such salvation is through God’s Son, Jesus Christ. It is undoubtedly true that the attempt to assess the proper relationship between these apparently contradictory claims, and even perhaps to reconcile them, is, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, “work in progress”. The question is, though, whether such theological grappling, uncomfortable and unsettling as it still is, for members of both “faith communities”, is in fact “a journey into the unknown”. In this context, it seems right and proper to offer homage to Richard Fletcher, who worked so resolutely to understand the relationship between the three monotheistic faiths in medieval Spain, by considering two fifteenth-century Castilian authors who produced radical, yet little-studied work on the relationship between two of them,

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the material in this chapter has previously been delivered in the form of papers to seminars in the Oxford University Faculty of Theology, the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and Queen Mary University of London. The writer is grateful for much discussion and comment at these meetings, though the responsibility for the text presented here is, of course, entirely his own.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tablet*, 26 July 2000, p. 3.

Judaism and Christianity. The writers in question are Alonso de Cartagena and Juan de Torquemada.

Alonso García de Santa María, commonly known for much of his life as “Alonso de Cartagena”, was born a Jew, in Burgos in Old Castile, in or about the year 1388. He was the second son of one of the city’s rabbis, Salomón Halevi, who, while Alonso was still a small child, and in 1390 or 1391, accepted baptism as a Christian with the name Pablo de Santa María. Along with the rest of the former rabbi’s family, the boy was thus baptized and brought up as a Christian. He was unusual for the time, though, in that he was the legitimate son of a Catholic bishop, as Pablo was appointed to the see of Cartagena in 1402, and to that of Burgos in 1415. Alonso received his early education at the Dominican priory of San Pablo in Burgos, and then studied canon and civil law at Salamanca University, between about 1399 and 1412. While there, he erupted onto the ecclesiastical and general political scene, accumulating multiple benefices. The process began with a canonry of Seville cathedral, which was soon followed by prebends at Cartagena and Segovia. Now firmly set on the fast track to preferment, under the authority of the Spanish “anti-pope”, Benedict XIII, he was elected to a canonry of Salamanca in 1414 and, in the following year, to the deanery of Santiago de Compostela. Alonso successfully “rode” the end of the schism of the Western Church and, in 1415, the new pope of the re-united Church, Martin V, appointed him dean of Segovia. Since 1414, he had in addition been apostolic nuncio and collector of papal taxes in the Crown of Castile. During this period, Alonso had also embarked on a legal career, using his training in the law at Salamanca to become, at some time between 1410 and 1415, a judge (*oidor*) in the Castilian high court (*audiencia* or *chancillería*) at Valladolid. In 1421, he reached the political eminence of membership of Juan II of Castile’s *consejo real*. It was at this point that Dean Alonso began a diplomatic career, in both ecclesiastical and secular politics. Not only did he represent the Crown of Castile abroad, at the time when it began to adopt a higher profile in Europe north of the Pyrenees, but between 1434 and 1449 he also played a prominent role in the controversial General Council of the Western Church which for many years sat at Basle, but which, by 1439, had been repudiated by the Roman Papacy. In 1435, Alonso succeeded his father Pablo as bishop of Burgos. However, certain events which took place in Toledo in 1449 would cause him not only to rally, as might be expected, to the cause of his king, but also to confront, theologically as well as socially and politically, the question, which was newly controversial in Spain,

of the proper relationship between Catholic Christianity and his own family's ancestral Judaism.<sup>3</sup>

The second of these authors, Juan de Torquemada, was born in 1388 in Valladolid, into a family that was partly of Jewish origin. As a teenager, he entered the Dominican priory of San Pablo in Valladolid, and by 1403 seems to have been studying at that Order's priory and college of San Esteban at Salamanca. In 1416, he emerged on the international scene, when the prior of San Pablo, Fray Luis de Valladolid, named him as a member of the Castilian delegation to the Council of Constance, at which the schism of the Western Church was ended. At the end of that Council, in 1418, the master of the Dominican Order sent Juan to study in Paris, where he became a Licentiate in Theology six years later, and in 1425 a Doctor of Theology. When he returned to Spain, in 1426, he seemed to be heading for an academic career, but Prior Luis then died, and Torquemada was elected to replace him as prior of San Pablo, in his native city. Having held this post for the customary term of three years, he moved to Toledo, spending a further three years as prior of the Dominican house in that city, San Pedro Mártir, which would later be the first headquarters there of the Inquisition that was originally headed by another Dominican, his nephew Tomás de Torquemada. At this time, Juan became well known at the Castilian Court and, like Alonso de Cartagena, he attended the Council of Basle. The then Master of his Order, Fray Bartolomé Teixer, made Torquemada one of his seven proctors at Basle, and Juan II provided him with a letter, dated 28 June 1432, which was to be presented to the president of the Council. Torquemada played an important part in the proceedings at Basle, reporting regularly both to Teixer and to the king, and, although he had good relations with the reformist party in the Council, his support for Pope Eugenius IV, as a symbol of Church unity, was rewarded with the post of Prefect, or Master, of the Sacred Palace, which meant becoming the senior papal theologian in Rome. From then on, he spent his time in Italy, attending the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438–45), at which reunion with the Greek Church was unsuccessfully attempted, with Fray Juan once again taking a prominent role.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-century Spain*, 2nd edn (New York, 2002), pp. 517–27; Luis Fernández Gallardo, *Alonso de Cartagena. Una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo XV* (Valladolid, 2002), pp. 41–273.

<sup>4</sup> Netanyahu, *Origins*, pp. 421–7; Juan José Llamedo González, “Juan de Torquemada: apuntes sobre su vida, su obra y su pensamiento”, in *Tratado contra los Madianitas e*



Two things are evident from these biographies. Firstly, it is clear that the two authors were very far from being marginal to the Catholic Church of their day. Cartagena's importance in Castilian politics and diplomacy is evident from an outline of his career, and he left a wide range of historical, political and religious works.<sup>5</sup> Unsurprisingly, given his role as a cardinal and papal theologian, Torquemada made an important contribution to fifteenth-century theological writing, notably in his great *Summa de Ecclesia* ("Summary on the Church"), which took him twenty years to complete, between 1433 and 1453, and which represented the theological and ecclesiological justification for the papal monarchy as the apex and ruler of the Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup>

The second point is that both writers were central to the controversy that surrounded the large-scale conversions that took place in Spain during much of their respective lifetimes. In addition, it is equally clear that both Alonso and Juan became protagonists of the sometimes violent controversy that surrounded these conversions, and continues to disturb the peace of Hispanic studies until the present day. Noting first that Bishop Alonso came from a Jewish family, and Cardinal Juan from a partly Jewish one, it is necessary to survey the current battlefield on which scholars have attempted to discover the religious identity of fifteenth-century Spanish *conversos*.

This issue came to a head in the summer of 1449, when some people in Toledo rebelled against Juan II of Castile, and his constable Álvaro de Luna. This episode has been much studied, but, in outline, following a demand from the Crown for a *servicio* of a million *maravedies*, an attack on a *converso* tax-collector, Alonso de Cota, soon spread to the whole Toledan convert community of *cristianos nuevos*. In addition, the rebel municipal council, led by Pero Sarmiento, who, without the necessary royal confirmation, had himself re-created *alcalde mayor*, issued what turned out to be the first Spanish statute of *limpieza de sangre*, the so-called "Sentencia-Estatuto", which forbade *conversos* to hold public offices in the city. While Luna was successfully restoring royal authority in Toledo, on 24 September 1449 Pope Nicholas V (Tommaso Parentucelli) issued a bull, "Humani generis inimicus" ("Enemy of the human race"), which forbade discrimination between Catholic Christians on

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*Ismaelitas, de Juan de Torquemada*, ed. Carlos del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid, 2002), pp. 87–99.

<sup>5</sup> For details of these works, see Fernández Gallardo, *Alonso de Cartagena*, p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> Llamedo González, "Juan de Torquemada", pp. 99–102.

grounds of racial or religious origins. An initial secular response to the “Sentencia-Estatuto” came in October 1449, in the form of “advice” to Bishop Lope de Barrientos of Cuenca from a lay official, Fernán Díaz de Toledo, who held the crucial political and administrative role of *relator* to the *consejo real* of Castile. The concern here, though, is with two Spanish ecclesiastical contributions to what the historian Benzion Netanyahu has described as “the great debate”.<sup>7</sup>

Both before the establishment of the Inquisition in the Crown of Castile in 1478 and after, as the inquisitors of the new foundation began work first there and subsequently in the Crown of Aragón, the primary accusation made against *conversos* was that they were “judaizers” (*judaizantes*). All too often, in the controversy of recent decades over the religious identity of the *conversos* (whether personal converts or the descendants of such), the assumption, expressed or implied, seems to have been that “Judaism” and “Christianity” were, and are, two entirely separate religious systems and identities. It is precisely this assumption that Cartagena and Torquemada confronted, in their responses to the Toledan *Sentencia-Estatuto*.

Since the 1960s, two radically opposed historiographical interpretations have evolved, of the fifteenth-century *judeoconverso* phenomenon in Spain, both of them led by a great Jewish scholar and historian of the twentieth century. The first of these, Haim Beinart, inherited the tradition which was begun in nineteenth-century Germany by Heinrich Graetz, and developed, both there and later in Israel, by Fritz (Yitzhak) Baer, continuing, to this day, to inspire excellent studies of Jewish and *converso* communities by scholars from Yosef Kaplan to Renée Levine Melammed.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV. Vida política* (Madrid, 1961), pp. 34–81; “La ‘Sentencia-Estatuto’ de Pero Sarmiento”, *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 6 (1957), 277–306, repr. Benito Ruano, *Los orígenes del problema converso* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 41–92; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 2:154–55; Netanyahu, *Origins*, pp. 296–350; Fernán Díaz de Toledo, *Instrucción del relator para el obispo de Cuenca a favor de la nación hebrea*, in Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, ed. Manuel Alonso (Madrid: 1942), pp. 343–56; N. G. Round, “Politics, Style and Group Attitudes in the *Instrucción del Relator*”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 46 (1969), 289–319, and *The Greatest Man Uncrowned. A Study of the Life of Don Alvaro de Luna* (London, 1986), pp. 173–80; Jeremy Lawrance, “Alfonso de Cartagena y los conversos”, in *Actas del Primer Congreso Anglo-Hispano*, 2 *Literatura*, ed. Alan Deyermund and Ralph Penny (Madrid, 1993), pp. 103–20.

<sup>8</sup> Haim Beinart, *Trujillo. A Jewish Community in Extremadura on the Eve of the Expulsion from Spain* (Jerusalem, 1980), and *Conversos on Trial. The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem, 1981); Luis Coronas Tejada, *Conversos and Inquisition in Jaén*

Famously, the interpretation offered by the “Beinart school” is that the converts—both those who personally changed their religion by baptism and their descendants—were in fact genuine Jews, and that therefore the Inquisition was guilty of a cruel persecution of adherents to another faith, who were wrongly subject to its tribunals because of their generally forced baptism. Perhaps the most important recent scholarly example of this interpretation is the study by David Gitlitz, whose chapters cover many aspects of *converso* life, mainly as they appear in inquisitorial sources, sources which present serious evidential problems of their own, given the pressures and constraints under which such testimony was obtained. The topics Gitlitz covers include birth customs, education, marriage rules, dietary laws, Sabbath observance, synagogue worship (by supposed Christians), and funeral customs. Many of these items indeed come under the heading of “*çirimonias de la ley de Moisés*”, or *judaica*, terms which were used by Ferdinand and Isabella’s Inquisition to identify, to its own satisfaction at least, adherence to failed and superseded Judaism (as most churchmen saw it) among the actual converts and their descendants.<sup>9</sup> Interpreted thus, according to the criteria and the lax rules of evidence that the fifteenth century accepted, the support in the sources for Baer and Beinart’s characterization of *converso* religion seems overwhelmingly strong. But there is, of course, a contrary interpretation of the evidence, which has been developed, over many years, by another great Jewish historian of late medieval Spain, Benzion Netanyahu.

Netanyahu takes a view that is diametrically opposed to that of the “Beinart school”. For him, far from being, as Baer suggested, Jews in their hearts, the Spanish converts were, at least after a few years had elapsed in the process of large-scale baptism, genuine Christians, who were therefore largely or wholly innocent, of the charges of “judaizing” laid against them. Not only that, but Netanyahu has argued, eloquently and at length, that, by thus persecuting Christians of Jewish origin, the Spanish Crown anticipated the racist policies of the Nazis. He has repeatedly expressed the view that the motives of Isabella, Ferdinand,

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(Jerusalem, 1988); Mary E. Giles, ed., *Women and the Inquisition. Spain and the New World* (Baltimore and London, 1999); Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford, 1989); Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit. The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem, 1996).

and their ecclesiastical advisers, in asking Pope Sixtus IV for a Castilian Inquisition, were not religious but racial. So explicit is the connection made by Netanyahu between Spanish religious policies in the later fifteenth century and the racial beliefs and programme of the Third Reich, that his great study, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-century Spain*, actually includes an appendix entitled “Racism in Germany and Spain” (in that order).<sup>10</sup> So complete is his faith (and it does appear to amount to that) in a “racial” explanation for the introduction of the new Inquisition in 1478, and so strong his belief that the entire operation of the “Holy Office” in Isabella and Ferdinand’s Spain was a cynical lie and a fraud, that in all the 1384 pages of his mighty book (in its second, New York edition), he does not quote or refer to a single Inquisition document, or say anything about the details of the religious life of the *conversos* which its tribunals purported to record. Netanyahu’s views have received some praise and support in Spain, where many still seem to wish to see the *cristianos nuevos* as having been exactly that, and that alone. There is, however, another massive lacuna in Netanyahu’s *Origins*, namely the lack, in his lengthy coverage, of a deep treatment of the *Christian* theological content of the texts, including those of Alonso de Cartagena and Juan de Torquemada, which he includes in the “great debate” of the mid-fifteenth century about the nature of the Christianity of the *conversos*.<sup>11</sup> It is precisely this subject that Bruce Rosenstock tackles in his monograph on these two authors, which will receive further attention here.<sup>12</sup> The task will be approached in the spirit of the present author’s review of the first (1995) edition of Netanyahu’s *magnum opus*, on which Rosenstock comments:

Edwards 1997 offers a detailed and persuasive critique of Netanyahu’s rejection of the Inquisition evidence. Edwards’s contention that it is wrong to “presuppose a complete dichotomy between the two religions [Judaism and Christianity] which evidently did not exist in earlier history, and is unlikely to have existed in this period, either at the theoretical or the practical level” [366] is an important methodological principle which Netanyahu fails to observe, as Edwards points out, but which is sometimes also forgotten by those who use the term “crypto-Jew” without questioning

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<sup>10</sup> Netanyahu, *Origins*, pp. 1141–5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 421–85 (Torquemada), 517–77 (Cartagena). See also the analysis of Alonso de Cartagena’s *Defensorium* in Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, 2nd edn (Madrid, 1985), pp. 61–85.

<sup>12</sup> References to Rosenstock are subsequently cited in the main text, in the form [R + page and note number(s)].

the meaning of “Jew” in this hybrid construction, assuming that it is essentially the same as Jewish identity *simpliciter* [R8 note 1].<sup>13</sup>

First, the structure and argument of Cartagena and Torquemada’s texts will be outlined, before the focus turns to part of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, both because these writers use that text and for the interpretation of these verses by some modern Biblical commentators.

To begin with, though, it is probably necessary to offer some justification for paying so much attention to these particular texts, among all those that were produced in fifteenth-century Spain. Although Jeremy Lawrance has described Cartagena’s *Defensorium* positively, his judgment seems not to imply any particular theological interest or originality in Cartagena’s text.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, Lawrance appears to follow the editor of the still current printed version of the *Defensorium*, Manuel Alonso SJ, whose preface, dated at the Universidad de Comillas, in Madrid, on 1 June 1942, reads as follows: “El *Defensorium*, como obra teológica, no nos ofrece material muy nuevo, como tampoco lo pueda ofrecer otras obras de esta carácter. Pero, al menos ha reunido sobre el tema cuanto se puede desear para saber cómo los cristianos viejos han de comportarse con los recién venidos a la religión católica, cosa que siempre tiene actualidad en la Iglesia de Jesucristo.”<sup>15</sup>

In contrast, Rosenstock’s analysis has clearly revealed the true originality of much of what Cartagena said, in response to the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, and also to the *Memorial contra los conversos*, which was written in its defence by a legal adviser to Pero Sarmiento, Bachiller “Marquillos” (Marcos García de Mora). The following is an outline of the structure and content of Bishop Alonso’s *Defensorium*.

The work is divided into Parts (*particulae*), which are in turn subdivided into “theorems”, in a conventional scholarly manner of the period. In fact, though, the formal character of the work belies the startling nature of its main arguments and conclusions. First of all, in contradiction of the Toledan rebels, Cartagena asserts the *primary* role of the Jews in the process of God’s redemption of the world, and emphasizes the continuity, not rupture, between the Covenant of the

<sup>13</sup> John Edwards, “Was the Spanish Inquisition Truthful?”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 87 (1997), 351–66.

<sup>14</sup> “[E]l tono y el contenido del *Defensorium* me parecen ejemplares; no hay nada en él que no proceda de una fe cristiana pura, sincera y hasta optimista.” Lawrance, “Alfonso de Cartagena”, p. 117.

<sup>15</sup> Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 8.

Old Testament and that of the New. Once this redemption has been fully achieved, all humankind will be united in the worship of the one true God, who is exactly the same in both Testaments [D1.5.77].<sup>16</sup> Thus it is the task of the Church Militant on earth to unite all human beings, since they spring from a common origin in Adam [D1.5.76]. From this, entirely orthodox, premise Cartagena concludes that all ancestries (*nathales*) are abolished in Christ, and he takes as his authority for this view Gal. 3:26–29, where Paul states that Gentile Christians, if they are truly Christ's, "are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise [of God]". Very much against the grain of fifteenth-century Catholic belief and practice, in Spain as elsewhere in Europe, the bishop asserts not only that Jews must be restored to their proper place at the heart of Christian universalism, but, as Jesus himself is recorded as saying in John's gospel [4:22], salvation for all comes from the Jews and their scriptures, not from any attempt to "Gentilize" Christianity. Thus, in the context of the Toledo rebellion of 1449, Cartagena goes onto the offensive against just such "Gentilizing", and hence anti-Jewish, tendencies in the Spain of his own day. The heart of his argument is that, in the Church, the "New Adam", Christ, will not be characterized by Gentile violence, brutality, and reliance on human strength (evidently an attack on the contemporary military class), but by every Christian's descent, in body and spirit, from Abraham. Alonso rejects the notion of a distinctively Gentile identity for non-*conversos* within the Church, asserting instead that, by accepting baptism, Gentiles undertake to share with Jewish Christians, and ultimately with the whole Jewish people, the task of re-unifying the Church. For Cartagena, Gentile Christians simply cannot do this, if they define their identity as disciples and Church members *against* the Jewishness of Jesus and his original followers. Those who take the opposite view he daringly calls not "Gentilizers", but "paganizers". These Gentiles accuse Jewish Christians of betraying their Lord by reverting to Jewish belief and practice of the Old Covenant, but in fact it is they who are committing that betrayal, by reverting to, or adopting, non-Christian, and hence non-Jewish, religion [DIII Prologue 270].

After this material has been presented in Part One, Cartagena shows further doctrinal boldness in the second *particula*. Here what is perhaps the central dispute in Jewish-Christian relations, from the first century

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<sup>16</sup> References to the *Defensorium* are hereafter presented in the form 'D' followed by Part, theorem and page numbers.

of this era until the twenty-first—the question of the reality and significance of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus—is tackled in a remarkable way. Beginning with a “bridge-passage” at the end of Part 1, Cartagena compares the process of redemption, from the first Adam to his own lifetime, with the natural transformation from night to day. In this scheme of things, humankind begins its existence as though in the reflected light of the moon, and reaches high noon when the Apostles receive, on the Day of Pentecost, the fire of the Holy Spirit, thus bringing the Church into being [D1.9:86; Acts 2:1–2]. In striking contrast to the devotional stress in Spain and other Western European countries in the later Middle Ages on the Passion of Christ, Cartagena here concentrates, like much early Christian theology and art, on the Saviour’s post-Resurrection presence and action. Thus the “meridian” here is not Jesus on the Tree of death and life (the Cross), or the disciples finding the empty tomb on Easter Day, but rather the apostolic mission which was inaugurated at Jerusalem in the early 30s A.D. What is particularly remarkable about this passage, at the end of Part 1, is the absence even of mention of the crucifixion. And although this is rectified in Part 2, here Cartagena focuses not on the Gospel Passion narratives, but on Christ’s death as a prefiguration of its effect in bringing first Jews and then Gentiles to conversion under the New Covenant. Cartagena accepts only a partial Jewish responsibility for Jesus’s death [DII.4:145], and goes on to consider not only Jews like himself, who have become Christians, but also those who have not. In doing so, as Rosenstock points out, the bishop turns on its head the account of Jewish salvation history since the time of Jesus’s life on earth, which dominated Christian thinking in his own time, and still largely does today [R 89–73]. Traditionally, the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and the subsequent Jewish diaspora, in which Spain, of course, played so prominent a role, were seen (as they still often are) as consequences of many Jews’ failure to accept Christ’s New Covenant and join the “New Israel”, the Church. Cartagena rejects this “replacement”, or “supersessionist” theology, instead asserting that the Jews are still spiritually, though not, of course, physically, united throughout the world, in their adherence to the (still efficacious) Mosaic Law. The Gentiles, on the other hand, though physically united within their respective nations, are morally dispersed because they lack the spiritual unity offered by that Law. Thus the Jews—even those who have not become Christians—have pride of place, because they are already in their ancestral home—the spiritual and physical Jerusalem in which medieval Christians, too, so fervently

believed—while the Gentiles, despite their political and military strength, are in fact morally scattered and inferior to Jews, whether the latter are converted or not. Thus Gentiles should go to the Jews for enlightenment and salvation, and not *vice versa*.

A lynch-pin of Cartagena's argument is Paul's discussion of this question in chapter 11 of his Epistle to the Romans, which was directed to a largely Gentile congregation and, of the letters ascribed to him in the New Testament, was probably the last to be written. However, before this passage is considered something must be said about Torquemada's treatment of this text in his own response to the events of 1449 in Toledo, the *Tractatus contra Madianitas et Ismaelitas adversarios et detractores fidelium qui de populo israelitico originem traxerunt* ("Treatise against the Midianites and Ishmaelites, adversaries and detractors of the faithful who have Jewish origins"). It has been usual in recent years to work with the edition of this text published in 1957 by Nicolás López Martínez and Vicente Proaño Gil, but here use is made of the 2002 critical edition by Ángel Martínez Casado, with a Spanish translation by Justo Formentín Ibáñez and Argimiro Velasco Delgado.<sup>17</sup>

The context of the cardinal's work is, of course, the Toledan rebellion of 1449 and his general approach is very similar to that of Cartagena. For him, the anti-*converso* rebels are envious of those Jews (and their families) who have converted to Christianity, and their charges against the *conversos* of Toledo are malicious and false. Torquemada, like the bishop of Burgos, makes great use of Romans 11 in his pro-Jewish reworking of Christian theology, emphasizing, as Cartagena did not in such explicit terms, that the continued existence of the Jewish people is necessary for the salvation of the Gentiles. He asserts that to attack the Jews, on the grounds that they are irreversibly damned, is to blaspheme against Christ himself, who took human flesh as a Jew [T 4:1–2:156–7]. He also adds a new argument to those adduced by Cartagena, and this focuses on the Eucharist, or Mass. In a manner which must have seemed startling to conventional Catholics of his own day, who were brought up with a liturgy which condemned the "perfidious Jews", especially each Good Friday, he points out that the flesh and blood that the priest consumed at every Mass by means of transubstantiation, and the flesh that the faithful in general consumed at their Easter communion, were

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<sup>17</sup> Martínez Casado *apud* Valle Rodríguez, pp. 125–239, 243–336 (references hereafter in the form 'T', with chapter and page numbers).



Jewish: “[...] Without slander against which [viz. the Eucharist] it is not possible to say that the race [*genus*] has been damned in its faith and is unbelieving, when from that race was taken up the true flesh of Christ and His most precious blood—which is placed before us in this sacrament for the living sustenance of our souls [T 4.3:158].<sup>18</sup>

Thus the “diabolical” Jews of late medieval propaganda, and popular “belief”, become the saviours of the Gentile majority.<sup>19</sup> Like Cartagena, Torquemada is anxious to stress the complete identification and continuity between the Jews of the Hebrew Scriptures, to whom the prophets promised redemption, and the Jews of his own day, who could still achieve that redemption through baptism. On the basis of Jesus’s dealings with the Jews of his own day, as recorded in the pages of the New Testament, he states that “[...] The race of the Jews has been among all peoples most accepted, dear to and honoured by God” [T 6:1:166].<sup>20</sup> He goes on to reject the notion, commonly held among Gentile Christians, both at that time and later, that all the Jewish people lost its dignity, and its place in the history of the salvation of the world, when some Jews rejected Jesus as Messiah, and helped to bring about his death. Thus the Jews in fifteenth-century Spain were just as beloved of God as their ancestors had been, and only needed to accept baptism in order to achieve full redemption.

Torquemada’s thoughts about the meaning of the Eucharist bolster this same point. The continuing presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine of every Mass is, for him, not only a sign of salvation, but also proof that the flesh and blood of a Jew cannot be generically damned.<sup>21</sup> The cardinal also calls in aid of his argument the presence in heaven of many Jews, notably the Virgin Mary, but also John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, all the other Apostles and Evangelists, and numerous saints of the Church. He insists that, not only were Jews at the foundation of the Church, but also, in accordance with the Church’s highly popular teaching concerning the intercession of the saints, that

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<sup>18</sup> “[...] sine cuius contumelia dici non potest quod genus Iudaeorum damnatum fuerit in fide et incredulum, cum de genere illo assumpta sit vera caro Christi et eius preciosissimus sanguis, quae in hoc sacramento in vitalem sustentiationem animarum nostrarum nobis proponitur.”

<sup>19</sup> Rosenstock, *New Men*, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup> “[...] Genus Iudaeorum [...] maxime inter omnes populos fuerit a Deo acceptum, carum et honoratum [...]”

<sup>21</sup> Rosenstock, *New Men*, p. 54.

they were essential advocates before God for all Christians, including the non-Jewish majority.<sup>22</sup> Thus Torquemada conjures up a picture of his Gentile compatriots, who described themselves as *cristianos viejos* (“Old Christians”), as praying to, and receiving intercession and spiritual succour from, a heavenly court filled with Jews. On the other side of the coin, as the cardinal is keen to point out to his anti-Jewish opponents, these “heavenly Jews” also demand the damnation of heretics, including those whom Cartagena described as “paganizers”. The likes of Pero Sarmiento and the Bachelor de Mora might well find, according to Torquemada, that their salvation depended on those very *conversos* whom they had despised on earth, but now had the power to intercede for them in heaven. This influential author was determined to advance beyond the then traditional view, that, while individual Jews might “wash away” their ethnic identity by accepting baptism, “the Jews”, as a people, were perpetually damned because of their ancestors’ rejection of Jesus as Messiah and unique Son of God.

Torquemada emphasizes, more explicitly even than the bishop of Burgos, that the continued existence of the Jewish people, the people of the Old Covenant, is necessary for the very salvation of the Gentiles. Thus, in Torquemada’s view, to attack the Jews, including for this purpose the *conversos*, was to blaspheme against Jesus himself, who took flesh as a Jew [T 4, 1–2:156–7]. In Rosenstock’s words.

[...] In chapter 13, Torquemada offers the reader a series of arguments, all based on Romans 11, which put the Jews front and centre in the drama of salvation history. Their conversion and ultimate salvation will signify the “salvation of the Gentiles”, leading some from the [Gentile] nations to emulate the example of the Jewish faithfulness in the face of the persecution of the Antichrist. In the end of time the Jews will be restored to the dignity that they had previously possessed when, as Torquemada writes in commenting upon Paul’s statement that “you [Gentile converts] have been ingrafted” [cf Rom. 11:17]. [R 66]

Thus

The assault of the anti-converso party against the dignity of the Jewish people has been met in Torquemada by a counter-assault against the dignity of Gentile Christians as a whole. [R 67]

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<sup>22</sup> T 14:10:213.

Rosenstock also remarks that “As might be expected, this particular set of verses from Romans 11 [25–36] have never figured centrally in the Christian interpretation of the relation of [the] New Covenant to the Old, of Israel “according to the flesh” to “the New Israel”, at least until very recently among post-Holocaust theologians” [R 61].

In order to offer an effective assessment of the importance of Cartagena and Torquemada’s arguments, not just in the context of mid-fifteenth century Spain, where, notoriously, they utterly failed to prevent the introduction of the new Inquisition and the Castilian and Aragonese edicts for the conversion or expulsion of Jews, as well as the introduction of further statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, it seems desirable to place these measures in a wider context of Christian scriptural commentary, as represented in works which are currently in print and being used by theology students. Given Richard Fletcher’s interest in inter-faith relations, it seems particularly appropriate to consider the matter in this context.

To begin with, it is also perhaps worth noting that the situation in the Western Church, understood in its worldwide sense thanks to European colonization and the power and influence of the United States of America, has now in some respects returned to pre-Reformation and pre-Tridentine conditions, with no absolute standard of catechism or Biblical commentary. The main exception to this rule is the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which was issued in 1994, under the authority of Pope John Paul II.<sup>23</sup> Thus the sample offered here is fairly arbitrary, as well as being limited in scope, though the works in question appear to be well regarded in the field. For the sake of brevity, and greater clarity, the following comments will focus primarily, as Cartagena and Torquemada did, on Romans 11. In the second edition of his much-used standard *Companion to the New Testament*, Anthony Harvey regards the central message of Romans as being that as long as a remnant of Jews who accepted Christ continued to exist in the world, God would not abandon his earlier promises to His “Chosen People”. On this interpretation, Cartagena and Torquemada were right to see themselves and other *conversos* as having a unique and essential role in the very existence and future of the Church. Also, just as they attacked the anti-Jewish complacency of the Toledan rebels of 1449–50, so Paul is held by Harvey to have addressed his remarks on the subject to Gentile

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<sup>23</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, revised edition (London, 1999).

Christians in Rome who may have displayed “a patronizing and complacent attitude” towards Christians of Jewish origin.<sup>24</sup> Unlike Harvey, Robert Morgan, in his commentary on Romans for students, scarcely addresses the issue of Judaism and Christianity. For him, the epistle is really about the relationship between “faith” and “works”, on which the Catholic Church would split after 1517. In the following comment on chapters 9–11, Morgan appears to allow no room for Cartagena and Torquemada’s interpretation of this passage, which is so central to their argument. “This chapter [11] has proved a welcome resource for Jewish-Christian dialogue over the past generation [since about 1960] and has been made the basis for theories which it is hard to conceive of Paul approving.” It will be necessary to examine Morgan’s statement somewhat more fully below, but it is only fair to note, at this stage, that while he does not regard Romans 9–11 as the climax of the epistle, he does observe that, in arguing in this passage for the eventual entry of *all* Jews to the Church (the new Israel), Paul makes no mention of Jesus specifically. Could this be a scriptural loop-hole, as it were, for Cartagena and Torquemada to exploit?<sup>25</sup> The third commentary to be considered, that of John Ziesler, is the fullest. In it, the author rejects the notion that chapters 9–11 may have been inserted subsequently into the epistle, joining those current theologians who regard this passage, on the contrary, as the climactic section of the text. Ziesler notes in these verses an unusually extensive use by Paul of quotations from the Old Testament and observes, concerning the text as a whole, that “The problem of the historical Israel [...] would surely have been inevitable for Paul’s readers, especially his fellow Jews in the Church, but also those Gentiles who had a history of attachment to the synagogue.”

Ziesler’s overall interpretation of Paul’s meaning here is that he did indeed envisage the “coming in” of the Gentiles to Mount Zion (at Jerusalem), as prophesied by two “Isaiahs”, in chapters 2 and 60 of the book which bears that name. While Cartagena and Torquemada follow Paul in making use of these passages in their arguments on behalf of the *conversos*, Ziesler seems to be right to note that Paul in fact refers, in chapter 11, to the unconverted Jews who would come into the Christian Church in the “Last Days”. As Rosenstock observes, Cartagena and

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<sup>24</sup> A. E. Harvey, *A Companion to the New Testament*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2004), p. 517.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Morgan, *Romans* (Sheffield, [1995] 1997), pp. 54–6.

Torquemada were evidently of the number in the Catholic Church who believed that these days had indeed arrived, with the mass baptism of Spanish Jews between 1390 and 1420.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, it is interesting to note current reconsiderations of the theological relationship between Judaism and Christianity which, Morgan appears to imply, cannot be supported by reference to Romans 9–11. One thing is clear. No-one engaged in the current debate seems ever to have heard of Cartagena and Torquemada. It seems to be the common opinion that the discussions which now take place are entirely original and arise wholly or partly from the mass-extermination of European and North African Jews which was undertaken by the German Third Reich and its allies. It is, however, a prominent feature of current discussion of this topic, by Jews and Christians alike, that, as in Netanyahu's monumental work, the possibility of a "Jewish Christianity" is not, or is hardly ever, admitted—a single exception being the short and personal book by Hugh Montefiore, Sephardic *converso* and sometime bishop of Birmingham.<sup>27</sup> For most others apparently, Judaism and Christianity are seen, just as they were by Cartagena and Torquemada's opponents in fifteenth-century Spain, as separate and mutually exclusive systems of beliefs and practice. This is so, even in the otherwise excellent collection of essays published in the United States in 2000, under the title *Christianity in Jewish terms*.<sup>28</sup> In the words of one of the contributors to that volume, Nancy Fuchs-Kreimer, "Why could not Paul have made himself clearer?"<sup>29</sup> If the notion of conversion is arbitrarily excluded from this dialogue, can any real good be done? Perhaps the work of these fifteenth-century Castilian churchmen has never been more needed than it is now.

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<sup>26</sup> John Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London and Philadelphia, [1989] 1997), pp. 37–9, 272–3; Rosenstock, *New Men*, pp. 34–5.

<sup>27</sup> *On Being a Jewish Christian. Its Blessings and Problems* (London, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> Tikva Frymer-Kensky, David Novak, Peter Ochs, David Fox Sandmel and Michael A. Signer, eds. (Boulder, 2000).

<sup>29</sup> "Redemption: What I have Learned from Christians", p. 285.

## THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

*Ian Wood (University of Leeds)*

Richard Fletcher was as much at home in writing about major themes in history as he was discussing the details of a particular individual or set of events. On the one hand there is his work on Diego Gelmírez and Compostela, on the Cid, and on the bloodfeud that forms the centrepiece of the *De obsessione Dunelmi*, and on the other there are his books on Moorish Spain and on the Christianisation of Europe. At the time of his death he was tackling another “big” theme: the Fall of the Roman Empire. Much of the book was already complete, and the drafted chapters have all the classic hallmarks of Richard’s historical writing: a story meticulously researched, beautifully perceived and constructed, and gloriously well written.<sup>1</sup> Although his decision to write about the fifth and sixth centuries may seem surprising, in retrospect it was absolutely natural that he should have wished to follow in the path of Gibbon—at least through the period of the collapse of West Roman Empire. Like Gibbon, Richard was a historical stylist who could think on a vast scale.

Richard would usually contact me when he came across to Leeds (either for a dental appointment or to use the Brotherton Library), and we would meet to discuss historical matters: in the early 1990s it was the history of mission that concerned us both; after 2000 it was the “Transformation of the Roman World.” Gibbon would sometimes enter the discussion: it was apparent that Richard’s admiration for *The Decline and Fall* was considerable, and had been since at least his days as an undergraduate at Oxford. Of course Gibbon’s reputation is entirely justified, as is clear from the considerable body of work that has appeared on him in recent years, not least in the context of the celebrations of the bicentenary of the publication of his *magnum opus*

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<sup>1</sup> I am immensely indebted to Rachel Fletcher for letting me see Richard’s manuscript, which should surely be published in some form.

and of his death.<sup>2</sup> His position as a writer and Enlightenment thinker is increasingly well understood.<sup>3</sup> What perhaps is under-appreciated is the quality of much of the other writing on the end of the Roman Empire which was published in the generations before and after Gibbon was writing.<sup>4</sup> In this essay I wish to explore a handful of the writers who tackled some of the same subject matter, although few covered anything like as extensive a panorama in the same detail. In doing so, I also wish to draw attention to some arguments that have been neglected in recent historiography.

While Gibbon's position as an Enlightenment thinker is unquestionable, his immediate impact on the study of the Fall of the Empire—except with regard to the role of Christianity—was less significant than might be assumed. This is in part because of the number of important writers who preceded him, and also because many of the major scholars who came after him paid less regard to what he had to say than one might have expected.<sup>5</sup> Here, indeed, reaction to his assessment of religion was important: as Dr William Smith remarked in the preface to his edition of *The Decline and Fall*, “No Christian reader of Gibbon’s ‘florid page’ will be able, or will desire, to suppress a deep feeling of sorrow that the mind which could plan and compose the most valuable History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, could find no rest in the truths of Christianity—... [his] want of belief in revealed Religion, lowers him in our confidence and our esteem.”<sup>6</sup> But Gibbon's religious position does

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. Glen W. Bowersock, John Clive, and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., *Edward Gibbon and the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); David Womersley, ed., *Edward Gibbon: bicentenary essays (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 355)* (Oxford, 1997); Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault, eds., *Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> See above all John Grenville Agard Pocock, *Barbarism and religion*, vol. 1, *The enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge, 1999); vol. 2, *Narratives of civil government* (Cambridge, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Thus in his introduction to the latest scholarly of Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (London, 1994), with the exceptions of Montesquieu and Mably, David Wormesley does not discuss the eighteenth-century historians who had most to say about the barbarian invasions, even those cited by Gibbon himself.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Anthony Bryer, “Gibbon and the later Byzantine Empires,” in *Gibbon and Empire*, eds. McKitterick and Quinault, pp. 101–16, at p. 115, on neglect of the volume 6 of Gibbon's history.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with variorum notes, including those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, and Hugo*, 7 vols. (London, 1872), p. iii.

not fully explain the limits of his impact on the study of the Fall of the West Roman Empire.

To begin with some of the nineteenth-century successors of Gibbon: of course *The Decline and Fall* was noted by historians, and not only by the English, although Macaulay, Carlyle and, perhaps, above all Thomas Hodgkin looked back to Gibbon more than most.<sup>7</sup> It was also annotated: in English by Henry Hart Milman and, more significantly, at the end of the century by John Bagnell Bury. So too some of the most scholarly continental work on Gibbon is to be found in the notes added to translations of his work. Friedrich August Wilhelm Wenck embarked upon a translation into German, with additional notes, in 1779,<sup>8</sup> and ten years later the legal historian Gustav Hugo published a translation and commentary on chapter 44.<sup>9</sup> The annotations of Wenck and Hugo would be used in later English editions.<sup>10</sup> In France a translation of the first volume of Gibbon's work appeared in 1777, under the name of M. de Septchênes,<sup>11</sup> though the first fifteen or sixteen chapters seem to have been the work of Louis XVI:<sup>12</sup> subsequent volumes appeared up until 1795.

Another translation followed in 1812, by a man who would become one of the leading French intellectuals and politicians of the post-Napoleonic era: François Guizot.<sup>13</sup> Guizot had come across *The Decline and Fall* during his schooling in Geneva, where he read Gibbon and Shakespeare alongside Thucydides, Demosthenes, Cicero, Tacitus, Dante, Alfieri, Schiller and Goethe.<sup>14</sup> He revised his translation in 1828, and

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<sup>7</sup> On Hodgkin's indebtedness to Gibbon, see Thomas S. Brown, "Gibbon, Hodgkin, and the Invaders of Italy," in McKitterick and Quinault, *Gibbon and Empire*, pp. 137–61.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Geschichte des Verfalls und Untergangs des Römischen Reiches*, ed. and trans. Friedrich August Wilhelm Wenck, 19 vols. (Leipzig, 1779).

<sup>9</sup> Gustav Hugo, *Eduard Gibbon's Übersicht des Römischen Reichs oder das 44ste Capitel der Geschichte des Verfalls des Römischen Reichs* (Göttingen, 1789).

<sup>10</sup> See in particular Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with variorum notes, including those of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, and Hugo*.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire Romain*, ed. and trans. M. Leclercq de Septchênes (Paris, 1777).

<sup>12</sup> Colin Duckworth, "Louis XVI and English History: a French reaction to Walpole, Hume and Gibbon on Richard III," in Haydn Mason, ed., *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 176 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 385–401 at p. 395.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'empire Romain*, ed. and trans. François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, 13 vols. (Paris, 1812).

<sup>14</sup> François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *The History of Civilization: from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French revolution*, trans. William Hazlitt, 3 vols. (London, 1856), 1:viii.



his notes, like those of Wenck and Hugo, were incorporated into a new English edition in 1838–9, published a year before he briefly served as French ambassador to London.<sup>15</sup> His early scholarly work led to his appointment to the chair of Modern History at the Sorbonne in 1812, the year of the translation of Gibbon, but Guizot was subsequently to become rather more of a politician. He was to hold the office of *ministre de l'Intérieur* in 1830, *ministre de l'Instruction publique* from 1832 to 1837, and he would be the dominant figure in government from 1840 to 1848 as *ministre des Affaires étrangères* and subsequently as *président du Conseil*. He was elected to the *Académie française* in 1836.<sup>16</sup>

Guizot was a formidable intellectual, publishing extensively on French, English and European history.<sup>17</sup> Like other Frenchmen of the time, including Augustin Thierry, he was particularly attracted to English history, notably to the revolution of the seventeenth century, which he compared favourably with its bloodier French counterpart.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the months spent in London as ambassador in 1840,<sup>19</sup> he would live for a brief period as an exile in England, following his fall from office in 1848. In his *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe: depuis la chute de l'Empire romain jusqu'à la Revolution* of 1828 he covered an even wider chronological period than that of *The Decline and Fall*, though his approach is very different.<sup>20</sup> Rather than a chronological history, he wrote a series of thematic lectures—part of the *cours d'histoire moderne*—which would prove to be hugely popular, and not just in France. They were translated, along with his *Histoire de la civilisation en France*,<sup>21</sup> into English by William Hazlitt, and were

<sup>15</sup> Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Henry Hart Milman, 12 vols. (London, 1838–9).

<sup>16</sup> There is a short and convenient biographical introduction by Hazlitt to his translation of Guizot, *The History of Civilization*, vol. 1, pp. vi–vii. The fullest account is François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1858–67).

<sup>17</sup> See Robert Tombs, *France 1814–1914* (Harlow, 1996), p. 366: “Guizot, the weightiest historian and leading political thinker of his time, a man of austere personal integrity but unscrupulous political methods, the dominant intellectual and political leader of mid-century liberalism...”

<sup>18</sup> E.g. François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre depuis l'avènement de Charles Ier jusqu'à la restauration de Charles II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1826).

<sup>19</sup> Guizot, *The History of Civilization*, trans. Hazlitt, 1:xix.

<sup>20</sup> François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe: depuis la chute de l'Empire romain jusqu'à la Revolution* (Paris, 1828).

<sup>21</sup> François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1830).

reprinted on numerous occasions throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> More focussed on what we would now call the post-Roman period were Guizot's *Essais sur l'Histoire de France (pour servir de complément aux Observations de l'Histoire de France de l'abbé de Mably)* of 1823.<sup>23</sup> The subtitle is a clear indication that Guizot's concerns when dealing with this period were those traditional to French scholarship, rather than those of *The Decline and Fall*. Despite the implication that this was a mere appendage to Mably's work, Guizot's *Essais* were a considerable success, being *adopté par le conseil royal de l'instruction publique*, as the title page of the seventh edition of 1847 notes—though one should perhaps bear in mind the fact that Guizot himself had been *ministre de l'Instruction publique*.

Mably was an exact contemporary of Gibbon, and the two men found themselves at loggerheads on at least one occasion.<sup>24</sup> Despite the appearance of French translations of *The Decline and Fall*, Gibbon thought that the abbé's inability to read English meant that he had no real conception of his achievement. The Englishman, however, did pay considerable attention to the abbé's writings in his chapter on the Merovingians. Indeed, a large part of chapter 38 is constructed as a direct response to Mably's interpretation.<sup>25</sup> Underlying the chapter is a lengthy review that Gibbon wrote of Mably's work: it was apparently written to satisfy Gibbon himself, for it was not published during his lifetime.<sup>26</sup> Mably's position was essentially a variant of that of Montesquieu: the Franks conquered and enslaved the Gallo-Romans, despite the fact that the political traditions of the *Germani* in the Roman period were egalitarian, as shown by Tacitus. Guizot's *Essais sur l'Histoire de la France* are a modification of the arguments of Mably: for him the free Franks, who had long been in contact with Rome, and had often served in the Roman army, took over Gaul, but they did so as a result of searching for booty, and their expansion was thus slow and incoherent.

<sup>22</sup> Guizot, *The history of civilization*, trans. Hazlitt.

<sup>23</sup> François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Essais sur l'Histoire de France (pour servir de complément aux Observations de l'Histoire de France de l'abbé de Mably)* (Paris, 1823).

<sup>24</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, ed. Georges A. Bonnard (London, 1966), pp. 158, 169.

<sup>25</sup> Ian Wood, "Gibbon and the Merovingians," in McKitterick and Quinault, eds., *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, pp. 117–36, at pp. 125–32.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Gibbon, "Du gouvernement féodal surtout en France," ed. John, Lord Sheffield, *The miscellaneous works of Edward Gibbon, esq.*, 5 vols. (London, 1814), 3, pp. 183–202.

Although Guizot, as translator of and commentator on *The Decline and Fall*, clearly knew Gibbon's arguments, they are not much in evidence in the *Essais*.

A slightly older contemporary of Guizot, and indeed a butt of his criticism,<sup>27</sup> was Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi. Sismondi was born in Geneva in 1773. As a young man he was sent to Lyon to work in a bank: with the outbreak of the Revolution, however, he went with his family to England, where they remained for a short period in 1793–4. They then returned to Geneva, before moving on to Italy. In the early decades of the nineteenth century Sismondi was frequently to be found in attendance on Mme de Staël in her château of Coppet or accompanying her on her European travels. He was a notable economist and historian. Indeed, in his integration of economics and history he foreshadowed certain aspects of Marx's approach to historical interpretation. His most important historical work is perhaps his study of the cities of the Italian Renaissance,<sup>28</sup> but he also wrote a significant eighteen-volume *Histoire des Français*, which—inevitably, given its scale—has much to say on the collapse of the Roman Gaul and the establishment of the Franks.<sup>29</sup> In addition he wrote *A History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, Comprising a View of the Invasion and Settlement of the Barbarians*.<sup>30</sup>

Various points suggest that Sismondi had Gibbon firmly in mind when he tackled the question of the end of the West Roman Empire. His book on the subject appeared in English translation in 1834, apparently immediately before the French edition. The fact that the work appeared in English at a very early stage suggests that Sismondi regarded England as a major audience at least on this issue—one might guess because of the reputation of *The Decline and Fall*. And, indeed, part of the basic argument can be read as a rejection, or perhaps modification, of Gibbon's reading of the Roman Empire. Sismondi goes out of his way to undermine the notion that it represented a high point in the

<sup>27</sup> Guizot, *History of Civilization in France*, trans. Hazlitt, *The History of Civilization*, 1:289–90.

<sup>28</sup> Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, 16 vols. (1809–18).

<sup>29</sup> Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, 31 vols. (Paris, 1821–44).

<sup>30</sup> Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, *A History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, Comprising a View of the Invasion and Settlement of the Barbarians*, 2 vols. (London, 1834).

history of civilisation: instead he places the seeds of the Empire's fall in the oppression visited upon their subjects by the emperors, from Nero onwards. For him the Empire was notable for its lack of liberty and the submissive nature of the population.<sup>31</sup> Gibbon, of course, had regarded political freedom as essential to happiness, and had noted the despotic tendencies of the Empire, but his interpretation of the age of the Antonines was a good deal less critical than that of Sismondi.

The proximity of Geneva to Lausanne, where the Englishman wrote the last books of *The Decline and Fall*, may have prompted Sismondi's interest in the work—as we have seen it was there that Guizot first read Gibbon. Although Sismondi only published his history of the fall of the Empire in 1834 he explains in the preface to volume 2 that he had lectured on the subject in Geneva fifteen years earlier.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps equally important, Gibbon had been attracted to Suzanne Curchod, who later married Jacques Necker, and was the mother of Mme de Staël.<sup>33</sup> As a child the future Mme de Staël met Gibbon. In later years Sismondi would be one of her most regular acolytes. She may have encouraged him to consider Gibbon's *magnum opus*.

Sismondi, then, would seem to have deliberately set about answering Gibbon's views on the end of the West Roman Empire. In paying so much attention to the argument of *The Decline and Fall*, he was, however, unusual. Indeed, he was unusual simply in following Gibbon's lead, and writing about the fall of the Roman Empire, rather than the origins of an individual kingdom. A handful of scholars did write histories which ran from the Roman to the Byzantine empires: there is, for instance, the *Histoire du Bas-Empire: comprenant l'histoire des empires d'occident, d'orient, grec, latin, et du second empire grec, depuis Constantin jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople*, by Louis-Philippe de Ségur—Louis XVI's ambassador to Russia, and subsequently supporter and then opponent of Napoleon.<sup>34</sup> Although the title of his work might suggest knowledge

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<sup>31</sup> Sismondi, *A History of the Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1: 19–25 provides a summary of his interpretation. For his view of the growth of class divisions in the Roman Empire, see p. 119.

<sup>32</sup> Sismondi, *A History of the Fall of the Roman Empire*, 2: viii.

<sup>33</sup> Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life*, pp. 84–6, 208–9. See also François Guizot, "A Memoir of the Life and Character of Gibbon," in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, with variorum notes including those of Guizot*, 1:xxi.

<sup>34</sup> Louis-Philippe comte de Ségur, *Histoire du Bas-Empire: comprenant l'histoire des empires d'occident, d'orient, grec, latin, et du second empire grec, depuis Constantin jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1823).

of *The Decline and Fall*, it is more likely that Ségur was dependent on the *Histoire du Bas-Empire, en commençant à Constantin le Grand* of Charles Le Beau, published in twenty-two volumes between 1756 and 1779,<sup>35</sup> thus anticipating Gibbon. Anthony Bryer has described Le Beau's work as plodding,<sup>36</sup> and the same could be said of Ségur's, which is a relentless narrative, almost entirely devoid of any scholarly apparatus, and indeed largely lacking interpretative comment—and what comment there is does not add to scholarly understanding. Moreover, Ségur was so concerned with the continuity of the eastern Empire that he scarcely paused on either the fall of the West or the role played by the barbarians. His comments on the Franks, for instance, are minimal:

Les princes de la famille mérovingienne portaient, pour ce distinguer, une longue chevelure. On les appelait *reges criniti* (rois chevelus). Tous les autres Francs se rasaient derrière de la tête; ils avaient de longues moustaches; on les distinguait des autres Barbares par la hauteur de leur taille, par la fierté de leurs yeux bleus; ils portaient des habits étroits, et se servaient d'une lourde épée; un immense bouclier les couvrait presque entièrement.<sup>37</sup>

Most of this is fantasy. Yet, like Le Beau's work, Ségur's was a great success, having more impact in France than Gibbon: the seventh edition of 1844 proudly boasts that it had been *adoptée par l'université*.

There was, of course, one other significant figure among Gibbon's predecessors who wrote a history which ran across the ancient and medieval periods: Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, whose short *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* covers the history of the Roman and Byzantine empires, though in the most cursory fashion.<sup>38</sup> Gibbon was well aware of the work, citing it in the first of his publications, the *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature*,<sup>39</sup> as well as in the footnotes of *The Decline and Fall*. Guizot understood Montesquieu's *Considérations* to have been an inspiration

<sup>35</sup> Charles Le Beau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire, en commençant à Constantin le Grand*, 22 vols. (Paris, 1756–79).

<sup>36</sup> Bryer, "Gibbon and the later Byzantine Empires," p. 115.

<sup>37</sup> Louis-Philippe comte de Ségur, *Histoire du Bas-Empire: comprenant l'histoire des empires d'occident, d'orient, grec, latin, et du second empire grec, depuis Constantin jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople*, 7th edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1844), vol. 1, p. 309.

<sup>38</sup> Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence* (Amsterdam, 1734): I have used the edition of J. Charvet which reprints the original text "avec commentaires et notes de Frédéric-le-Grand" (Paris, 1879).

<sup>39</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature* (London, 1761), p. 156.

for Gibbon's work, which he seems to have regarded as intellectually inferior, despite admiring it: "Less vigorous, less profound, less elevated than Montesquieu, Gibbon appropriated for himself the subject, of which his predecessor had pointed out the extent and rich stores."<sup>40</sup> He also noted that Montesquieu and Pascal were the two models of style that Gibbon set out to emulate,<sup>41</sup> a point in part confirmed by Gibbon's own memoirs.<sup>42</sup> Despite Guizot's enthusiasm, Montesquieu's *Considérations* are scarcely comparable to Gibbon's work. They fill one relatively short tome, and fifteen of their twenty-three chapters cover the period from the origins of Rome to the Antonines, leaving a mere eight to cover what takes up the majority of Gibbon's volumes. Of course, Montesquieu did ponder the political lessons to be learnt from the history of Rome—hence Guizot's comment on the profundity of his account—and his musings attracted both Frederick the Great and Napoleon. Frederick indeed annotated his copy of the work, and Napoleon appropriated the volume for his own library.<sup>43</sup>

Montesquieu, Le Beau and Ségur, Gibbon and Sismondi, were in a minority in treating the Roman Empire and its Byzantine successors. Most historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who commented on the end of the Empire did so in the context of the history of a particular nation or state. Mably had done this. Sismondi himself followed suit in his *Histoire des Français*, and in his history of Italian cities. And this would be true too of others: in Italy, for instance, in so far as the fall of the Roman Empire was considered, it was largely in the context of the establishment of the kingdom of the Lombards. Thus Manzoni, Troya, and Villari all commented on the end of the Western Empire through the prism of Italian history.<sup>44</sup> The fact that discussion of the fall of the Roman Empire is most frequently to be found in histories of individual kingdoms or regions may be one explanation for the surprisingly low number of citations of Gibbon by early and mid nineteenth-century historians. It may also explain why modern

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<sup>40</sup> Guizot. "Preface to the second edition of his translation," in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, with variorum notes including those of Guizot*, 1:viii.

<sup>41</sup> Guizot, "A Memoir of the Life and Character of Gibbon," p. xxvi.

<sup>42</sup> Gibbon, *Memoirs of my life*, pp. 78, 103.

<sup>43</sup> Charvet, ed., Montesquieu, *Considérations*, pp. i–xviii.

<sup>44</sup> For a recent survey of Italian historiography, see Giuseppe Giarrizzo, "Il Medioevo tra Otto e Novecento," in Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò, eds., *Lo Spazio Letterario del Medioevo*, 1. *Il Medioevo Latino*, vol. 4, *L'attualizzazione del testo* (Rome, 1997), pp. 223–60.

historians have failed to place Gibbon's arguments fully within their historiographical context.<sup>45</sup>

When Guizot wrote his essays on Mably, he was contributing to a major historiographical and political debate of which Gibbon had been aware, but which he effectively dealt with out of context. Guizot's pupil, Fustel de Coulanges,<sup>46</sup> would—like Gibbon before him—try to avoid the debates he regarded as irrelevant, and he did so by seemingly ignoring all previous historiography, and returning simply to the sources themselves. Before Fustel, however, French historical writing on the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries was very much *engagée*. This had been true since the sixteenth century, but the 1720s and 1730s essentially marked the starting point for a number of major eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates. Crucial here were the writings of Henri comte de Boulainvilliers, who in his contributions to *L'État de France* and in works published posthumously set out the argument that the Franks conquered and enslaved the Gallo-Romans, and that it was from this act of conquest that the nobility, the descendants of the Franks could claim their privileges.<sup>47</sup> Indeed their privileged position had been undermined by an alliance of the monarch (hitherto the first among equals) and the *Tiers État*, effected during the High Middle Ages. Michel Foucault saw in Boulainvilliers' historical writings the establishment of a new "historico-political field".<sup>48</sup> He had put the conquest of Gaul by the Franks at the heart of debates about the aristocracy and their privileges.

Most of Boulainvilliers' works were published posthumously, though they would seem to have circulated extensively in manuscript before publication. They instantly caused a *furor*. The *Essais sur la noblesse de France* appeared in 1732, the same year as the first edition of what was in

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<sup>45</sup> David Womersley, *Gibbon and the 'Watchmen of the Holy City': the Historian and his Reputation, 1776–1815* (Oxford, 2002), makes no comment on the impact of Gibbon on the historiography of the fall of the Roman Empire and the barbarian kingdoms. One might note also the remarkable absence of any comment on eighteenth-century French scholarship on the barbarians in Pocock, *Barbarism and religion*.

<sup>46</sup> Bryer, "Gibbon and the later Byzantine Empires," p. 115, notes the link.

<sup>47</sup> A representative statement of his views may be found in Henri comte de Boulainvilliers, "Dissertation sur la noblesse de France," in idem, *Essais sur la noblesse de France* (Amsterdam, 1732), pp. 1–300. The fullest account of Boulainvilliers is to be found in Renée Simon, *Henri de Boulainviller: historien, politicien, philosophe, astrologue, 1658–1722* (Lille, 1940); more reliable is Harold A. Ellis, *Boulainvilliers and the French Monarchy* (Ithaca, 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Michel Foucault, *Society must be Defended*, trans. David Macey (London, 2003), p. 167.

many ways a rebuttal of his ideas: the *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie française dans les Gaules* by Jean-Baptiste Du Bos. The abbé Du Bos was a remarkable figure. Born in Beauvais in 1670, into a merchant family, he was destined for the Church, but never gained the preferment that he expected.<sup>49</sup> More important than his ecclesiastical career were his intellectual achievements: in the theory of aesthetics (where his *Réflexions critiques* is still thought of as a key text), and in history. He also wrote on numismatics, archaeology and on magnetic fields. His earliest historical writing, on *Les Quatre Gordiens*, combined his interest in numismatics and history to come up with (an admittedly ill-judged) reading of the third-century emperors—arguing that the coin evidence indicated that there were four Gordians, not three.<sup>50</sup>

The *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie française dans les Gaules* is an extraordinary work of scholarship by any standards. Unlike Boulainvilliers, Du Bos shows a remarkably detailed knowledge of the sources, notably from the editions of Sirmond and Bouquet, but also from the manuscripts (many of which he must have seen in the royal library). Indeed he prefaces his history with a *discours préliminaire* which discusses almost all the literary evidence for the period. For the main body of his work he developed a format that allowed him both to provide a narrative, and to inject large sections of analysis and discussion, in doing so combining the traditional strengths of the different approaches of the *antiquaires* and the *philosophes*.<sup>51</sup> This approach he called *histoire critique: Une histoire critique permet d'interrompre la narration toutes les fois qu'il se présente une occasion de faire des remarques propre à prouver quelque chose de ce qu'on y peut avoir avancé*.<sup>52</sup> In developing this notion he preempted Gibbon's achievement in combining a narrative of the later Roman Empire and the period of successor states with analysis.

Du Bos' account begins with a survey of Gaul immediately prior to and at the time of the invasions, which foreshadows much modern

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<sup>49</sup> For Du Bos' career, see Alfred Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos. Un initiateur de la pensée moderne (1670–1742)* (Paris, 1913).

<sup>50</sup> Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos*, pp. 21–8.

<sup>51</sup> Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie française dans les Gaules*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1735), 1:1–65 (the “Discours préliminaire” is separately paginated). My citations are from this revised, three volume edition of Du Bos' work. Since Du Bos divided his work into *livres* that do not coincide with the volumes, I have, where possible, given book as well as volume number.

<sup>52</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 3, bk. 5, pp. 200–1.



debate. This is true both at a general and a specific level. In general he saw the fifth and sixth centuries as a period of remarkable continuity, and denied that there was a conquest by the Franks<sup>53</sup>—a point aimed, of course, at Boulainvilliers' argument that aristocratic privilege in France was based on the right of conquest. In particular, he saw the settlement of the barbarians as a matter of taxation.<sup>54</sup> He also had a sharp eye for parallels with the contemporary world: the *magistri militum* are described as the equivalent of Turkish janissaries;<sup>55</sup> the Ottomans will continue to appear as points of comparison.<sup>56</sup> In Friedrich Meinecke's phrase, Du Bos had an "irresistible inclination to modernise the past."<sup>57</sup> Having provided an analysis of late Roman Gaul, for the second half of Book One he turned to the barbarians, and indeed not just to the Franks: his discussion stretches to the Vandals, Saxons, Goths, Huns and Alans.<sup>58</sup> Again he preempted much modern scholarship: he noted that various names had been applied to the Franks before their emergence as a significant force in the fifth century, and thus they were not a new people.<sup>59</sup>

Book Two begins with Honorius, who is presented as a despotic monarch, as bad as Nero or Domitian.<sup>60</sup> Stilicho is likewise condemned for his perfidy in leaving Gaul unprotected from the barbarians.<sup>61</sup> At this point Du Bos introduces the first of a number of radical interpretations, which were to divide his readership: he interpreted the uprising of the *Bacaudae* in Armorica as an enduring revolt, worthy of comparison with that of William the Silent.<sup>62</sup> What follows is an extraordinarily detailed analysis of events in Gaul, through the mid fifth century, which manages both to provide one of the most extensive accounts

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, "Discours préliminaire," p. 59.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 1, pp. 130–89. Compare the approach of Walter Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, 1980).

<sup>55</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 1, bk. 1, pp. 99, 108.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 1, p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> Friedrich Meinecke, "Montesquieu, Boulainvilliers, Dubos, ein Beitrag zu Entstehungsgeschichte des Historismus," *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1931), 53–68, at 62. See also Meinecke's sympathetic assessment of Du Bos in *idem*, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1946), pp. 173–7.

<sup>58</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 1, bk. 1, pp. 189–257.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 1, pp. 212–3. The classic modern statement of this approach is Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* (Cologne, 1961), pp. 512–41.

<sup>60</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 1, bk. 2, p. 258.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 2, p. 273.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 2, pp. 308–9.

of the events ever written, and at the same time to offer a critique of, for example, the evidence for such phantom figures as the legendary Frankish king Pharamond, and to do so with devastating accuracy.<sup>63</sup> In passing Du Bos draws attention to some shreds of evidence which indicate a millenarian crisis around the year 447.<sup>64</sup> Although the point has been neglected recently, it is perfectly well founded in the sources, and deserves to be resurrected.<sup>65</sup>

When he reaches Attila's invasion of Gaul, Du Bos introduces a remarkable speculation, which shows both the imaginative strength of his interpretation and its dangers. He argues for the signing of a peace treaty between the Empire and the rebellious Armoricans in the period immediately preceding Attila's attack on Gaul, and he surmises that the treaty was prompted by the threat.<sup>66</sup> There is, of course, no evidence for such a treaty, and Du Bos himself is very clear that he is having to postulate its existence.<sup>67</sup> He, nevertheless, goes on to draw a parallel between his imagined treaty between the Empire, the Franks and the Armoricans and the Triple Alliance of 1718. As we shall see, the parallel with modern diplomatic history is important to Du Bos, and helps to explain the subsequent neglect of his work, although it does not necessarily justify that neglect.

Book Three of Du Bos' *Histoire* begins by posing an important constitutional question: "What rights did the Eastern Emperor have over the Western Empire?"—a question that Du Bos sees as important for understanding *notre Histoire*.<sup>68</sup> The question prompts a detailed discussion of the position of the Byzantine emperor, and thus strays far beyond the limits of Gaul. Indeed Du Bos' discussion of the late fifth century is essentially a discussion of the Roman Empire as a whole. The evidence

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 2, pp. 360–1.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 2, pp. 496–502.

<sup>65</sup> He establishes clearly that there were those who believed that Rome was destined to fall in 447. Du Bos' sources are Claudian, *De Bello Gothico*, lines 265–6, ed. Maurice Platnauer, *Claudian*, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), pp. 144–5, and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen VII, Panegyricus* (on Avitus), lines 55, 357, ed. André Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1960), 1, *Poèmes*, pp. 56 and 68: Loyen supplies a useful bibliographical note, 1, p. 182, n. 12. One might wonder whether such fears underlie the image of catastrophe which pervades the entries for the 440s in the *Chronicle of 452*: ed., Richard Burgess, "The Gallic Chronicle of 452: a new critical edition with a brief introduction," in Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul—Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 52–84.

<sup>66</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 1, bk. 2, p. 531.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, bk. 2, p. 532.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, bk. 3, p. 1.

for Gaul, drawn largely from Gregory of Tours, is assessed against this broader background. Once again “modern” parallels are drawn in: when discussing whether the pagan Franks could conceivably have chosen the Roman Syagrius as their ruler, a story dismissed as a fable by Père Daniel, Du Bos looks to recent events in the run-up to the Treaty of Munster.<sup>69</sup> It was, he argued, perfectly normal for troops to speak a different language from that of their generals: besides, the Franks may well have been speaking Latin. As for Childeric, on his return from exile, he was both a king and (according to Du Bos) *magister militum*, the second of which was, in the abbé’s opinion, the more important title.<sup>70</sup> So too, Clovis was king and consul. In considering such dual status Du Bos turned to constitutional practices closer to his own day: William III of England was also captain and general of the United Provinces: the King of Sardinia was, in addition, a general in Spain and France.<sup>71</sup>

As he approaches the critical date of 476 Du Bos returns to constitutional matters once again, and not just to the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, but also to the actions of Odoacer. Procopius records that the latter ceded the Gauls to Euric, an act that, according to Candidus, was opposed by the Gallo-Romans.<sup>72</sup> Zeno, however, supported Odoacer. A flurry of diplomatic activity ensued, with treaties involving Franks and Burgundians as well as Romans and Goths.<sup>73</sup> The emphasis on diplomacy at this stage in the narrative points both back to Du Bos’ conjectures about the period immediately before Attila’s invasion of Gaul, and, as we shall see, forward to his discussion of the 530s.

Childeric’s death prompts from Du Bos an account of the discovery of his tomb and the fate of its grave goods, tracing their history down to his own day—itself a matter of early modern diplomatic history.<sup>74</sup> The following, initial, discussion of Clovis is a measured reading of the sources, even when it comes to a discussion of the king’s conversion, which includes an assessment of the value of Hincmar’s *Vita Remigii*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, p. 67.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, p. 225.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, pp. 226–7.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, p. 269: citing Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5 (*De Bello Gothico* 1), 12.20, ed. Henry Bronson Dewing, *Procopius*, 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), pp. 122–3; Candidus, ed. Roger C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1983), 2, *Text, Translation and Historical Notes*, pp. 468–9.

<sup>73</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 2, bk. 3, pp. 271–87.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, pp. 301–5, also p. 69.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 2, bk. 3, pp. 363–71.

Equally sober is the discussion of the famous story of the vase at Soissons, which Clovis had asked his followers to allow him to claim as part of his share of the booty following the defeat of Syagrius: one Frank, however, opposed the king, and smashed the vase: a year later the king took his revenge, by criticising the warrior's weapons, and then planting his axe in the man's skull.<sup>76</sup> The story came to be regarded as having great symbolic importance—both from a *nobiliaire* and later from an egalitarian viewpoint—and was used to show that the king was merely the first among equals:<sup>77</sup> for Du Bos it shows nothing more than the king's "courage, justice and prudence." His overall interpretation of Clovis is as a ruler subordinate to the eastern Emperor: by contrast Theodoric the Ostrogoth is portrayed as acting as a king.<sup>78</sup> At this point, however, Du Bos returns to Clovis, comparing the king's decision to convert to catholicism with that of Henri IV.<sup>79</sup> This doubling back is symptomatic of what follows, as Du Bos tries to analyse all the, often contradictory, documentation, and in so doing loses any clear narrative thread.

The picture becomes clearer following the death of Clovis, and the division of his kingdom between his four surviving sons, which Du Bos interprets in the light of a passage in Agathias.<sup>80</sup> For him the events following the death of Clovis are central to any understanding of the *Constitution de la Monarchie Française*, though he adds that the constitution itself only becomes clear after a grant made in the late 540s by Justinian.<sup>81</sup> In looking at the generation following Clovis' death Du Bos spends a great deal of time discussing Ostrogothic history—thus once again talking about a large swath of what had been the western Empire and not merely confining himself to France. The point of this discussion becomes apparent only when he comes to the concessions of territory in Gaul and of territory north of the Alps promised to the Franks by Theodahad and Vitigis, to ensure that they did not side with Justinian, following his invasion of Italy.<sup>82</sup> More important still was Justinian's own confirmation of this grant, which Du Bos linked to a postulated second

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<sup>76</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* 2.27, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 1, 1 (Hannover, 1951), pp. 71–3.

<sup>77</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 2, bk. 3, pp. 406–11.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, bk. 3, p. 435.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, bk. 3, p. 438.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, bk. 5, p. 71. See Agathias, *The Histories*, 3.2, trans. Joseph D. Frendo (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 3, bk. 5, pp. 68–9.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, bk. 5, pp. 213–21.

treaty, made sometime between 539 and 547.<sup>83</sup> Despite some ensuing hiccups, it was this treaty, according to Du Bos, which essentially established the constitutional rights of the French monarchy:

Ce droit sur les Provinces de son obéissance, qui est particulier à la Monarchie Française, est la cession authentique qui lui a été faite de ces Provinces par l'Empire Romain, qui depuis près de six siècles les possédoit à titre de conquête. Elles ont été cédées à la Monarchie Française par un des successeurs de Jules César et d'Auguste, par un des successeurs de Tibère que Jésus-Christ lui-même reconnut pour Souverain légitime de la Judée, sur laquelle cependant cet Empereur n'avoit pas d'autres droits que ceux qu'il avoit sur les Gaules et sur une portion de la Germanie.<sup>84</sup>

A grant by Justinian has suddenly been transformed into justification for the divine right of the Bourbon kings.

Du Bos' narrative essentially ends at this point, though a sixth book deals with the structure of Merovingian society—an important theme in the then-current debates about the social structure of France, but one of less significance for a discussion of the end of the Roman Empire. In the light of his claims for the constitution of the French monarchy it is easy to see why Du Bos' work has been seen as little more than a monarchist response to the *nobiliaire* writings of Boulainvilliers. Yet it is dangerous to take his discussion of the concession of Provence out of context. Certainly the passage is propaganda, though one should note the fact that the propaganda is directed not against the French nobility, but rather against the Habsburgs, whose imperial claims are implicitly being undermined—they might have an imperial title, but they could not trace their claims to rule back to the time of Christ. Moreover, one should not underestimate the remarkable scholarship that underpins Du Bos' account. Indeed his basic interpretation deserves a good deal more consideration than it has received since Montesquieu and Mably thought they had demolished it. Mably summarised his interpretation thus:

L'abbé du Bos ne fait de Clovis qu'un officier de l'Empire, un maître de la milice, qui tenoit son pouvoir de Zénon et d'Anastase. Il imagine une république Armorique, des confédérations, des alliances, des traités; il se livre à des conjectures jamais analogues aux coutumes ni aux moeurs du

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 3, bk. 5, pp. 228–32; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 7 (*De Bello Gothico* 3), 33.2–4, ed. Henry Bronson Dewing, *Procopius*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1914–40), 4:436–9; for the supposed support of Agathias, *The Histories*, I.7, p. 10, see Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 3, bk. 5, p. 243.

<sup>84</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 3, bk. 5, p. 252.

temps dont il parle... Il suppose que les Français, aussi patients et aussi dociles que les soldats mercenaires, n'ont vaincu pour l'avantage de leur capitaine, et n'auront pas regardé leur conquête comme leur bien, et le droit d'y commander comme une partie de leur butin.<sup>85</sup>

At the time this was meant to be a scornful put-down. Many recent historians would find their reading of the period presaged in Du Bos' interpretations.

In examining the origins of the French state Du Bos both denied Boulainvilliers' argument that there was a Frankish invasion, and at the same time presented the Fall of the Roman Empire as a history of diplomatic concession. The emphasis that he put on Justinian's recognition of the Ostrogothic transfer of Provence to the Franks may be misplaced, but Byzantine recognition of the Frankish kingdom must have been an important issue. As for the broader recognition of the importance of embassies in the fifth and sixth centuries, modern historians are only just catching up on Du Bos' perception.<sup>86</sup> In order to appreciate his insights it is worth looking at certain aspects of his early career, before he emerged as a writer of stature.

Having failed to gain ecclesiastical preferment in Beauvais, Du Bos went first to Paris, where he was much involved with the Opéra,<sup>87</sup> before travelling abroad. In England he met Locke, with whom he remained on close terms,<sup>88</sup> and in the Netherlands he came to know the Protestant exile Pierre Bayle.<sup>89</sup> He also travelled to Rome.<sup>90</sup> Subsequently, no doubt because of his prodigious memory and also his facility with languages, he attracted the attention of the Maréchal de Matignon, and was then caught up in the diplomatic negotiations surrounding the ending of the War of Spanish Succession, leading to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713.<sup>91</sup> It is possible that his involvement in diplomacy predated this—some

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<sup>85</sup> Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, *Observations sur l'histoire de France*, 3 vols., ed. Gabriel Brizard, *Collection complete des Oeuvres de l'Abbé de Mably*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1794/5), 1:141.

<sup>86</sup> See, for instance, Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533* (Cambridge, 2003). Gillett only touches briefly on embassies in the course of Justinian's wars, pp. 263–5. Closer to Du Bos' observations is Evangelos Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum; Der Vertragsentwurf des Jahres 535," *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 430–74.

<sup>87</sup> Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos*, pp. 41–52.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 194.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 96.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85–6.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97–141.

have suggested that he acted as a secret agent:<sup>92</sup> and certainly he was already writing studies of diplomatic history.<sup>93</sup> But it is surely his lengthy involvement, over sixteen months,<sup>94</sup> in the negotiations before the Peace of Utrecht that explains the emphasis on diplomacy in the *Histoire critique*. He had seen with his own eyes that the fate of major kingdoms, empires even, could be determined by diplomacy. His observation might be anachronistic. Alfred Lombard, his leading apologist, admitted,

Il transporte dans le passé les mœurs diplomatiques de son temps, et se représente trop souvent les barbares du V<sup>e</sup> siècle autour du tapis vert d'un congrès européen; il était diplomate, et l'est resté. Parmi ses sources, de même, les recueils des lois et de traités tiennent beaucoup de place. L'évangile de l'historien est pour lui le *Codex* de Leibnitz et le livre de Grotius, dont il a dit son discours à l'Académie, que les peuples le regardent 'avec autant de déférence que le recueil de leurs propres lois.'<sup>95</sup>

Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that Du Bos' reading was based on a working knowledge of how great states lost and gained power—and also that the Greek narratives of Procopius and Agathias on the one hand and the Latin letter collections of Cassiodorus, Avitus of Vienne, and the *Epistulae Austrasiacae* on the other, provide plenty of evidence for the importance of diplomacy in the sixth century.

Gibbon was perfectly well aware of the *Histoire critique*. He cites Du Bos on a number of occasions, for the most part with approval. He usually admired his precision: for instance with regard to his reconstruction of the chronology of the Burgundian war,<sup>96</sup> or his estimate of the size of Clovis' kingdom,<sup>97</sup> though he thought him overcritical in his reduction of the size of Syagrius' kingdom of Soissons<sup>98</sup>—a point on which many scholars would now agree with Du Bos, rather than Gibbon.<sup>99</sup> He was convinced by Du Bos' argument that "Gregory of Tours, his transcribers or his readers, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 99: Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, *Histoire de la ligue faite à Cambray, entre Jules II pape, Maximilien I Empereur, Louis XII Roi de France* (Paris, 1709).

<sup>94</sup> Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos*, p. 132.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 399.

<sup>96</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Womersley, 2:463, n. 42.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 2:453, n. 9.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 2:455, n. 14.

<sup>99</sup> See Edward James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), p. 71.

of *Thuringia*, beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic *city* of *Tongria*, on the Meuse...<sup>100</sup> In general, he seems to have been impressed by Du Bos' scholarship. Surveying scholarly treatment of the barbarians he wrote:

The Abbé Dubos... has truly and agreeably represented the slow progress of these studies.... In the space of thirty years (1728–1765) this interesting subject has been agitated by the free spirit of the Count de Boulainvilliers...; the learned ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos;... the comprehensive genius of the president de Montesquieu...; and the good sense and diligence of the Abbé de Mably...<sup>101</sup>

This note is essentially an English version of what he had previously written in French, when he reviewed Mably's *Observations sur l'histoire de France*:

Les paradoxes hardis du Comte de Boulainvilliers, et les sophismes adroits de l'Abbé Du Bos sont assez connus. Le président de Montesquieu, toujours brillant et toujours profond, y a porté ses vues systematiques et philosophiques. L'Abbé de Mably vient de nous donner sur cette matière [early French history] un ouvrage utile et bien écrit.<sup>102</sup>

There could be a touch of irony here: Gibbon may have admired Montesquieu, but he had his doubts about Mably, and his reference to Du Bos' ingenuity could be read as critical. Commenting on the story of Clovis and the vase of Soissons he noted “[a]s a point of controversy it has been strangely tortured by Boulainvilliers, Dubos, and the other political historians.”<sup>103</sup> This is certainly a fair observation on Boulainvilliers' reading, which determinedly presented the episode as illustrative of the rights of the Franks (and thus of the aristocracy), but there could be nothing more level-headed than the reductionist response of Du Bos.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, Gibbon was not opposed to some of the more ingenious of Du Bos' arguments. On the crucial point that a grant by Justinian lay at the heart of the “final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul”, Gibbon commented, “the strong declaration of Procopius... would almost suffice to justify the Abbé Dubos.”<sup>105</sup> Gibbon, in other words,

<sup>100</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Womersley, 2:456, n. 20.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:482, n. 63.

<sup>102</sup> Gibbon, “Du gouvernement féodale,” p. 183.

<sup>103</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Womersley, 2:454, n. 11.

<sup>104</sup> Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, 2, bk. 3, pp. 410–11.

<sup>105</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Womersley, 2:470, n. 59.



was fully aware of French scholarship of his own and previous generations. He saw its weaknesses—commenting on one occasion that “the count de Boulainvilliers... shows a strong understanding, through a cloud of ignorance, and prejudice”<sup>106</sup>—but he was also well aware of its strengths.

Although French study of the fall of the Roman Empire was largely caught up a “historico-political” discourse about the nature of society and the rights of the monarch, aristocracy and the *Tiers-État*, not all scholarship was rendered invalid thereby. Gibbon identified Boulainvilliers and Du Bos as “political historians:”<sup>107</sup> they were historians none the less. Because they were involved in political debate, they looked first and foremost at the history of France. Much the same would happen in Italy in the nineteenth century. Historians writing about the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries usually did so in the context of national history. Even so, their discussions contributed to the broader themes of the fall of the Roman Empire and of the barbarian invasions. Indeed Du Bos seems to have thought rather more deeply about the implications of the end of the Empire, and about the nature of the barbarian settlement, than did historians such as Le Beau and Ségur, who explicitly set out to narrate the history of the *Bas-Empire*. The writings of all these men provide a context for Gibbon’s *magnum opus*, which indeed looks less remarkable or isolated when read alongside them.

Gibbon, then, was not alone in thinking about the fall of the Roman Empire, even if few others tackled the subject on the same scale. Some thought about it, because it resonated with them. Perhaps, as a result, their responses seem less scholarly to the modern historian. But that does not mean that they had nothing to contribute to the discussion. Du Bos, in particular, raised a number of issues that have either been revived in recent years or deserve revival. His discussion of Armorica concerns an area which is still inadequately understood.<sup>108</sup> Above all, his emphasis on diplomacy needs to be properly considered. Modern scholars have noted the importance of embassies, but no one since Du Bos has put diplomacy so firmly at the centre of the collapse of the Empire.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:479, n. 87.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:454, n. 11.

<sup>108</sup> For a properly cautious assessment of the evidence for Armorica, see James, *The Franks*, p. 83. Passages on Armorica in Barry Cunliffe’s *Facing the Ocean: the Atlantic and its Peoples* (Oxford, 2001) are vitiated by a misunderstanding of the extent of the area covered by the term in Late Antiquity.

Even if he overstated the case for seeing the origins of the constitutional development of medieval France in the concessions made by Justinian in the course of the 530s—and, as we have seen, Gibbon, for one, was partly convinced by his argument—the idea that the world changed radically at that time is worth proper consideration.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> The research for this paper was largely undertaken while I held a British Academy Research Readership and the Balsdon Fellowship at the British School at Rome.



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