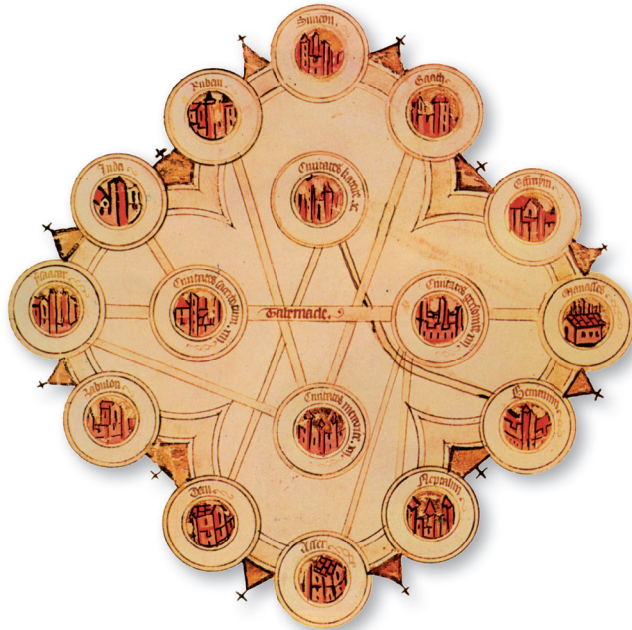




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I PART

THE PAST INTERROGATED AND UNMASKED



THE TUBAL FIGURE IN EARLY MODERN IBERIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

This study is dedicated to the use of the biblical figure Tubal in early modern Iberian chronicles. The focus will be centered on how it is used in different ways in the different kingdoms (Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Portugal and the Basque Provinces and Navarre) and what the authors are trying to achieve through this. Results show that while Castilian authors try to prove Spanish antiquity with the Tubal settlement, in other kingdom, especially in Catalonia, Portugal and Navarre there is a more regional use of the myth. Most of these authors try to prove that their own kingdom is the territory where Tubal settled, which would give a pre-eminence of antiquity to it in comparison to the other Iberian territories.

KEYWORDS

Early Modern History, Chronicles, Myths, Spanish Monarchy, Tubal.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Prima Historia Moderna, Chronica, Mythi, Monarchia Hispanica, Tubal.

1. Introduction

Myths have always played an outstanding part in human history and they are without any doubt much older than science. This is also valid for chronicles or historiographical works. Christian historians in particular broke up the division between myth and history, which had been established by classical historiography.¹ Only pagan stories remained myths, while the Bible gained the recognition of true history.²

Early Modern chronicles from the Iberian Peninsula are no exception to this phenomenon. These historians pretended to write the history from the beginning of the world based on the historical Christian periodization of the six ages, established for the first time by Saint Augustine around the year 400. The historians were aware of the lack of sources or documents, so they had to fill these gaps with myths or heroic stories without having any evidence. The events and happenings they describe mostly have year dates, which means that the chroniclers had a very precise idea of the time in which these things happened. Points of reference are usually the creation of the earth, the Deluge or the birth of Christ. This kind of historical writing was nothing new in early modern times, but a continuation of a medieval tradition. As Eduard Fueter points out, this phenomenon was to be found in almost any part of Europe, because neither the Iberians nor the Germans or Scots could accept that their pre Christian history was not able to keep up with the ancient Rome.³ Even the Romans themselves searched for their origins in Aeneas of Troy who came to Italy to become the progenitor of all Romans.

The myths were important for the prestige of monarchs and their dynasties, but also to define the identity of families, towns or even kingdoms. Now, to a Christian there could not be any origins more ancient than the Deluge. The most important Iberian myth in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period is certainly Tubal, grandson of Noah and the first to populate the Iberian Peninsula after the Deluge and founder of a mythical dynasty of kings that ruled Iberia for centuries.

The Tubal figure belongs to the Generation of Noah (or Table of Nations) that appears in the Bible (*Genesis*, 10).⁴ According to post Deluge history Noah divided the continents among his three sons, giving Asia to Shem, Africa to Ham and Europe to Japhet. Just what Noah did on a global level, Japhet did within Europe and he gave specific parts to his sons to repopulate them. In this way Noah's grandson Magog settled in Scandinavia and started the history of the Goths. His brother Javan was supposed to begin the settlement in Greece and, as we already said, Tubal is

1. Caballero, José Antonio. "Mito e historia en la 'Crónica General de España' de Florián de Ocampo", *Memoria de la Palabra. Atcas del VI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro* (Burgos, La Rioja, 15-19 de julio 2002), María Luisa Lobato, Francisco Domínguez Matito, eds. Burgos: Iberoamericana, 2002: I, 398.

2. For the Spanish case see the very recently published book by: Simon i Tarrés, Antoni. *La Bíblia en el pensament polític català i hispànic de l'època de la raó d'estat*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2016.

3. Fueter, Eduard. *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1936: 222.

4. See: Simon i Tarrés. *La Bíblia...*: 154-162 (Chapter 6.2: "Descendents de Noè. Els remots "origens" nacionals").



related to the first settlement in Spain. This conception of population belongs to the ancient assumption that every nation can be traced back to one single progenitor. These particular nation specific myths were developed independently from the bible, given that these more specific settlements are not mentioned any more.

The analysis of Tubal is usually one of the key aspects in researches on myths and mythic past in Spain.⁵ In spite of this importance, until 2013 there had been no study dedicated exclusively to this very important figure of early modern historiography. Mateo Ballester came to this very same conclusion:

*No se ha realizado, por lo que sabemos, ningún estudio dedicado en exclusiva a analizar la historia y evolución de este mito, en la cultura y en el imaginario colectivo hispanos, desde su origen hasta su desaparición ya en el siglo XX. Este artículo pretende cubrir este vacío.*⁶

At least, as far as early modern chronicles are concerned, Ballester's article is not able to keep this promise. His focus lies almost exclusively on Castilian authors and works, which do not represent the view of all Spanish (or Hispanic) kingdoms. The only alternative theory on Tubal he deals with is the Basque one. The Basque Provinces and Navarre belonged to the Crown of Castile although they were not part of the kingdom of Castile.⁷ Ballester explicitly ignores Catalan and Portuguese historiographical works, which do have different points of view on the Tubal figure and his arrival to the peninsula. The same tendency is to be found in general studies on the mythical origins in Spanish chronicles. In particular, the Portuguese ones are usually completely excluded, which cannot be accepted especially for the 16th and 17th century.

5. Spain has to be understood as a geographical concept and synonym to Iberian Peninsula, see, in particular: Gloël, Matthias. *Monarquía imaginada. Eine Untersuchung zu Vorstellungen von der Monarchie auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2014: 31-42. For researches on Iberian myths see: Estévez, Juan Antonio. "Aproximación a los orígenes míticos de Hispania". *Habis*, 21 (1990): 139-152; Caballero, José Antonio. "El mito en las historias de la España primitiva". *Excerpta Philologica*, 7-8 (1997-1998): 83-100; Caballero, José Antonio. "Desde el mito a la historia", *Memoria, mito y realidad en la historia medieval: XIII Semana de Estudios Medievales (Nájera, del 29 de julio al 2 de agosto de 2002)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, José Luis Martín, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2003: 33-60. For an understanding of the political structure of the kingdoms as part of the monarchy, see the concept of composite monarchy, fundamentally: Koenigsberger, Helmut Georg. "Monarchies and parliaments in early modern Europe. *Dominium Regale or Dominium Politicum et Regale*". *Theorie and Society*, 5/2 (1978): 191-217; Elliott, John H. "A Europe of composite monarchies". *Past and Present*, 137 (1992): 48-71.

6. "As far as we know there hasn't been a research exclusively conducted to analyse the history and the evolution of this myth in the Spanish culture and imaginary from its origins to its disappearance in the 20th century. The aim of this article is to cover this vacuum". Ballester, Mateo. "La estirpe de Tubal: relato bíblico e identidad nacional en España". *Historia y Política*, 29 (2013): 222. Ballester does mention another article by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel from 1970 (Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. "Tubal, primer poblador de España". *Abaco. Estudios sobre literatura española*, 3 (1970): 9-48), which remained unfinished because of the author's death. Besides the article does not really focus on Tubal's arrival to Spain, but on Jewish and American myths.

7. In early modern Spain different kingdoms or other territories such as duchies or principalities could form a Crown (for example, Crown of Castile or Crown of Aragon). Two or more crowns could be part of the same monarchy.



2. The origins of the Tubal myth

As we already stated, the mythical period in early modern historiography is strictly orientated on the bible. This is also the case of Tubal, who according to biblical mythology, is one of Noah's many grandchildren.⁸ According to Julio Caro, Tubal's name was the origin of the *theobeles*, a nation, that with time converted to *iberos*,⁹ which would be the Iberians in English. In this way, Spain got a biblical past and the Hispanics became descendants of the family of Noah. The antiquity of a kingdom or a territory was very important in that time. The more antique the origins were, the more nobility was given for the corresponding territory. The Tubal myth does also appear in other parts of Europe, such as Italy, Germany or even Russia, where he and his brother Mesec supposedly arrived in Siberia. This settlement is tried to be proved with the existence of the ancient capital Tobolsk, which is supposed to be named after Tubal.¹⁰ We will see the importance of toponymy to prove a myth in several Spanish cases as well.

The Bible itself does not say whether Spain was given to Tubal to populate it, or that he went there on his own to do so. It does not connect him to the Iberian Peninsula at all. But already by the end of the 1st century there are sources establishing such a connection. The 1st century Jewish-Roman scholar Flavius Josephus states that Tubal was the founder of the *Thobelites*, which in his time were called *Iberes*.¹¹ Nevertheless, it is not certain if Josephus referred to the Spanish Iberians or the Caucasians ones, which were located in the territory that today corresponds to Georgia.¹² But at the end of antiquity and beginning of the Middle Ages the association of Tubal with Spain became clearer. Saint Jerome in the 4th century is part of the first pieces of evidence for this and Isidore of Seville would express the same idea at the beginning of the 7th century in his *Etymologiae*: "Tubal, from whom came the Iberians, who are also the Spaniards, although some think the Italians also sprang from him".¹³ Isidore still mentions a possible Italian descendency from Tubal, but to him it already seems to be the opinion of a minority. In the following centuries the Tubal myth has not always been present among chroniclers and theologians, but it would appear again with strength towards the end of the high Middle Ages.

8. Among the great number of studies on Noah and his offspring in the first part of the 20th century the work of Allen stand out: Allen, Don Cameron. *The legend of Noah: renaissance rationalism in art, science and letters*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949. The author explains how early modern authors around Europe tried to convert irrational parts of the Bible into reasonable historical episodes. A more recent approach is: Bizzocchi, Roberto. *Genealogie incredibili: scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995 (republished with an additional chapter in 2009). For Early Modern Times, especially the third part (of three), is especially interesting, where the author points out that the genealogists around Europe in spite of knowing better insisted on the biblical myths as part of the human history.

9. Caro, Julio. *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1992: 58.

10. Ballester, Mateo. "La estirpe de Tubal...": 223.

11. Josephus, Flavius. *The Genuie Works of Flavius Josephus*. Philadelphia: Isaiah Thomas, 1809: I, 23.

12. Ballester, Mateo. "La estirpe de Tubal...": 224.

13. Isidore of Seville. *Etimologies*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof. Cambridge (UK)-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 193.



3. The Tubal myth in Castile

By far the most important work is the *Historia de rebus hispaniae* written by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1170-1247), archbishop of Toledo for almost 40 years.¹⁴ This chronicle, written in medieval Latin was commissioned by the Castilian King Fernando III and recounts Spanish history until 1243. Rada's work was the first one that could be considered as a history of Spain and it has been pointed out several times as a turning point of Spanish historiography.¹⁵ In other parts of Europe there had been general histories for a couple of centuries and only on the Iberian Peninsula they had not appeared yet, an emptiness Rada would start to fill. Rada refers to Saint Jerome and Isidore as his sources on Tubal matters and just like them he declares him as the origin of the Iberians and Spaniards.¹⁶ Rada's contemporary Lucas de Tuy (1236, *Chronicon Mundi*), for example, does not yet mention Tubal as the one to populate the Iberian Peninsula. This is one more sign that it is actually Rada who relaunches the myth.

Rada does not only contribute strongly to the final establishment of the Tubal myth in Iberian historiography. He also marks the way Castilian chronicles would present Iberian history in the late middle ages and the early modern period. Rada's title indicates that he wants to tell the history of Spain, but what he actually does is tell the history of Castile and the Castilian Kings. Rada had a decisive influence on the appropriation of the name 'Spain' by Castilian humanists in the following centuries. Georges Martin gives Rada the credit for the 'invention of Castile', claiming that it was him who assigns Castile a political identity for the first time.¹⁷ He establishes a genealogical connection between the Castilian kings and the descendants of Noah. The other important Castilian chronicle from the 13th century is the *Estoria de España* written in the 1270s under the guidance of King Alfonso X, who was also an active collaborator on the chronicle. The work is mainly based on Rada, especially the initial part about Tubal and the other mythical kings. According to José Caballero the acceptance of Rada's mythology by Alfonso X means the consecration of biblical myths in Castilian historiography.¹⁸

14. For more information on Rada, see the recent works: Pérez de Rada y Díaz Rubín, Francisco Javier. *El arzobispo don Rodrigo Giménez de Rada*. Madrid: Fundación Jaureguizar, 2002; Crespo, Mario. *Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada*. Madrid: Fundación Ignacio Larramendi, 2015.

15. Caballero, José Antonio. "Desde el mito...": 38.

16. To compare the exact sayings of the three authors, see: Estévez, Juan Antonio. "Aproximación a los orígenes...": 144.

17. Martin, Georges. "La invención de Castilla (Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus hispaniae*, V). Identidad patria y mentalidades políticas". *Archives ouvertes en Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société*. 12 November 2006. 9 May 2016 < <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00113284/document> >: 1-16.

18. Caballero, José Antonio. "El mito en las historias...": 89. For a general overview on Late Medieval chronicles in Spain, see: Tate, Robert Brian. "La historiografía del reinado de los Reyes Católicos", *Antonio de Nebrija: Edad Media y Renacimiento*, Carmen Codoñer, Juan Antonio González Iglesias, eds. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1994: 17-28. See also his classical work: Tate, Robert Brian. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.



The 14th century is marked by a lot of internal trouble for Castile, mainly caused by two underage kings (Fernando IV and Alfonso XI) and in 1369 the dynastic quarrel that brought the Trastámara to the throne also impeded a similar cultural development as there had been in the 13th century and as there would be again in the 15th and following centuries. But Rada's legacy and the Tubal myth would not get lost in the meantime. The newly upcoming general chronicles kept following the schemes of the bishop of Toledo. Authors such as Alfonso de Cartagena (1456) or Diego de Valera (1482) continue the tradition of Tubal populating Spain. Also the concept of the Castilian primacy among the Spanish kingdoms is present again. Sánchez de Arévalo (1470) for example establishes a ranking for the different kingdoms pointing out that Castile and Leon would be the main Spanish kingdom before Aragon, Navarre, Portugal and Granada.¹⁹

The Italian Giovanni Nanni or Annio of Viterbo and his *Antiquitatum* (1498) would make another very important contribution for future of the Tubal myth. In his work he includes a document which he claims to have found in lost books written by Berossus, a Babylonian writer from the 3rd century B.C. The text is important, not only because he also tells the population of Spain by Tubal, but because it goes a lot further than a simple arrival and settlement. According to Annio, Tubal brought civilization to Iberia by introducing natural laws, letters and even poetry. Having all this at that particular point of history implies a superiority to ancient Greece and Rome which developed these indicators of civilization many centuries later. Despite the fact that these Berossus texts were false they had a very considerable impact on Spanish historians.²⁰

What Annio possibly does is confusing Tubal (son of Japhet) with Tubal-cain, the son of Lamech and descendent of Cain (son of Adam and Eve). Tubal-cain would have lived long before the Deluge and is basically unrelated to the other Tubal. According to the Bible, Tubal-cain was a "forger of all instruments of bronze and iron" (*Genesis*, 4:22), so he could be considered as the inventor of modern techniques of metal elaboration. These aspects of skills and civilized forms of craftsmanship of Tubal-cain may have been added to the other Tubal character Annio presents to us.

This would already be seen in the first important early modern work in Castile, the first four books of the *Crónica general de España*,²¹ published in 1543 by Florián de Ocampo, the official chronicler of Charles V (Charles I in Castile and the Crown of Aragon). His task, commissioned by the Castilian Parliament or *Cortes*, was to write down the *grandes cosas y hazañas hechas por los reyes de Castilla, de gloriosa memoria*.²²

19. Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo. *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*. Rome, 1470. Available at: Sánchez de Arévalo, Rodrigo. "Compendiosa Historia Hispanica". Universitat de València. 14 May 2016<http://roderic.uv.es/uv_ms_0411>..

20. On this impact, see: Caballero, José Antonio. "Anno de Viterbio y la historiografía española del siglo XVI", *Humanismo y tradición clásica en España y América*, Jesús María Nieto, ed. Leon: Universidad de León, 2002: 103-120.

21. "General" usually meant that the work would tell the history of all times, beginning with the Deluge. Caballero, José Antonio. "Mito e historia en la 'Crónica General de España'...": I, 397-405.

22. "great achievements accomplished by the Castilian kings of glorious memory". Samson, Alexander. "Florián de Ocampo, Castilian chronicler and Habsburg propagandist: rhetoric, myth and genealogy in



His work only spanned to the Roman period and would be continued afterwards by Ambrosio de Morales. But despite the fact that Ocampo does not arrive at the proper Castilian history, he connects the Castilians with Tubal by saying that *del qual descendemos y delos que con el vinieron, todos los que della son verdaderamente naturales* [from Spain].²³ Ocampo also adopts Anniius' aggregation to the Tubal myth as the carrier of civilization by claiming that he taught the secrets of nature, music, mathematics, sciences and even introduced a calendar.²⁴

Only five years after Ocampo, Pedro de Medina published his *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España*. Nevertheless, Medina's work does not contain a lot of own work, given that most of it is copied from other authors, mainly the Valencian Pere Antoni Beuter (we will refer to him later) and Ocampo, from whom he took basically everything concerning the arrival of Tubal to the peninsula. Nevertheless, he does not quote neither Beuter nor Ocampo, but refers directly to the false Berossus document itself.²⁵

A contemporary of Ocampo and Medina was Lorenzo de Padilla (1485-1540; this means he died before Ocampo published his work). He wrote a book that would remain unpublished until 1669. He would refer directly to the Berossus document to explain the arrival of Tubal to Spain after the Deluge. Padilla states that he would basically follow him because Saint Jerome and Josephus would have proven him correct.²⁶ José Pellicer who published the books more than a century after the author's death explains in his introduction that Padilla handed his manuscript over to Ocampo before he died. According to Pellicer, Ocampo, instead of publishing it took over the ideas and used them for his own historiographical work.²⁷

In 1592 the Jesuit Juan de Mariana wrote his famous *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae Libri XXX*, which he would translate into Castilian and publish it again in 1601 under the name *Historia general de España*. His work would become the prototype of Spanish history for about 200 years, until the publishing of Modesto Lafuente's *Historia General de España* (1850-1867).²⁸ Mariana refuses all the myths to which other historians were referring. According to Mariana, they wanted to ennoble the past of the people they were writing about and to achieve this they invented a lot of fables and tales. He also takes a position against *las opiniones y sueños del libro que poco ha salió con nombre de Beroso*, a book, as Mariana insists to be *compuesto de fábulas*

the historiography of early modern Spain". *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 42 (2006): 339.

23. "we all descend from him and the ones who came with him and so we are all true naturals [from Spain]". Ocampo, Florián de. *Los quatro libros primeros de la cronica general de España*. Zamora: Juan Pablo Colomer, 1543: 6v.

24. Ocampo, Florián de. *Los quatro libros...*: 19.

25. Medina, Pedro de. *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España*. Madrid: Luis Gutiérrez, 1568: 3.

26. Padilla, Lorenzo de. *Libro Primero de las Antigüedades de España*. Valencia: without publisher, 1669: 6v.

27. Pellicer, José. "Motivos de esta edición", *Libro Primero de las Antigüedades de España que escriuió Lorenzo de Padilla*, ed. José Pellicer. Valencia: without publisher, 1669: 5v-6r.

28. Simon i Tarrés, Antoni. *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2005: 98-99.



y mentiras.²⁹ Now, despite the fact that Mariana does not believe in the Berossus document or a mythical past at all, this position does not include Tubal. As he rejects the so called ‘false Berossus’ it seems to be logic that he does not characterize Tubal as the carrier of science, music and civilization. But Mariana has no doubt about the fact that it was Tubal who started the population of Spain after the deluge. To prove his point, he eludes to the fact that very important authors have confirmed it, so that the arrival of Tubal could be considered *averiguada cosa y cierta*.³⁰ As Caballero states, Mariana criticises the other historians only to end up doing the same thing they did.³¹ Mariana on the one hand surely contributed to the perdurability of the Tubal myth, but on the other hand his criticism of Annius and his Berossus document did not imply a decline of its use.

In 1597, five years after the publishing of the Latin version of Mariana’s Spanish history, Gregorio López Madera brings to light his *Excelencias de la Monarchia y Reyno de España*. He probably refers to Mariana when he says that there are a few important authors who think that the Berossus document is feigned and untrue. But at the very same time López states that the text is absolutely true about all the antiquities and details that it seems impossible to him that the text could be false.³² He also quotes the above named Josephus and Saint Jerome to claim that it is proven that it was Tubal who first came to Spain. Afterwards he also adds Isidore and Jiménez de Rada to the ones who would give credibility to the population of Spain by Tubal.³³

Very similar is the case of Pedro Salazar de Mendoza and his *Monarchia de España* (1618). He also quotes the three authors of the ancient world and adds that all the Spanish and foreign histories also would confirm that Tubal’s arrival to Spain is true. He says that given all this literary authority it would be temerarious to claim the opposite.³⁴ This is what Salazar de Mendoza already explains at the beginning in his geographical resume of Spain. Later in a specific chapter on Tubal he gives more details and refers to him also as the one who gave laws to the Spaniards and that it had be him who gave the people a calendar of 12 months and 365,25 days, which would be valid until Julius Cesar erroneously changed it. From this moment on, according to Salazar, the royal monarchical government was introduced in Spain

29. “the opinions and dreams of the book that recently came out under of Berossus name”; “full of fables and lies”. Mariana, Juan de. “Historia General de España”, *Obras de Padre Juan de Mariana*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1854: I, 7. On Mariana, see: Soons, Alan. *Juan de Mariana*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.

30. “investigated and certain thing”. Mariana, Juan de. “Historia General de España...”: I, 2, 7.

31. Caballero, José Antonio. “El mito en las historias...”: 100.

32. López Madera, Gregorio. *Excelencias de la Monarchia y Reyno de España*. Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1597: 5v. On López Madera, see: García Ballesteros, Enrique; Martínez Torres, José Antonio. “Gregorio López Madera (1562-1649), un jurista al servicio de la Corona”. *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País*, 37 (1998): 163-178.

33. López Madera, Gregorio. *Excelencias de la Monarchia...*: 18v-19r.

34. Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro. *Monarchia de España*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1770: I, 1. On Salazar de Mendoza see: Gómez Vozmediano, Miguel; Sánchez, Ramón. “Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (1549-1629): cronista nobiliario y bruñidor de linajes”. *Tiempos Modernos*, 31 (2015): 393-422.



and it would last forever.³⁵ As we can see, the image of Tubal bringing civilization to Spain clearly survived Mariana's critical words on the Berossus document. Another example for this persistence is Julián del Castillo in 1624. In his *Historia de los Reyes Godos* he almost exactly copies Ocampo's text on laws, sciences and nature, what Tubal introduced in Spain. Nonetheless, he does not quote Ocampo, but Medina, who, as we already explained, copied entire chapters from Ocampo.³⁶

So, there is no discussion in the Castilian chronicles as to whether Tubal was the one who populated Spain. The only aspect where there is no unanimity is the question where he started it. Nonetheless, most of the authors suppose or pretend to know that he arrived in Spain in Andalusia. Mariana is the only one who limits himself to explain that it is unknown where Tubal actually arrived and that he does not see the need to guess without knowing.³⁷ Medina admits that there is no certainty on this question, but that it would be very likely that Tubal arrived to Andalusia, from where he started the population of Spain.³⁸ Ocampo and Castro claim in favour of Andalusia, too. Salazar de Mendoza on the other hand explains that it was Asturias and Galicia where Tubal first settled and from where he would have moved on to Italy.³⁹ But despite these doubts and differences for all these authors it is clear that with Tubal the Spanish monarchy was created which lasted until their own days.

4. The myth in the Basque Provinces and Navarre

Although the Basque Provinces and the Kingdom of Navarre were belonging to the Crown of Castile, their chroniclers are treated separately from the Castilian ones in this work. During the 10th and 11th century these territories had been united as the Kingdom of Pamplona. This union lasted until 1076 and 1200, when the three Basque Provinces (Guipuzcoa, Alava and Biscay) fell to Castile, but unlike other territories that were integrated into the Castilian crown, the Basque Provinces maintained their laws, jurisdiction and rights (*fueros*). The rest of the kingdom of Navarre stayed independent, adopting this name since 12th century until 1515 when a part of it (Chartered Community of Navarre) was also incorporated into the crown of Castile, maintaining as well its *fueros*.⁴⁰ The other part, Lower Navarre, continued as the kingdom of Navarre until it got into a dynastic union with France in 1589.

The Basque language is still alive in the Basque Country and Navarre, parallel to Castilian, and already in the Early Modern Period the chroniclers had a particular

35. Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro. *Monarchia de España...*: I, 35.

36. Castillo, Julián del. *Historia de los Reyes Godos*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624: 63.

37. Mariana, Juan de. "Historia General de España...": 7.

38. Medina, Pedro de. *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables...*: 3.

39. Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro. *Monarchia de España...*: I, 35.

40. The term *fueros* refers to certain rights and privileges a territory had and which could not be violated by the King.



view on the origins of Spanish history in comparison to the rest of the Crown of Castile. The Basque elites of the 17th century embraced the Tubal myth to justify an original natural independence of the Basque people.⁴¹

This idea is expressed in 1571 (although he had already written several volumes of his work between 1556 and 1566) by Esteban de Garibay. Unlike most Castilian chroniclers Garibay defends an entry of Tubal in northern Spain. He accepts Beuter's (a chronicler from Valencia, we will refer to him later) theory of an entrance in Catalonia, but rejects the idea that he also settled there. The settlement, which is the important part of the first population, takes place, according to Garibay, in Navarre and Cantabria.⁴² In the 16th century among intellectuals there is a widely known theory that located the ancient Cantabria within the Basque territory and close to Navarre.

The second important argument, besides the geographical location, is the language. There had already been a tradition since the 15th century related to the Basque language being the first and original one of Spain.⁴³ But Garibay would be a key figure for the connection of the Basque language and the Tubal myth.⁴⁴ Garibay claims that it was one of the 72 languages that appeared after the Tower of Babel and the following confusion of tongues and that Tubal brought it to Spain.⁴⁵ This means, that Basque would be the original Spanish language and also that the Basque people descend directly from Tubal.

As we already stated at the beginning, toponymy was a strong argument to prove ancient origins. Garibay uses this strategy to proof the Cantabrian settlement. There would be a lot of Armenian traces in the names of Cantabrian places and as Tubal came from Armenia to Spain, this would prove his point valid. One of these examples would be the name of *Albina* which Tubal copied from a city Noah founded in Armenia one year after the Deluge.⁴⁶

In another important aspect of the Tubal myth, Garibay does agree with most of the Castilian historians. Without quoting ancient or contemporary authors, he describes Tubal as the carrier of civilization, referring to the same points such as the secrets of nature.⁴⁷ The differences to the Castilian writers lies in the fact, that Garibay also in this point applies his Basque focus. He does not say, that Tubal brought civilization to Spain or to the Spaniards, but to the Cantabrians alone.

41. Vázquez Larrea, Iñaki. "Los orígenes del nacionalismo vasco". *Sociotam*, 16 (2006): 141-161, especialmente, 149.

42. Garibay, Esteban de. *Los quarenta libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los reinos de España*. Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1628: I, 90-92. On Garibay, see: Caro, Julio. *Los vascos y la Historia a través de Garibay*. Madrid: Editor Caro Raggio, 2002.

43. Perea, Francisco Javier. "Esteban de Garibay y la hipótesis hebraico-nabucodonosoriana". *Estudios de Lingüística del Español*, 36 (2015): 177-195, especialmente, 178.

44. Perea, Francisco Javier. "Esteban de Garibay...": 178.

45. Garibay, Esteban de. *Los quarenta libros...*: I, 77.

46. Garibay, Esteban de. *Los quarenta libros...*: I, 74.

47. Garibay, Esteban de. *Los quarenta libros...*: I, 76.



Andrés de Poza and his work *De la antigua lengua, poblaciones y comarcas de las Españas*, published in 1587, focusses mainly on the language aspect when he refers the Tubal myth. To prove that Basque was the ancient Spanish language he quotes the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela who had stated that nobody, not even the Greeks or the Carthaginians, could conquer Cantabria, which Poza accepts as the proof that their language had never changed and because of this it had to be the original one. He also refers to a couple of towns who are named, according to him, *puramente Vascongados, del Vascuence que hoy día se habla*.⁴⁸ Just as Garibay Poza refers also to the confusion of tongues as the origin of the Basque language and that Tubal arrived in Spain only twelve years later.⁴⁹

Baltasar de Echave explains in the prologue to his work *Discursos de la antigüedad de la lengua Cantabra Bascongada* that most chroniclers refuse to give Basque the credit for being the first and original Spanish language because unjustly they think of it as barbarian and impossible to pronounce. They would also say that it has never been spoken in whole Spain, but only in the few provinces where it is present currently. Echave claims that this ignorance has been the motivation for him to write this book.⁵⁰ The text itself is written as a monologue pronounced by the Basque language (the Basque language in first person) explaining its history. At the beginning it explains its purpose in one clear sentence: *Hanme negado todas las buenas partes de mi persona, mi antigüedad, singularidad, elegancia, nobleza, y universal posesion que tuve de toda España, como lo mostrare en los discursos y narración de mis querellas, a que os ruego me tengáis oydo*.⁵¹ Like Garibay, Echave accepts that Tubal entered Spain via Catalonia, but just like him he states that Tubal and his people moved on to settle down in Cantabria. This would be also the moment when Tubal introduced the Basque language to this region from where it would extend itself afterwards over the whole Iberian Peninsula.⁵²

The last two authors focus basically on the language and do not treat all the points, for example, Garibay does. This would change again with Lope de Isasti and his work *Compendio historial de la muy noble y muy leal provincia de Guipúzcoa* from 1625. After referring as well to the arrival through Catalonia and the settlement in Cantabria, Isasti quotes Ocampo and the introduction of all the important aspects of civilization to the Spaniards by Tubal, such as the secrets of nature, philosophy, geometry and laws to govern. He also explicitly rejects the arrival of Tubal in Andalucía by saying

48. "purely Basque which is spoken nowadays". Poza, Andrés de. *De la antigua lengua, poblaciones y comarcas de las Españas*. Bilbao: Mathias Mares, 1587: 2-2v.

49. Poza, Andrés de. *De la antigua lengua*...: 9v.

50. Echave, Baltasar de. *Discursos de la antigüedad de la lengua Cantabra Bascongada*. Mexico: Enrico Martínez, 1607 (see the prologue without page numbers). On Poza and Echave, see: Madariaga Orbea, Juan. *Apologistas y detractores de la lengua vasca*. San Sebastian: Fundación para el Estudio del Derecho Histórico y Autnómico de Vasconia, 2008: 112-156.

51. "It has been denied to me all the good parts of my person, my antiquity, my singularity, elegance, nobility and universal possession that I had over all Spain, as I will show in the discourses and narration of my complains, which I ask you to listen to". Echave, Baltasar de. *Discursos de la antigüedad*...: 2.

52. Echave, Baltasar de. *Discursos de la antigüedad*...: 6-8.



that there is no reason to believe that this really happened.⁵³ Furthermore Isasti uses the toponymy to fortify his argument. He refers a couple of town names of Armenian origin, which would prove that Tubal made his first Spanish settlements in Cantabria and Guipuzcoa.⁵⁴

Very few non Basque authors would follow these arguments exposed by these authors. Francisco de Cepeda from Oropesa, Toledo, is one of these few. In his *Resumpta historial de España desde el diluvio hasta el año 1642* Cepeda refers to Garibay when he explains the population of Spain after the Deluge. Following Garibay he explains that Tubal did not populate any other regions of Spain before Cantabria. He also attributes to him the introduction of the natural law and the twelve months calendar.⁵⁵

In the late 17th century José de Moret published his *Annales del Reyno de Navarra*, a book that is part of a wider historiographical dispute between historians from Navarra and Aragon on the antiquity of these two kingdoms.⁵⁶ He states that Navarre and the Basque territory have been the first ones populated by Tubal. He continues that Tubal and his people brought the Basque language with them,⁵⁷ which means that he also uses the language to prove the antiquity of the Basque people and that they are the most ancient population group of Spain.

Similar to the Castilian authors the Basques ones state that Tubal started the monarchical government in Spain, which means, that he was the first king and the founder of the first (mythical) dynasty of Spanish kings. The difference the Basque historians point out is that he settled in the north in Cantabria, supposedly an ancient Basque territory, and that he ruled Spain from there, which means, that the Basque territory was the centre of the first monarchy in Spain.

5. The myth in the Crown of Aragon

Middle Age historiography in the Crown of Aragon is mainly Catalan chronicles of specific Kings like the ones from Bernat Desclot, Ramon Muntaner and the two chronicles of the Kings James I and Peter the Ceremonios. All the works were about one single King and his reign, but did not constitute a history of the Catalan territory.

One of the first works with a different approach is the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, written between 1369 and 1372 in Aragon by the royal secretary Tomás de Canellas. Although he does not mention him specifically, the mythical part is

53. Isasti, Lope de. *Compendio historial de la provincia de Guipuzcoa*. San Sebastian: Ignacio Ramón Baroja, 1850: 26.

54. Isasti, Lope de. *Compendio historial de la provincia de Guipuzcoa...*: 26.

55. Cepeda, Francisco de. *Resumpta historial de España desde el diluvio hasta el año 1642*. Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1654: 9-9v.

56. For a specific analysis of this conflict, see: Floristán, Alfredo. "Polémicas historiográficas y confrontación de identificaciones colectivas en el siglo XVII: Navarra, Aragón y Vassconia". *Pedralbes*, 27 (2007): 59-81.

57. Moret, José de. *Annales del Reyno de Navarra*. Pamplona: Martín Gregorio de Zabala, 1684: I, 4.



based basically on Jiménez de Rada.⁵⁸ The beginning of Spanish history therefore states the arrival of Tubal with a reference to Saint Jerome and Isidore. Because of Tubal the first name of the Spaniards was *Cetubals*, continues the chronicle.⁵⁹ There is no mention of Tubal bringing any kind of civilization to Spain, which is not surprising, given that the chronicle is more than a century older than the false Berossus document.

Unlike in Castile there is no reappearing of the Tubal myth in the 15th century, but only in the 16th. In the kingdom of Aragon even in the 16th century it is not very present, given the great influence of Jerónimo de Zurita. He was since 1548 the first official chronicler of the kingdom of Aragon.⁶⁰ Besides the great importance he is given by the historiography,⁶¹ he is a very singular case in the 16th century. At the beginning of his *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* he refuses all kind of fairy tails of origin the great empires use to have, which to him are nothing more than *cosas inciertas y fabulosas*.⁶² This seems to be a similar attitude to Mariana's, with the important difference that Zurita neglects even the Tubal myth when Mariana acknowledges him although he turns down the whole rest of the mythical dynasty.

Despite his great influence and distribution among his coevals, in the long run his rejection of Tubal would not be imitated, not even in his own kingdom. The Aragonese Martín Carrillo confirms in 1620 the Tubal arrival and that he became Spain's first king. He says that among other authors, Ocampo and Mariana had it proven to be correct. He agrees with the Basque authors that the first settlement was made in the Pyrenees.⁶³ He refers a couple of cities which might have been Tubal foundations because of the similarity to his name, but does not want to confirm any of them. What he does confirm is the validity of the Berossus document. He uses it, for example, as a confirmation for Noah's visit to Spain after Tubal's settlement.⁶⁴

Luis López from Saragossa differs from Carrillo, with regards to their ideas on the first settlement. His work is not a fluent text, but more chronological tables of facts and happenings. The entries are rather short. The first one is about Tubal and that he came from Armenia to Spain. The difference with Carrillo is that López claims

58. Orcastegui Gros, Carmen. "Crónica de San Juan de la Peña (Versión aragonesa), edición crítica". *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, 51-52 (1985): 419-569, 421.

59. Orcastegui Gros, Carmen. "Crónica de San Juan...": 422.

60. The Kingdom of Aragon is not the same as the Crown of Aragon. The Kingdom of Aragon is part of the Crown of Aragon, which also includes the Kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia, as well as the Majorca islands and the territories reached thanks to the Mediterranean expansion. See: Sabaté, Flocel, ed. *The Crown of Aragon, a singular Mediterranean Empire*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

61. Several biographies reflect this importance, the newest one is: Extravís, Isabel. *Jerónimo Zurita (1512-1580): un esbozo biográfico*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014.

62. "uncertain and fabulous things". Zurita, Jerónimo de. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1967: I, 3.

63. Carrillo, Martín. *Annales y memorias cronológicas*. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda J. Pérez Valdivielso, 1620: 8v.

64. Carrillo, Martín. *Annales y memorias...*: 9.



that Tubal entered in Catalonia.⁶⁵ What he does not tell is if he stayed there or if he moved on to settle somewhere else, just as the Basque historians believed.

In Valencia historiography shows certain similarity with the Basque one concerning the settlement. The first important chronicle in the Kingdom of Valencia is the one from Pere Antoni Beuter in 1538. According to him, Tubal came to Spain from Armenia and his first settlement was in the Pyrenees. At the same time he rejects other theories on possible first settlements in Andalusia or Catalonia.⁶⁶ In 1538 Beuter published his chronicle in Catalan. In 1546 he published a translated version in Castilian, which is also modified in several parts. With regards to the Tubal myth he adds a reference to Berossus which explains that the peninsula was firstly called Cetubalia, after Tubal himself.⁶⁷

A very similar view is found with Francisco Diago (1613). He explains that the arrival of Tubal can be taken as truth and he quotes Josephus and Saint Jerome to prove his point. Diago says that he is not sure where Tubal entered Spain, but it seems very likely to him that it was the Pyrenees.⁶⁸ Neither Beuter nor Diago refer to Tubal as the carrier of civilization, despite the fact that at least in Beuter's case, there are references to the Berossus document.

Very different is the case of Gaspar Escolano (1610), who seems to be one of the few who agrees with Jerónimo Zurita. According to him, until the time of the Carthaginians there is no author nor memory that proves the existence of all the kings which are mentioned as possible rulers of Spain.⁶⁹ Escolano dedicates a whole chapter to Anniius of Viterbo and his false Berossus document. The purpose of the chapter is to prove that the whole document is a falsification.⁷⁰ He also rejects the Basque theory of their language being the one Tubal brought to Spain. He argues that there are many ancient names completely unrelated to the Basque language, which would make it impossible for it to be the first language in all Spain.⁷¹

In Catalonia, as in the Basque Country and Navarre, the use of the Tubal myth would take a particular path and an intent of the Catalan authors to usurp it somehow for their purposes. The first Catalan chronicle focussing on the territory instead of a single reign is written in 1438 by Pere Tomic, although it remained unpublished until 1495. As for the majority of Iberian authors, the population of Spain starts with Tubal after the Deluge. Tomic does not say where exactly he arrives,

65. López, Luis. *Tablas Chronológicas Universales de España*. Saragossa: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1637: I.

66. Beuter, Pere Antoni. *Primera part de la Història de València*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1995: 56-57. On Beuter, see: Ortola, Àlvar; Redondo, Jordi. "Elements mitològics i folklòrics a la Crònica de Pere Antoni Beuter". *Estudi General*, 23-24 (2004): 261-282.

67. Beuter, Pere Antoni. *Primera parte de la Coronica General de toda España y especialmente del Reyno de Valencia*. Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1604: 25.

68. Diago, Francisco. *Anales del Reyno de Valencia*. Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1613: I, 17r-17v.

69. Escolano, Gaspar. *Decada Primera de la Historia de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia*. Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610: 43-44. On Escolano, see: Martí, Francisco. *El doctor Gaspar Juan Escolano: cronista del reino y predicador de la ciudad*. Valencia: Francisco Vives Mora, 1892.

70. Escolano, Gaspar. *Decada Primera de la Historia...*: 47-54.

71. Escolano, Gaspar. *Decada Primera de la Historia...*: 67-76.



but he claims to be certain about that the first settlement Tubal established was in Catalonia, more precisely in Amposta and that it was the *Cetubals* who inhabited it.⁷²

The 16th and 17th centuries would bring more works on Catalan history and just as in Aragon (Zurita) and Valencia (Escolano), we find one author who rejects Tubal and the whole mythical prehistory of Spain. In the Catalan case it was Miquel Carbonell who wrote a couple of decades before Zurita, so it can be taken for granted that he was not influenced by him. Carbonell says that he read in several texts, among them Pere Tomic who is the only one he actually mentions, that it was Tubal who first came to Spain. He rejects this theory completely:

*Com nunca ajam legit ne podem creure se puga trobar en algun approvat Auctor que home de tal nom poblas Hespànyia encara que en lo Genesi se diga Tubal esser fill de Japhet nos diga pero en lo dit Genesi que dit Tubal prengues nom Iberie ne es versemblant.*⁷³

Among other arguments to prove his point, Carbonell uses toponymy, usually employed to prove the opposite. If the arrival of Tubal was true, he states that the peninsula would not be called Iberia, but Tiberia. Also the title of Carbonell's work (*Chroniques de Espanya fins aci no divulgades*) constitutes an exception in early modern Catalan historiography, given that it does not refer to Catalonia, but Spain. The content, nevertheless, is completely focused on Catalonia. Pelayo and Simon i Tarrés believe that Carbonell and Francesc Tarafa (we will discuss him right now) wanted to criticize the Castilian chroniclers and their appropriation of the term 'Spain' by imitating them.⁷⁴

But the historians of the following decades did not continue this critical opinion of Tubal. The precise example of Francesc Tarafa shows all the general and in particular Catalan aspects of the Tubal myth. His work was first published in Latin in 1553 and nine years later Alonso de Santa Cruz translated it into Castilian and published it under the name *Chronica de España*, although he manipulates sensitive aspects of content in this translation.⁷⁵ Tarafa starts his chronicle with Tubal's arrival and states that he was the first person who possessed the Spanish kingdom. He makes reference to a lot of ancient authors, among them Saint Jerome, Josephus and also the false Berossus. The first city Tubal founded was, according to Tarafa's

72. Tomic, Pere. *Histories e conquestes de Cathalunya*. Barcelona: Johan Rosembach, 1495: 5.

73. "As we have never read, nor we think that it could be found in an approved author that a man of this name has populated Spain: although in *Genesis* it says that Tubal is Japheth's son: but it does not say in *Genesis* that this Tubal took possession of Iberia, nor does it seem reliable to us". Carbonell, Miquel. *Chroniques de Espanya fins aci no divulgades*. Barcelona: Carles Amoros, 1547: 2v (The work was originally written between 1495 and 1513).

74. Pelayo, Javier Antonio; Simon i Tarrés, Antoni. "Los orígenes del estado moderno español. Ideas, hombres y estructuras", *Historia de España en la Edad Moderna*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Barcelona: Ariel, 2004: 223.

75. On Tarafa and especially the differences between the Latin and the Castilian version, see: Miralles, Eulàlia. "National identity and political intentionality in sixteenth-century hispanic historiography: From Tarafa's 'Las Españas' to Santa Cruz' 'La España'". *Renaissanceforum*, 8 (2012): 87-101.



Latin version, *Tarraco* (Tarragona).⁷⁶ With this reference he contributes to the same tendency Tomic started and which locates the origins of the Tubal settlement in Catalonia. As we have already seen, Tarafa knew and approved the false Barrosus document. In this line he also adopts the theory of Tubal as the carrier of civilization as he states the he gave laws to the Spaniards.⁷⁷

In 1564 the Catalan Parlament or *Cortes* assigned to record the history of Catalonia to Antoni Viladamor. During the reunion of *Cortes* that year they made the request to the King for the establishment of an official chronicler for the Catalan Principality, similar to the one Aragon had since 1548. In 1585 when King Philip II came back to Catalonia, this office was supposed to be granted and Viladamor wanted to present the first part of his *Història general de Catalunya* in case the position would be given to him. But Viladamor died before the *Cortes* came together and the position was never created. The manuscript remained unpublished until the beginning of the 21st century, although it was read by many historians of the 17th century.

Viladamor deals in detail with the question of how and where Tubal got to Spain and where he first settled. He excludes the theory that Tubal arrived in Andalusia by sea and also that he came through the Pyrenees. Given that he came from Phoenicia, Viladamor states that it is logic that he came across the Mediterranean to Catalonia where he founded Tarragona.⁷⁸ Catalans in general and Viladamor in particular recreate the mythologies based on Castilian sources.⁷⁹

The case of Lluís Ponç d'Icard shows, that the Tubal myth not only appeared in chronicles of the kingdoms, but also in local ones, just as in his *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de la metropolitana insigne y famosa ciudad de Tarragona* (1572), which only wants to explain the history of one city. His Catalan manuscript was translated into Castilian for its publication. Ponç makes reference to Castilian and Catalan works published earlier than his own, from Morales, Garibay, Medina (who probably inspired him with his title), Tomic and Carbonell. He also quotes ancient historians such as Saint Jerome and the false Berrosus. At the beginning of his work he agrees with other authors, that Tubal founded four different cities in the Iberian Peninsula, namely Pamplona and Calahorra in the north, Saragossa in Aragon and Tarragona in Catalonia.⁸⁰

Later on in chapter nine Ponç takes up again on the Tubal myth when he treats specifically the origins of Tarragona. After ruling out extensively other foundation

76. Tarafa, Francesc. *De origine, ac rebus gestis Regum Hispaniae liber, multarum rerum cognitione refertus*. Antwerp: Ioannis Steelsi, 1553: 8.

77. Tarafa, Francesc. *De origine, ac rebus gestis Regum Hispaniae liber...*: 9.

78. Viladamor, Antoni. *Història general de Catalunya*, ed. Eulàlia Miralles. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera-Pagès Editors, 2007: I, 248-250. On Viladamor, see: Miralles, Eulàlia. "L'historiador Antoni Viladamor i el seu entorn familiar: notes biogràfiques". *Pedralbes*, 17 (1997): 121-152.

79. Miralles, Eulàlia. "Estudi introductori", *Història General de Catalunya*, Antoni Viladamor, ed. Eulàlia Miralles. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera-Pagès Editors, 2007: I, 188-189.

80. Ponç d'Icard, Lluís. *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de la metropolitana insigne y famosa ciudad de Tarragona*. Lleida: Pedro de Robles y Juan de Villanueva, 1572: 6. On Ponç see the introductory study in the modern publication of the Catalan manuscript: Duran, Eulàlia. *Lluís Ponç d'Icard i el "Llibre de les grandeses de Tarragona"*. Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes, 1984.



myths of the city such as the one of Heracles, which is referred by others authors like Ocampo or Tomic, he concludes that Tubal came down from the Pyrenees (he agrees with the ones claiming Tubals arrival by land) to this area where he founded Tarragona (Tarraco) because of the fertile land and good climatic conditions. The name Tarraco itself would come directly from Tubal accoding to Ponç, which to him is the ultimate proof, that he is right, given that cities are usually named after their founders, which he tries to proof with a couple of other examples.⁸¹

Just as Viladamor also Pere Gil's work *Libre primer la historia Cathalana* (written in 1600) remained unpublished until. Just as him Gil claims that Tubal arrived to Catalonia and founded Tarragona. Before he moved on to other parts of Spain, Gil points out that Tubal founded several other cities and towns within Catalonia and only after this he created Sagunto in Valencia and more cities in other parts of Spain.⁸² Unlike most authors, Gil gives an explicit interpretation of Tubal's arrival in Catalonia. The fact that he came first to the Principality would mean *alabança, y preeminencia en alguna manera*.⁸³ Pre-eminence in comparison to the other Spanish kingdoms is what he certainly wants to express.

A few years after Gil, in 1609, Jeroni Pujades published his *Coronica Universal del Principat de Cathalunya*. He mentions ancient authors like Josephus, Castilians like Ocampo and Medina, Catalans like Tarafa and Viladamor and also Beuter from Valencia. The fact that he mentions Viladamor shows that his unpublished manuscript was actually circulating and still around two decades after his death. He also refers to Carbonell and states that he cannot understand why he does not agree on this subject, given that so many important authors do so.⁸⁴ The content on Tubal is clearly orientated on the Viladamor manuscript. Just as Viladamor does, Pujades rejects the entrance of Tubal by sea and through the Pyrenees. He claims that the authors who affirm one of these options would be influenced by the affection to their homelands (unlike him who presumes to be fully correct on this matter). The truth is, according to Pujades, that Tubal came to Catalonia and founded Tarragona, given that this area had the best fertility on the peninsula.⁸⁵

Estevan de Corbera would conclude the same as Viladamor and Pujades. Corbera died in 1635 and his work was only published in 1678. He states that all authors (ignoring Zurita among others) would agree on the fact that it was Tubal who started

81. Ponç d'Icard, Lluís. *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables...*: 77v.

82. Gil, Pere. *Libre primer de la historia Cathalana en lo qual se tracta de Historia o descripció natural, ço es de cosas naturals de Cathaluña*, ed. Josep Iglésies. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2002: 273. See also the introductive study by Joan Vilà-Valentí: Vilà-Valentí, Joan. "Anàlisi del contingut geogràfic de l'obra de Pere Gil", *Libre primer de la historia Cathalana en lo qual se tracta de Historia o descripció natural, ço es de cosas naturals de Cathaluña*, Pere Gil, ed. Josep Iglésies. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2002: XVII-XLVII.

83. "praise and pre-eminence in some way" [for Catalonia]. Gil, Pere. *Libre primer de la historia Cathalana...*: 273.

84. Pujades, Jeroni. *Coronica Universal del Principat de Cathalunya*. Barcelona: Jeroni Margarit, 1609: 2v. On Pujades, see: Amelang, James. "The mental world of Jeroni Pujades", *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in honor of John H. Elliott*, Richard L. Kagan, Geoffrey Parker, eds. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1995: 211-226.

85. Pujades, Jeroni. *Coronica Universal del Principat de Cathalunya...*: 8-8v.



the first population of Spain. He refers to the different opinions on how he got there and where he arrived and comes to the same conclusion as Pujades that these authors want to attribute this honourable antiquity to their homeland. But, Corbera proceeds, given that Tubal travelled through the Mediterranean it cannot be denied that he came first to Catalonia where he could find all he needed in abundance.⁸⁶ He states furthermore that Tubal entered Catalonia in Cap de Creus from where he moved on to found Tarragona and Tortosa. Only after that parts of his people moved on to other parts of Spain to populate them as well.⁸⁷

In 1641 Francesc Martí de Viladamor (unrelated to Antoni Viladamor) published his *Notícia Universal de Catalunya* (sponsored by the *Consell de Cent*), clearly marked by the historical context of the Catalan revolt against the government of Olivares which had started in 1640. As most of the Catalan authors, he explains the arrival of Tubal to Catalonia and the foundation of Tarragona as the first settlement. Unlike most Catalan authors (and in the Crown of Aragon in general) Viladamor also highlights the argument of civilization by saying that he gave laws to the Spaniards. Now, he does not only claim the beginning of Tubal for Catalonia, but he also uses him for the very peculiar situation Catalonia found itself in at the beginning of the 1640s. He argues that because of the Tubal laws, Catalonia would have lived since its very beginning with laws and natural liberty and this liberty, claims Viladamor, has never been lost.⁸⁸ The argument of the natural liberty that Catalonia supposedly always had is directed to the Count-Duke of Olivares, the favourite of King Philip IV. who tried to obtain more money and recruit more soldiers from Catalonia and other non-Castilian territories for the wars the monarchy was involved in. So he uses the argument because in the particular historical situation of Catalonia he has a particular purpose and point to prove.

After the first Catalan republic (1641), the dynastic union with France (1641, one week after the proclamation of the republic) and the return to the Spanish monarchy (1652) the Tubal myth stays present in Catalan chronicles, as shows the example of Narcís Feliu de la Penya and his *Anales de Catalunya*. Like most Catalan historians he believes in the arrival of Tubal through the Mediterranean (he claims that it would have been difficult to arrive through the Ocean, given that he would have gone around the whole African continent). Like several Early Modern chroniclers he had exact concepts of how much times lay between key events in early human history. Feliu de la Penya explains, that Tubal founded Tarragona 1788 years after the creation of the world, 143 after the Deluge and 2174 before the birth of Christ.⁸⁹

86. Corbera, Estevan. *Cataluña ilustrada*. Naples: Antonino Graminani, 1678: 137-139.

87. Corbera, Estevan. *Cataluña ilustrada...*: 140-141.

88. Martí de Viladamor, Francesc. *Notícia Universal de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Consejo de Ciento de la Ciudad de Barcelona, 1641: 26-9.

89. Feliu de la Penya, Narcís. *Anales de Catalunya. Tomo Primero*. Barcelona: Joseph Llopis, 1709: 26-27. On de la Penya see in particular the second chapter of the PhD Dissertation by Andrea Ricci: Ricci, Andrea. "Narcís Feliu de la Penya (1646-1712) i el seu temps". *Tesis doctorales en Red*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. 14 May 2016 <<http://www.tdx.cat/bitstream/handle/10803/125652/ar1de1.pdf?sequence=1>>.



6. The myth in Portugal

In medieval Portugal, Portuguese chronicles used to focus basically on the one single King and his reign, similar to the Catalan case. The most well-known of these chroniclers is Fernão Lopes (1380-1460, years are for reference only), who wrote about several Portuguese Kings such as John I. It is also believed that Lopes is the author the *Crónica de 1419*, which remained unpublished and was rediscovered in the first half of the 20th century.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this chronicle does not mention Tubal, nor anything that happened before Portugal became an independent kingdom in the 12th century.

Also unpublished (until 2000) remained the first work which could be considered the first Portuguese history, the *História de Portugal* by Fernão de Oliveira, written between 1580 and 1582.⁹¹ He was probably also the first Portuguese historian to adopt the Tubal myth and the mythical Spanish past in general. Oliveira states that it is generally known that Tubal was the first person to populate Spain, which is why the first name Spain had was *Tubália* and the people were called, quoting Josephus, *tubales*.⁹² As far as Tubal's arrival to Spain is concerned, Oliveira affirms exactly what especially Catalan authors try to prove wrong. He explains that Tubal arrived to Spain through the Atlantic Ocean, which is why he came to Portugal and not to Andalusia like several authors claimed. He also uses toponymy within his arguments. Tubal would have founded Setúbal in Portugal and Oliveira quotes Ocampo to prove it,⁹³ ignoring that Castilian authors used this very same name for a foundation in Andalusia which would later change its name. He also rejects the theory that the terms *Celtiberos* and *Celtiberia* would come from Tubal and refuting this, he states that the theory of Tubal's arrival through the Pyrenees would be proven wrong, too.⁹⁴

Manuel Cândido Pimentel explains that Oliveira's ideological purpose was to prove a historic supremacy of antiquity of Portugal over Spain.⁹⁵ We agree with the first part, that Oliveira indeed wanted to show Portugal's greater antiquity, but not over Spain, given that Portugal was a part of Spain, a name that was used to describe the Iberian Peninsula as a geographical unit, as we already explained in the beginning. The struggle for supremacy therefore was not against, but within Spain and against the other Spanish kingdoms, for example Castile or Valencia.

90. On this chronicle see: Basto, Artur de Magalhães. *Cronistas e crónicas antigas. Fernão Lopes e a "Crónica de 1419"*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1960.

91. Franco, José Eduardo. *O mito de Portugal. A primeira história de Portugal e a sua função política*. Lisbon: Fundação Maria Manuela e Vasco de Albuquerque d'Orey, 2000: 18.

92. Oliveira, Fernão de. "História de Portugal", *O mito de Portugal. A primeira história de Portugal e a sua função política*, José Eduardo Franco, ed. Lisbon: Fundação Maria Manuela e Vasco de Albuquerque d'Orey, 2000: 352.

93. Oliveira, Fernão de. "História de Portugal...: 352-353.

94. Oliveira, Fernão de. "História de Portugal...: 357.

95. Cândido Pimentel, Manuel. "O mito de Portugal nas suas raízes culturais", *Portugal: percursos de interculturalidade*, Artur Teodoro de Matos, Mário Ferreira Lages, eds. Lisbon: Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural, 2008: 3, 29.



Oliveira is also the only Portuguese author Matteo Ballester Rodríguez mentions in his article on the Tubal myth. According to him, the use of Tubal in a strictly Portuguese affirmation can only be considered as a curiosity and very particular case and not as the beginning of a solid tradition. He also argues that the myth had already been linked to Spain for centuries, which would have made a disconnection of the myth from Spain very complicated.⁹⁶ This interpretation is mistaken on several points. First, Ballester also does not take into account that Portugal was considered a part of Spain. Second, Oliveira does not try to disconnect the myth from Spain, given that he writes explicitly about Tubal's arrival to Spain and his answer to the question to which part of Spain he arrived is Portugal. Thirdly, although Oliveira himself could not start a new tradition, given that his work remained unpublished and also unknown, he cannot be considered a curious isolated case as we will see below.

It seems that the Portuguese chroniclers enter the Tubal debate only at the point in which their kingdom is dynastically united with the other Spanish kingdoms. The important Portuguese myth had always laid with Ulisses, the mythical founder of Lisbon. Now, given the importance of antiquity and the fact that Odysseus was clearly posterior to Tubal may have provoked Portuguese writers to adopt him into their chronicles as a more ancient founder of Portugal.

In 1597 Bernardo de Brito, who in 1614 would become the official chronicler of the Portuguese kingdom, published the first part of the *Monarchia Lusitana*. This monumental work on Portuguese history would finally have eight volumes, written by five authors and published between 1597 and 1729. According to Brito, Tubal was travelling through the Mediterranean until he reached the Strait of Gibraltar, which brought him to the Ocean.⁹⁷ Brito refers to a very particular source, Laymundo de Ortega, an author who is not mentioned in any of the works we treated so far. Brito explains in his prologue the discovery of this manuscript: *Que foy hum livro antiquissimo, escrito de letra Gothica, em pergaminho grosso, e mal pullido, composto por hum Portugues chamado Laymundo Ortega*.⁹⁸ Naturally this brought up the suspicion that Brito himself might have invented the text.

According to Laymundo, Brito states that Tubal passed through the Strait of Gibraltar and arrived to Spain from the ocean where he started a new monarchy. Brito also quotes other ancient authors such as Josephus or the false Berossus. He also refers to Tubal's first founding with the name *Cethubala* which would turn into Setúbal by the time.⁹⁹ After this he comments on Ocampo's work and critiques

96. Ballester, Mateo. "La estirpe de Tubal...": 231.

97. Brito, Bernardo de. *Monarchia Lusitana*. Alcobaca: Mosteiro de Alcobaca, 1597: I, 6v. New research on Brito would be desirable, given that the existing biography by Álvaro Terreiro (1992) is strongly in the tradition of the romantic national historiography from the 19th and big parts of the 20th century. See: Terreiro, Álvaro. *Frei Bernardo de Brito: historiador profético da Resistência: uma leitura para nosso tempo: vida e obra, breve antologia*. Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Almeida-Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1992.

98. "It was a very ancient book, written in gothic letters, in big vellum and badly polished, composed by a Portuguese with the name of Laymundo Ortega". Brito, Bernardo de. *Monarchia Lusitana*...: I, 4v.

99. Brito, Bernardo de. *Monarchia Lusitana*...: I, 6v.



that despite the fact that he speaks in extended lines about *Cethubala* he does not recognize that Tubal founded it in Portugal claiming that it was rather in Andalusia. Brito accuses Ocampo of taking the credits for this glory of the most ancient foundation to Castile. He also accuses the Valencian Martí de Viciana of the same thing. He reproaches him for claiming the origins of Tubal in Spain for the region of Valencia.¹⁰⁰ Just like the Catalan authors he accuses the ones from other kingdoms while doing the exact same thing himself. Interestingly, he quotes the first volume of Viciana's work, which is lost today unlike the three following parts, which is why we could not include him with the Valencian authors, because logically it is the first volume which treats the arrival of Tubal. He also takes on Garibay, rejecting his hypothesis of Tubal arriving first to the Basque region. All this explains Brito, is nothing but imagination and inventions that lack evidence while actually *nosso Reyno foy o mais antigo na povoação, e Setubal o lugar, em que primeiro ordenarão vivenda e vecinhança comuna*.¹⁰¹

As with most Iberian kingdoms, in Portugal there is also found an exception, an author who does not accept the Tubal myth and the mythical past of Spain as a whole. In the Portuguese case it is Duarte Nunes do Leão who in his *Origem da Língua Portuguesa* (1606) picks up the question of the first language spoken in Spain. He states that many authors have attempted to answer this question and that the Castilians and also some Portuguese would all acknowledge that it was Tubal who came to Spain after the confusion of tongues and that he founded Setubal. Whether ancient Setubal is found in Castile or in Portugal, Nunes de Leão claims all these authors were mistaken because Setubal, according to him, is a modern name.¹⁰² Afterwards his criticism becomes more severe, especially against Florián de Ocampo. He calls him a good writer, but very weak in factual issues. Ocampo, says Nunes de Leão, should have written less fables and according to him, the real Berossus would not be able to believe the false account on this place (Spain) where there were no letters nor writers or any memories on which an author could rely on. Nunes' conclusion is therefore that research on the first language in Spain is a waste of time.¹⁰³

But just as in the other kingdoms, Nunes' denial of Tubal had no impact on subsequent authors. Yet there is another singular case of an author who does not deny the Tubal myth, but does neglect the Portuguese primacy as the first population. The author in question is Diogo de Paiva d'Andrade and his work *Exame d'Antiquidades* from 1616. His father Francisco de Andrade had been the official chronicler of the Portuguese kingdom until his death in 1614. His successor was not

100. Brito, Bernardo de. *Monarchia Lusitana...*: I, 7.

101. "our kingdom was the most ancient one in population and Setúbal was the place where they first started a settlement and neighbourhood". Brito, Bernardo de. *Monarchia Lusitana...*: I, 7.

102. Leão, Duarte Nunes do. *Origem da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1606: 4-5. See the introductory study by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu in the newest edition: Buescu, Maria Leonor Carvalhão. "Introdução, notas e leitura", *Origem da Língua Portuguesa*, Duarte Nunes do Leão. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983: 43-186.

103. Leão, Duarte Nunes do. *Origem da Língua Portuguesa...*: 6-9.



his son Diogo, but the above explained Bernardo de Brito. In some sort of mixture between bitterness and vengeance, the main purpose of Andrade's book seems to be criticize Brito and prove him wrong. He refers to him not by his name, but with *o autor da Monarchia*.¹⁰⁴ After a resumé of Brito's work, Andrade states that Brito's sources are not valid, and above all the already mentioned Laymundo Ortega, *he escritor que ninguém conhece*.¹⁰⁵

As his work is basically directed against Brito, it seems to be logic that Andrade rejects one of the key points of Brito's work, the arrival of Tubal in Portugal. He states that Setúbal without any doubt would deserve such a noble founder, but as he feels obliged to tell the truth, he has to say that Brito has no foundations except his own authority. To reject him he quotes Josephus (ironically one of the authors Brito uses to prove Tubal's arrival by sea) who claims *Gades* (Cadiz) to be the first foundation in Spain. In this way his conclusion is that Tubal's first settlement was not in Portugal, but in Castile, more exactly in Andalusia, that is if Tubal actually came to Spain which according to Andrade is not proven, which is why he refuses to examine the following mythical kings after Tubal.¹⁰⁶

Brito himself did not write any answer or defence of his work, possibly because he died in 1617, only a year after Andrade published his work. Nonetheless it would not remain unanswered, because in 1620 Bernardino de Silva, a nephew of Brito, published the first of two volumes in defense of Brito. After dedicating a whole chapter to prove the credibility of Laymundo and the false Berossus he gets directly onto the Tubal matter. First, he quotes a series of ancient and modern authors from Castile and Valencia to prove the existence of Tubal and that he actually arrived in Spain, something Andrade had left open because of the lack of evidence. Second, Silva wants to prove that Tubal not only arrived in Spain, but that he first arrived in Portugal where he founded Setúbal. Again he quotes several ancient authors and addresses himself directly to Andrade telling him that even if Laymundo and Berossus were not trustworthy (which they are according to Silva) there would still be many more authors who would confirm the facts, which is why he cannot understand his attitude towards Brito.¹⁰⁷

Neither Nunes' complete denial of Tubal nor the controversy generated by Andrade had no major impact on the general line of Portuguese historians and how they tried to use the myth for the interests of Portuguese primacy. One of these cases is António de Sousa de Macedo who in 1631 published his *Flores de España, excelencias de Portugal*. He claims Portugal to be the most ancient kingdom of the world, arguing that Spain is the most ancient of the current kingdoms and Portugal is the most ancient Spanish kingdom because it was Tubal who populated it. This is proven, according to Sousa de Macedo, by the existence of the city Setúbal, which so many authors confirm to be the first foundation and which is located in Portugal,

104. "the author of the Monarchy". Andrade, Diogo de Paiva de. *Exame d'Antiguidades*. Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez, 1616: 8.

105. "a writer nobody knows". Andrade, Diogo de Paiva de. *Exame d'Antiguidades*...: 9.

106. Andrade, Diogo de Paiva de. *Exame d'Antiguidades*...: 9v.-11v.

107. Silva, Bernardino de. *Defensão da Monarchia Lusitana*. Coimbra: Nicolao Carvalho, 1620: I, 32.



sin embargo de lo que Duarte Nunes diz, he adds in parentheses.¹⁰⁸ He also rejects the theory that Tubal arrived through the Pyrenees with the argument that it would be unlikely that through entering Spain from the north he would have gone the whole way to Portugal. This means that he does not use the place of entry to proof the first settlement, but he takes for granted that it was in Portugal and with that he neglects possible other points of entry.¹⁰⁹

Similar things can be said about Manuel de Faria e Sousa, who's *Europa Portuguesa* was published in 1678, almost 30 years after the author had died. He elaborated several volumes on the different parts of the Portuguese Empire, three volumes of *Europa Portuguesa*, three of *Asia Portuguesa* and one on *Africa Portuguesa* (the *América Portuguesa* remained unpublished). On Portuguese history he had already published the *Epítome de las historias portuguesas* in 1628, a shorter, probably proto version of what later would be the *Europa Portuguesa*. In the tradition of Oliveira and Brito (Faria e Sousa himself explains in his prologue that the first part of his work is based mostly on Brito¹¹⁰) he explains Tubal's arrival through the Atlantic Ocean after crossing the Mediterranean and passing the Strait of Gibraltar. Upon arrival he founded Setubal between the sea and the river Tagus.¹¹¹ The history of Tubal's arrival is already found to be almost identical in his *Epítome* from 1628.

As in the Crown of Aragon, especially in Catalonia, the introduction of laws, sciences or letters do not seem to of a primary importance to the Portuguese historians. Like the Catalans they are mainly focused on proving that the origins of Spain's antiquity lie within their kingdom.

7. Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to compare the presence of the Tubal myth in early modern Iberian historiography and how it is used in different ways and for different purposes in the Chronicles of the different Spanish kingdoms. The analysis of several historians and their work has led to multiple conclusions.

First, despite the great acceptance of Bible based myths in historiographical works there are authors who remain still sceptical or even very critical. We find a complete rejection of all myths, as it is the case of the Aragonese Jerónimo de Zurita or the Portuguese Duarte Nunes do Leão. And there are the cases of authors who reject the presence of myths in history in general, but who take the arrival of Tubal to be fact, for example Juan de Mariana from Castile or Manuel de Faria e Sousa

108. "despite what Duarte Nunes says". Macedo, António de Sousa de. *Flores de España, excelencias de Portugal*. Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez, 1631: 24v.

109. Macedo, António de Sousa de. *Flores de España...*: 24v.

110. Sousa, Manuel de Faria e. *Europa Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello, 1678: I, 5. On Faria e Sousa, see the recent PhD Dissertation by Cruz Bonilha: Bonilha, Alexandre da Cruz. *Manuel de Faria e Sousa, historiador*. Saint Paul: Universidade de São Paulo (PhD Dissertation), 2011.

111. Sousa, Manuel de Faria e. *Europa Portuguesa...*: I, 34.



from Portugal. The acceptance of Tubal while rejecting the rest of the mythical first royal Iberian dynasty shows the extraordinary importance the Tubal figure had in the discourse to prove antiquity. Nevertheless, none of the two types of neglecting would influence the later upcoming authors, given that there did not appear any imitators. This means, that most authors keep giving more importance to what previous authors have written than to a possible own rational reflection and analysis of evidence. This would only change during the 18th century when the Tubal myth is starting to decline.

Secondly, there is a significant difference between Castilian chronicles and those from other Iberian territories. For the Castilian authors it is important to point out that Tubal arrived in Spain, which would prove the antiquity of Spain as a whole. This matches with the general purpose the Castilians had in mind when writing Spanish history, which actually consisted in presenting the Castilian history as Spanish history and, for example, the Castilian kings as kings of Spain. The concrete point of arrival therefore is not of primary importance for the Castilians, although there is no unanimity. Some authors localise it in Andalusia and others in the north of Spain, in Galicia or Asturias. But these differences do not affect the main point of the myth which is to prove Spain's antiquity and the antiquity of the Spanish civilization. Based on the false document attributed to Berossus, most Castilian authors claim that Tubal not only began the settlement of Spain, but civilized life thanks to his introduction of laws, sciences and letters. This shows that also the mythical origins of history were used to emphasize the Castilian primacy within the Spanish (or Hispanic or Catholic) monarchy.

Thirdly, very similar in a general perspective and quite different in a particular one, are the cases of the Basque/Navarre territories, Catalonia and Portugal. Most of the authors from these territories do not have a global Spanish perspective in mind, but are focussed on their own kingdom or principality in the case of Catalonia. The Basque and Navarre authors consider that Tubal first settled in their territory and their argument is strongly focused on the language. Although most of them accept the point of entry to be Catalonia, they claim that he did not stay there but that he moved immediately to the north where he would finally settle. They try to prove that the Basque language is one of the 72 languages existing after the 'confusion of tongues' and that it is the one Tubal and his people were speaking when they arrived to Spain, the way that Basque would be the first and original Spanish language. They also emphasize the aspect of Tubal introducing laws, sciences and letters to prove that the Basque constituted the first real civilization in Spain.

Catalan authors also claim the first Tubal settlement for their own territory. Their main argument is that logically Tubal only could reach Spain through the Mediterranean, a route which only could have lead him to Catalonia. Portuguese authors are aware of this, which is why they make him go from the Mediterranean through the Strait of Gibraltar to the Atlantic Ocean, where, according to them, he first settled in Portugal. Unlike Basque writers, Catalan and Portuguese chroniclers do not claim their language to be the first one in Spain. Their purpose is to claim the primacy of their territory within the Spanish monarchy through historiography



among other types of sources. As I already pointed out, antiquity was a very important criteria for the nobility of a territory, which is why Catalan as well as Portuguese authors use the Tubal myth in this way. Unlike the Basque case, there is little use of the introduction of laws in these cases, probably because it is more of a Spanish aspect (he gave laws to the Spaniards) than a particular Catalan or Portuguese one.

No similar tendencies can be found in chronicles from Aragon and Valencia. Some of these authors agree with the Castilian writers, others with the Catalan ones. But none of these claim any kind of primacy neither for their own territory nor for another one. A possible explanation could rest in the fact that these kingdoms had never been the primary kingdom in the middle age Crown of Aragon which was led by the Catalans,¹¹² despite the fact that their noble title Count of Barcelona stood behind the King title of Aragon and after the conquest of Valencia also behind the one from this region.

For the Catalans it was harder to accept their relegation behind Castile and the same can be said for the Portuguese case. Portugal already had its own empire on four continents when they joined the Spanish monarchy in 1580 and it was very hard to accept the absence of the king and that the common monarchy was mainly ruled from Madrid and by Castilians.

The fourth point is that for the Early Modern Period it is necessary to refer to the chronicles of all these territories to have a complete view of the writing on Spanish history of that time. The great diversity in the use of the Tubal myth shows that Castilian chronicles cannot be taken as representatives for Spanish historiography. This has been shown especially by the Basque, Catalan and Portuguese (which certainly belong to the early modern concept of Spain) works which differ widely from the Castilian ones.

112. Elliott, John H. *The revolt of the Catalans. A study in the decline of Spain (1598-1640)*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1984: 4.



A CHARTALIST VIEW OF NUMISMATICS (FUNDAMENTS AND NECESSITIES OF THE DISCIPLINE 30 YEARS AFTER THE WORK BY PETER SPUFFORD: *MONEY AND ITS USE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE*)

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ABSTRACT

From a chartalist, non-monetarist starting point, the author analyses basic concepts of numismatics and the history of money, auxiliary disciplines of History, focussing on the medieval epoch and indicating its shortcoming in Catalonia and Spain.¹

KEYWORDS

Chartalism, Coin, Currency, Monetarism, Money, Numismatics.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Chartalismus, Moneta, Nummus, Monetarismus, Pecunia, Nummismatica.

1. Definitions and prior considerations in numismatics and currency

1.1 Numismatics, a scientific discipline

Numismatics is the auxiliary discipline of history responsible for the study of currency systems, coins and other examples of official tender over history. Secondly, numismatics also studies those objects that have morphological (medals, getons) or functional (tokens, vouchers) similitudes with money.

Because of its character as an auxiliary discipline, numismatics needs to be approached with a scientific method. Coins are historical documents that must be studied and defined with scientific criteria before being used for historical interpretation. With this, I refer to a certain currency produced in a specific year, that circulated until another year, which was worth a certain amount, that people paid for with a mark-up that was so and so, etc. These are indisputable data. They can be right or wrong, but not debatable. The historian, through numismatics and the scientific method, needs to be able to refute mistaken perceptions and carry out a correct heuristic task. Historians necessarily require that the auxiliary disciplines of history that supply them with information have been established and filled through the strictest of scientific methods.

Throughout the 20th century, the great reference work for European medieval money has traditionally been the extensive manual by Engel and Serrure, published in three volumes between 1891 and 1905.² This was a geographic and chronological collection of European medieval monetary issues. The information for this work came from national numismatic catalogues from the second half of the 19th century: Poey d'Avant (1862), Heiss (1869), etc.³ For example, following the criterion of Poey d'Avant, Engel and Serrure placed Catalan numismatics in French settings until the times of James I.⁴ Although the book was published around 1900, it is still an omnipresent reference in any article or study at university level published nowadays. This is surprising because, at least in the case of the three regions I know best (Catalonia-Aragon, Castile-Leon, and Occitania),

1. Translations of non-English literal quotations have been made by the editorial team of the journal.

2. Engel, Arthur; Serrure, Raymond. *Traité de numismatique du Moyen Age*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891-1905 (3 volumes) (reprinted: Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1964). However, in France, it has shared with, and ceded prominence to, the work by Adrien Blanchet and Adolphe Dieudonné: Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française. Vol. 1. Monnaies frappés en Gaule depuis les origines jusqu'à Hughes Capet*. Paris: A. Picard, 1912; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française. Vol. 2. Monnaies royales françaises depuis Hughes Capet jusqu'à la révolution*. Paris: A. Picard, 1916; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française. Vol. 3. Médailles, jetons, mereaux*. Paris: A. Picard, 1930; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française. Vol. 4. Monnaies féodales françaises*. Paris: A. Picard, 1936.

3. Poey d'Avant, Fautin. *Monnaies féodales françaises*. Paris: 1858-1862 (4 volumes) (reprinted in 3 volumes In: Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961; and, in a paperback version, in: Paris: Maison Florange, 1995); Heiss, Aloiss. *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes*. Madrid: R. N. Milagro, 1865-1869.

4. Engel, Arthur; Serrure, Raymond. *Traité de numismatique...*: 437-446.



the numismatic paradigm has changed to an unimaginable degree between 1900 and the present.⁵ The formal presentation by Engel and Serrure was adopted and improved in all later general works. In these, even the more recent ones, the evolution of monetary emissions is always presented divided into stages, which in Engel and Serrure were not only strictly chronological, but later became dominated by a certain type of coin: the stage of the penny,⁶ the stage of the gros, the stage of the florin, etc. This periodisation often excludes such themes as access to precious metals, intercontinental trade relations and also to the solidity of the political states minting money. The formal synthetic continuity of the work by Engel and Serrure contrasts with the rupture that occurred, in parallel, in numismatic research. The rupture consisted of a division of the central trunk into three branches, apparently complementary but which have often been hostile to each other.

In first place, these branches are the description, correct attribution and cataloguing of the monetary examples conserved over time; secondly, the understanding of the practical working of physical money in the monetary system in each territory and at a certain time; and, in third place, the global comprehension

5. As examples, illustrating the strictly Catalan case to avoid unnecessarily extending the story, in 1905 the work by Joaquim Botet (Botet, Joaquim. *Les monedes catalanes*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908-1911 [3 volumes], republished: Barcelona: Puvill, 1976) had not yet been published; only a few dozen types of county coins were known physically, while nowadays, over five hundred are known (Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats catalans*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1999); very little was known about local and municipal coinage (Crusafont, Miquel. *La moneda catalana local, segles XIII-XVIII*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1990); the 15th century monetary problems and their repercussion on Barcelonan policy had not been studied (Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973; Crusafont, Miquel. *Barcelona i la moneda catalana*. Barcelona: La Caixa, 1989); it was believed that the coins with the name of Ferdinand the Catholic belonged to his epoch and not that they were minted until 75 years after his death (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Rals i croats catalans del segle XVI". *Acta Numismàtica*, 30 (2000): 95-130); the series of gold florins of Aragon had not been dated and the mints where it was issued had not even been identified (Crusafont, Miquel; Comas, Rafael. *El florí d'or català: Catalunya, València, Mallorca*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1996); no Catalan coins attributed to the 10th century were known (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Les monedes de Barcelona del segle X, segons les troballes Espanya-1 i Espanya-2 (925)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 36 (2006): 79-113); it was thought that the Barcelona mint had not begun to make gold ducats until 1492, eleven years after the real date (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Ducats i principats catalans a l'època dels Àustries (1481-1602)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 29 (1999): 105-133); the deposit of Òrrius with pieces from the 11th century had yet to appear (Padilla, José Ignacio; Vives, Elisenda; Balaguer, Anna Maria; Crusafont, Miquel. *Les excavacions a l'església de Sant Andreu. Òrrius. Estudi preliminar de la troballa de monedes comtals*. Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1983: 57-104); Bisson had not written the *Conservation of Coinage* (Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage. Monetary exploitation and its restraint in France (c.a.d. 1000 - c. 1225)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), etc.

6. Curiously, the translations of English works into Spanish tend to translate the English word 'penny' into *penique*, and the translators of French works translators translate *denier* as *denario*, without realising that the equivalent words and/or values were the *diner* in Catalan, or *dinero* in Spanish. Thus, when we read in any of these works the concept of a period or stage 'of the penny', for example, we should translate it as *etapa del diner*. An example is the translation of the work by Catherine Eagleton and Jonathan Williams: Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History*. London: British Museum, 1997 (Revised in 2007: London: British Museum, 2007 [2nd Revised edition]).



of the concept and utility of money within society. However, before explaining each of the branches in greater detail, the concept of money, veritable protagonist of the discipline, must be defined. And this is not as easy a task as it may seem.

1.2 What is money? Origin and uses

Catalan and Spanish use only one word, *moneda*, to designate two different concepts: currency and coinage.⁷ This is a slight linguistic handicap that can be solved by establishing *a priori* where each of the concepts starts and finishes. Currency is a measure of value that is used mentally to calculate transactions and the real value of the coins, which are what circulate as both an instrument and means of payment. The two definitions cited –measure of value and instrument means of payment– are valid in a descriptive sense, but must be developed to explain their existence and utility.⁸ To start with, it should be noted that it does not seem that the existence of one necessarily means the existence of the other. Rather, if the existence of the currency (as a measure of value) is proven in the majority of the historical societies, in contrast, coins or money have not always existed.⁹ We can agree that some goods or services can be valued (or their value measured) without them necessarily being exchanged for coins.¹⁰ That is why it is important to be able to identify and explain the origin and later use of coinage.

7. In contrast, German, English and French may use distinct words to differentiate the two concepts. In English: currency/coin or money (although currency may also mean any form of money when in actual use or circulation); in French: *monnaie/pièce*; in German: *Währung/Münze*. Currently, in Catalonia some sectors substitute these expressions for *moneda comptable* and *peça de moneda* respectively, which are terms that sound strange because they are forgotten..

8. The definition of money as a measure of value is by Miquel de Crusafont, who adapted the one by De Jaucourt, that appeared in volume X of the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and D'Alembert: *un signe que représente la valeur, la mesure de tous les valeurs d'usage, et est donné comme le prix de toutes choses* ("A sign that represents the value, the measure of all usage values, and that is given as the price of all the things"). Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1996: 14.

9. Nearby medieval examples are those of Castile, Galicia or Navarre in the 10th and 11th centuries. Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. "Moneda de cambio y moneda de cuenta en el reino asturleonés". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 31-32 (1960): 5-32; Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. "Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo, Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo", *VIII Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 21-27 aprile 1960). Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1961: 171-202; Isla, Amancio "Moneda de cuenta y organización monetaria en la Galicia alto-medieval", *Miscel·lània en homenatge al pare Agustí Altsient*. Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1991: 487-510; Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Moneda y políticas monetarias en la Corona de Castilla (siglos XIII a XV)", *Moneda y Monedas en la Europa medieval. XXVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (19 a 23 de julio de 1999)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2000: 129-130; Crusafont, Miquel. "Significado y valor del «Sólido Gallicano» (S. X-XI)", *Introducción a la Historia monetaria de Galicia*, Francisco Cebreiro, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Labirinto de Paixóns S.L.: 105-116.

10. An example of this circumstance is the well-known use of the expression *in rem valentem* in 10th and 11th-century documents to state that a certain payment was not made in money, but rather in another specially desired good. Bonnassie, Pierre. *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe a la fin du XIe siècle: croissance et mutations d'une Société*. Toulouse: Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975: 369-371



1.2.1 Nicole Oresme: money, a public good with commercial functionality

Traditionally, the most widely spread and accepted definition of money is that it is an instrument whose origin derives from the need of the population to exchange the surplus production without resorting to the uncomfortable exchange of products. This theory that money is a common good, created to facilitate trade transactions must have come from ancient times. The thinker who managed to spread and perpetuate it was Nicole Oresme (*circa* 1323-1382), bishop of Lisieux and counsellor to Charles V of France.¹¹ He was not the first,¹² but is the one who has withstood the passing of time and influenced later authors.¹³ Oresme sustained that money was a product that originated in the market and not from the state, that it was another good and not only a means of exchange. He believed that private individuals had originally certified the purity of the precious metals used as money in their transactions. He also believed that monetary problems began when the states began to falsify the purity of these metals and thus provoked inflation, and that these problems worsened when the state nationalised money.¹⁴ Oresme accepted the monopolistic intervention of the kings in the issue of money, but reminded them that money was a good of public utility that they had appropriated, and he demanded that they reduce the profits from its production to the minimum, while he also found usury, mutation, the change and accumulation

(Catalan version: Bonnassie, Pierre. *Catalunya mil anys enrere*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979-1981 [2 volumes]); Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats...*: 41-53, 93-95.

11. An introduction to Oresme and the Spanish translation of his work *Tractatus de origine et natura, iure et mutationibus monetarum* can be found published by Josep Hernando (Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine et natura, iure et mutationibus monetarum. Nicolas de Oresme (s. XIV). Introducción, transcripción y notas". *Acta historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 2 (1981): 9-65). Peter Spufford also speaks at length about it (Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1988: 372-409). Recently some supporters of Oresme have also published his work (Hülsmann, Jörg Guido. "Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise". *Mises Institute*. 18 May 2004. 12 June 2016 <<https://mises.org/library/nicholas-oresme-and-first-monetary-treatise>>; Spanish translation: Valín, Jorge. "Traducción de Jörg Guido Hülsmann". *Jorge Valín Weblog*. 30 May 2004. 12 June 2016 <<https://jorgevalin.wordpress.com/2004/05/30/traduccion-de-jorg-guido-hulsmann/>>; *The De moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1956). In fact, it is no surprise that a firm posture like Oresme's arose in Paris, as it must be placed in a context of continuous monetary mutations in France due to the war (Lafaurie, Jean. *Les monnaies des rois de France. Vol. I. de Hugues Capet a Louis XII*. Paris-Basel: Émile Bourgey-Monnaies et Médailles S.A., 1951; Spufford, Peter. "Monetary practice and monetary theory in Europe (12th-15th centuries)", *Moneda y Monedas en la Europa medieval. XXVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (19 a 23 de julio de 1999)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2000: 53-86).

12. Before Oresme, thinkers like Pere Joan Oliu (Oliví) (1248-1298), Peter de la Palu (*circa* 1275-1342) and later Guiu Terrena (died in 1342), had looked into these approaches and indicated that king who only thinks about himself in monetary questions is a tyrant (Spufford, Peter. "Monetary practice...": 66).

13. Before the 15th century, Oresme had a great influence in authors like Martín Azpilcueta, Giovanni Aquila, Jean Bodin, René Budel, Mirabeau or, nearer home, Jaume Callís.

14. Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine...": 37.



of coins, unacceptable. Oresme did not dispute the kings' right to mint them but awarded final ownership to the people.¹⁵

There is no known evidence for the supposed private inception of money beyond the plausibility of the process. In modern times, Oresme's commercial conception was set out in the 19th century by Carl Menger, one of the founders of the Austrian School of Economics,¹⁶ and later, recurrently adopted throughout the 20th century.¹⁷ It is true that it is not by chance that the origin of money has been related to trade given that, as John Hicks observes,¹⁸ the evolution of the barter market implies establishing products easy to store, of easy liquidity, coveted by everyone and that can act as measurers of the value of the goods of exchange at a given moment. Some products that meet these requisites are, obviously, the precious metals. Oresme, Menger and Hicks, and everyone who has taken up this mercantile evolution, has presupposed that the precious metals had to be converted, unfailingly, into measures of value accepted by everyone. However, they do not fully explain this process of conversion. The outcome could be very comfortable and practical but how does one reach the general acceptance of a measure of value? Thus, according to these authors, it came about naturally, without the intervention of the powers.¹⁹ The last sentence of Menger's article is very explicit in this sense: "All these (institutional) measures nevertheless have not first made money of the precious metals, but have only perfected them in their function as money".²⁰ According to him, political laws did not create money but rather they perfected the use of precious metals as money. This is where the misunderstanding lay. In the 19th century and a good part of the 20th, when talking about money, it was with the precious metals, gold and silver, in mind. It was exclusively these two that were envisaged, as they were the dominant metals in the history of western money. However, money is something more than a precious metal,²¹ and something more than a western invention. In fact, in the 7th century

15. Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine...": 49-50.

16. Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money". *Economic Journal*, 2 (1892): 239-255.

17. Hicks, John. *A Theory of Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960 (Spanish translation: Hicks, John. *Una teoría de la historia económica*. Barcelona: Aguilar S. A., 1974); Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*

18. Hicks, John. *A Theory of Economic...*: 58.

19. For example, Carl Menger states textually that: "Money has not been generated by law. In its origin it is a social, and not a state institution. Sanction by the authority of the state is a notion alien to it". And the same theorist concludes the process this way: "It was the just apprehending of their individual self-interest which brought it to pass, that all the more economically advanced nations accepted the precious metals as money as soon as a sufficient supply of them had been collected and introduced into commerce". Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money...": 255. In other words, according to the author, it was the needs of the nations (or shall we say communities) that led naturally to the conversion of the precious metals into currency as soon as they were able to gather together enough of them.

20. Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money...": 255.

21. Insisting more on this theme, the terms 'primitive money' or 'premoney' are used to designate not only the precious metals, but also necklaces, manufactured base metals, shells and cowries, and other objects used in the past as coveted, easily-exchangeable goods (Einzig, Paul. *A Primitive Money In its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1949 [republished: London:



BC, at the same time as coinage based on gold and silver was being created in Aegina and Lydia, in China it was created based on bronze.²² It is clear that bronze has never been a precious metal, not even in China. Despite this drawback, the theory about the commercial and private origins of money was, and continues to be, accepted by many thinkers, resisting the passing of the centuries. Oresme's thought has given good foundations for the economic theory of Hayek and the Austrian School of Economics (or Vienna School), to a good extent the home of modern liberal thinking.²³ The rooting of the theory of the commercial origin among thinkers and economists over the centuries has encouraged it to take root among historians, journalists and, obviously, media commentators. It thus continues to be the most widely accepted theory about the origin of currency and coins. Thus, it is rare to find research or divulgative studies, which, when talking about money, do not to link it necessarily with 'trade'. Henri Pirenne himself, for example, regarding the unique issue of silver coins in the Carolingian epoch, believed that *le nouveau système, mono-métalliste argent, correspond à la regression économique à laquelle on est arrivé*.²⁴ One of those most responsible for the continuity of this discourse is Peter Spufford and the indisputable success of his work *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*.²⁵ It is true that it seems that the tendency is gradually changing, but, for now, the commercial paradigm remains very solid. In fact, in any study featuring coins or money, it is usual to try to relate these concepts to trade or related economic activities, although the context seems to deny it.²⁶ Thus,

Pergamon, 1966]). Should these be considered true money? Their function is not comparable to that of later coins.

22. Hartill, David. *Cast Chinese Coins*. Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2007: 6.

23. In fact, current followers of the Austrian School continue to promote Oresme's work, such as from the Ludwig von Mises Institute (Auburn, Alabama), responsible for an edition of his treatise (Johnson, Charles. *The 'De moneta' of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*. Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2009). The book description from their web page tells that: "Oresme was the first theorist to present a fully worked out ethics of money, one that shows the sheer immorality of government monopoly over money and the social effects of debasement". Mises Institute. "Books. The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents". *Mises Institute*. 12 June 2016 <<https://mises.org/library/de-moneta-nicholas-oresme-and-english-mint-documents>>; Or another example from the same origins appears in Hülsmann: *nótese que Oresme dice que no fue el estado quien ordenó sabiamente la creación de monedas, sino que fueron 'los sabios' —élites naturales en una sociedad libre— quienes la crearon. Por lo tanto, ¿dónde entra en juego el estado aquí?* ("Notice that he did not say that the government wisely ordained the creation of coins, but that "the sages"—natural elites in a free society—did this. So where does government come into play?"). Valín, Jorge. "Traducción de Jörg Guido Hülsmann". *Jorge Valín Weblog*. 30 Maig 2004. 12 June 2016 <<https://jorgevalin.wordpress.com/2004/05/30/traduccion-de-jorg-guido-hulsmann/>> (Original document: Hülsmann, Jörg Guido. *Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise*. Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2004).

24. "The new, silver mono-metallist system corresponds to the economic regression culminated at this moment". Pirenne, Henri. *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. Paris-Brussels: Alcan-Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937: 221-224. In this phrase by Pirenne, read *commerciale* instead of *économique*. I do not wish to interpret or change the words of this great Belgian historian, but I understand that the sentence makes more adequate sense with the proposed change.

25. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*....

26. For example, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, reviewing the lack of monetary emissions between the 9th and 10th centuries in Castile, states that *los reyes asturianos y leoneses no acuñaron moneda, por*



the rise or fall of commercial activity is usually taken as a good indicator of the growth or reduction in the use of money among the population.²⁷

1.2.2 *Alternative theories: debt, the temple, the treasury, financing*

A variant of the commercial theory was proposed recently by David Graeber²⁸ and received enthusiastically by some current, often self-appointed ‘alternative’, thinkers.²⁹ Graeber believes that money was created from credit. He opines that before coins existed, the world was divided into debtors and creditors, and that the latter needed some sort of document when necessary to recuperate the assets they had lent. That is why money had to be invented, and, that in its beginnings, it must necessarily have been personalised and linked a specific debtor with a creditor. Graeber’s theory is a variant of the earlier one by Menger that has the advantage of explaining the evolutionary process until the creation of money in detail. Like Menger’s, it does not require the intervention of the state or the established power.

Another very original alternative theory is the one that makes the creation of money derive from religious practices in the temple. Richard Seaford considers that it was the necessity and pragmatism of the sanctuaries, which needed to redistribute the precious metals they received in donations to meet payments for services, that originated coins as we know them now.³⁰ This is thus an anthropological view distanced from the commercial theory, especially in the way it defines the reason for the marks embossed on the coins. Thus, Seaford states that the stamp on the first coins was not a sign of quality (or quantity), but rather a guarantee of being refunded, and that money is accepted not only for its intrinsic value but rather for the confidence.³¹ I do not have elements to rebut Seaford’s theory, which I believe

motivos que desconocemos suficientemente aunque deben referirse tanto a la falta de necesidad económica como al insuficiente ejercicio de sus prerrogativas políticas (“Asturian and Leonese kings did not mint coins for reasons not sufficiently known, although they must have referred to both a lack of economic necessity and the insufficient exercise of their political prerogatives”), and adds that the commercial activities were not interrupted in this period and recalls that barter was practiced in Asturias, and that in Galicia there are constant references to money in the documents. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. “Moneda y políticas monetarias...”: 129-130.

27. For example, Mercedes Rueda indicates the increase in trade and the rise in population as causes of the beginning of the issue of Castilian currency in Toledo after its conquest by Alfons VI (Rueda, Mercedes. *Primeras acuñaciones de Castilla y León*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 1991).

28. Graeber, David. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn-London: Melville House, 2010.

29. I am thinking in the Catalan case about the diffusion by Jordi Griera of the work of Agustí Chalaux defender of ‘nominal money’ and ‘telematic money’ as a response to the capitalist society we live in. Grau, Magda; Chalaux, Agustí. *Assaig sobre moneda, mercat i societat*, Barcelona. Barcelona: Escola Finaly, 1984; Grau, Magda; Chalaux, Agustí. *Moneda telemàtica i estratègia de mercat*. Barcelona: Escola Finaly, 1985.

30. Seaford, Richard. *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004: 110.

31. Seaford, Richard. *Money and the Early...: 136*.



should be considered plausible. However, his considerations about the marks on the first coins and confidence also make me think that it is not so far from (and could even be complementary to) the chartalist, or financial, theory presented below.

According to the chartalist theory, the state originates the money.³² This theory was first promoted by the German George Friedrich Knapp³³ and later continued by the Cambridge group close to Keynes, and followers like Abba Lerner, Philip H. Wicksteed, Charles Goodhart and Alla Semanova. Nowadays, so-called chartalism constitutes one of the bases of the Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) a school of thought close to post-Keynesian economists (and here we again find the rivalry between Keynes and Hayek, and interventionism and liberalism). According to the chartalist theory, a coin has a determined value because the state determines it so, and not for anything else. More precisely still, the primordial origin and function of money had to be sought in the fact that the state produces ‘tokens’ that citizens coveted or found desirable to obtain because, ultimately, the state itself only accepted these tokens as a means of payment for the obligatory debt that it imposed on the inhabitants of the territories it controlled. The role of money as a ‘facilitator of trade’ is later and secondary.³⁴ Michael Crawford, the great specialist in Roman republican money, summarised the idea that money was probably invented so that official payments (taxes, pay for soldiers, tributes, etc.) could be done conveniently. In their words its creation responded to a financial reasons and that the other economic functions of money were an accidental consequence of its existence, not the reason for its creation.³⁵

In Catalonia, Leandre Villaronga and Miquel de Crusafont have always leant towards this fiscal origin of money, but without underestimating the different commercial structures of each country.³⁶ In contrast, the position of Fèlix Retamero, who developed some theoretical aspects of great interest in his PhD Dissertation, published in 2000, is more eclectic. For example, he criticised those who defend a unique commercial origin of money, even those authors who do not do so to camouflage it in supposed economic questions, or denounce the version of other

32. Chartalism comes from the Latin *charta* and refers to the official document necessary and prior to the creation of money.

33. Knapp, George Friedrich. *The State Theory of Money*. London: McMillan & Co. Ltd., 1929 (originally: Knapp, George Friedrich. *Staatliche Theorie des Geldes*. Munic: Duncker & Humblot, 1918).

34. Hudson, Michael. “The creditary/monetary debate in historical perspective”, *The State, the Market and the Euro Chartalism versus Metallism in the Theory of Money*, Stephanie A. Bell, Edward J. Nell, eds. Cheltenham-Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2003: 39-76; Henry, John F. “The social origins of money: The case of Egypt”, *Credit and State Theories of Money*, L. Randall Wray, ed. Cheltenham-Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2004: 79-98; Semanova, Alla. *The Origins of Money: Evaluating Chartalist and Metallist Theories in the Context of Ancient Greece and Mesopotamia*. Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2011.

35. Crawford, Michael H. “Money and Exchange in the Roman World”. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 60 (1970): 40-48. The spanish translation is from Leandre Villaronga: Villaronga, Leandre. “Recensiones bibliográficas”. *Acta Numismàtica*, 2 (1972): 283.

36. Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana...*



authors who claimed that a monetary issue could happen ‘spontaneously’.³⁷ However, partially following the ideas of Christopher J. Howgego,³⁸ the author finally decanted to consider that the two main theories about the beginnings of money (the commercial and the financial or fiscal) are true and thus, cannot be counterposed:

Que la moneda s'utilitzés per a cobrir despeses estatals [“financial reasons”] i que, a més, intervingués en les transaccions, no tan sols és compatible, sinó que difícilment, per seguir existint com a moneda, podria ser altrament... Les dues “raons”, elaborades sobre condicions inicials vertaderes, poden ser respectivament il·lustrades de manera indefinida.³⁹

In other words, both Howgego and Retamero transfer the beginning of the invention of money to the many and differentiated existing monetary uses or circuits.

1.2.3 The chartalist definition of money

If I take the side of the chartalist definition of money, it is because I reject the spontaneous origins and value the political interests and their fiscal and financial necessities. From the perspective of this focus, far from commercial interests, the origin of money could have been as follows: money, an expression of political power, arose through the need to tax the population and obtain finance for the projects and targets conceived by the rulers. Money was created when the political powers decided to guarantee the exchange value of a determined object (gold and silver in Greece; bronze in China) and oblige the population to accept this. In other words, in a shortened form: money is the instrument of payment with which the political power measures the economic resources of the administration and facilitates its distribution as well as the collection of surpluses.⁴⁰

Each time a government agreed on a monetary issue, it did so motivated by a specific need for financing. It was not spontaneous, nor arbitrary. Financing is

37. Retamero, Fèlix. *La contínua il·lusió del moviment perpetu. La moneda dels reges, dels mulūk i dels seniores (segles VI-XI)*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2000: 82-83.

38. Howgego, Christopher. “Why did ancient states strike coins?”. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 150 (1990): 1-26.

39. “That money was used to cover state expenses (financial reasons) and that, moreover, it intervened in the transactions, is not only compatible, but, to continue to exist as a currency, it could hardly be any different... The two “reasons”, drawn up under initial true conditions, could be respectively illustrated in an undefined way”. Retamero, Fèlix. *La contínua il·lusió...*: 84-85.

40. The classic definition of money, that I had avoided quoting until now, is the one by Isidore of Seville: *In numismata tria quaeruntur: metallum, figura et pondus. Si ex iis aliquid defuerit, numisma non erit*. Isidori Hispalensis. “Etymologiarum sive Originum. Liber XVI. De lapidibus et metallis. XVIII. De avro (12)”. *The Latin Library*. 12 June 2016 < <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore/16.shtml>>. However, this is a strictly formal definition, not at all essential. Keeping it in mind involves dispensing with the practicality that monetary actions have always had and the consequent historical elimination of one or two (metal and weight) of the three attributes mentioned by Isidore.



always the origin, as in the cases where a government applies a new tax to the population. One can argue more evidence of this link between power and the origin of money. The first is that the Greek word νόμισμα (“money”) seems to derive from νόμος (“law”). It is also a good indicator that the great trading societies in Antiquity, such as the Egyptians of Phoenicians, did not have to invent money to carry out their activity. On the other hand, throughout history, mints have multiplied precisely in times of war when the military authorities require more resources to maintain the troops, and not in times of peace and economic prosperity. It is obvious that trade has been unfailingly linked to money since the latter appeared, but it would be absurd to minimise its seminal fiscal function or the financing of the public coffers. Precisely for this purpose, the making of money has always been a prerogative (a royalty) of the highest authorities, never of the traders. And when, as in the case of some local emissions of coins, when private individuals or minor authorities have used this prerogative, this has always been with the consent or delegation of the higher authority.

The type of definition of money is fundamental for proposing targets and lines of research in numismatics as an auxiliary discipline of history. For example, according to the above considerations, one cannot deduce which populations produced coins in the past from research based on those that held the most successful markets, or those that received more income from the entry of merchandise through customs. That research leads nowhere, because it was not the trade centres that minted coins, but rather the places where political power, or military power acting as political power, resides.

1.2.4 Debate about the existence of differentiated models of money. The case of feudal money

The debate about the existence or not of differentiated models of money according to the typology of the society that makes it and puts it into circulation is interesting. For example, in 1993, Miquel Barceló published an article with a suggestive title: *Moneda fiscal i moneda feudal: una proposta de diferenciació* (“Fiscal money and Feudal money a proposal for differentiation”). Barceló argued that the coinage of the Umayyad sovereigns of al-Andalus from the 8th to the 10th centuries offered a clear example of what he named ‘fiscal money’, the definition of which would be as follows:

La moneda fiscal és aquella que és batuda en règim estricte de monopoli ‘legalment’ fonamentat, per un Estat i és aquest mateix Estat encunyador el que l’imposa a la societat a través d’un mecanisme consistent en les despeses estatals i la demanda de moneda, en les condicions que aquest Estat decideixi, com a pagament fiscal.⁴¹

41. “Fiscal money is that which is minted under a strict ‘legally’ based monopoly, by a state and it is this same minting state that imposes it on society through a mechanism consisting of state expenses and



Later, Miquel Barceló and Fèlix Retamero developed this differentiation between fiscal money and feudal money in an article published in English: “The ‘purest’ feudal coin issues was, then, to create the basis, through a curiously perverse feed-back, upon which to establish taxes on the very production of coins”.⁴² To summarise, according to these authors, feudal money would be an artifice created to increase the income captured from the peasants; money that was produced, not with the idea of circulating it among the population and facilitating the collection of income, but more as an instrument necessary to create new taxes (tax on production, tax on the non mutation of the currency, etc.) with which to oppress the population. Another theorist who favoured the differentiation proposed by Barceló and Retamero was Michael Hendy,⁴³ who, in turn, differentiated between ‘old’ money (that of the Romans) and ‘new’ money (from the Merovingians onwards) and indicated that the latter was characterised by allowing the participation of ‘private’ interests in its production.⁴⁴

I consider these differentiations redundant. The supposed feudal money could not fulfil this role of propitiating new taxes if mechanisms had not previously been found that forced acceptance of this money and its later return, via taxes or monetary income, to the issuing authority. And these prior mechanisms, far from spontaneous commercial exchange, necessarily lead us to those we found mentioned in the definition of fiscal money. For the currency of feudal states, or other social groups, to occupy a subaltern position is due to a lesser degree of complexity and efficiency of the state that produces it, not to a distinct origin and use of the instrument. In my view, feudal money is also ‘fiscal or financial money’ in the sense Barceló granted this concept, as it fulfills the terms of the proposed definition.⁴⁵

the demand for money, under the conditions this state decides, as a fiscal payment”. Barceló, Miquel. “Moneda fiscal i moneda feudal: una proposta de diferenciació”. *Gaceta Numismática*, 111 (1993): 67.

42. Barceló, Miquel; Retamero, Fèlix. “From cops to coin: which way back?”. *Gaceta Numismática*, 12 (1996): 60; Retamero, Fèlix. *La contínua il·lusió...*

43. Hendy, Michael. “From Public to Private: the Western Barbarian Coinages as a Mirror of the Desintegration of Late Roman State Structures”, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989: VII, 29-78.

44. One of the reasons indicated by Hendy to justify this private participation was the that he proved the proliferation of mints in the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs (Hendy, Michael. “From Public to Private...”: 39, 74). Hendy argued that the large quantity of the issuing places was equivalent to the profusion of local political powers, as he considered them private powers.

45. Developing the line of this theory, the authors indicate the resistances to monetarisation as a characteristic element of feudal money. The resistance to monetarisation has been clearly shown by Bisson (Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage...*; Bisson, Thomas N. “La monnaie fiscale: les structures régionales à l’aube de l’État medieval (1150-1250)”, *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l’antiquité à nos jours: actes du colloque international organisé à Paris (du 10 au 12 janvier 1986)*, Georges Depeyrot, Tony Hackens, Ghislaine Moucharte, eds. Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications d’histoire de l’art et d’archéologie de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, 1987: 511-520; Bisson, Thomas N. “Els orígens de l’impost sobre la moneda a Catalunya: Una reconsideració”. *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 16-17 (1996): 301-310) for the Catalan counties, from the moment when the money issuing authorities established taxes, such as that one called *monedatge*, whose purpose was to compensate possible losses caused by a waiver on arbitrarily altering the conditions that the state imposed on the currency as payment of tax. There was resistance and pacts. Thus, the only thing this shows is that the commercial function of money was



1.3 Numismatic research

1.3.1 The primary sources: limits and problematics

None of the three branches of numismatic research mentioned at the start of this article can do without the simultaneous study of the documentation (written or archaeological) along with the material observation of the surviving coins, identifying their marks and method of production. The connection between the two types of sources (documentation and physical coins) should provide the researcher with a more precise approach to the reality. The fact of working with only one of the two types of sources can lead to misunderstanding, because each suffers the limitations that cloud understanding of the facts presented. For example, the written document is not always effective. Many documents are full of failed intentions, although they present the likely form of a fully plausible order, sentence or disposition. And that includes first drafts, later modified in unknown terms, or firm political intentions but that were impossible to fulfil, or promises that never became reality.⁴⁶ In numismatic studies based only on the written documentation, it is difficult to check the effectiveness of the monetary action extracted from the papers. For example: Was the order to produce that monetary issue carried out? Were the dispositions effective at preventing the forging and alteration of the coin, so habitual that year?

The written document can confuse us, but the physical coins trick us even more often. This is something that has gone unnoticed by many of the numismatists who have dedicated themselves to this subject.⁴⁷ Without the confirmation of the written documentation we should not consider any numismatic paradigm to be an absolute certainty, however often repeated or common it is. We have learnt (or should have learnt) this prudence from the modern and contemporary issues of coins, much better documented than the ancient or medieval ones. There are very many and disturbing examples. For instance, coins minted in 1823, during the Liberal Triennium, have the date 1814;⁴⁸ the silver *croats* minted in Barcelona in 1584 have the portrait of Ferdinand the Catholic and a regular gothic epigraph typical of the 15th century;⁴⁹ the silver and billon coins in the Kingdom of Castile continued

subordinate to the fiscal function. On this question, see also the round table organised by the *Laboratoire de Médiévisitisme occidentale de Paris —LAMOP—* (Feller, Laurent, dir. *Calculs et rationalités dans la seigneurie médiévale: les conversions de redevances entre x^e et xiv^e siècles*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009).

46. And this still happens nowadays. An example is the motion presented to the European Parliament on the 25th of October 2005, backed by over half the Members of the European Parliament (MEP), asking the European Commission and European Central Bank to recognise the need to introduce one and two Euro notes. However, as the European Central Bank is not directly responsible to the Parliament or the Commission, it simply ignored the motion and petition.

47. This is not the case of the French manual of reference by Marc Bompaire and Françoise Dumas (Bompaire, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale: monnaies et documents d'origine française*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), that deals with some of these difficulties (*pièges*) in the depth they deserve.

48. Sanahuja, Xavier. "La seca constitucional de Barcelona (1822-1823)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 27 (1997): 111.

49. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Ducats i principats catalans...": 105-133.



to appear with the names of Isabelle and Ferdinand, the Catholic Monarchs until 1566;⁵⁰ the local pennies of Puigcerdà minted in 1642, during the Catalan Revolt, bear the date 1576,⁵¹ among others. This is the first trick, and surely the most important of all. It is the result of various causes. The first and most evident is that coins were not always produced at the same time as the dies and mints that record their imprints. Sometimes, there is enough with a lag of a few months to confuse and introduce errors into the narrative of events. When the lag is several centuries, the historiographic result can be absurd in the best of cases, or seriously wrong, in most of them. There is a second, not so evident, cause which is that it is not always interesting to record the truth (or reality) in the type and engravings on the coins produced, nor should they always change their engraving without a positive reason. Finally, a third and last cause is the conserving of types of coins for decades or even centuries to show, at first sight, that the issuing authority maintained the quality of the coin, as it had promised, without changing the slightest detail.⁵²

A second trick is the result of not understanding that a coin not necessarily only circulated the year it was minted, and in a single territory, but also that the vicissitudes of history can have led it to circulate in centuries and geographic areas very different from those of its origins. I am not referring to accidental or residual circulation, but rather to fully legal and intentional circulation. For example, some coins struck in Castile during the 16th century did not circulate effectively in Catalonia until 1718,⁵³ two hundred years later than would have been predicted by a stratigraphic analysis in an archaeological dig that did not take into account the circulatory vicissitudes of the physical coins.

The third deception is less important, as it is probably more easily detectable. This is the confusion provoked by those coin-like objects, such as tokens, medals or stamps, which, at a given moment, can pass as coins. In these cases, the trick can easily be avoided by accurately describing and cataloguing the authentic coins.

Finally, a fourth trick can also be avoided by accurate cataloguing and description of the legitimate coins. This is the identification of counterfeit coins, both those made to circulate in their due time and those made more recently, designed to trick collectors and scholars.⁵⁴ Regarding the coins counterfeited in the times they

50. Beltrán, Antonio. "Ensayo sobre la cronología de las monedas castellanas a nombre de Fernando e Isabel". *Numisma*, 7 (1953): 37-56.

51. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Els menuts de Puigcerdà amb data 1576". *L'Ardit*, 12 (1999): 25-30.

52. Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage*....

53. On this question, see a good article by Felip Mateu Llopis (Mateu, Felip. "Les primeres encunyacions barcelonines de Felip V. Documents per a llur estudi (1704-1705)". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 18 (1933): 92-104) and also a documentary contribution related to the process of replacing the Catalan money with Castilian in 1718 (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Barcelona, any 1718". *L'Ardit*, 18 (2003): 36-41).

54. See an example of the cases mentioned below in a recent work (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Las grandes falsificaciones del vellón castellano en los siglos XVI y XVII". *Gaceta Numismática*, 184 (2012): 15-29). Counterfeiting appears continually in the great numismatic works but specifically one should read the contribution, although mainly focussed on the modern epoch, by Albert Estrada (Estrada, Albert. *La lluita contra la moneda falsa a la Barcelona de Felip II (1598-1621)*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2011).



circulated, it must be taken into account that, as the written documents show, they were the outward sign of a widespread and ongoing phenomenon throughout the medieval, modern and contemporary epochs. Bear in mind that (nowadays, in the past and in the future) there are three types of counterfeit coins. The first type is forgeries by expert specialists, who achieve a morphological finish almost exactly like the original.⁵⁵ The second type is the forgeries by skilled operators, with a good formal finish, but slightly different from the original. The third and last type is the counterfeits by non-experts, the result of which resultant is seen at a glance to be fraudulent. The numismatic researchers do not need to concern themselves much with types 1 and 3. The first type are passed as authentic and do not even usually generate doubts; the second type are easy to identify as false. The problem lies in the type-2 counterfeits, because these are well made coins that appear authentic, although different from the legal issues. When these counterfeits are abundant, it is easy for them to be considered legitimate and produced by the competent issuing authorities, thus distorting the numismatic research. To distinguish these type-2 counterfeits from the legitimate issues, the scientific method must be applied during the research. All these pieces with elements alien to the characteristics of the legitimate mint should be considered false, however well done they may seem. To establish the characteristic elements of each mint or factory, there is enough with seeing as many coins as possible. Thus, the most recurrent characteristics will be those that indicate the legitimacy of the pieces, given that, in the vast majority of cases, the production of forgeries has always been quantitatively lower than the official and legitimate output. Numismatic studies based only on observing the physical coins naturally tends towards the absurd when they attempt to go beyond the merely descriptive objectives to try to reach higher levels of historical interpretation.

1.3.2 Secondary sources: special difficulty

Among the written documents, one can find specific types of sources that should be analysed with great caution. I am referring to the treatises and technical compendia on money and the narrative chronicles that contain some related episodes. I do not give much importance to this kind of source, beyond being witnesses to some specific monetary phenomena, especially because these sources tend to have drawbacks that are often repeated (and that have not always been well weighted among historians). The limitation is that the writers of treatises always tend to consider that a utopian past was always better than the present contaminated by modernity.⁵⁶

55. Sometimes these expert forgeries were ordered by foreign monarchs, enemies and/or neighbours, often from the same official mints (for example, in the case documented in: Sanahuja, Xavier. "L'arrendament de les encunyacions d'or de Perpinyà a Pere Blan entre 1352 i 1365". *Acta Numismàtica*, 26 (1996): 147-160).

56. I have dealt with this question previously (Sanahuja, Xavier. "La moneda com a origen de crisis alimentàries?", *Crisis alimentàries en la Edat Mitjana: models, explicacions y representacions*, Pere Benito, ed.



I am not only referring to medieval or modern authors, but also contemporary writers. For example, in 1962 Cristòfol Massó Escofet defended the gold standard because he blamed the relatively recently introduced fiat money (bank notes) for inflation, both through the necessity to find an easy way for governments to wipe out their deficits, and the instability of paper on international markets (with their frequent speculative oscillations), and the excess resulting from the creation of bank credit.⁵⁷ The case is paradigmatic of what we read in treatises and chronicles: the current problems are due to having abandoned ancient practices; there are no new proposals, those from the past are better (although, obviously and paradoxically, these have failed and disappeared).⁵⁸ Clearly, despite the media coverage, attempts to return to the past usually end up failing, often in their early stages. It is not worth overestimating those treatise writers who, in practice, had no influence on the development of the events studied.⁵⁹

It is true that it would be cheating if I did not justify my posture towards that type of sources somewhat more precisely. I shall add some brief examples. The first case

Lleida: Milenio, 2012: 221-230). When I refer to treatises, I do not mean technical manuals, dedicated to explaining mathematical or mercantile operations or the founding and alloying of metals, such as those by Andreu (Andreu, Joan [Juan Andrés]. *Sumario breve de la práctica de la aritmética de todo el curso del arte mercantil bien declarado, el cual se llama Maestro de Cuento*. Valencia: Joan Jofré, 1515), Vataloll (Vataloll, Joan. *Pratica mercantil composta e ordenada per en Joan Vataloll de la ciutat de Mallorques*. Palma of Majorca: Antiga Impremta Soler, facsimile 1521), Aurel (Aurel, Marc. *Tratado muy útil y provechoso para toda manera de tratantes y personas aficionadas al contar; de reglas breves de reducciones de monedas y otras reglas tanto breves quanto compendiosas*. Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1541), Texeda (Texeda, Gaspar de. *Suma de arithmetica práctica y de todas mercaderías, con la orden de contadores*. Valladolid: Oficina de Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1546), Pérez de Moya (Pérez de Moya, Juan. *Manual de contadores en que se pone en suma lo que un contador ha menester saber y una orden para que los que no saben escribir con oyrlo leer, sepan contar y convertir de memoria unas monedas en otras. Con unas tablas al fin en Guarismo y Castellano: para averigüar con facilidad las cuentas de los réditos de los censos y juros, según usanza de España y otros Reynos. Va tan exemplificado que qualquiera de mediana habilidad, con poco trabajo, aprenderá a contar sin maestro*. Without place of publication: without publisher, 1562), Roca (Roca, Antich. *Arithmetica por Antich Roca de Gerona compuesta y de varios autores recopilada: prouechosa para todos estados de gentes. Va añadido un compendio para tener y regir los libros de cuenta, traduzido de lengua francesa en romance castellano*. Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1564), Arfe (Arfe, Juan de [Joan Arphe]. *Quilator de la plata, oro y piedras*. Valladolid: Alonso y Diego Fernández de Cordova, 1572), Eleyzalde (Eleyzalde, Miguel. *Guía de los contadores donde se contienen muchas y muy provechosas reglas de cuenta, guarisma y castellana, declaradas por práctica muy fácil de entender con muchos exemplos muy necesarios, con el valor de las monedas de España y de los demás reynos della*. Madrid: Pierres Cosin, 1579) or Cortés (Cortés, Jerónimo [Jeroni]. *Compendio de reglas breves, con el arte de hallarlas e inventarlas, assí para las reducciones de monedas del Reyno de Valencia, Aragón, Barcelona y Castilla, como para las demás monedas de los otros reynos, muy útil y necesario a todo género de tratantes, con muchas preguntas y respuestas de números*. Valencia: Herederos de Ioan Navarro, 1594), but rather the ideologically active works that reflect on the concept and utility of money in society.

57. Massó, Cristòfol. *Inflació monetària*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1962.

58. And it still happens nowadays: during the economic crisis that began in 2008 in Catalonia and Europe, political positions of the far left and far right on the Continent coincided in calling for the end of the Euro as the single currency and a return to the state currencies.

59. From the research by Sargent and Velde (Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem of Small Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) one notices an evolution of monetary treatises in Europe from medieval times to the present that confirms the constant failure of wanting to return to the past.



is that of Arnau de Capdevila, author of a treatise in 1437, frequently quoted in all the historiographic works on Catalan money.⁶⁰ In other more tangible questions, Capdevila complained that one of the ills of the 15th century Catalan currency was having abandoned the fair relation between the intrinsic value and circulatory value of the coins. On that occasion, part of his recipe was applied in various phases during the second half of the 15th century, but the definitive step, which consisted of projecting and making coins that respected the fair intrinsic value of their value circulatory, did not go beyond being only a test. It is true that the test went very far, having even earned royal permission, and having decided the coin denominations of new creation in circulation. However, when it came to applying it, they were unable to do so. The numbers did not add up, it was not realistic. A second example proposed is that of the Muslim chronicler Al-Maqrizi (1364-1442), from whom we learn about the famine in contemporary Mamluk Egypt.⁶¹ Al-Maqrizi explained that the food crisis in his time was caused by inept government, political corruption, and also natural causes like the lesser flooding of the River Nile. However, he emphasises that the monetary crisis was one of the causes of the famine. Regarding monetary policy, like so many others, Al-Maqrizi was a nostalgic utopian who preached a return to the Umayyad Damascus of 696. The only problem is that he lived around 1400 and in an Egypt made up of other Muslim and Christian estates in developed commercial networks. Thus, Al-Maqrizi accused the recent fiat money, introduced a few years earlier, of being the main cause of inflation and the monetary crisis, at the same time, he harked after the coins he believed were truly useful for setting the prices of things, namely gold and silver coins. More specifically, he believed that the new fiat money, of pure copper, created with bad speculative intentions, pushed prices upwards and lowered the purchasing power of the people. However, he based this latter belief on some unfortunate examples. Thus, Al-Maqrizi was hurt that a

60. In fact, Arnau de Capdevila was the author of two treatises about money in 1437. These are: *Tractat e compendi fet de les monedes per lo qual pot esser mes e comprès com un regne ó pàtria pot esser robat e gastat per art de billoneria, e axi mateix com ne pot ésser preservat si diligentment es advertit, attès ó entès* (20th March) and *Lo present tractat e compendi es de matèria de monedas en lo qual és mostrat que més val bona moneda que falça, e lo billoner quina art té de tràure la bona moneda de la flaca moneda; e fonch fet e ordenat a XV del mes de juliol del any de la nativitat del nostre MCCCCXXXVII* (14th July) (Zulaica, Fernando. "Propuesta para reorganizar el sistema monetario en Cataluña: el 'Tractat e compendi' de Arnau de Capdevila", *Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Económica*. (Zaragoza, 19-21 de septiembre de 2001). Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001: 2-3).

61. His book *Eghathatt Al Omma be Kashf Al Ghomma* ("about the famines that took place in Egypt"), studied by Josep Maria Salrach (Salrach, Josep Maria. *La fam al món. Passat i present*. Vic: Eumo, 2009), serves to summarise the question of what factors cause or increase shortages or famine at a certain time. This question has provoked many hypotheses over time, and these have traditionally been related to those processes that intervene in a context of a decline in the availability of food (a context known by the acronym FAD). However, an FAD context does not explain why only part of the population is exposed to famine or shortages, while another part is not. To respond to this anomaly, economists and historians have indicated new explanations based on an alternative context of a decline in the options of access to food (context known as FED). In an FED context, the options of having access to food, likewise the money to buy it with and the transport to reach it, fall sharply in a more or less important part of a territory. Within the set of FED processes there is also the currency, although surely in an ill-considered way (Sanahuja, Xavier. "La moneda com a origen de crisis...": 221-230).



capital of 1,000 dirhams from before in pieces of silver was worth over 3,000 dirhams from after in pieces of copper. The author's example is compatible with a nominal rise in prices but in no way serves to show a decline in the purchasing power of the population. This resort to fiat money was pioneering in the 15th century and indicated the same path that all other countries in the world would have to follow some time or another in their history due to the need to increase the use of money in people's everyday activities.⁶²

A final comment refers to the compilations, chronicles and short chronicles that can be used in a timely manner exclusively to point out the existence of a specific monetary phenomenon. Great care must be taken with this type of written source; many of them are full of errors, both of interpretation and transcription. Maybe I can be blamed for excessive generalization on this issue, but my immersion in such sources has shown me a panorama full of imperfections. For example, in Catalonia, in the period studied, the compendium that has more monetary mentions is the so-called *Rúbriques de Bruniquer*.⁶³ However, it is full of inaccuracies that have become visible nowadays thanks to the publication of one of its parts corresponding to the Catalan Revolt.⁶⁴ Effectively, many of the monetary rubrics referring to that epoch have the wrong date and even the wrong month.⁶⁵ We know this because the original municipal agreements in the records of the Barcelona Council have survived and it has been possible to compare the veracity, for example, of the precise dating of the facts mentioned. And regarding the chronicles of records and memoirs, the credibility seems yet more questionable to me. Even some authors who wrote about what happened some years previously, when they were younger, appear not to recall absolutely anything like what probably happened.⁶⁶ A paradigmatic case is Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa.⁶⁷ During his lifetime, he published his *Tratado*, which mainly consisted in the study of the coins conserved in his times, with the addition of the reading of some written documents. What is surprising about Lastanosa is that, on

62. Regarding Al-Maqrizi and the food crisis described, it is not a question of stating that there was no monetary crisis related to the food crisis, but rather that the former could have been a consequence rather than a cause of the latter. In any case, the return to the Umayyad origins the writer called for could not be a future solution for the problems of Egypt in the 15th century.

63. *Rúbriques de Bruniquer. Cerimonial dels magnífichs consellers y regiment de la ciutat de Barcelona*, ed. Francesc Carreras i Candi, Bartomeu Gunyalons. Barcelona: Impremta d'Henrich, 1912-1916 (5 volumes).

64. Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda de la guerra dels Segadors (Primera República Catalana)*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2001.

65. However, and by error, many of the incorrect rubrics were also included, duplicated, in the documentary corpus of this work.

66. This difficulty is not only inherent to previous characters. How many people who experienced similar events would remember them today? I do not have the answer but I imagine it, extrapolating it from the responses that Antoni Turró obtained in the 1960s (Turró, Antoni. *Les emissions monetàries oficials de la guerra Civil (1936-1939). I: Andorra, Illes Balears i Catalunya (Generalitat i locals)*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2007) when he asked the people of a certain place if they remembered the issues of municipal money in 1937, generalised all over Catalonia.

67. Lastanosa, Vicencio Juan. *Tratado de la moneda jaquesa*. Saragossa: without publisher, 1681 (Reprinted: Valencia: Librerías París-Valencia, 1987).



dealing with various aspects from his time, we learn of things that are impossible.⁶⁸ For example, he writes that during the reign of Phillip III (IV) (during his life) two similar types of small coins were in circulation in Aragon but with different weight (10.50 and 21 grains). However, the documents and surviving coins dismiss this fact. It is true that the errors come from having written the compilations, reports or chronicles at a distant time. This distance is sometimes moderate, as we have seen in Lastanosa's case, but more than enough to distort the facts. In contrast, the same does not happen with the dietaries, that are written at the time (although not always) and should thus be considered free from inaccuracies beyond those of interpretation.⁶⁹

1.3.3 The credit of numismatic studies

The research into money has traditionally been done by a small group of specialists. Specialisation in any field of history tends to convert the researcher into a figure of reference from whom general works are built up. However, when the group of specialists in a specific theme is too small, and that is what happens in numismatics, a paradoxical phenomenon occurs: the advances achieved by these specialists are certainly the only ones that can be accepted as a paradigm, but, at the same time, they are examined with reticence and are often not incorporated scientifically until a lot later. The reticence is due to the insecurity of knowing whether the quality of the limited number of specialists is high enough. This precaution should not be criticised. Some unquestionable truths, which everyone has accepted without asking about their veracity, have turned out to be false. Josep Salat himself, the first of the modern Catalan numismatists, was aware of this difficulty and expressed it as follows:

*Cuando se habla de noticias históricas y poco conocidas (como es la numismática catalana), es preciso presentar documentos auténticos, para que las noticias tengan autoridad y peso; porque en estas y otras materias sucede, que algunos lectores creen lo que se les dice, y otros suspenden el asenso. Nadie debe agravarse de que se juzgue así, porque una infinidad de noticias históricas que años atrás se tenían por verdaderas, en el día no se han hallado tales, y apuradas y examinadas á la luz de la buena crítica, han resultado fabulosas.*⁷⁰

68. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Reconsideración de la moneda jaquesa de vellón de época moderna (1519-1717)". *Numisma*, 247 (2003): 87-104.

69. In Catalonia, it is the case of the *Manual dels Novells Ardits* (*Manual de novells Ardits, vulgarment apellat Dietari de l'Antich Consell barceloní*. Barcelona: Impremta d'Henrich, 1892-1975, 28 volumes), of the *Dietaris* of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum I. Anys 1411 a 1539*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994; Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum II. Anys 1539 a 1578*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994; Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum III. Anys 1578 a 1611*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1996) or the *Dietari de la fidelíssima vila de Puigcerdà* (Galceran, Salvador. *Dietari de la fidelíssima vila de Puigcerdà*. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1977).

70. "When one talks of historical and little known news (as is Catalan numismatics), it is necessary to present authentic documents, so the news has authority and weight; because in these and other subjects,



Prudence when accepting new numismatic contributions means demanding the verification of the leading numismatic entities in each country, especially of those that publish scientifically demanding books and journals.⁷¹

2. The three branches of numismatics. Summary of the evolution over the last 100 years

During the evolution of numismatics, the branch dedicated to explaining the origin, evolution and importance of money in society has been the slowest to appear. Despite that, it should be placed in first position for having become the most essential and influential in the current historical discourse. It is also the most easily influenced of the three branches given the various theories about the origin of money mentioned above.

2.1 First branch: The history of money (and the impact of the work of Peter Spufford)

In this branch, it is not so important to have a numismatic corpus of conserved coins or be able to precisely identify a specific example. It is more satisfactory to know the evolution of the monetary systems and their relation to such human activities as trade, savings, financing, credit or taxation. In contrast with the first branch, the supporters of this second one have often fled from the term ‘numismatics’, even feeling ashamed of it, as they consider it equivalent to a descriptive activity, not very useful and closed off from the desirable progress of the historical paradigm. Its followers have preferred to use the denominations like ‘history of money’ (always in singular) or ‘history of the coin’. The change of orientation promoted by this second branch is perceptible in all fields related to numismatics. For example, public coin collections had been gathered in the 19th century in the form of numismatic cabinets, in places half way between museums and between stores that met the requirements the scholars studying coins demand: in other words, these cabinets were real archives devoted to protect and receive numismatic sources. Today, on distancing ourselves from the material study of the coins, these have ceased to be mass-produced historical documents

it happens that some readers believe what they are told, and others suspend their assent. No one should feel wronged to be judged thus, because an infinity of historical news that years ago was considered true, in the [latter] day have been found not to be so, and worked on and examined in the light of good criticism, have been shown to be fables”. Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Barcelona: Antoni Brusi, 1818: II, III (republished: Madrid: J. R. Cayón, 1982).

71. Examples include the cases of the *Societat Catalana d’Estudis Numismàtics* in Catalonia, the *Sociedad Iberoamericana de Estudios Numismáticos* in Spain, the *Société Française de Numismatique* and *Société d’Études Numismatiques et Archéologiques* in France, the British Royal Numismatic Society in England, etc.



to become singular priceless treasures. Being less known, they are consequently more sacralised. Instead of being in historical archives, the coins are kept in the so-called 'money museums' or even in the corresponding sections of the art museums.⁷²

A large part of the success of this branch must be sought in the participation of internationally renowned historians. Thus, for instance, Henri Pirenne and Marc Bloch,⁷³ two of the 20th century's great historians, realised the historical importance of money and turned it into a subject of study or, at least, of consideration and respect. Bloch, for example, stated that monetary phenomena dominate economic life and that they are at the same time *un symptôme et un effet*,⁷⁴ making it understood that sometimes the monetary questions detected by historians can be symptoms of an economic situation (defined by such other factors as demography, politics, etc.), but that other times, these monetary questions can be the trigger, the disruptors of the conjuncture. Since then, the monetary element has been considered a factor to be assessed in depth in any work on economic history.

However, most authors who have dealt with these themes have always chosen the same path: to consider that the history of money is the same as the history of trade, and that money works based on two axes: the consuming household and the producing company.⁷⁵ This focus, called monetarism, tends to underestimate the role of the state in monetary questions.

Outstanding among the studies dedicated to the history of money is the one by Peter Spufford (born in Hutton, Great Britain, 1934),⁷⁶ professor at Cambridge until 2001 and considered literally the author of the "definitive studies of money in the Middle Ages".⁷⁷ His influence has certainly been enormous among all European academic sectors. His main work is *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*, extensively and profusely documented, published in Cambridge in 1988, and quickly translated into Spanish (*Dinero y moneda en la Europa medieval*) and other European languages. So, it is inevitable to dedicate some paragraphs to him.

Spufford's main monetarist principal consists of relating the increase in the monetary mass in Europe (and thus the rise in its use) with the discovery of new mines of precious metals and the growth in trade activities. For example, regarding the Late-Roman epoch and the Germanic kingdoms, Spufford place doubts on the

72. For example, in Catalonia, the *Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya* is nowadays a section of the *Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* and not, for example, part of the *Arxiu Històric Nacional* or the *Museu d'Història de Catalunya*.

73. Pirenne, Henri. *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. Paris-Brussels: Alcan-Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937; Bloch, Marc. "Le problème de l'or au Moyen Âge". *Annales*, 19 (1933): 1-32; Bloch, Marc. *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1954.

74. "a symptom and an effect". Bloch, Marc. *Esquisse d'une histoire...*: 7.

75. Nitsche, Roland. *Money*. London-New York: Collins-McGraw-Hill, 1970. In Spanish: Nitsche, Roland. *El dinero*. Barcelona-Madrid: Noguer S. A., 1971.

76. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*

77. Goodreads. "Peter Spufford". *Goodreads*. 12 June 2016 <http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/378972.Peter_Spufford>. It also appears in this way in other online bookshops like Amazon, Abebooks, Fishpond, etc.



sharp break in monetary circulation in the West, according to his argument, so as not to have to doubt about the sharp drop in contemporary commercial activity.⁷⁸ Curiously, however, he accepts this rupture in circulation in the case of England.⁷⁹ Or for example, referring to the 12th century, Spufford states textually, “a great increase in the amount minted was the most obvious consequence of the vast quantities of new silver being mined in Europe from 1160s onwards”.⁸⁰ In other words, the increase in the use of money was due to the finding and working of new metal deposits. Spufford manages to overcome the hurdles he finds thanks to a clever use of language. For instance, regarding the increase in the monetary denominations in circulation in the Late Middle Ages, he states that,

the transformation from a currency consisting of a single denomination to one consisting of a multiplicity of denominations was the natural corollary to the extreme complexity of urban transactions that developed over the thirteenth century.⁸¹

The key word in Spufford’s sentence is ‘transactions’, used because he considers that trade is the main factor in history. In a chartalist or fiscalist view of monetary evolution, the word ‘transactions’ should be replaced by ‘obligations’. Spufford gives the maximum importance to trade. For example, when talking about the cases of frequent renewal of the currency by some medieval authorities, he recognises first that these authorities had to be strong enough and dominant enough in their territory, but then justifies the practice of renovation through the existence or not of commercial possibilities in the territory affected, without taking into consideration the financial needs (wars, projects, concessions of privileges) of the issuing authorities:

In general frequent coinage renewal depended on a relatively strong central authority, a developing market structure (there were perhaps as many as a hundred weekly markets in 12th century Poland, etc.).⁸²

In summary, throughout his work, Spufford continues a process, of a monetarist nature, of this type:

1. New deposits of metal are discovered and worked
2. More coins are produced with the new metal

78. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 22.

79. The rupture in the Iberian Peninsula is very evident (Metcalf, David M. “The coinage of the first and second suevic kingdoms: from Romanitas to Latinization”, *Galicia: da romanidade a xermanización: problemas históricos e culturais. Actas do encontro científico en homenaxe a Fermin Bouza Brey*. Santiago de Compostela: Museo do Pobo Galego, 1992: 358-359; Pliego, Ruth. *La moneda visigoda*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009: I, 75-79).

80. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 187.

81. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 239.

82. Spufford, Peter. “Local coins, and Foreign coins in Late Medieval Europe”, *XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress (Berlin, 1997)*, Bernd Kluge, Bernhard Weissner, eds. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 2000: 329.



3. The rise in the monetary mass leads to an increase in the number of commercial transactions

4. The growth of trade increases the demand for coins in different denominations

5. New metal deposits are discovered and exploited

6. Etc.

In other words, the use of money increases because new silver mines appear and because trade grows, but nowhere does he relate this increase with a specific political will. In this scheme, the author includes the progressive transfer, between the 12th and 13th centuries, of seigniorial incomes paid in kind towards incomes demanded in money but, curiously, does not realise the contradiction inherent in this move. Spufford collects the views of other authors,⁸³ and realises that, from a given moment, demand for income in money was a great burden on the families, forced to resort to the market to find money and be able to meet the seigniorial demands.⁸⁴ The contradiction lies in the fact that this process, the need for money, would date from before the obligation to resort to the market and, thus, completely reverse the scheme sustained throughout the book. Without realising the contradiction, Spufford moves on in time to conclude that, in the end, the increase in the monetary mass was the phenomenon that allowed the consolidation, growth and modernisation of states. He himself presented an example of the opposite case, which is when the lack of cash hinders the consolidation of strong power, by taking the case of the implementation feudalism: "The genesis behind the feudal organisation lies in the lack of gold coinage in the hands of the seventh-century Frankish kings, and the impossibility of continuing to pay the armies with coins".⁸⁵

Thus, regarding the relation between money and consolidation of the institutions, Spufford's process is:

1. Increase in the monetary mass

2. The governments benefit and consolidate their power

3. Increase in the monetary mass

4. Etc.

Backwards, the monetary mass declines and the governments lose power. This is just the opposite of what is stated in the chartalist theory, according to which it is the actions of the governments that affect the increase or decrease in the monetary mass.

Another interesting aspect among those analysed by Spufford is when, where and why some European states began to strike fiat money or coinage without intrinsic value, of pure copper:

It is not surprising that it was at Venice, the greatest commercial city in Europe, that the striking of copper coins [in 1463], should have first been discussed, for throughout

83. Like, for example, Marc Bloch (Bloch, Marc. *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1931), Robert Fossier (Fossier, Robert. *Les terres et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du xiii^e siècle*. Paris-Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1968), or Pierre Toubert (Toubert, Pierre. *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e à la fin du XII^e siècle*. Rome: Biblioteca delle Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1973).

84. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 313-317.

85. Spufford, Peter. "Local coins, and Foreign coins...": 30.



the second half of the fifteenth century Venice was the major European centre for the growing trade in the copper of the Alps and Carpathians, until it was supplanted by Antwerp in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It is, however, rather surprising that it was in Naples that the idea actually became a reality. It was in Naples, possibly already the largest capital city in Europe, that the first copper coins, *cavalli*, were struck in 1472. Once again it was clearly a matter of free choice and not of necessity, for quite enough silver existed in southern Italy at this time to mint traditional black money.⁸⁶

Aside from the omission of the issues of *reais* and *ceitils* of pure copper that started in Portugal at least in the reign of Edward (1433-1438),⁸⁷ Spufford soon finds an explanation for the appearance of copper coins in Venice and points out that this was the greatest trading city in Europe and a centre for the trade in copper. However, in contrast, he offers no such justification for those from Naples, the need for which he indicates was unnecessary, because there was enough silver not to have had to dispense with it, and that it was a free choice, shall we say chance, casual or arbitrary.⁸⁸ Throughout his work, Spufford prioritises commercial or metallurgic explanations, but these cannot always offer coherent responses for a determined phenomenon.

The Spufford paradigm seems unchangeable among historians of money or coinage.⁸⁹ An example chosen at random is a summary of the history of money promoted by the British Museum, where Catherine Eagleton and Jonathan Williams state that in 10th and 11th centuries the use and volume of money and the speed of circulation increased. They argue that, although the revitalised Viking activity played a role in these, this expansion was mainly based on new renewable supplies of silver and the growth of local and international trade, exemplified by important fairs like the ones in Champagne.⁹⁰

A second example by the same authors relates to the 16th century and the well-known trade deficit of the Hispanic kingdoms, and shows how easily they disassociate the monetary phenomena from contemporary political actions. Eagleton and Williams head the chapter dedicated to the modern era with this fragment from Martín González de Cellorigo:

86. Spufford, Peter. "Local coins, and Foreign coins...": 372.

87. Aragão, Augusto Carlos Teixeira de. *Descrição geral e historica das moedas cinhadas en nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1874: I, 218; Grierson, Philip. *Coins of Medieval Europe*. London: Seaby, 1991: 191 (this is an evolved version of an earlier work: Grierson, Philip. *Monnaies du moyen Age*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1976).

88. Lucia Travaini believes that the start of issues in pure copper in Naples was because the master of the mint was from Ragusa (Dubrovnik), a city where copper coins had been made for local use since 1281: *oltre che per i contatti diretti, anche per l'esperienza portata del maestro della zecca Cotrugli raguseo* ("as well as through direct contacts, but also through Benedetto Cotrugli's knowledge, mint-chef from Ragusa") (Travaini, Lucia. "Il ruolo di Ragusa-Dubrovnik nella creazione delle prime monete di rame a Napoli e Venezia nel Quattrocento", 'Puer Apuliae'. *Mélanges offerts a Jean-Marie Martin*, Errico Cuozzo, Vincent Déroche, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent, eds. Paris: Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008: 735).

89. For example: Day, John. *Monnaies et marchés au Moyen Age*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1994; Derville, Alain. *L'économie française au Moyen Age*. Paris: Ophrys, 1995; Contamine, Philippe; Bompaire, Marc; Lebecq, Stéphane; Sarrazin, Jean-Luc. *L'économie médiévale*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1993; Rodamilans, Fernando. "La moneda y el sistema monetario en la Castilla medieval". *Ab Initio* (2010): 22-83.

90. Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History...*: 73.



La causa de la ruina de España es que las riquezas se las lleva el viento, y siempre han cabalgado en él en la forma de escrituras contractuales, de letras de cambio, de plata y oro, en vez de bienes que puedan producir frutos y que, a causa de su mayor valor, atraen a los ricos de otras partes y así arruinan a nuestros habitantes. Por eso vemos que la razón por la falta de dinero de oro y plata en España es que hay demasiado del mismo y España es pobre porqué es rica.⁹¹

In other words, the authors take as their own a fragment that justifies the impoverishment of the modern Castilian crown through the activity of foreign speculators and not, shall we say, through an absurd policy of the monarchy of undertaking very expensive and not very productive enterprises, or due to suffering a foreign trade deficit.⁹²

Even Jacques Le Goff, in a recent work, insisted on trade as the mover for the monetary evolution of western society.⁹³ Like Spufford, Le Goff signals a great monetary change in the 13th century but, far from linking this to the development of states, he makes it precede this development:

C'est un tournant général de la chrétienté qui se retrouve dans le domaine monétaire. Les principaux signes sont, tout d'abord, la reprise de la frappe de l'or, et donc le retour au bimétallisme or/argent. Ensuite, on constate un développement du commerce, qui utilise essentiellement le monnayage d'argent. Enfin on constate un retour à l'État....⁹⁴

In other words, the role of the state as the promoter of the use of money moves into third place, minimised by the impact of the growth in trade and even the anonymous and spontaneous minting of gold coins. It is still worth emphasising another fragment from Le Goff, transcribed below. Like the above, it is the response to a question by Bruno Collin:

BC: Au XIII^e siècle, vous scindez l'usage de l'argent en trois parties essentielles.

JLG: Oui. Le premier vise à l'acquisition de terres. Le second au souci de sécurité avec le financement des murailles de protection des villes. Et enfin, des oeuvres pieuses. Cette période est, d'ailleurs, marquée par l'apparition des ordres mendiants. Le terme signifie que ces gens vont vivre grâce à l'aumône dont ils vont utiliser une partie afin de soulager la population

91. "The reason for the ruin of Spain is the riches that went with the wind, and that have always ridden on it in the form of contractual writings, bills of exchange, silver and gold, instead of goods that can bear fruit and which, because of their greater value, attract the rich from elsewhere and thus ruin to our inhabitants. That is why we see that the reason for the lack of gold and silver money in Spain is that there is too much of it and Spain is poor because it is rich". Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History...*: 162. Quoted words are from: González de Cellorigo, Martín. *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración a la república de España*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1992.

92. As has been defended for some time by authors such as John H. Elliott (Elliott, John Huxtable. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. London: Edward Arnold, 1963).

93. Le Goff, Jacques. *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*. Paris: Perrin, 2010.

94. "It is a general turning point of Christendom that is found in the monetary domain. The main signs are, first of all, the resumption of the striking of gold, and therefore the return to gold/silver bimetalism. Then there is a development of trade, which essentially uses the silver coinage. Finally we see a return to the state...". Collin, Bruno. "Interview de Jacques Le Goff". *Numismatique et change*, 418 (2010): 24-25.



*pauvre. En compensation de l'enrichissement de certaines classes de la société, l'église exigera d'elles la bienfaisance, essentiellement sous forme monétaire. Ce qui correspon à l'apparition de la 'monnaie noire' en billon qui est précisément celle de l'aumône. C'est aussi celle de la vie quotidienne en milieu rural...*⁹⁵

Leaving aside the triad explanation, which we should take as a clever game and not a serious reflection,⁹⁶ Le Goff rounds off and closes Spufford's schemes. The growth of trade cannot explain in itself the growing necessity and production of minor currency, and so the octogenarian medievalist offers us a response that is both novelistic and disconcerting: that black money, made of debased metal and little value, served for alms and charity or to circulate in the rural environment.⁹⁷

To close this section I wish to reflect on another phenomenon that can be detected: the formula 'money=trade', repeated so many times among historians of money, is not reciprocal when the factors are altered. Trade historians do not necessarily have to resort to money to explain the evolution of the subject of their study. I will restrict myself to presenting two examples from two significant authors, one from before Spufford's work, Robert S. Lopez, and the other later, Michael McCormick.

In his work *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*,⁹⁸ Robert Sabatino Lopez began by recognising the importance of coins during his research, but only as a documentary support. He says that coins, as they are mentioned in the documents or conserved materially in the collections, constitute the most accessible means to take the pulse of the early phases of the commercial revolution. For example, Lopez realizes through the coinages study that in all Catholic Europe, and even more clearly in Italy, the long deflationary tendency of the Early Middle Ages was reversed.⁹⁹ However, he then added that the force behind the commercial revolution had to be sought in other innovations beyond the increase of monetary mass. In other words the supply of minted metal never met demand and the credit, finally available in abundance, was the true grease for the mechanism of the commercial revolution.¹⁰⁰

95. "BC: In the thirteenth century, you split the use of money into three essential parts. JLG: Yes. The first concerns the acquisition of land. The second concerned with security with the financing of the walls to protect the cities. And finally, pious works. This period is, moreover, marked by the appearance of mendicant orders. The term means that these people live thanks to the alms which they use a part in order to relieve the poor population. As compensation for the enrichment of certain classes of society, the church requires charity, mainly in monetary form. This corresponds to the appearance of the 'black money' in billon, which is precisely that of alms. It is also that of everyday life in rural areas..." Collin, Bruno. "Interview de Jacques Le Goff". *Numismatique et change*, 418 (2010): 24-25.

96. I prefer to believe that it is a *divertimento* of the author and that he does not take it too seriously. The relation is very clear: buy land=the peasant, build walls=the soldier, do alms=the monk; or if one prefers: Duby, George. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

97. When in fact small coins circulated (and circulate) preferably within the cities, which is where they were needed to pay small taxes, tolls and as change in the retail trade.

98. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial en la Europa Medieval*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1981. Spanish translation of the original text (in English): Lopez, Roberto Sabatino. *The commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971.

99. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 112.

100. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 113-115.



Lopez ended up deducing that the speed of monetary circulation increased faster than the volume of goods and services.¹⁰¹ Thus, the commercial revolution did not begin with monetary phenomena, but through new mercantile practices (expansion of credit, new instruments like the bill of exchange, insurances, etc.), while the parallel issue of coins of ever decreasing intrinsic content was due to other causes not related to the commercial revolution, such as (and I add this) greater trust by the user in the issuing power of the coin and also a growing need for small change to deal with small everyday obligations (not necessarily transactions).

Another, more recent, example of this paradox of the non-reciprocity of the formula 'money=trade' is in the work of Michael McCormick,¹⁰² author of a full history of late-medieval European trade: *Origins of the European Economy*. He dedicates a whole section to talking about coins, but not in the sense we read in Spufford. McCormick is only interested in listing the findings of coins from the epoch studied, obviously well identified, to be able to show the relations between some territories and others. Thus, McCormick shows us that it is possible to do a monograph on trade from the 6th to the 10th centuries, for instance, without talking about the money except when identifying the findings of Muslim, Byzantine and Carolingian coins, to be able to prove the presence of merchants from these territories in a specific place. McCormick deals with the coins only as merchandise, or as documentary proof of some relevant event, but not, for example, as reactivators of trade. Trade flows through his work without the need for coins.

Thomas J. Sargent and François R. Velde surprised the academic world with a study of small change (*The Big Problem of Small Change*) that dispensed with trade as a revolutionary factor.¹⁰³ Sargent and Velde analysed the problem of the recurring crises of small change (of lack or excess) in circulation throughout history. The interpretation they offer about the function of money in the medieval and modern epochs is very interesting. For instance, they explain that the late medieval governments (they do not distinguish between feudal lords, caliphs or emperors) did not think of money as a means of exchange (or of trade) but rather as a merchandise of silver with a determined value. This consideration meant that any form of circulating money had to have a stable exchange rate according to their content and, as that was not always possible, it caused recurrent shortages of small change. Cipolla, who inspired the title of the work by Sargent and Velde, proposed that the solution to the crisis of small change should be sought with the making of substitutory *tokens*, backed by the government, who would have to be prepared to exchange them for good coins of a higher value. Sargent and Velde added two conditions, these being that the number of these tokens produced should not be too small (to be able to facilitate change) nor too large (to avoid generating inflation).¹⁰⁴

101. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 114.

102. McCormick, Michael. *Orígenes de la economía europea. Viajeros y comerciantes en la Alta Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2005 (Spanish version of the original text in English: McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2001).

103. Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem...*

104. Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem...*: 4-6.



The process of building and implementing Sargent and Velde's formula also explains the evolution of European monetary experiments from the medieval epoch to the 20th century and which, in a very summarised, but continuous, sequence can be established as follows:¹⁰⁵

Table 1. Evolution of European coinages from Medieval Ages to 20th Century

INITIAL PHASE: coins with intrinsic value
1.- Silver
2.- Silver and billon
3.- Gold, silver and billon

INTERMEDIATE PHASE: intrinsically valueless of small change
4.- Gold, silver and poor billon
5.- Gold, silver and copper (or tin)
6.- Official gold, and silver, copper and private paper (notes and tokens)

FINAL PHASE: intrinsically valueless of all money (fiat money)
7- Gold, silver, non-precious metals, paper
8.- Silver, non-precious metals, paper
9.- Paper and non-precious metals

105. The scheme is mine, inspired by the examples Sargent and Velde use in their research and their final summary (Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. The Big Problem....: 373-374).



2.2 Second branch: Identification and systematic cataloguing of the coins

In its beginnings, numismatics was dedicated exclusively to identifying and cataloguing the coins that had been preserved through time, either to study them historically regarding the characters from the past who appeared on them, or to look into their metrological characteristics and extract useful conclusions related to monetary practices.

In the 20th century, this original branch grew and consolidated itself with the main aim of identifying and cataloguing the known coins, which became historical documents. Cataloguing and arranging is not only a mechanical task, far from historical reflection. Once created, the overview that a numismatic catalogues supply can enable conclusions to be drawn and lead to a new summary or a new paradigm of the discipline. This first branch has continued (with exceptions) to use the name of 'numismatics' to define the material it studies.

Since the start of the 20th century, the authors and institutions from northern Europe, especially from the Anglo-Saxon world, both British (like the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) and American (the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, the American Numismatic Society, or the American Hispanic Society), have stood out in this branch of numismatics. The specialised journals and systematic numismatic catalogues produced by these institutions, especially those that cover the ancient epoch, are of world renown.¹⁰⁶ This tendency is still very much alive nowadays, to a great extent protected by the legislation of these states, permissive in questions of historical heritage, but at the same time, protectors of the conservation of the information.¹⁰⁷

Regarding the medieval epoch, the most representative numismatist is Philip Grierson (Dublin, 1910-Cambridge, 2006). Born in Ireland, but of English origins, Grierson was the leading exponent of 20th century European numismatic research.¹⁰⁸ He updated the manual by Engel and Serrure, continuing the same scheme of relating

106. To name a few examples: the catalogues of Roman imperial coins: *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1923-1975, 6 volumes; *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, published in 10 volumes and republished and improved successively since 1923 by Spink of London (*The Roman Imperial Coinage*. London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1923-1994, 10 volumes); or also provincial coins: *The Roman Provincial Coins*. London-Paris: British Museum-Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, 1992-2007, 4 volumes; as well as the catalogue of Byzantine coins: *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1968-2006, 5 volumes; and the catalogue of Arab coins: *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1999-2002, 10 volumes; among many others.

107. Especially in Great Britain, where the law has encouraged findings to be notified to the relevant authorities for them to be studied and their historical importance to be decided, respecting private property. The 1996 *Treasure Act* was especially drafted after the popularisation of metal detectors and it has propitiated the publication, acquisition and exhibition of findings that are exceptional for British heritage. Source: The British Museum. "The Treasure Act". *Portable Antiquities Scheme*. 12 June 2016 <<http://finds.org.uk/treasure>>.

108. As well as the book Lucia Travaini has dedicated to him (*Philip Grierson, Irish Bulls and Numismatics*, ed. Lucia Travaini. Rome: Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon, 2011), you can find a biographic report on Grierson in the introduction to *Acta Numismatica* 36 by Miquel de Crusafont (Crusafont, Miquel. "Philip Grierson". *Acta Numismatica*, 36 (2006): 7-11).



each historical period with a principal monetary denomination, and apparently continuing the generalised idea of relating the evolution of the monetary systems to the evolution of trade and industry.¹⁰⁹ However, Grierson's work was much more innovative and valuable for his extraordinary knowledge of the written and numismatic sources.¹¹⁰ The main starting point for Grierson's work is the use of coins as historical documents. As Lucia Travaini stressed, Grierson was a historian of coins, especially interested in political history and thus, in the iconography, whose first incursion into numismatics was to rectify a poor attribution of a coin.¹¹¹ He promoted the Fitzwilliam Numismatic Museum at the University of Cambridge and was the promoter of the *Medieval European Coinage* (MEC) project, which envisages the publication of 14 volumes of cataloguing and study of the issues of European medieval coins.¹¹² Grierson was also the author of three of the five volumes of the *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*,¹¹³ the benchmark catalogue for Byzantine coins. Regarding the origin and essence of money, Grierson sides with the chartalists, as do most experts in this second branch. Lucia Travaini makes it clear on discussing the life and work Grierson:

for those who study the history of metal coins and mints —sovereign prerogative par excellence— it seems difficult to believe that some economic theories favour the role of the private sector in creation of coins, in order to make exchanges easier: the cartalist thesis, that instead sees the State's strong role at the origin of the production and use of coins, has been preferred by scholars of different disciplines such as sociologists, anthropologists, and among these Grierson was the one who possibly better than others managed to illustrate his idea, becoming an emblem of this interpretation.¹¹⁴

109. Grierson, Philip. *Coins of Medieval Europe...*

110.¹¹⁰ Grierson, Philip. *The Origins of Money*. London: University of London, 1977 (Corrected and reprinted in: Dalton, George, ed. *Research in economic anthropology*. Greenwich: Jai Press, 1978: I, 1-35; and republished in: Arslan, Ermanno A.; Travaini, Lucia, eds. *Scritti storici e numismatici*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2001: 207-216); Grierson, Philip. *Les monnaies. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental XXI*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.

111. *Philip Grierson, Irish...*

112. To date only three volumes have appeared; the one for the Early Middle Ages, by Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, in 1986; the volume of Italy, by Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, in 1998; and the last one of the Iberian Peninsula, by Philip Grierson, Anna Maria Balaguer, and Miquel de Crusafont, in 2013 (Grierson, Philip; Blackburn, Mark. *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 1, The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)*. Cambridge (UK)-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Grierson, Philip; Travaini, Lucia. *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 14, South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia: With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1998; Grierson, Philip; Balaguer, Anna Maria; Crusafont, Miquel de. *Medieval European Coinage. Volume 6. The Iberian Peninsula*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2013).

113. Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1968: II/1,2 ("Phocas to Theodosius III (602-717)"); Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1973: III/1, 2 ("Leo III to Nicephorus III (717-1081)"); Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999: V/1, 2 ("Michael VIII to Constantine XI (1258-1453)").



In Spain and also, to a lesser extent, in the other countries of Latin Europe, this branch of numismatics has been declining for decades, especially given the difficulties private collecting has had when materialising cooperation with public entities. However, it is true that there have been notable exceptions, which are mentioned below.

The case in France is somewhat more complex: throughout the 20th century, there have been good numismatists backed by the public sector and a good bibliographic production,¹¹⁴ but especially focussed on certain historical episodes (the Merovingians, the Carolingians, the strict kingdom of France in the medieval epoch). However, other numismatic series still await carefully cataloguing. Following the same trend mentioned in other Latin states, excellent catalogues of royal coinage from the modern epoch and some regional series from the medieval and modern epochs have recently been published in France,¹¹⁵ along with certain monographs from the ancient epoch, all arising from private initiatives.

The quality of these works varies. There are some excellent ones while others, some of which I found it unnecessary even to mention, are at best mediocre and, at their worst, abominable. However, what is sure is that they would all have been better if they had had technical and material support from the institutions that are the exclusive holders of cultural patrimony.

2.3 Third branch: The working of the monetary systems (what the researching historians need to know)

Understanding how each monetary system works in a certain area and time is the third target of numismatics that I mentioned at the start of this thesis. It is a subject that has always been of interest, but not in such a similar way. Initially, prior to the 20th century, the mentioned research served to resolve problems posed by the law, given that ancient contracts and scriptures contain obsolete monetary systems or types of money lost in the mists of time, that had to be interpreted and converted into modern legal tender, and also served for learning from the past to improve the future.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, and despite the evident interest, this branch has often been

114. As a gratifying example, the manual by Brepols titled *Numismatique médiévale* (Bompaire, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale...*) is an excellent full compendium of everything that one needs to know about the medieval numismatic discipline, logically adapted to the French setting.

115. For example: Yannick, Jézéquel. *Les monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bretagne, Xe au XVe siècle*. Paris: Maison Florange, 1998; Divo, Jean Paul. *Numismatique de Dombes*. Corzono: Fiorino d'Oro, 2004; Chareyron, Régis. *Numismatique féodale drômoise*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Éditions Commios, 2006.

116. This is the case of Josep Salat, whose aim was to know about the past to change the future, immersed, as he was, in a monetary context that had varied very little over the last hundred years and that would still have to wait another fifty to see new proposals put into practice. Salat wanted to explain to the rulers of his country all the monetary errors that had been committed in the historical past and how this legacy could lead to a new, simpler, more practical and competitive monetary system (Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Barcelona: Antoni Brusi, 1818 [2 volumes]; republished by: Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Madrid: Juan R. Cayón, 1982).



sidelined, especially in Spain, in obvious detriment to the credibility of all historical studies, since the lack of numismatic manuals of proven usefulness at the local level prevents research based on monetary data (purchases, sales, prices, loans, etc.) from knowing whether these are correct or not. At the European level, we do find some regions well represented, including Tuscany and the Duchy of Milan,¹¹⁷ or royal France.¹¹⁸

Carlo Cipolla (Pavia, 1922-2000) was the author of studies that explain the working of the monetary system in a determined territory, specifically in the cases of Florence and Milan.¹¹⁹ Thus, he was very interested in currency and the relation of the intrinsic value of the coins with this currency. For example, Cipolla believed it interesting to ascertain and document the equivalent in silver of the unit of account over time. To do so, he proposed following three paths, namely: 1) the analysis of the conserved coins; 2) reading the orders of issue; and 3) researching in the documentation of the mint. Cipolla recognised that if one can reach paths 2 and 3, it is not necessary to waste time on path 1.¹²⁰ However, despite basing his research exclusively on the written documentation, Cipolla did not hesitate to show his physical knowledge of the coins studied by including images in his works.

Commercial activity is important, but not exclusive, in the lines of Cipolla's studies. In fact, the economic movements he highlights are not necessarily commercial. For instance, Cipolla confirmed the flight of silver coinage from Europe to Egypt and China from the second half of the 14th century because of a certain gold/silver exchange rate in these places and which favoured the phenomenon.¹²¹ He also even questioned or pointed out some generally accepted mechanisms. Thus, on the belief that related the discovery of mines of precious metals and the making of bigger coins, Cipolla concluded that it was uncertain. For example, in the second half of the 15th century, in southern Germany, specifically in the Tyrol and the area of Saxony and Bohemia, numerous silver deposits were discovered and exploited. Cipolla concludes that the mechanism through which a greater abundance of metal ended up propitiating the minting of heavier coins is not very clear.¹²²

In contrast, for this same minting of heavy silver coins, but in the 16th century, Cipolla found a fundamentally commercial (although partly financial) explanation. He argues that the strong expansion in the volume of international financial transactions in the second half of the 16th century must have implied a growing demand for gold pieces. More or less from the 1550s, the increase in demand did not find a proportional rise in the supply. Thus, in one market after another, some

117. Cipolla, Carlo M. *Il governo della moneta a Firenze e a Milano nei secoli XIV-XVI*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990 (translated to the spanish and published with the title *El gobierno de la moneda*: Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1994).

118. Fournial, Etienne. *Histoire monétaire de l'Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Éditions Nathan, 1970; Bompaire, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale*....

119. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*....

120. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*....: 44-45.

121. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*....: 160.

122. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*....: 16.



payments traditionally made in gold had to be done in silver. In other words, there was an ever more pressing need to mint a heavy silver coin that, in some way, could replace the gold escudo.¹²³

Cipolla also highlighted the creation and making of monetary denominations designed initially for fiscal, rather than commercial, purposes. He found that in August 1504, the Florentine mint began to mint another new silver coin. The ordinance that authorised the minting of this coin precisely specified that the reason for it was due to pay the tax for every wine barrel at the gates of the city.¹²⁴ Cipolla was a precursor who indicated various methodological paths to explore.

2.3.1 Prior considerations about the working of monetary systems

When studying the working of monetary systems, the prejudices and stereotypes that accompany the numismatic imagery and that can distort any overview should be taken into account.

A first prior consideration is the certainty that money is not a democratic instrument. In fact, few things in the world work democratically. This is a reality that should not surprise us. In contrast, it is not rare for researchers to begin research work conceived, for example, to show such ‘surprising’ realities as that, in such and such a century, gold coins did not reach the more popular classes but were exchanged among the nobles and the great magnates of the country. And we are tempted to present this fact as a handicap (and thus, also as an injustice). However, it should be the opposite; historical research should be focussed in a direction to enable it to explain complex processes and not secular evidence. As I see it, if we have to talk about gold coinage, it would be worth doing a study to explain the cases contrary to the one mentioned, the moment when the gold coin went beyond its natural area of circulation (the well-off classes) to supply the everyday market (of the popular classes). In these infrequent cases, does the monetary system work better? Is the distribution of wealth fairer in a society that makes gold coins circulate between the rich and the not so rich? These are interesting questions to answer and not at all evident. We find ourselves with the surprise that the response is just the opposite of what, from an initial naive outlook, we had proposed, because the credibility and good working of a monetary system have no relation to popularising the use of gold coinage.¹²⁵ On this question, again, we must note Nicolau Oresme and his followers, and the distortion caused by their widely accepted thinking. If we accept their theory that currency was a public good and that it did not belong to the

123. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 29—30.

124. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 18.

125. For example, plentiful circulation of gold coins among all sectors of society is documented in Catalonia in the 1620-1626 period. It must be stressed that this was not exactly regarded as a great achievement by the less privileged classes, as getting their hands on overvalued gold coinage, as was the case, was detrimental for the more modest economies. Sanahuja, Xavier. “La moneda de Lleida al segle XVII”. *Acta Numismàtica*, 31 (2001): 116-117.



king, but to the community, then it would make sense to study a historical period when this was not fulfilled.

A second consideration to bear in mind is that the currency is an instrument that works on the basis of trust. Studies focussed on money, both from the point of view of economic history, history of law or classic numismatics, generally tend to study the (successful or failed) circulation of money mainly from a metalistic point of view. In other words, the relation between the intrinsic value of the metals and the intrinsic value of the currency (medieval or modern) conditions the behaviour and acceptance of the whole monetary system. Obviously, this trait is fundamental but not the only one when it comes to explaining the success or failure of a monetary policy. The human factor, the educated and popular currents of thought, what we could call mentality, also constitutes a very important factor to take into consideration when talking about money. In the West in the period studied, we can distinguish two levels of perception of money and the practices that derive from it. At a high, academic, level we find, for instance, a certain aversion to the Church.¹²⁶ However, this level does not appear to affect the policies applied by the issuing authorities excessively nor the popular behaviour towards money, especially because the reality is obstinate and difficult to hide. At the popular and political level, it is the practical sense and past experience that condition people's response to any monetary action. Thus, the acceptance of the official value of the coins, although obligatory in a coercive way, is only effective when people interpret that their trust will not be misplaced. However, it is not a question of trust in the currency in itself that matters. The real trust, that which lends stability to the currency and so many other aspects of everyday life, is trust in the state, in power, in the issuing authority. It is political trust that generates monetary confidence and tranquillity. So, we can agree that some monetary perceptions need not be altogether real, modified by a superior trust in not being deceived by the issuing authority. For example, in 1626, the mentality of the user accepted that Catalan milled coins could have a slightly lower weight than hammered coins, and less than the weight that would correspond to them by law, in exchange for greater security against counterfeits and fraudulent alterations. We have written evidence of this anomaly,¹²⁷ and it certifies that confidence in a safe coinage (those harder to fake or to be altered) prevailed over any other concern about the real precious metal content.¹²⁸

126. Again we can mention Oresme and the 'common good' as a justification for the existence of currency and commercial activities. Or one can quote the phrase *Nummus non calved nummos* ("money doesn't produce money") by Thomas Aquinas, against usury, but that emerged as a reaction to a context, the 13th century, of great changes and commercial and monetary transformations. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 387.

127. Sanahuja, Xavier. "El problema de la llei i talla de la moneda de plata catalana del segle XVII", *Acta Numismàtica* 37 (2007): 136-137.

128. In fact, in the maintenance of the current monetary system, that is not based on coins with intrinsic value, popular trust (in the issuing authorities and regulators) also plays a very important role, more than other mathematically quantifiable factors.



In other words, the intrinsic metal content should not exclusively condition the degree of acceptance of a coin, neither before nor nowadays.¹²⁹ Trust in the issuing authority and the degree of collective conviction that this trust will not be defrauded is often more important. This is even more so when the coin in question is small change or minor currency, and made with a high percentage of priceless metals. We have clear proof of all that nowadays, where everyone accepts the validity of some money and monetary values that are really no more than virtual money.

3. State of the discipline in Spain and Catalonia. Perspectives

3.1 The work of the pioneers

In the 19th century, Àlvar Campaner was one of the pioneers in considering numismatics an auxiliary discipline of history, and he dedicated a good part of his work to establishing a method to facilitate this task. The title of one of his main works, *Indicador manual de la numismática española* ("Manual indicator of Spanish Numismatics"),¹³⁰ is clear enough in that sense. In contrast to earlier authors, whose numismatic research was addressed to politicians and rulers with the aim of changing and improving the actual monetary system, Campaner's work was aimed at scholars, historians and coin collectors who, without any public help, were progressing in the subject. Campaner's manual only served as help for classifying unpublished coins and placing them in space and time.

Those scholars did their work well and were able to produce numismatic catalogues sufficiently useful for their epoch. However, with the passing of time, priorities have changed. Since then, the discovery of unpublished coins and their attribution has multiplied. Documents have been exhumed and laws, orders and bans related to money have been interpreted. In short, a monetary history of Catalonia and Spain has been redone with initially satisfactory results, with names like Aloïss Heiss, Joaquim Botet, Miquel de Crusafont, Octavio Gil Farrés, Pío Beltrán Vilagrassa or Antonio Roma Valdés standing out in the medieval and modern fields.

129. Many studies have been done mainly focussed on the intrinsic content of the coins, some even drafting evolutionary tables. In one of these works, Gaspar Feliu (Feliu, Gaspar. "L'equivalent metàl·lic d'algunes monedes de compte a l'Edat Moderna". *Acta Numismàtica*, 21-23 (1993): 456) echoes some words by Morineau (Morineau, Michel. *Incroyables Gazettes et fabuleux métaux. Les retours des trésors américaines d'après les Gazettes Hollandaises (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)*. Cambridge (UK)-Paris: Cambridge University Press-Éditions de la Maison Sciences de l'Homme, 1985) in which he states that the intrinsic value of the coin is the final reference. The factor 'trust', rarely considered, can become a very distorting element of tables and statistics and end up having the last say.

130. Campaner, Àlvaro. *Indicador manual de la numismática española*. Palma of Majorca: M. Murillo, 1891. republished in Madrid: Campaner, Àlvaro. *Indicador manual de la numismática española*. Madrid: Juan R. Cayón, 1976.



3.2 Numismatics, university and prejudices

Despite the individual efforts mentioned, it is true that numismatics has gradually dropped out of the university academic *curricula*. In the 19th century, and surely before, numismatics, or the study of old coins, achieved a certain generalised prestige in all the historiographic circuits. The reason is that coins were considered a first-order historical document, essential to enable the enigmas of ancient civilisations to be deciphered. In Spain, the key for this research was the ability to decipher the inscriptions, in the case of coins in Latin and, especially the alphabet, in the case of coins inscribed in Iber or Phoenician characters. This linguistic pre-eminence led to numismatics being considered a natural complement to other auxiliary disciplines of history, such as epigraphy and palaeography. Later, a fourth speciality, sigillography, was added to the list. This combination of disciplines ended up giving extraordinary results, especially in the classification of Iber coins and the definitive deciphering of the Iber alphabet by Manuel Gómez Moreno. However, that was in 1922. And, since then, over ninety years have passed and dozens of new universities have been set up in Spain with a range of qualifications, degrees and curricular itineraries. However, nowadays, as in the 19th century, numismatics still appears as a fossilised complement to palaeography, diplomatics, epigraphy and sigillography, and always in a nominal last place that often means students do not even have an hour of theoretical classes.¹³¹ It is true that the old numismatics has received differentiated action in some university studies, but always as an inseparable complement to archaeology,¹³² never as an auxiliary discipline of economic history or chronology. The history of money does not exist as a stand-alone subject in either Catalan or Spanish university studies.¹³³

However, not being studied in the universities does not mean that it does not interest anyone. In the 19th century, the scholars who studied money were necessarily collectors, as there were no published reference works available and there was a lack of museums and institutions protecting the historical patrimony. The reference works by Josep Salat, Àlvar Campaner, Francesc Carreras Candi and Joaquim Botet were mainly nourished by collecting, as were the museums. It was

131. As an example, the university subjects offered nowadays or in the last ten years include: *Paleografia, Diplomàtica, Epigrafia i Numismàtica* ("Palaeography, Diplomats, Epigraphy and Numismatics") (Universitat de Lleida); *Cátedra de epigrafía y numismática* ("Chair of epigraphy and numismatics") (Universidad Complutense de Madrid); *Paleografía, diplomática, epigrafía y numismática* ("Palaeography, Diplomats, epigraphy and numismatics") (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia); *Paleografía, diplomática, epigrafía, numismática y archivística* ("Palaeography, Diplomats, Epigraphy, Numismatics and Archivistry") (Universidad de Sevilla); etc.

132. The subject *Numismàtica antiga* ("Ancient Numismatics") has been taught in some Spanish and Catalan universities, such as the University of Barcelona. However, I do not recall that a consolidated subject of medieval or modern numismatics (or history of money), unlinked from epigraphics in any university, has ever been taught.

133. A curious data is that when you ask Google about the words *catedràtic de numismàtica* ("professor of numismatics") in Spanish, the first results refer to the endearing Pantuflo Zapatilla, father of the twins Zipi and Zape created by the genial artist Josep Escobar, who was also a professor of philately and pigeon breeding.



precisely those scholarly collectors who fought to form the first public numismatic cabinets. Thanks to that, Catalonia has an extensive body of numismatic works, one not found in any other national historiography of the epoch.¹³⁴ With time, the meaning of words changes and collecting has become an activity, if not considered almost criminal, one viewed at least as unhealthy. This is disparagement to the relation between numismatics and collecting. Paradoxically, however, private collecting is still conceived as a means of studying and divulging objects from the past, while the gradual increase in public collecting has not been large enough to meet the challenge. In this country, still nowadays, coin collecting is the epicentre for the study and divulcation of the history of money, while the contributions to this theme from the universities or the 'museums of money' seem more aimed towards accumulating 'treasures' than to historical research. The merit of private collecting is enormous, bearing in mind that in Spain it is accused of misappropriation of that which 'belongs to everyone', invoking a badly understood historical heritage.¹³⁵ This problem does not exist, for example, in Britain, where the *Treasure Act* facilitates the exchange of information between the institutions responsible for protecting the heritage and the collectors.¹³⁶ There, the most valued treasure is information, and not the accumulation of objects in the showcases and stores of the museums, while in Spain information is often lost for fear of reprisals.¹³⁷ Despite everything, the selfless collaboration of private collectors has enabled the data, information and images necessary and vital for the study of the coins to be gathered. That is why, even from a corporative outlook in favour of historians, conservators and researchers, it is necessary to protect and promote private collectors, one of the few groups willing

134. Josep Salat gave his collection to the Barcelona Board of Trade in the early 20th century, and from there, it went to the old Provincial Museum of Antiquities in Barcelona. Later, other numismatists managed to have the Numismatic Cabinet of Catalonia created in 1932.

135. The preamble to the 1985 Spanish Law of Historical Heritage, still in force nowadays, ends with the following phrase that, given the absence of nuances, helps the mentioned misinterpretation: *Porque en un Estado democrático estos bienes [de interés cultural] deben estar adecuadamente puestos al servicio de la colectividad en el convencimiento de que con su disfrute se facilita el acceso a la cultura y que ésta, en definitiva, es camino seguro hacia la libertad de los pueblos* ("Because in a democratic state these assets [of cultural interest] must be adequately placed at the service of the community in the conviction that, with their enjoyment, access to culture is facilitated and that, in short, this is a sure path to the freedom of the peoples". Boletín Oficial del Estado. "Ley 16/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español. Preámbulo". *Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 12 June 2016 < <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1985-12534>>.

136. The 1996 Treasure Act is a law passed by the British Parliament envisaged to control the findings of treasure in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. The law requires those who discover objects (or those considered of possible historical interest, like coins) to show them to the designated local authorities, who then decide if the object is treasure or not. If it is declared to be treasure, the owner has to offer it for sale to a museum for a price set by an independent commission (Treasure Valuation Committee). If the museum shows no interest in the object, or is unable to acquire it, the owner keeps it at the end of the process, which is not particularly long. The guarantee of equanimity impedes objects from being exported illegally or the owners having to hide them. And what is most important is that, throughout the process, independently of whether the objects are acquired or not, the museums are able to examine, record and study them all.

137. I published some reflections on the historical heritage and its management. Sanahuja, Xavier. "El patrimoni històric equivocat". *Acta Numismàtica*, 39 (2009): 5-9.



to spend an evening attending a talk or spend money buying a book or pay to visit an exhibition about the subject they like. In short, numismatic researchers have to support the collectors, because they make up a group that consumes history and thus, in the long term, ensure the continuity of historical research and its economic viability. They also have to facilitate the collaboration necessary between the two groups who can make historical research possible: the amateurs and collectors who are interested in the subject and the professional researchers who study it with public funds in the framework of the universities and academies.

3.3 *The need for systematic cataloguing*

Knowing the real difficulties of numismatics in Catalonia and Spain, it is no surprise that the discipline needs a renewal and an important increase in the level of demand. In 2015, numismatic research in Catalonia and Spain is still done individually. However, the works of special difficulty, as in the case that concerns us here, improve exponentially with the participation of various researchers. Moreover, except for a few exceptions in Catalonia, the catalogues have not been updated, and have not made use of the avalanche of information from the virtual networks. This avalanche of information gives us easy access to public and private collections, or to the stocks of dealers, archives, etc.

In fact, there is very little satisfactory systematic cataloguing of series of coins from before 1700. There are few catalogues published in Spain with public support, and all focus on the ancient world. Notable among these are those by Pere Pau Ripollès and his team in Valencia.¹³⁸ Only very recently, thanks to the fall in publishing costs and the growing ease of sharing information through Internet, some private initiatives worth mentioning have appeared. In Spain, the first serious attempts to systematise Castilian small change have gone ahead thanks to a purely private initiative. This is the cataloguing of the billon coin of Henry IV of Castile (1454-1474) by Antonio Roma and José Luis Braña, and the cataloguing I have published, together with Íñigo Jarabo, about the Castilian billon coinage of the Austrians (1566-1718). In Catalonia, the systematic catalogues by Anna Maria Balaguer about the coinage in the Catalan counties (785-1503),¹³⁹ Miquel de Crusafont on Catalan medieval coinage (785-1516) and the Catalan Revolt (1640-1652)¹⁴⁰ and Leandre Villaronga on the ancient money in the Iberian Peninsula, have all been produced outside the

138. Amandry, Michel; Burnett, Andrew; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *The Roman Provincial Coinage*. London-Paris: University of Oxford, 1992: I; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *La ceca de Arse-Saguntum*. Sagunt: Fundació Bancaixa, 2002; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *Las monedas provinciales romanas de Hispania*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010; Gozalves, Manuel. *La ceca de Turiaz: monedas celtiberas en la Hispania republicana*. Valencia: Diputació de València, 2009; Llorens, Maria del Mar; Aquilué, Xavier. *Ilercavonia-Dertosa i les seves encunyacions monetàries*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2001; among others.

139. Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats...*

140. Crusafont, Miquel. *Numismàtica de la Corona Catalano-aragonesa medieval (785-1516)*. Madrid: Vico, 1982 (Catalan edition); Crusafont, Miquel; Comas Ezequiel, Rafael. *El florí d'or català: Catalunya, València, Mallorca*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics,



university, but with the support of the Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics. In Valencia, a work by Josep Antoni Sendra that will include all the coins from the kingdom since the Christian conquest is in an advanced stage.

I am pleased to note a generalised positive tendency in all countries, which is the gradual appreciation of the small currency, that of small value. Since long ago, small change, in copper or bronze, has been much less studied than gold and silver coinage. There are several reasons for this. These pieces are difficult to read and identify and, until recently, there were not many examples known, unlike nowadays thanks to the popularisation of metal detectors. Nor had collectors paid much attention to them, preferring to concentrate on more attractive coins minted in precious metals. The result is that, despite having appeared with the aim of becoming reference catalogues, some works ignored or undervalued the always difficult small change.¹⁴¹

3.4 A practical manual is required

The most notable shortcoming of Catalan and Spanish numismatics is, however, not having made the technical information from so much individual research available for researchers who are not specialised in the subject. In other words, there is a lack of a numismatic tool to assist historians to understand the workings of the monetary systems at a specific moment. Many renowned voices have long called for an auxiliary tool of these characteristics. As an example, in 1996, in the prologue of a book by Miquel de Crusafont, the historian Josep Fontana explained that when he began to do research into the modern times, the problems that required better understanding of the monetary questions appeared everywhere, and only the old technical books of coin exchanges, intended for the everyday use of the Catalans of two hundred years ago, helped him, in the end, to resolve the fundamental problems.¹⁴²

If the problem of coins in the late 18th century was quite cumbersome, it must have been more so with less well-documented coins from bygone centuries. It is still troublesome, because no practical consultation tool to answer the monetary problems posed by researchers has been published.

We must correct this serious historiographic shortcoming, which hinders our understanding of many historical processes related to the effective use of coins

1996; Crusafont, Miquel. *Catàleg General de la Moneda Catalana*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2009.

141. This happened, for example, with the catalogues of Muslim coins in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Lavoix, Henri. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1887-1896 [3 volumes]). Reprinted in Bologna: Lavoix, Henri. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1977) and the British Museum (Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. London: Printed by order of the trustees, 1875-1890 [10 volumes]), or recently with those on Visigoth coinage (Pliego Vázquez, Ruth. *La moneda visigoda*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009 [2 volumes]).

142. Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana...*



(quantities of money, penalties and taxes), with government funding or with the intervention of complex or simple commercial transactions.

A numismatic manual for the use of the historian should at least include the following tools to help research:

1. Identification of the currency systems in use in each of the states in the Iberian Peninsula, from the downfall of the political structures of the Roman Empire to the appearance of the decimal monetary systems (5th-19th centuries). At this first level, the distinct coins in general circulation must be identified and differentiated indicating their geographic frontiers, their temporal limits as official or officious systems, or the overlap of different systems in the same territory in determined historical moments, however without going into the description and differentiation of the coins (i.e. florins, croats, escudos, etc.).
2. Identification of the successive monetary series produced and/or in circulation in each of these states until they were abandoned, including the documentation these issues and checking the composition of the alloys used in them. This second level should include the physical identification (formal, but also metallic) of the different monetary types that have appeared throughout history, paying special attention to correcting errors of appreciation and indicating the difficulties that have yet to be resolved, which are especially detectable in the early centuries of coin production (8th to 13th centuries). Among the coins, distinctions must be made between the country's own currency, foreign currency, bullion, provisional or obsidional money, tokens or private money, etc.
3. The preparation of verified tables with the names the coins were given (official, nominal, popular, with other less widely used ones like the denominations used abroad or among minority groups) and their exchange values (between each other and with other contemporary currencies), whether established officially, officiously or freely set by everyday customs or use among private individuals. This third point is the most useful tool for the researchers who need to be able to identify, and properly assess, the coins that appear in the commercial, financial or administrative transactions of the documents they use in their research. The chronological succession of these tables has never been prepared for a single publication, and only some of them have been published partially, without combining denominations with exchange values with respect to other coinage or currency used.
4. The verified serialisation of the minting of each given type of money, including information on the start date, end date and place of manufacture, geographical area of circulation, and the dates of the beginning and end of the official or officious circulation in a particular territory. This information is essential to enable a specific coin to be related to the historical environment where it circulated. Beyond the documentary aspect and its didactic or illustrative possibilities, the utility of this information lies in providing other auxiliary sciences of history, such as chronology or archaeology, with valid starting points for building hypotheses based on the scientific method.



5. The chronological indexing of monetary documents published in each of the states mentioned. This is a task of numbering and ordering all monetary documents known and noting the work from where they have been transcribed, recorded or identified in order to facilitate a quick documentary search for the researcher.
6. The making of a glossary of specialised terms, including words related to the manufacture and circulation of currency, specifying the time and, where applicable, geographic extent of this use. I think it is necessary to specify the language as much as possible, to help to dispel confusion and misunderstandings or important nuances.

All this volume of information has to be compiled with scientific criteria and bearing in mind that, in the 21st century, works of special difficulty cannot be signed by a sole author, although he or she is a renowned expert. And, if there are not enough experts, let us first train more.



OSTEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS FROM BOHAI SITES IN RUSSIA. A STATE OF THE ART

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ABSTRACT

The history of the Bohai studies in Russia is more than 150 years old. During those years Russian scholars have produced a number of interesting and valuable publications and combine use of written sources with study of the archeological sites. But for a long time they did not pay attention to bone remains. Only in the 1970s did Russian specialists begin to study osteological materials and this research gave a great deal of information about agriculture and other aspects of the Bohai people. In spite of this, osteological studies in the Russian Far East remain unknown in the Western academic world in many aspects, largely because almost all Russian scholars usually do not publish in English.

KEYWORDS

Archaeology, Osteology, Bohai, Far East, East Asia.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Archeologia, Osteologia, Bohai, Oriens Extremus, Asia Orientalis.

1. Introduction

The state of Bohai (in Russian: *Бохай*, in Korean: 발해, in Chinese: 渤海) existed in what is now the Russian Maritime Region (*Приморский край*), North Korea and Northeastern China from the late 7th to the early 10th centuries.¹ The study of the Bohai people in Russia began in the period 1850 when Nikita Bichurin -Archimandrite Iakinf- (*Никита Бичурин -архимандрит Иакинф-*), Viacheslav Gorskiy (*Вячеслав Горский*) and Vasilii Vasil'ev (*Василий Васильев*) translated several Manchurian, Chinese and Korean texts about the Jin Empire and Bohai population.

In spite of the fact that Russian and Soviet archaeologists found and excavated many Bohai sites (more than 100), analyzed many archaeological materials and published, in the opinion of South Korean scholars more than 300 works to 2001,² they did not pay much attention to osteological materials. The first works on osteological studies were published by Ernestina Vital'evna Alekseeva (*Эрнестина Витальевна Алексеева*), Vladislav Innokent'evich Boldin (*Владислав Иннокентьевич Болдин*) and Lyudmila Efimovna Semenichenko (*Людмила Ефимовна Семениченко*) in the 1980s. In these works Soviet scholars considered fragments of bones of animals which had been found in Konstantinovskoe, Nikolaevskoe-II, and Novogordecvskoe sites.³ Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*), Boldin and Semenichenko studied archaeology, but the major area of study by Alekseeva was paleozoology.

1. Goldobin, Alexei Mihaylovich (*Голдобин, Алексей Михайлович*); Goldberg, David Isaakovich (*Гольдберг, Давид Исаакович*); Petrushevskij, Ilya Petrovich (*Петрушевский, Илья Петрович*), eds. *История стран зарубежной Азии в средние века* (The history of states of foreign Asia in the Middle Ages). Moscow: Nauka, 1970.

2. Han Gju-cheol (한규철/韓圭哲). „동북공정의 발해 연구 결과에 대한 평가“ (The estimation of research results of Bohai in Northeastern), 중국의동북공정 연구 성과에 대한 분석과 평가 (Estimation and analysis of results of the Northeastern areas of China). Seoul: Koguryo yeonghywa, 2006: 65-66.

3. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Shavkunov, Ernst Vladimirovich (*Шавкунов, Эрнст Владимирович*). „Дикие и домашние животные Шайгинского городища“ (The wild and domesticated animals of Shajginskoe site), *Материалы по древней и средневековой археологии юга Дальнего Востока СССР и смежных территорий* (Materials of the ancient and medieval archaeology of the Soviet Far East and neighboring territories), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*), ed. Vladivostok: Akademii nauk Soyuz Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1983: 70-79; Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). „Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского городища Николаевское II (Приморье)“ (Materials about hunting and cattle-breeding of the population of Bohai in the ancient town Nikolaevskoe-II [Russian Maritime Region]), *Методы естественных наук в археологическом изучении древних производств на Дальнем Востоке СССР* (Methods of the natural sciences in archaeological research of the ancient industries in the Far East), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*), ed. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe otdelenie Akademii nauk Soyuz Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1986: 77-85; Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). „Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища“ (Remains of animals from the medieval layers of Novogordecvskoe rural settlement and ancient town), *Новые материалы по средневековой археологии Дальнего Востока СССР* (New materials of the medieval archaeology of the Soviet Far East), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*), ed. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe otdelenie Akademii nauk Soyuz Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1989: 80-85.



In this article I devote my research to osteological studies at 1980-1990s, because this was the period in which the Russian researchers drew their major attention to this subject.

2. Osteological studies of materials from Novogordeckoe sites

The Novogordeckoe ancient settlement was discovered by Fedor Fedorovich Busse (*Федор Федорович Буссе*), chairman of Society for the study of the Amur region (*Obshchestvo izucheniia Amurskogo kraia -Общество изучения Амурского края*) in 1887. Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov was the first archeologist who excavated that site. He worked in Novogordeckoe in 1965-1966 and discovered that this site had several ancient and medieval cultural layers. During 1970-1973, Lyudmila Efimovna Semenichenko excavated medieval layers of the Novogordeckoe site and collected many bones of animals.⁴ In the period 1986—1987, Vladislav Innokent'evich Boldin continued his study of the Novogordeckoe site and excavated other osteological materials⁵

The ancient town of Novogordeckoe is situated close to a village which bears the same name. This is a multilayer site which includes two Bohai layers. The rural settlement of Novogordeckoe is situated near the Arsen'evka river. It has two layers. During excavations of these sites in the period 1972-1973 Soviet archeologists collected a number of artifacts and remains, including 5,500 animal bones or bone fragments.⁶

In Bohai sites, Soviet specialists excavated bones of fox, bear, badger, forest pig, otter, sable, marten, weasel, elk, spotty deer, Manchurian hare, White hare, beaver, squirrel, raccoon dog et cetera and bones of domesticated animals –dog, horse, pig, bull and fowl. In Bohai settlements the Soviet scholars collected 318 fragments of bird bones (bausond goose, sea eagle white-tailed, pheasant, black grouse, duck et cetera) fish (including river fish, sazan fish, Amur catfish et cetera)

4. Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). *Земледелие и животноводство у бохайцев и чжурчжэней Приморья* (The Bohai and Jurchen's agriculture and cattle-breeding). Novosibirsk: Sibirskoe otdelenie Akademii nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1986: 86-87.

5. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 80-81; Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Итоги изучения бохайского слоя на Новогордеевском городище в 1987 году" (Results of studies of Bohai layer in Novogordeckoe site in 1987), *Новые материалы по средневековой археологии Дальнего Востока СССР* (New materials of the medieval archaeology of the Soviet Far East), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*), ed. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe otdelenie Akademii nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1989: 86-91.

6. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 80.



and shells of river mollusks. Moreover Alekseeva found bones of the Far Eastern turtle.⁷

However many bones had been broken by humans or partially destroyed by small animals. Alekseeva analyzed the collected materials and concluded that some bones could not be identified. For example, Soviet specialists found bones which belonged to dogs, bulls or bears, but could not identify what kind of animals these were. In Bohai, layers of the bones of wild animals consisted of 23,2-26 % domesticated animals and 74-76,8 % from all collected osteological materials. In Jurchen sites we can see another statistic: 86,9% were domesticated and 13,1% were wild animals.⁸

In Bohai sites among osteological materials, the majority of bones belonged to pigs, but in Jurchen sites the majority belonged to horses.⁹ In the opinion of Soviet specialists this information can explain features of agriculture of Bohai and Jurchen society in the modern Primorye region.

Soviet archeologists found interesting materials among the bones of wild animals. For example, Alekseeva identified the horn of northern deer and bones of gopher¹⁰ As is known, northern deer live in Siberia and don't live in the south or central part of the Russian Far East and the closest region to Primorye where gophers live is Mongolia. Certainly the Jurchen could have come to hunt in the Southern part of Siberia and returned with horns of northern deer, but they could not hunt gophers in Mongolia, because the gopher is too small an object for hunting expeditions and the Jurchen did not have any reason to come back to modern Primorye with bones of such small animals.

So we can conclude that in the medieval period of history of the Primorye region small animals like gophers could have migrated into Primorye from the Mongolian steppe. Usually gophers live on the steppe and recently these animals have not existed in the Russian Far East, but collected materials show that gophers can live in forest areas.

Another discovery in Novogordecvskoe site was the bones of a tiger. This tiger had short paws,¹¹ which is not usual for Amur tigers. Soviet archeologists excavated interesting bones (almost twenty), but could not identify them –we can clearly

7. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 82-83.

8. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 81.

9. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 82-84.

10. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 81, 83.

11. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 81.



conclude that these animals were related to the dog and wolf, but had many differences from them. Alekseeva thought that these animals were a kind of household dog.¹² However we must note that hunting played a big role in the life of Bohai people and they could not have had decorative animals. So this animal could be either wild or a domesticated hunting animal.

Soviet archeologists paid much attention to a number of osteological materials in the Novogordeckoe ancient town and settlement. Alekseeva thought that the Bohai settlement and the town of Novogordeckoe sites could not have existed at same time, because the settlement was less than twice the size of the town, but in the town the researchers found 9% of the number of all bones in Bohai sites, but in the settlement, 91%.¹³ In the settlement Soviet scholars excavated osteological remains of 40 kinds of animals, but in town- only 11 kinds.

Therefore Alekseeva believed that the Bohai settlement existed in the period when there were forests and lakes in this district in which the Bohai population could fish or hunt many animals. But the Bohai town existed in a later period, when few animals could live around the site.¹⁴ However Boldin and Shavkunov did not agree with the opinion of Alekseeva. Boldin thought that the Bohai town was an industrial center; therefore Soviet archeologists could not excavate many bones of animals. Shavkunov believed that the Bohai settlement was a Sogdian colony (people from Middle Asia). According to the opinion of this Soviet scholar, in the Novogordeckoe settlement the Sogdian people prepared fur of animals for trade in Middle Asia.

In spite of this discussion between Soviet specialists, we can conclude that the Novogordeckoe sites gave interesting information about the agriculture of Bohai people and the Jurchen. The bones of new kinds of animals (gopher, the animal-like dog, and unknown kind of tiger) from the Primorye region gave important information about fauna in the medieval period.

3. Osteological studies of materials from the Konstantinovskoe site

The Konstantinovskoe rural settlement is located in the southwestern part of the Primorye region near Razdol'noe river. The closest village, Konstantinovka (in the district of Oktiabr'skij), is situated two kilometers from the site.

12. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 83-84.

13. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 84.

14. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...": 85.



The Konstantinovskoe site has several layers, from the Neolithic period to the period of the Korean village, which existed in the 1930s. Russian archaeologists excavated part of this site (Bohai and Jurchen layers) in 1992-1993 and found close to 3,000 bones.¹⁵ Russian specialists identified 85,5% of all osteological materials as bones of mammals; the other 14,5% belonged to birds, fish et cetera. Information about bones of domesticated and wild animals differs greatly from other sites in the same period: 55,3% were bones of domesticated animals and 44,7% were bones of wild animals. Russian scholars considered bones of many kinds by wild animals like weasels (*Mustela sibirica* Pall) and some kinds of marten (*Mustela vison* Briss, *Martes flavigula* Bodd), badger (*Meles meles*), otter (*Lutra lutra*), wolf (*Canis lupus*), red wolf (*Cuon alpinus*), fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), black and brown bear (*Ursus thibetanus* G. Cuv. and *Ursus arctos*), snake (*Serpentinidae*), goat (*Caprinae*), some kinds of deer (*Moschus moschiferus*, *Cervus nippon* Temm, *Servus elaphus*), wild pig (*Sus serofa*), roe (*Capreolus caprealus*), leopard (*Felis pardus*), some kinds of birds (Domesticated kind: *Gallus householdus*; wild kind: *Lirurus tetrax*, *Falcipennis* Hartl, *Pnasianus colchicus*, *Anser fadalis*, *Circus melanoleucus* Penn, *Accipiter nisus*, *Otis tarda*, *Corvus macrorhynchos* Wagl), turtle (*Tryonix*), shells of three kinds of fresh-water mollusks, sea mollusks, et cetera.

The most interesting artifacts were the bones of *Pinnipedia*, which belonged to a rare animal in the Primorye region. We must note that the Konstantinovskoe site is located 200 kilometers from the sea coast and it was only at this site that Russian scholars found bones of *Pinnipedia*, but could not identify what kind of animal this was.¹⁶

Certainly Russian scholars analyzed domesticated animals in the Konstantinovskoe rural settlement, for example, the bones of kinds of dog (*Canidae*), horse (*Equus caballus*), pig (*Suidae*) and bull (*Bovidae*). Moreover for the first time at Primorye sites the archaeologists found bones of parasitic animals, like mice (*Microtus*) and rats (*Rattus*). Alekseeva compared bones of domesticated (pig, dog) and wild (fox, deer) animals and concluded that medieval animals differed greatly from modern animals in bone structure.¹⁷

Results of excavation show the changes in agriculture in this region. For example, Russian specialists, on the base of their analysis of osteological materials, stated that in the Konstantinovskoe rural settlement, in the earliest layer, dog meat played a big role, but in the late layer the situation was changed (medieval inhabitants became eaters of pig). So pig-breeding developed and Bohai people began to use

15. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1" (Remains of animals from the medieval rural settlement Konstantinovskoe-1), *Медиевистские исследования на Дальнем Востоке России* (Medieval studies in the Russian Far East), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов), ed. Vladivostok: Dal'nauka, 1994: 38.

16. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1...": 40-42.

17. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1...": 45.



dogs mainly as hunting and sentry animals. Certainly inhabitants of this site ate dogs, but not in large numbers like one or two centuries before.

But we must note that tribes, who had existed in this area before Bohai people, had a long-time tradition of pig-breeding. In their culture we can see elements of the culture of the Mohe, who preferred pig-breeding. Therefore we cannot make conclusions about Bohai and Jurchen agriculture on the basis of materials from one archaeological site.

We can see the same situation in horse-breeding. In the earliest period, Russian scholars found horse bones, which consisted of 14,3% of all osteological materials from this layer, but in the late layer the remains of horse comprised only 3,1%. All bones belonged to adult animals. This information confirmed Chinese and Korean annals about the gastronomy of Bohai people (usually they did not use horse as food). All horses were of a small size. Therefore Alekseeva thought that these horses arrived from the Korean peninsula, because Koguryo had horses of a small size¹⁸ and similar kinds existed in late period of Korean history.¹⁹ However Khitan tribes had horses of a small size²⁰ in same period, therefore we believe that this information requires further evidence.

In our opinion, the results of osteological studies objectively reflect the role of hunting in the life of the Bohai and Jurchen people. However many Russian scholars think that this share of bones of wild animals was abnormal for a Bohai settlement. Thus Alekseeva thinks that the Konstantinovskoe site could be a hunting settlement which extracted fur for trade because, among the 50 kinds of wild animals, nine belonged to kinds which had been the object of hunting for fur (like wolf, fox, marten, badger, leopard et cetera) in Bohai and Jurchen societies.

However, the proportion of these animal bones was very small. Some examples: wolf: 0,5-0,6% (the first number from first excavation place, the second number from the second excavation place), fox: 0,6% (only the second excavation), various kinds of martens: 0,6%, badger: 1,1% (only the first excavation).²¹ So, as we can see, these animals cannot be important objects from a hunt because the proportion

18. Dzharylgasinoва, Roza Shotaevna (*Джарылгасинова, Роза Шотаевна*). *Древние когурёсцы (к этнической истории древних корейцев)* (The ancient Koguryo people [toward to ethnic history of ancient Koreans]). Moscow: Nauka, 1972: 112.

19. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1...": 40: 46.

20. Ivliev, Aleksandr L'vovich (*Ивлиев, Александр Львович*). "О животноводстве у киданей" (On the Khitan cattle-breeding), *Третья Всесоюзная школа молодых востоковедов Звенигород. Октябрь 1984 г.* (Third All-Union school of the young orientalists. Zvenigorod-city. October, 1984). Moscow: Glavnaia redakcia vostochnoj literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1984: I, 68-70; Ivliev, Aleksandr L'vovich (*Ивлиев, Александр Львович*). "Археологические материалы об охоте и рыболовстве у киданей" (The archaeological materials on the Khitan hunting and fishery), *Тезисы конференции аспирантов и молодых ученых* (Proceedings of the conference of graduate students and young scientists). Moscow: Glavnaia redakcia vostochnoj literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1985: 48-50 (part 1).

21. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1...": 41.



of other animals was larger, as the wild pig (24,1- 28,5%) and other various kinds of deer (60-75 %).²² However, we must not that these sites were in peripheries of Bohai state. Certainly, economic activity in other Bohai towns was very differing from life in Primorye sites.

4. Osteological studies of materials from Nikolaevskoe sites

The Russian Geographic Society sent an expedition headed by Peter Ivanovich Kafarov (*Петр Иванович Кафаров*) to the South-Ussurijsk region. He was the first scholar to report on the Nikolaevskoe site in 1871. Nikolaevskoe I and Nikolaevskoe II are sites which are located in the Mihajlovskoe district, near Ilistaia river (the Chinese name of this river is 'Lifu'),²³ 50 km from Ussuriysk town. Russian scholars sometimes had visited these sites, but had been excavating both sites since the 1970s. In the period 1973-1975, Soviet archaeologists excavated Nikolaevskoe II and since that time found bones of animals. As a result, archeologists have collected rich materials that illustrate the economical activity and handicrafts of the population of Bohai.²⁴

Nikolaevskoe II is a site with two layers, both belong to the Bohai period (the earlier layer belongs to the 8th and 9th centuries and the later layer the 9th and 10th century). Alekseeva collected 5,213 bones and fragments of bone, but identified 4,331 items.²⁵ But she did not consider bones of fish.

Soviet specialists analyzed bones of wild animals, because information from these osteological materials could give a picture of the role of hunting in the life of Bohai people. Alekseeva noted that the kinds of wild animals from the layers are different.

22. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). "Остатки животных из средневекового селища Константиновское-1...": 41-42.

23. Kafarov, Petr Ivanovich (*Кафаров, Петр Иванович -Архимандрит Палладий-*). "Письмо Архимандрита Палладия от 15 сентября 1870 г." (The Letter of archimandrite Palladij from September 15, 1870). *Новости Императорского Русского Географического общества* (News of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society), 7 (1871): 91-96; Okladnikov, Alexei Pavlovich (*Окладников, Алексей Павлович*); Derevianko, Anatolij Panteleevich (*Деревянко, Анатолий Пантелеевич*). *Далёкое прошлое Приморья и Приамурья* (The distant past of the Maritime and Amur regions). Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1973: 410; Vasil'eva, Tatiana Afanas'evna (*Васильева, Татьяна Афанасьевна*). "История изучения бохайских памятников Приморья в отечественной литературе" (The history of the study of Bohai relics in the Russian Maritime Region in Soviet literature), *Новые материалы по средневековой археологии Дальнего Востока СССР: сборник научных трудов* (New materials of the medieval archaeology of the Soviet Far East: collection of works), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*); Aleksandr L'vovich (*Ивлиев, Александр Львович*), eds. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe otdelenie Akademii nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1989: 39-47.

24. The Russian transcription of the Chinese name is *Лифу*.

25. Shavkunov, Ernst Vladimirovich (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*); Kradin, Nikolai Nikolaevich (*Крадин, Николай Николаевич*), Ivliev, Aleksandr L'vovich (*Ивлиев, Александр Львович*), eds. *Государство Бохай (698-926) и племена Дальнего Востока России* (The Bohai state [698-926] and Russian Far Eastern tribes). Moscow: Nauka, 1994.



For example, in the earlier layer Soviet archeologists found the remains of the *Cuon alpinus*, *Mogera robusta*, but in the later layer the bones of these animals were not excavated, instead, the Soviet scholars found other osteological materials (some kinds of marten, tiger et cetera).

In the later layer the Russian specialists found bones of wild animals more than in the earlier layer. Soviet archeologists believe that the later Bohai population perfected hunting weapons (for example, they used iron arrowheads),²⁶ but the inhabitants of the earlier settlement used bone arrowheads in hunting.

Russian specialists identified 76,8% of all osteological materials as bones of domesticated animals and 23,2% as wild animals. But we cannot consider this information as exact data. We must note that Soviet and Russian archeologists found rich osteological materials in Bohai sites located near the Ilistaia River. However these sites are situated seven to ten kilometers from each other and hunters killed all animals near settlements very quickly. So the Bohai people could have obtained fur and meat of animals in hunting expeditions. Certainly hunters did not come back to town with all the bones of killed animals because they ate wild animals on hunting expeditions.

Soviet scholars found bones of nearly 30 kinds of wild animals in Nikolaevskoe II.²⁷ The new animals among the osteological materials were goral (*Naemorhedus goral*). Bohai people usually hunted adult wild animals (87,7%) maybe they cared about preserving the stock of forest animals but they did not think on the same way about domesticated animals (46,1%). In Nikolaevskoe II spring scissors and distaff instruments have been excavated, but Soviet specialists could find bones of sheep. Therefore Alekseeva thought that Bohai people could have produced yarn from dog hair.²⁸

During the 1990s Alekseeva began to work in Siberia; therefore osteological studies in Primorye region were cancelled. Sometimes the temporal groups of Russian scholars tried to study of osteological materials from some archaeological sites, but it was not constantly.²⁹ In summer of 2010 on the basis of Institute of Humanitarian education in Primorye State Agricultural Academy was established with a research team for the study of osteological materials. This team consists of researchers from the Institute of Humanitarian Education, the Institute of Cattle-breeding and Veterinarian Sciences (both within the structure of the Primorye State Agricultural Academy) and the Department of Medieval Archaeology from the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of People of the Far East within the Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Russian specialists

26. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского...": 77.

27. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского...": 77-78.

28. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского...": 79.

29. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич). "Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского...": 82.



conducted the study of bones from Mohe (Borisovskoe), Bohai (Nikolaevskoe II) and Jurchen (Stogovskoe, Krasnoiarovskoe) sites in the Primorye region in relation to their historical and archaeological aspects.

Scholars from this team took part in the international conference *Agrarian Education in the Pacific Rim Region: related problems and perspectives on developments in different branches of agriculture* and presented three works.³⁰ However this team, as other groups of Russian specialists, can not research a big number of osteological materials. Because they don't have good conditions and research materials for full-time study, long-time traditions for research of ancient bones of animals. The studies of osteological medieval materials in Russia based only on the work of enthusiasts and don't have financial support. Russian federal foundations, academic units, universities don't have interest to study of osteology. As result, Russian researchers in 2000s studying only some hundreds bones or its fragments, however in the 1990s, Alekseeva analyzed some thousands osteological items.

5. Conclusion

As we can see, osteological materials from Bohai sites can complete information on the history of medieval societies and give a basis for analyzing the economic system of the Middle Age states of the Far East. For example, in many Bohai sites, earlier layers abound with bones of young bulls while in later layers the bones of older bulls have been found. For this reason, one may draw the conclusion that the earliest population of Bohai usually raised bulls for beef, but that in later periods, the Bohai people mainly used bulls for agriculture as draft animals and ate these

30. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна); Besednov, Lev Nikolaevich (Беседнов, Лев Николаевич); Ivliev, Alexander L'vovich (Ивлиев, Александр Львович). "Хозяйство Майского городища (по остаткам животных)" (Economy of the Mayskoe sie [on remains of animals]), *Археология Северной Пацифики* (Archaeology of the North Pacific), Nikolai Nikolaevich Kradin (Николай Николаевич Крадин), Irina Sergeevna Zhushihovskaya (Ирина Сергеевна Жушиховская), Alesandr L'vovich Ivliev (Александр Львович Ивлиев), eds. Vladivostok: Dal'nuka, 1996: 168-179; Vasil'eva, Tatiana Afanas'evna (Васильева, Татьяна Афанасьевна). "Охота и рыболовство у населения Горнохуторского городища (Приморский край)" (Hunting and fishing of the population of Gornyj Hutor site [Primorye region of Russia]). *Интеграция археологических и этнографических исследований* (Integration of Archaeological and ethnographical investigations), Mihail Andreevich Korusenko (Михаил Андреевич Корусенко), ed. Omsk: Nauka, 2006: 245-248; Panasenko, Valeriia Evgen'evna (Панасенко, Валерия Евгеньевна); Gelman, Evgeniia Ivanovna (Гельман, Евгения Ивановна). "Костные остатки животных из бохайского городища Горбатка" (Bone's remains of mammals from Bohai site Gorbatka). *Вестник Дальневосточного отделения Российской Академии наук* (Herald of the Far eastern branch of the Russian Academy of sciences), 5 (2008): 164-165; Panasenko, Valeriia Evgen'evna (Панасенко, Валерия Евгеньевна); Gelman, Evgeniia Ivanovna (Гельман, Евгения Ивановна). "Роль млекопитающих (Mammalia) в системе жизнеобеспечения бохайского населения городища Горбатка" (Role of Mammals in Subsistence System of Bohai Population of the Gorbatka site). *Вестник Новосибирского государственного университета. Серия: история, филология* (Herald of Novosibirsk State University. Part: History, Philology), 8/3 (2009): 193-203.



animals only when bulls became ill or grew too old to be used in the fields.³¹ In addition, these artifacts allow us to see how Bohai agriculture developed in this region. South Korean scholars are aware of the importance of this research too,³² but they cannot undertake research in this area. Osteological studies in Far East can be considered as an innovation and as interesting sources for research in Bohai studies, but we must note that these studies need other archaeological materials and annals.

So, osteological materials can give further information on Bohai life in the Russian Far East. In spite of some scholars insisting that the Jurchen were descendants of the Bohai state, the information from archaeological sites does not support this idea. According to analysis of the results of excavation, the Jurchen state in Far East (Dong Xia) certainly was a feudal state, but the Jurchen preferred hunting to cattle-breeding.³³ However, Bohai was an industrial country with a high-level culture. The Bohai people had been considered by the Chinese as people of civilization (certainly, from the Chinese and Japanese viewpoint) in the 10th century, but the Jurchen in the 11th century were different. The Bohai population had developed cattle-breeding and must have gradually forgotten hunting; the same situation is not evident in Jurchen sites.

It can be argued that the results of osteological studies in Primorye region show that Jurchen life was influenced by the Bohai, because the Jurchen lived on the

31. Kim, Alexander Alexeevich (*Ким, Александр Алексеевич*). “К вопросу о наследственных связях бохайцев и чжурчжэней в сельском хозяйстве (на примере животноводства)” (Toward question on hereditary relations Bohai people and Jurchen in agriculture [on example, in cattle-breeding]), *Актуальные проблемы агрообразования в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе: проблемы и перспективы* (Actual problems of agro-education in the Asian-Pacific region: problems and perspectives), Galina Vladimirovna Koval'chuk (*Галина Владимировна Ковальчук*), ed. Ussuriysk: Primorskaiia Gosudarstvennaia sel'skhoziazistvennaia akademiia, 2011: 231-234; Lapshin, Lev Vasil'evich (*Лапшин, Лев Васильевич*); Momot, Yulia Alexandrovna (*Момот, Юлия Александровна*). “Остеологические данные по хищным животным Николаевского городища” (The osteological materials on predatory animals from Nikolaevskoe site), *Актуальные проблемы агрообразования в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе: проблемы и перспективы* (Actual problems of agro-education in the Asian-Pacific region: problems and perspectives), Galina Vladimirovna Koval'chuk (*Галина Владимировна Ковальчук*), ed. Ussuriysk: Primorskaiia Gosudarstvennaia sel'skhoziazistvennaia akademiia, 2011: 257-259; Momot, Nadezhda Vasil'evna (*Момот, Надежда Васильевна*); Kamliia, Igor' Lavrent'vich (*Камлия, Игорь Лаврентьевич*). “Остеологические данные по травоядным животным Николаевского городища” (The osteological materials on herbivorous animals from Nikolaevskoe site), *Актуальные проблемы агрообразования в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе: проблемы и перспективы* (Actual problems of agro-education in the Asian-Pacific region: problems and perspectives), Galina Vladimirovna Koval'chuk (*Галина Владимировна Ковальчук*), ed. Ussuriysk: Primorskaiia Gosudarstvennaia sel'skhoziazistvennaia akademiia, 2011: 272-273.

32. Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). “Материалы об охоте и животноводстве у населения бохайского...”: 78–84; Alekseeva, Ernestina Vital'evna (*Алексеева, Эрнестина Витальевна*); Boldin, Vladislav Innokent'evich (*Болдин, Владислав Иннокентьевич*). “Остатки животных из средневековых слоев Новогордеевского селища и городища...”: 81-85.

33. Kychanov, Evgenii Ivanovich (*Кычанов, Евгений Иванович*). “Чжурчжэни в XI веке” (Jurchen in XI C.), *Материалы по истории Сибири. Древняя Сибирь* (Materials about history of Siberia. Ancient Siberia), Alexei Pavlovich Okladnikov (*Алексей Павлович Окладников*), ed. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1966: II, 269-281.



cultural periphery of the Bohai state, but the style of Jurchen economic life was very different from the 'civilized life' of the Bohai.

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Panasenko, Valeriia Evgen'evna (Панасенко, Валерия Евгеньевна); Gelman, Evgeniia Ivanovna (Гельман, Евгения Ивановна). "Роль млекопитающих (Mammalia) в системе жизнеобеспечения бохайского населения городища Горбатка" (Role of Mammals in Subsistence System of Bohai Population of the Gorbatka site). *Вестник Новосибирского государственного университета. Серия: история, филология* (Herald of Novosibirsk State University. Part: History, Philology), 8/3 (2009): 193-203.

Shavkunov, Ernst Vladimirovich (Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов); Kradin, Nikolai Nikolaevich (Крадин, Николай Николаевич), Ivliev, Alexander L'vovich (Ивлиев, Александр Львович), eds. *Государство Бохай (698-926) и племена Дальнего Востока России* (The Bohai state [698-926] and Russian Far Eastern tribes). Moscow: Nauka, 1994.



Vasil'eva, Tatiana Afanas'evna (*Васильева, Татьяна Афанасьевна*). "История изучения бохайских памятников Приморья в отечественной литературе" (The history of the study of Bohai relics in the Russian Maritime Region in Soviet literature), *Новые материалы по средневековой археологии Дальнего Востока СССР: сборник научных трудов* (New materials of the medieval archaeology of the Soviet Far East: collection of works), Ernst Vladimirovich Shavkunov (*Эрнст Владимирович Шавкунов*); Alexander L'vovich Ivliev (*Александр Львович, Ивлиев*), eds. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe otделение Akademii nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 1989: 39-47.

Vasil'eva, Tatiana Afanas'evna (*Васильева, Татьяна Афанасьевна*). "Охота и рыболовство у населения Горнохуторского городища (Приморский край)" (Hunting and fishing of the population of Gornyy Hutor site [Primorye region of Russia]). *Интеграция археологических и этнографических исследований* (Integration of Archaeological and ethnographical investigations), Mihail Andreevich Korusenko (*Михаил Андреевич Корусенко*), ed. Omsk: Nauka, 2006: 245-248.

In Korean

Han Gju-cheol (한규철/韓圭哲). „동북공정의 발해 연구 결과에 대한 평가" (The estimation of research results of Bohai in Northeastern), *중국의 동북공정 연구 성과에 대한 분석과 평가* (Estimation and analysis of results of the Northeastern areas of China). Seoul: Koguryo yeonghwa, 2006: 63-83.

Song Ki-ho (송기호/宋基豪). „발해사, 남북한.중.일.러의 자국중심 해석" (Understanding Bohai in the Republic of Korea, People's Democratic Republic of Korea, China, Japan and Russia). *역사비평* (Historical Criticism), (1992, fall): 333-343.



CONNECTIONS WITH THE PAST: MIDDLE AGES IN COLOMBIAN HISTORY JOURNALS

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ABSTRACT

This article is an overview of all the issues related to Middle Ages addressed by Colombian historians. The main goal of this article is to show how Middle Ages has been object of study and research in Colombia. We have based this summary in the articles and reviews published in local history journals in Colombia. In this way, we could understand how Middle Ages has been an issue of great concern among national historians who have shown great interest in such a rich topic, and who have proposed significant ideas to the study of this specific time of human development in the world's history.¹

KEYWORDS

Historiography, World History, Middle Ages, Colombian Historians.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Historiographia, Historia Mundi, Medium Aevum, Historici Columbiae.

1. Introduction

Middle Ages has had its own place in Colombian historiography, as evidenced in articles and reviews published in national history journals. However, the recent generations of historians have the perception that this topic has never been addressed in the country, and still today it does not seem to be an interesting one for research in the country. This is partly due to the consolidation of the discipline at a national level, which is the result of the emergence of new schools, departments, journals and local history books. Nevertheless, the concern for deeper research arose, at a national, regional and local levels. Now, as studies on the immediate surrounding were consolidated, the interest in universal history was abandoned, to the extent that the importance of Middle Ages as an object of research and study is no longer discussed.

This article shows the contribution of Colombia to the study of the Middle Ages. First, figures on medieval historiography are revealed in some local history journals² and we indicate their proportion in the scientific production of the country. Then, a list of the articles on this subject is described as well as the topics addressed in each of them. Finally, we will present a brief description of the books, reviews and journals where these articles were published, and some general considerations will be shown to support the mentioned contributions.

2. Historiography of Middle Ages in Colombian history journals

Before the sixties, in Colombia, those who were interested in history could opt for a Philosophy and Literature degree at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*, where you could choose an emphasis on history, in fifth semester.³ It was in 1963 that the first History program was created at *Universidad del Valle* (Colombia)⁴ and then, in 1966, the Department of Studies on History at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. Since then, the training process of the very first historians in Colombia began. Together with this experience and with the desire to *consolidar*

1. This article is part of the project *El desarrollo historiográfico de la Edad Media: una mirada desde Colombia*, presented as a research project to obtain the title of "Master in Middle Ages European Identity" at the University of Lleida (Spain). It was funded by the University of Atlántico (Colombia) under the framework of Institutional Program for Masters and Doctorate Studies, call 2014.

2. The journals included in this research are part of the *Índice Bibliográfico Nacional* ("National Bibliographic Index"), IBN-Publindex 2014-1, where scientific publications in Colombia are categorized. Servicio Permanente de Indexación de Revistas Especializadas de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (CTI) Colombianas. "Índice Bibliográfico Nacional –IBN Publindex I Actualización 2014". Índice Bibliográfico Nacional-Publindex. 30 January 2015. Colciencias. 16 July 2015 <<http://publindex.colciencias.gov.co:8084/publindex/EnIbnPublindex/resultados.do>>.

3. Jaramillo, Jaime. "El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura: sus orígenes y desarrollo". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 30 (2003): 9.

4. Montenegro, Augusto. "Veinticinco años de la carrera de Historia". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 1 (1995): 10.



la disciplina –as Archila⁵ says– the Colombian *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* was designed, which was the first history journal that emerged in the university world in Colombia; it was the second journal after the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*⁶ published by the Colombian Academy of History. The main purpose of this Yearbook –known later as ACHSC– was to communicate the results of researches carried out by the newly created Department of History, and to follow in the footsteps of *Annales d'Économie, Société et Civilisations*, directed by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch.⁷

According to the National Bibliographic Index –IBN Publindex,⁸ there are 15 scientific journals indexed in Colombia, corresponding to 2.77% of the total of the country's scientific journals, that is, 542. Most of these publications on history emerged when the first departments of history were created in Colombian universities. We can say that the growth of the departments and journals contributed to the professionalization of history as a profession itself; It is with good reason that López says that journals are *lugares privilegiados del debate historiográfico*.⁹ Concerning the professionalization of history as a profession itself, Archila argues that:

*En la historia colombiana y en general en la global, un paso clave para la consolidación de la disciplina de la historia fue la profesionalización del oficio que dejó atrás al tradicional historiador que dedicaba los tiempos libres que le dejaban su profesión –por lo común, abogado, político, militar o religioso–, para incursionar en el pasado sin mayor rigor teórico o metodológico. Pero era necesaria la formación de investigadores de tiempo completo y no solo de docentes.*¹⁰

5. “consolidate the discipline”. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura, una joven revista histórica que cumple 50 años”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 33.

6. For this study, we will not consider this bulletin because scientific history journals in Colombia were the space for a new historiographic school of thought. This new school emerged as opposed to the traditional one, widely disseminated by the history academies submerged in patriotism and empiricism. As father Lee said, according to König, cited by Archila: *los miembros de aquellas academias fungían como ‘caballeros andantes de patriotismo’* (“the members of those academies served as ‘wanderer knights of patriotism’”). Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 34.

7. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 9.

8. Servicio Permanente de Indexación de Revistas Especializadas de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (CTI) Colombianas. “Índice Bibliográfico Nacional –IBN Publindex II Actualización 2014”. Índice Bibliográfico Nacional-Publindex. 30 January 2015. Colciencias. 16 July 2015

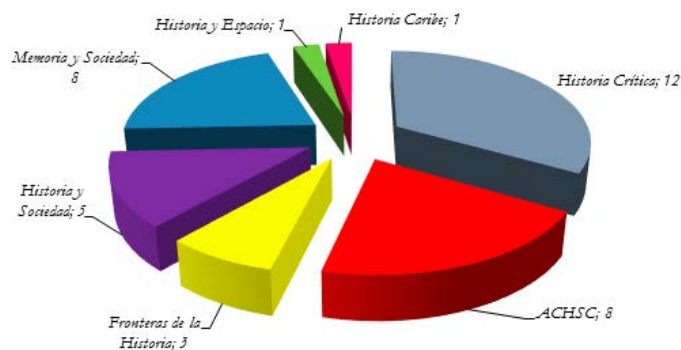
<<http://publindex.colciencias.gov.co:8084/publindex/EnIbnPublindex/resultados.do>>.

9. “privileged places of the historiographic debate”. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. *Europa. Temas, debates y libros*. Bogotá: Estudio Gráfico, 2013: 9.

10. “In Colombian history, –and in global history, in general– a key step for the consolidation of history as a discipline was its professionalization that left the traditional historians behind, those who dedicated some of the limited free time they had within their own profession –usually lawyers, politicians, soldiers or religious leaders– to study the past without greater theoretical or methodological rigor. However, it was necessary to train full-time researchers and not just teachers”. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 33.



At the beginning, universal issues played a key role in journals. Those were the first topics covered in articles and reviews. Hence, Medieval History was present in 19 articles and 18 reviews, and in 7 out of 15 history journals (see graph 1). Now, the professionalization of the role of historians, which allowed the consolidation of microhistory and marked a path to a historical approach at a national, regional and local level, completely changed that panorama. Indeed, the study of themes of universal nature in history disappeared, along with the growth of historical research in the country.¹¹



GRAPH 1. SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTION OF ARTICLES ON MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN COLOMBIAN HISTORY JOURNALS. GRAPH CREATED BY THE AUTHOR (JUNE 2015)

The articles and reviews are published in *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*; *Historia Crítica*; *Historia y Espacio*; *Fronteras de la Historia*; *Historia y Sociedad*; *Memoria y Sociedad*; and *Historia Caribe*. This can have several explanations, as mentioned in the journal, and one of them is the lack of *discriminaciones de escuela o criterios interpretativos [...] a historiadores nacionales o extranjeros*¹² –in the case of the journal *Anuario*,– in which the only standard indicated by its founder Jaime Jaramillo is *seriedad y el rigor que debe caracterizar al difícil oficio de comprender*

11. The growth of national historiography was boosted by the new postgraduate experience that emerged in the country, as Archila points out in referring to the publication of articles in the *Anuario*: [...] *en cambio se ve la creciente participación de estudiantes de posgrado –primero de la Maestría en Historia, desde los años ochenta, y luego del Doctorado en Historia, desde mediados de los años noventa- y aun de recién egresados de la carrera, reinaugurada a comienzos de la década del noventa* (“[...] on the other hand we can see the participation of graduate students –first those studying a Master’s Degree in History, since the eighties, and then those following a Doctorate in History, since the mid-nineties– and even bachelor graduates of History, which reopened as a profession at the beginning of the nineties”). Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 37.

12. “school critical discrimination or interpretative criteria [...] to national or foreign historians”. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 10.



y escribir la historia.¹³ Another explanation can be that this journal was the primary means of communication of this movement called New History,¹⁴ influenced by sociology, economy and historiographic trends consolidated in Europe and United States.¹⁵

In the case of *Historia Crítica*, where we found most of the texts that support this research, we can say that this was the concept proposed by a *comunidad académica independiente*,¹⁶ whose main purpose was to be:

[...] el medio de divulgación amplio que presente los resultados de investigaciones, análisis historiográficos y reflexiones de los profesores del Departamento [de Historia], así como de colaboradores de otras universidades nacionales e internacionales. La revista contiene escritos sobre temas relacionados con la disciplina histórica, así como también con diversos períodos vistos a través de diferentes enfoques historiográficos.¹⁷

In the case of the journal *Historia y Sociedad*, there was a great concern about the dissemination of academic production by both national and international historians.¹⁸ The journal *Memoria y Sociedad*, from their part, sought to *avanzar en la propuesta comunicativa y consolidar los lazos del equipo profesoral con la comunidad colombiana e internacional*.¹⁹ There are, though, several reasons that lead us to understand that the primary object was to support the consolidation of the discipline from a more analytical, broader and universal perspective.

Considering all the ideas above mentioned, the presence of medieval content in these journals is not surprising. However, some of these publications have a clear emphasis in regional, local or thematic interest. The journal *Fronteras de la Historia*

13. "seriousness and rigour that characterizes the arduous job of understanding and writing history". Jaramillo, Jaime. "El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...": 10.

14. The Movement New History of Colombia collected the experiences of *la Escuela de Annales como de la 'New Economic History' y de la historiografía marxista* ("from the school Annales as well as from the New Economic History and Marx's historiography"). Montenegro, Augusto. "Veinticinco años de la carrera de historia...": 9.

15. Montenegro, Augusto. "Veinticinco años de la carrera de historia...": 9.

16. "independent academic community". "Introducción: cincuenta números de Historia Crítica". *Historia Crítica*, 50 (2013): 7.

17. "[...] an extensive means of communication that shows the results of research, historiographic analysis and considerations of professors of the Department [of History], as well as collaborators from other national and international universities. This journal contains articles about history, as well as different periods of time as seen by different historiographic approaches". García, Daniel. "Presentación". *Historia Crítica*, 1 (1989): 3.

18. Acevedo, Rubén Darío. "Las revista de Historia y la Historia". *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. 10 August 2015 <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/article/view/47250/48493>> (Conference presented at the "Encuentro Internacional: El Papel de las Revistas de Historia en la consolidación de la disciplina en Iberoamérica- 50 años del Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura", celebrated from August 21 to 23, 2013 in Bogotá).

19. "take steps forward to a communicative proposal and consolidate the connections between the team of professors and the Colombian and international communities". Flórez, Alberto G. "Presentación". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 1/1 (1995): 5.



showcased a special interest in communicating the results of researches about colonial history in Colombia and Latin America.²⁰ In turn, the journal *Historia y Espacio* tried to be an answer from the part of the *historiadores del suroccidente colombiano que no resistían más historias nacionales, en las que se incluía esta región sin ver sus particularidades*.²¹ Another regional experience is that of the journal *Historia Caribe*, intended as the *órgano de expresión de todos los investigadores de la historia local regional, sin contar la tendencia historiográfica a la cual pertenezca el autor o autores de los artículos*.²²

Nevertheless, the regional or local emphasis did not affect the publication of works related to other spatial and temporary realities. The Medieval History will constitute 1% of the themes published in scientific Colombian history journals. We can see, thus, that despite the common idea that sufficient research has been made on Middle Ages or regardless how distant this time seem from us, it has been present in national publications.

3. Medieval history articles in Colombian historiography

There are several records of content related to Middle Ages found in historiographic material produced out of the European sphere. In the Colombian context, we find an article from Vargas,²³ which consisted in identifying texts about history of Europe in the journal *Historia Crítica*. As for the theme of Middle Ages, several research from other countries has been found, as the one from Ríos Saloma²⁴ in Mexico, Fernandes²⁵ in Brasil,

20. Gamboa, Jorge Augusto. "La historiografía colonial en Colombia y Latinoamérica". *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. 10 August 2015 <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/article/view/46993/48306>> (Conference presented at the "Encuentro Internacional: El Papel de las Revistas de Historia en la consolidación de la disciplina en Iberoamérica- 50 años del *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*", celebrated from August 21 to 23, 2013 in Bogota).

21. "Colombian southwestern historians that could not accept the national historic narrative that excluded their region and overlooked their particular characteristics". Echeverry, Antonio José. "Historia y Espacio: Una mirada desde las regiones". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 342.

22. "means of expression of all researchers of local and regional history, regardless their historiographic style of the authors". Alarcón, Luis; Conde, Jorge. "Historia Caribe: Desarrollo, aportes y desafíos de un proyecto editorial en construcción". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 367.

23. Vargas, Martín Eduardo. "La historia europea en la revista *Historia Crítica*". *Historia Crítica*, 25 (2003): 79-97.

24. Ríos, Martín F. "La historia medieval en México: estado de la cuestión". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 437-457.

25. Fernandes, Fátima Regina. "Les défis de l'historiographie médiévale au Brésil au Début du XXI^e Siècle". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 407-419.



Corral Lafuente²⁶ and Navarro²⁷ in Spain and Rojas, in Chile.²⁸ In these studies, we can see evidences of historiographic content with regards Middle Ages in each of those countries. This is the main purpose of this study, indeed, in the case of Colombia. Table 1 shows articles on Middle Ages published in history journals indexed in Colombia.

Table 1. Articles on Middle Ages published in Colombian history journals until June 2015 (by date of publication)

Article	Journal	No.	Year
"Sobre las motivaciones económicas y espirituales de la expansión europea (siglo XV)"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	6	1992
"Mujeres y familia en la Edad Media. Estudio Bibliográfico"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	16	1998
"Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios Superiores en la Francia del siglo XII"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	16	1998
"Inquisición ¿Auge o Crisis? Realmente "otra" Inquisición"	<i>ACHSC</i>	26	1999
"¿Cómo pensar la libertad a finales del siglo XI? El caso de Anselmo de Canterbury"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	18	1999
"Historiografía anglosajona e Historia de España: percepción de Judíos y Conversos"	<i>Fronteras de la Historia</i>	4	1999
"Los hombres de Dios en el nuevo reino: cura y fraile doctrinero en Tunja y Santafé"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	19	2000
"Disidencia y poder en la Edad Media: la historia de los Cátaros"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	20	2000
"La cruz y la espada: filosofía de la guerra en Francisco de Vitoria"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	22	2001
"Una peligrosa tentación. La controversia religiosa sobre el chocolate en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX"	<i>Historia y Sociedad</i>	8	2002

26. Corral, José Luis. "La historia medieval en España: una reflexión a comienzos de siglo XXI". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 3 (2009): 408-417.

27. Navarro, German. "¿Quién es quién en el medievalismo español?". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 2 (2008): 299-308.

28. Rojas, Luis. "Los estudios medievales en Chile: reseña de su formación y publicaciones". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 9 (2015): 360-376.



"El Concilio de Trento y las iglesias de la América española: la problemática de su falta de representación"	<i>Fronteras de la Historia</i>	7	2002
"La historia europea en la revista Historia Crítica"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	25	2003
"Conflictos mayores y concepciones de la historia: los casos de Agustín de Hipona, Bartolomé de las Casas e Immanuel Kant"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	27	2004
"Hic sunt canibales: El canibalismo del Nuevo Mundo en el imaginario europeo"	<i>ACHSC</i>	32	2005
"Las humanistas como 'universitas' en el Medioevo"	<i>Historia y Sociedad</i>	11	2005
"Franciscanos, tras ideales utópicos."	<i>Historia y Espacio</i>	28	2007
"Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición."	<i>Historia y Sociedad</i>	22	2012
"Un pedazo de la vida: los senderos de un medievalista europeo para el siglo XXI"	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	54	2014
"Froissart, Villani y la escritura histórica en la Baja Edad Media: Entre la Antropología y la Historia"	<i>Historia y Sociedad</i>	28	2015

Table 1 shows the different topics covered by these articles that can be categorized by subject as follows:

1. Church, religion and beliefs
2. Ideas and medieval institutions
3. Analysis and reviews on Medieval History documents
4. Relationship between medieval and colonial history
5. Characters from Middle Ages
6. Inquisition
7. History of University
8. History of women in Middle Ages
9. Academic texts for teaching from Middle Ages

Some articles can fall into more than one of these categories, as they are flexible; on the contrary, there is movement from one category to another. Now, comments on form and content on these works, as well as an extensive analysis will be object of eventual research. For now, we only aim at making an initial general approach to Middle Ages, as seen in these Colombian History journals.



Table 2. Articles found in each topic in Colombian history journals until December 2016

Article/Title	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
"Sobre las motivaciones económicas y espirituales de la expansión europea (siglo XV)"									
"Mujeres y familia en la Edad Media. Estudio Bibliográfico"									
"Pedro Abelardo on Higher Education in France during the 12 th Century"									
"Inquisición ¿Auge o Crisis? Realmente "otra" Inquisición"									
"¿Cómo pensar la libertad a finales del siglo XI? El caso de Anselmo de Canterbury"									
"Historiografía anglosajona e Historia de España: percepción de Judíos y Conversos"									
"Los hombres de Dios en el nuevo reino: cura y fraile doctrinero en Tunja y Santafé"									
"Disidencia y poder en la Edad Media: la historia de los Cátaros"									
"La cruz y la espada: filosofía de la guerra en Francisco de Vitoria"									
"Una peligrosa tentación. La controversia religiosa sobre el chocolate en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX"									
"El Concilio de Trento y las iglesias de la América española: la problemática de su falta de representación"									
"La historia europea en la revista Historia Crítica"									
"Conflictos mayores y concepciones de la historia: los casos de Agustín de Hipona, Bartolomé de las Casas e Immanuel Kant"									
"Hic sunt canibales: El canibalismo del Nuevo Mundo en el imaginario europeo"									
"Las humanistas como universitas en el Medievo"									
"Franciscanos, tras ideales utópicos"									



"Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición"									
"Froissart, Villani y la escritura histórica en la Baja Edad Media: Entre la Antropología y la Historia"									
"Un pedazo de la vida: los senderos de un medievalista europeo para el siglo XXI"									

The first theme comprises 12 articles on Church, religion and beliefs (see table 2). In these articles, topics such as religious motives for the European expansion in America are addressed,²⁹ as well as the ideal role of women and families during the Middle Ages.³⁰ Within this theme, we can also include articles about inquisition, heresy and the Jews; but the quality and rigor of these articles led them to fall in their own category. It is important to note that even though these articles were published a long time ago, the validity of their analysis and conclusions remain.

The second theme has 10 articles that are related to medieval concepts and institutions. In each of these texts different medieval ideals and conceptions are presented, and some of them serve as reference for today's institutions. Different themes are developed in these articles, as motives for trips³¹ and evangelization processes in America.³² Furthermore, there is also the analysis of the perspective from several medieval characters such as Anselm of Canterbury³³ and Peter Abelard.³⁴

Finally, there are articles dedicated to describe the creation of the University³⁵ and Inquisition.³⁶ In general, all those articles are good contributions if we compare them with different other articles of equal development, and they offer a clear explanation as well.

The commentary and review on medieval books or documents have been of interest to several Colombian historians. There are five articles in this third theme,

29. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Sobre las motivaciones económicas y espirituales de la expansión europea (siglo XV)". *Historia Crítica*, 6 (1992): 59-79.

30. López, Abel Ignacio. "Mujeres y Familia en la Edad Media. Estudio Bibliográfico". *Historia Crítica*, 16 (1998): 99-115.

31. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Sobre las motivaciones...": 59-79.

32. Vignolo, Paolo. "'Hic sunt canibales': El canibalismo del Nuevo Mundo en el imaginario europeo (1492-1729)". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 32 (2005): 151-188; López Rodríguez, Mercedes. "Los hombres de Dios en el nuevo reino: cura y fraile doctrinero en Tunja y Santafé". *Historia Crítica*, 19 (2000): 129-158.

33. Castañeda, Felipe. "¿Cómo pensar la libertad a finales del siglo XI? El caso de Anselmo de Canterbury". *Historia Crítica*, 18 (1999): 101-117.

34. Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios Superiores en la Francia del siglo XII". *Historia Crítica*, 16 (1998): 117-125.

35. Soto, Gonzalo. "Las 'humanistas' como 'universitas' en el medievo". *Historia y Sociedad*, 11 (2005): 59-80.

36. Ceballos, Diana Luz. "Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición". *Historia y Sociedad*, 22 (2012): 51-72.



as well as essays dedicated to the analysis of medieval chronicles of Froissart and Vallini,³⁷ and the books of Anne Brenon and Jesus Mestre on the Cathars.³⁸ In this section, there are two historiographical balances, one dedicated to the texts of European history in the journal *Historia Crítica*,³⁹ and another on the perception of the Jews and their conversion as evidenced in Anglo-Saxon and Spanish historiographies.⁴⁰ In essence, the authors were concerned with studying medieval texts recognized in their time, with the purpose of explaining the ideas and debates that they developed. On the other hand, all this allows us to see how the reading of books about the Middle Ages occupied the interest of professional historians at the beginning of their studies, and this had an eventual influence in their academic career.

The fourth theme has five articles dedicated to the influence of the medieval world in the first centuries of history in America. This ongoing concern helps us understand the historic processes between the medieval and colonial history, which is a current debate, as Baschet says:

*En este sentido, 1492 no es la línea divisoria entre dos épocas tan ajenas una de la otra como el día de la noche, sino más bien el punto de articulación de dos empresas extrañamente parecidas, el punto de unión de dos momentos históricos dotados de profunda unidad. [...] Entonces resulta necesario reconocer que el corte tradicionalmente admitido entre Edad Media y Tiempos Modernos tiene que volver a pensarse con el mayor detenimiento, y que la Conquista hunde sus raíces en la historia medieval de Occidente.*⁴¹

These texts show the relevance and the need to advance such works, where these points of connection between Europe and America, certainly still pending, are studied.

The fifth theme has four articles, and different medieval characters are studied in them, like Augustine of Hippo and Bartolomé de las Casas and their conceptions on history.⁴² In another article, the ideas of Anselm of Canterbury on freedom during

37. Ospina, Sergio. "Froissart, Villani y la escritura histórica en la Baja Edad Media: Entre la Antropología y la Historia". *Historia y Sociedad*, 28 (2015): 47-77.

38. See: López, Abel Ignacio. "Mujeres y Familia...": 99-115; López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Disidencia y poder en la Edad Media: la historia de los cataros". *Historia Crítica*, 20 (2001): 113-142.

39. Vargas, Martín Eduardo. "La historia de europea en la revista 'Historia Crítica'". *Historia Crítica*, 25 (2003): 79-97.

40. Contreras, Jaime. "Historiografía anglosajona e historia de España: percepción de judíos y conversos". *Fronteras de la Historia*, 4 (1999): 179-193.

41. "In this sense, 1492 is not the dividing line between two ages that are far from each other as the day from the night, but rather the point of articulation of two strangely similar enterprises, the point of union of two historical moments endowed with profound unity. [...] It is therefore necessary to recognize that the separation traditionally accepted between the Middle Ages and Modern Times must be carefully considered again, and that the Conquest has its roots in the medieval history of the West". Baschet, Jérôme. *La civilización feudal. Europa del año mil a la colonización de América*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009: 24.

42. Castañeda, Felipe. "Conflictos mayores y concepciones de la historia: los casos de Agustín de Hipona, Bartolomé de las Casas e Immanuel Kant". *Historia Crítica*, 27 (2004): 91-110.



the 11th Century are analyzed,⁴³ and finally we find the works about Peter Abelard⁴⁴ and the reviews to the text on the philosophy of the war of Vitoria.⁴⁵ Each one of these writings allows readers to know those relevant elements in the life of the characters, their influence and contribution of their works in the medieval world.

In the sixth theme, we find two studies on Inquisition that have been mentioned earlier. The first of them deals with the emergence and political control exercised by the secular power from its early beginning.⁴⁶ The second responds to the author's question as to whether the constitutional order of the Castilian and Aragonese kingdoms determined their rise or the possible institutional crisis.⁴⁷ Both studies allow a clear and updated approach on the Inquisition and its development, if they are placed within the state of the current debate nowadays.

The latest theme with fewer articles, is the seventh, and it is about the history of the university⁴⁸ and comprises two texts. In these texts, different aspects are clearly exposed as well as the main ideas that marked its origin and its eventual consolidation. The eighth theme is a paperwork on the history of women,⁴⁹ where the author reviews the daily life of women and their relationship with the family in the Middle Ages. The ninth and last theme is an academic text about teaching in the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ We conclude with an article by Ruiz-Domènec,⁵¹ who recounts his experiences as a historian dedicated to the Middle Ages, being the last of all the articles as it does not fall in any of the previous themes.

4. Reviews on Medieval History books

In the third part, we will see reviews on Medieval History books published in Colombian history journals (table 3), which are the evidence of Colombian historians' interest in medieval topics and authors.

43. Castañeda, Felipe. "¿Cómo pensar la libertad...": 101-117.

44. Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...": 117-125.

45. Castañeda, Felipe. "La cruz y la espada: filosofía de la guerra en Francisco de Vitoria". *Historia Crítica*, 22 (2001): 27-50.

46. Ceballos, Diana Luz. "Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición...": 51-72.

47. Contreras, Jaime. "Inquisición: ¿auge o crisis? Realmente 'otra' Inquisición". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 26 (1999): 286-332.

48. Soto, Gonzalo. "Las 'humanistas'...": 59-80; Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...": 117-125.

49. López, Abel Ignacio. "Mujeres y Familia...": 99-115

50. Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...": 117-125.

51. Ruiz-Domènec, José Enrique. "Un pedazo de la vida: los senderos de un medievalista europeo para el siglo XXI". *Historia Crítica*, 54 (2014): 125-141.



Table 3. Book reviews published in history journals in Colombia until June 2015 (categorized by the journal in which it is published)

Review/Title	Journal	Year
Abel Ignacio López Forero, <i>Europa en la época del descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión Ibérica hacia ultramar 1450-1550</i> .	<i>ACHSC</i>	1998
Jacques Heers. <i>Esclavos y sirvientes en las sociedades mediterráneas durante la Edad Media</i>	<i>Historia Caribe</i>	1999
Abel Ignacio López Forero, <i>Europa en la época del descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión Ibérica hacia ultramar 1450-1550</i>	<i>Historia y Sociedad</i>	1999
Herlihy, David, <i>The Black Death and the Transformation of the West</i> . Edited with an Introduction by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1997, 117 p.	<i>ACHSC</i>	2000
Spiegel, Gabrielle. <i>The past as text The Theory and Practice 01 Medieval Historiography</i> . Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, 1999, 298p	<i>ACHSC</i>	2000
Rubín, Miri (Editor). <i>The Work o/ Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges o/ Medieval History</i> , Rochester, N. Y., BoydeO Press, 1997, p. 262. Revel, Jacques, Schmitt, Jean-Claude (editeurs). <i>L'ogre Historien. Autour Jacques Le Goff</i> , Paris, Gallimard, 1998, p. 353.	<i>ACHSC</i>	2001
Andrea Del Col. <i>Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio: His Trials Before the Inquisition, 1583-1599</i> . Translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi. Tempe, Ar.: <i>Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies</i> , 1997. 173	<i>Fronteras de la Historia</i>	2001
Geary, Patrick, <i>The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe</i> , Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 199.	<i>ACHSC</i>	2002
Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. 1492. <i>El nacimiento de la modernidad</i> [The birth of modernity]. Bogota: Mondadori, colección Debate, 2010, 371 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2011



Muchembled, Robert. <i>Une histoire de la violence. De la fin du Moyen-Âge à nos jours</i> . Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008, 499 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2011
Freedman, Paul. <i>Lo que vino de Oriente. Las especias y la imaginación medieval</i> . Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universitat de Valencia, 2010, 289 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2011
Astarita, Carlos. <i>Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa Occidental, 1250-1520</i> . Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2005, 264 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2011
Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. <i>Pasión por la Edad Media. Entrevista con José Ángel García de Cortázar</i> . Valencia: Ediciones Universidad de Valencia, 2008, 195 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2011
Davis, Kathleen. <i>Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time</i> . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 187 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2012
López Forero, Abel Ignacio. <i>Europa. Temas, debates y libros</i> . Bogotá: Xpress Estudio Gráfico y Digital S.A., 2013. 438 pp.	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2013
<i>Periodización, renacimiento y una larga Edad Media</i> . Jacques Le Goff. <i>Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?</i> Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2014. 208 páginas.	ACHSC	2014
Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo. <i>Imágenes de caníbales y salvajes del Nuevo Mundo. De lo maravilloso medieval a lo exótico colonial. Siglos XV-XVII</i> . Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2013, 260 pp.	<i>Historia Crítica</i>	2014
Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket. <i>El Santo político</i> . Barcelona: Edhasa, 2012. 576 pp	<i>Memoria y sociedad</i>	2014

Most of the reviews were written by the Colombian historian Abel López Forero, some of which have been mentioned in the previous section. We can say that he is by far the most dedicated researcher and teacher in the field of the Middle Ages in Colombia. That is why the first reviews to be reviewed in this section will be his, and then will be those made by other authors. The work will be a summary of the main



ideas expressed in each text, to know the appraisal of this work and its contribution in the area.

The first review is from Patrick Geary's book, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, which for López *es una brillante crítica a los abusos que políticos e incluso historiadores han hecho de la temprana Edad Media*.⁵² He claims that the author rejects the arbitrary uses of medieval elements to justify prejudices and exclusions on the part of ideologists of European nationalism.⁵³ He thinks that the book is a vindication of history as a science that contributes to change, which are possible thanks to several investigations of Geary and the archaeological findings within this research.⁵⁴ Due to the importance of the work he did, he concludes: *este libro y las investigaciones en las que se apoya inducen a revisar mapas históricos y textos universitarios*.⁵⁵

The second review is entitled *Periodization, Renaissance and a long Middle Ages* and it is about the book of Jaques Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'Histoire en tranches?* It resumes the debate about the periodization in history, which –according to López– is a learned habit of religious people influenced by Judeo-Christianity.⁵⁶ He thinks that the book questions *los defensores del Renacimiento como periodo propio exageran algunos de sus alcances, desdennan de los logros de la Edad Media y no caen en la cuenta de que las mayores transformaciones tuvieron lugar después del siglo XVIII*.⁵⁷

Another text that was analyzed in this research was the book of Carlos Astarita *From feudalism to capitalism. Social and political change in Castile and Europe, 1250-1520*,⁵⁸ in which he points out its differentiation from the thesis of Perry Anderson, Reyna Pastor, Maurice Dobb and other medievalists on the character of the feudal State, the role of trades and rural industry at the origin of capitalism.⁵⁹ For that reason, he considers that the book *constituye una reivindicación de la historiografía económica marxista, que pone en tela de juicio ciertas ideas sobre el excepcionalísimo castellano de finales de la Edad Media*.⁶⁰ He concludes that the greatest novelty of the book is *poder mostrar*

52. "is a brilliant critique to the abuse that politicians and even historians have made of the early Middle Ages". López, Abel Ignacio. "Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 199". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 29 (2002): 292.

53. López, Abel Ignacio. "Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations...*": 293.

54. López, Abel Ignacio. "Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations...*": 295.

55. "this book and the research on which it is based leads us to a review if historical maps and university texts". López, Abel Ignacio. "Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations...*": 296.

56. López, Abel. "Periodización, renacimiento y una larga edad media. Jacques Le Goff. *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?*". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 41/2 (2014): 355-363.

57. "the defenders of the Renaissance as a period of their own and exaggerate some of its reach, and scorn the achievements of the Middle Ages, without realizing that the greatest transformations took place after the eighteenth century". López, Abel. "Periodización, renacimiento y una larga edad...": 358.

58. López, Abel. "Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa Occidental, 1250-1520*. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2005, 264 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 31 (2011): 120-123.

59. López, Abel. "Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al capitalismo...*": 120.

60. "constitutes a vindication of Marxist economic historiography, which questions certain ideas about the very exceptional Castilian of the late Middle Ages". López, Abel. "Astarita, Carlos. *Del feudalismo al*



que, en el caso castellano, el origen del capitalismo no fue necesariamente resultado de la crisis del feudalismo.⁶¹

The fourth review corresponds to Frank Barlow's book *Thomas Becket. El santo político*,⁶² which López entitled: *Delito y responsabilidad política*. He states that the text gives us many details that helps us understand the process that led to Becket's murder, and points out that *sin duda [el rey] había puesto en marcha operaciones que fácilmente podían producir tal desenlace*. He adds that the text allows an analysis of the intervention of the king, and how *habría sido planeado por cortesanos interesados en congraciarse con el soberano*.⁶³ He highlights the work because it allows us to see the struggle of the spiritual and temporal powers and their jurisdictional reach, their supremacy and their own legitimacies.⁶⁴

The next review is about David Herlihy's book *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, which is the result of three lectures given by the author in 1985. In this work, he resumes several aspects of the plague of 1348, classically related to the bubonic plague and which is reviewed by Herlihy, resulting in new findings. For López, the book questions this classic view, because author emphasizes that in the stories of curations no presence of tumors or *bubas* is not mentioned, except for the presence of dark spots or pustules in different parts of the body.⁶⁵ In short, the text not only challenges this classic view, but also the Malthusian explanation, which at the time did not consider the social differences and the shortage of resources, which did not affect in the same way to the rich and the poor.

The sixth book reviewed is: *1492. El nacimiento de la modernidad* by Felipe Fernández-Armesto, in which he points out his abundant use of primary sources, but questions the little use of modern and updated bibliography, which is the reason why López does not clearly allow the demonstration of his thesis.⁶⁶

The following text I mentioned is one by Paul Freedman: *Lo que vino de Oriente, las especias y la imaginación medieval*. López emphasizes that in this book the author explains how the spices did not have a restricted use to the conservation of the foods, but were also considered by their curative powers and fragrances, and even more if they were associated to the sanctity and the 'Paradise'.⁶⁷ He concludes that

capitalismo...": 122.

61. "to be able to show that, in the Castilian case, the origin of capitalism was not necessarily the result of the crisis of feudalism". López, Abel. "Astarita, Carlos. Del feudalismo al capitalismo...": 123.

62. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket. El santo político. Barcelona: Edhasa, 2012. 576 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 36 (2014): 149-151.

63. "there is no doubt that he [the king] had started operations that could easily produce such an outcome"; "everything had been planned by lapdogs who were interested in win the king's favor". López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...": 150.

64. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...": 151.

65. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...": 151.

66. López, Abel. "Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. 1492. El nacimiento de la modernidad. Bogotá: Mondadori, colección Debate, 2010, 371 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 85.

67. Sánchez, Ricardo. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa en la época del descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión Ibérica hacia ultramar, 1450-1550. Santafé de Bogotá, Ariel Historia, 299 págs.". *Historia y Sociedad*, 6 (1999): 277.



this idea served as a motivation for the Portuguese and Spanish exploration, but by the end of the 17th century their demand would decrease to the extent that they became old-fashioned. Furthermore, with the new products that came from the New World, changes in the alimentary habits emerged as well as their medical practices.⁶⁸

The eighth review is to the text written by Andrea Del Col, *Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio*,⁶⁹ which he says is a continuation of Carlo Ginzburg's twenty-five-year-old work, where the biography and thought of Domenico Scandella is exposed.⁷⁰ In his opinion, this book complements the work previously done, and reiterates how the use of inquisitorial processes could be a source to know someone's life and their intellectual world.⁷¹

The next review written by López is to the book *Une histoire de la violence. De la fin du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, by Robert Muchembled. He states that the text offers us the possibility of understanding how since the 13th century there has been a progressive decline in physical violence, especially in homicides, in Western Europe. The text shows that *los violentos eran en su mayoría jóvenes y célibes, movidos por lo que el autor denomina una 'ética viril' y como las sociedades medievales no solían condenar esas agresiones; más bien las estimulaban*. This practice would gradually disappear until the 16th century. It was due to the strengthening of the State and the extension of criminal justice along with the new norms of behavior. Finally, he points out that *a comienzos del siglo XXI, la violencia tiene aún rasgos medievales manifiestos, en especial, en las bandas de jóvenes de los barrios de las grandes ciudades*.⁷²

The following review is from the book written by Kathen Davis *Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time*.⁷³ In his review, López states that *la periodización con la que se distingue las edades Media y Moderna sirve de disfraz a un ejercicio de poder*, because it seeks to associate the *Edad Media con feudalismo, desorden político, religión y esclavitud, por una parte, y a Edad Moderna con soberanía, secularización y libertad*. For him, the author makes very clear the influence of budgets of the Enlightenment, which showed how *la época moderna*

68. López, Abel. "Freedman, Paul. Lo que vino de Oriente. Las especias y la imaginación medieval. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universitat de Valencia, 2010, 289 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 87.

69. López, Abel I. "Andrea Del Col. 'Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio: His Trials Before the Inquisition, 1583-1599. Traducido por John y Anne C. Tedeschi. Tempe, Ar.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies', 1997. 173 páginas". *Fronteras de la Historia*, 6 (2001): 270-276.

70. López, Abel I. "Andrea Del Col. 'Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio...': 270.

71. López, Abel I. "Andrea Del Col. 'Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio...': 271.

72. "violent people were mostly young and celibate, moved by what the author calls a 'virile ethic' and also shows how medieval societies did not usually condemn such aggressions, but they rather encouraged them"; "at the beginning of the 21st century, violence still has obvious medieval features, especially in the youth gangs of the neighborhoods of big cities". López, Abel. "Muchembled, Robert. 'Une histoire de la violence. De la fin du Moyen-Age à nos jours'. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008, 499 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 86.

73. López, Abel. "Davis, Kathleen. 'Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time'. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 187 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 32 (2012): 106-109.



*emancipó a Europa del lastre del feudalismo y del dominio de la religión, y que ese cambio benefició a toda la humanidad.*⁷⁴ According to López, in the book we have a good tour through the categories of feudalism and secularization, and the debates regarding its use.⁷⁵

The eleventh review is to Gabriele Spiegel's book *The past as a text. Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*,⁷⁶ which –for López– is an invitation to read the medieval chronicles in a different way.⁷⁷ He adds that the work helps us to see how we can meet the challenges of the postmodernist notion.⁷⁸ The reason is that in the first part of the text we are offered the *fundamentos teóricos y sociales del llamado giro lingüístico y su influencia en los estudios de la historia*.⁷⁹

The twelfth review is to Miri Rubin's book *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and The Challenges of Medieval History* and *L'ogre Historien* by Jacques Le Goff.⁸⁰ The work is the result of a colloquium at King's College's Center for History and Economics in Cambridge, where about fifty medievalists gathered and coincided with Le Goff's seventieth birthday. For López, the text can be summarized in two questions: *¿Qué han aprendido de él los medievalistas? y en ¿Qué se ha progresado desde el momento en que él planteó o propuso determinado problema?* He mentions that several of the articles are evidence of the development of themes proposed by Le Goff, as a review of the contribution of this French medievalist and the reach of his work.⁸¹

The last review published by López was to the book written by José Ramón Díaz de Durana, *Pasión por la Edad Media. Entrevista con José Ángel García de Cortázar*.⁸² It is the result of two interviews: one carried out in 2005 and the other in 2007, highlighting its pioneering attitude in medieval research when it comes to studying

74. "the periodization with which distinguishes the Middle and Modern ages serves as a disguise to the exercise of power"; "Middle Ages with feudalism, political disorder, religion and slavery, on the one hand; and Modern Age with sovereignty, secularization and freedom on the other"; "the modern era emancipated Europe from the ballast of feudalism and the domination of religion, and that change benefited all mankind". López, Abel. "Davis, Kathleen. 'Periodization and Sovereignty...': 106.

75. López, Abel. "Davis, Kathleen. 'Periodization and Sovereignty...': 106-107.

76. López, Abel Ignacio. "Spiegel, Gabrielle. 'The past as text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography'. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, 1999, 298p.". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 25 (1998): 248-251.

77. López, Abel Ignacio. "Spiegel, Gabrielle. 'The past as text...': 249.

78. López, Abel Ignacio. "Spiegel, Gabrielle. 'The past as text...': 248.

79. "theoretical and social foundations of the so-called linguistic shift and its influence in the studies of history". López, Abel Ignacio. "Spiegel, Gabrielle. 'The past as text...': 248.

80. López, Abel Ignacio. "Rubin, Miri (Editor). The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History, Rochester, N. Y., Boydell Press, 1997, p. 262. Revel, Jacques, Schmitt, Jean Claude (editeurs). *L'ogre Historien. Autour Jacques Le Goff*. Paris, Gallimard, 1998, p. 353". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 28 (1998): 219-226.

81. "What have the medievalists learned from it? And Which evidence of progress can we see from the moment in which he proposed a specific problem?". López, Abel Ignacio. "Rubin, Miri (Editor). The Work of Jacques Le Goff...": 219.

82. López, Abel. "Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. *Pasión por la Edad Media. Entrevista con José Ángel García de Cortázar*. Valencia: Ediciones Universidad de Valencia, 2008, 195 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 31 (2011): 124.



the Castilian rural reality, especially the relations between space and power. Also in this text, we can see the state and future of the medieval debates, which generate certain concern in García, which is an aspect that López wants to show in his review.⁸³

Now let us consider several reviews made to the books by Abel Ignacio López Forero. The first two are to the text *Europa en la época del Descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión hacia ultramar, 1450-1550*, written by Rubén Jaramillo Vélez⁸⁴ and Ricardo Sánchez.⁸⁵ Both authors point out that this text is the result of Lopez's teaching experience, and they emphasize that the purpose of the work is the study in universities.⁸⁶ The two reviewers value the work from a different perspective: Jaramillo highlights the importance of *dentro del proceso, tan vigoroso y original, de la historiografía académica colombiana en los últimos años, ya empiecen a producirse obras como la presente, que vienen a ampliar hacia el ámbito universal, la problemática tratada*.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Sánchez emphasizes what calls the origins of the continent, which for him has two origins, indeed: the classic concept of discovery, and the second proposed by him as the *de su emancipación*. He thinks that the book would help to understand that second origin, and to have a look of how it was *nuestra inserción, a través de la violencia de la dominación, del mestizaje y el sincretismo en la modernidad*.⁸⁸

The following review is from Medófilo Medina⁸⁹ to the book *Europa. Temas, debates y libros* by Abel López, emphasizing the importance of the author in the consolidation country's historians, pointing out that the book should:

(...) estudiarse como el reflejo de una parábola intelectual tanto en el plano docente como investigativo. No solo los que han sido alumnos del profesor López sino, no pocos de los historiadores e historiadoras colombianos tenemos una deuda intelectual con él por haber puesto a nuestra disposición una erudición histórica a la que sin su concurso no habiéramos accedido.⁹⁰

83. López, Abel. "Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. Pasión por la Edad Media...": 124.

84. Jaramillo, Rubén. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa en la época del Descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión hacia ultramar, 1450-1550. Santafé de Bogotá, Ariel Historia, 1998, 311 páginas.". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 25 (1998): 379-381.

85. Sánchez, Ricardo. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...": 276-277.

86. Jaramillo, Rubén. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...": 379; Sánchez, Ricardo. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...": 276.

87. "producing works like this to expand the problem addressed towards a universal scope, within the vigorous and original process of Colombian academic historiography in recent years". Jaramillo, Rubén. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...": 380.

88. "its emancipation"; "our insertion, through the violence of domination, the mixture of cultures and the syncretism in the modernity". Sánchez, Ricardo. "Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...": 277.

89. Medina, Medófilo. "López Forero, Abel Ignacio. Europa. Temas, debates y libros. Bogotá: Xpress Estudio Gráfico y Digital S.A., 2013. 438 pp.". *Memoria y Sociedad*, 35 (2013): 262-265.

90. "(...) be studied as the reflection of an intellectual parable both in the fields of teaching and research. Not only those who have been students of Professor López, but also lots of Colombian historians, men and women, that have an intellectual debt to him for providing us a historical erudition which we would never have found without his contribution". Medina, Medófilo. "López Forero, Abel Ignacio. Europa...": 265.



We believe that the above idea is significantly supported and could serve as a conclusion to the intellectual work of López that has been closely studied in this article, as well as his contributions and the high level of his research, which are evident.

The review number seventeen is that of Dolcey Romero Jaramillo on the text of Jacques Heers, entitled: *Esclavos y sirvientes en las sociedades mediterráneas durante la Edad Media*.⁹¹ The author says, about the book, that *es una obra desmitificadora de las fronteras y límites con que desde lo extremo se ha parcelado tradicionalmente los procesos históricos; especialmente el problema de la esclavitud*.⁹² In his opinion, the work can give us *luces a futuras investigaciones relacionadas con la esclavización indígena y negra en nuestro país [Colombia]*.⁹³

The last review included in our study is that of Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez⁹⁴ to the book by Yobenj Chicangana, *Sobre la imágenes de caníbales del Nuevo Mundo, lo maravilloso a lo exótico colonial de los siglos XV-XVII*. In his opinion, this book is important because it allows us to see the influence of the way in which the chronicles were written at the time of discovery and colonization, and how the discourse on cannibalism was emphasized in them. All the above with the interest of showing and highlighting the barbarism of the indigenous, and thus justify the actions of domination and control made in America.⁹⁵ The book allows us to see how the power of the imaginary ended up affecting the patterns, veracity and intention of these narrations. Then the relationship between the narrated discourse and the visual discourse is clear.⁹⁶

5. Conclusion

The presence of the Middle Ages or medievalism in the Colombian historiographical development is clear, especially in the early years, where universal history was a topic of interest. This idea is strongly supported in this summary, where we can see that there is a greater presence of these issues in the early years. The progressive abandonment can be understood as the first

91. Romero, Dolcey. "Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes en las sociedades mediterráneas durante la Edad Media. Instituto Valenciano de Estudios e Investigación, España, 1995". *Historia Caribe*, 4 (1999): 148-149.

92. "it is a demystifying work about the borders and limits that have commonly been ignored within historical processes, especially the problem of slavery". Romero, Dolcey. "Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes...": 148.

93. "insights to future investigations related to indigenous and black enslavement in our country [Colombia]". Romero, Dolcey. "Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes...": 149.

94. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo. Imágenes de caníbales y salvajes del Nuevo Mundo. De lo maravilloso medieval a lo exótico colonial. Siglos XV-XVIII. Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2013, 260 pp.". *Historia Crítica*, 53 (2014): 227-231.

95. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo...": 227-228

96. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo...": 228.



Departments of History in the country were organized, which allowed the professionalization of the work of historians, at a national level. This change had an impact to the extent that these themes of universal nature were progressively replaced by topics of local interest. Nowadays, the Middle Ages and Universal History are not a matter of concern in the initial formation, nor in the investigative practice of historians. This is clearly evident in the topics that are addressed both by bachelor and graduate students in their research works, where this topic is completely absent.

Another essential point is the quality of the texts that were found, if we consider the possible limitations of the authors faced at that time. It is striking how the articles analyzed have a certain distance from the classical visions of the liberal writers of the 19th and 20th centuries,⁹⁷ when studying their arguments and conclusions. Finally, the universal history and therefore the Middle Ages, are still considered a time in history that has been sufficiently studied and which is distant for most of the historians in Colombia. However, works such as those of Echeverry⁹⁸ and Ceballos,⁹⁹ to mention few of them, are an example of exactly the opposite, and how is possible to produce good texts from our perspective, thus contributing to the study of the medieval world.

97. This is mentioned in the works of López and Ceballos where both point out to the long-standing backwardness of the studies of the Middle Ages that suffered by the discourses of the Enlightenment and the liberalism of the 19th century. Coinciding with Sabaté's approach: *esa Edad Media sinónimo de época de retroceso, estancada (media) entre dos polos de progreso y avance, ha consolidado la expresión en medios cultos al margen de la evolución que pueda tener la visión del medioevo*. ("Middle Ages is synonymous with a period of retreat, and stagnated between two poles of progress and advancement, has consolidated the expression in cultured media regardless of the evolution of the Knowledge of the Middle Ages"). Sabaté, Flocel. "La Edad Media en nuestro presente". *Iber. Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 14 (1997): 27.

98. Echeverry, Antonio José. "Franciscanos, tras ideales utópicos". *Historia y Espacio*, 28 (2007): 65-90.

99. Ceballos, Diana Luz. "Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición...": 51-72.



A WILL OF THEIR OWN? CHILDREN'S AGENCY AND CHILD LABOUR IN BYZANTIUM

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the relation between three concepts: a child's will, children's agency and child labour. Addressing the current debate about children's agency, this paper shows how these concepts were developed in Byzantine society in order to advance a religious agenda that encouraged the child to run away from home in favour of a new life in a monastery. Children were attributed with a will of their own and acted upon it before they reached the age of puberty. This perspective took the child out of the private sphere by attributing agency to it. The paper addresses the current debate about children's agency revealing the conceptualization of this term as motivated by an economic agenda in which the need to profit from the child's labour plays an important role.

KEYWORDS

Children's Agency, Child Labour, Child's Will, Byzantine Childhood, Byzantine Child.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Agentia Puerorum, Labor pueri, Voluntas pueri, Pueritia in Byzantio, Puer Byzantinus.

Modern political discourse about child labour was developed in the 20th century in relation to the human rights movement with the objective of eliminating the work of children.¹ Nevertheless, in recent years a different attitude has become more and more prevalent in the international political discourse, which is cautious towards active political intervention in other cultures, and stresses instead the children's need and will to work in order to gain a sense of 'agency' for themselves.² This term designates the link between a child's activity and a child's will, and allows perceiving the child as a social entity. A child's agency defines its ability to bring its will into action, and turns the child into an active agent.³

Acknowledging the social and psychological need of children to have agency is connected to the question of child labour, since children, some scholars argue, not only 'need' to work to support themselves and their families, but also 'want' to work. Here a fundamental distinction is being made between 'working children' and 'child labour'.⁴ While the second is perceived as exploitative and abusive, this perspective adheres to the fact that modern societies can and should be reconciled to the first. Work is the only means of survival for most working children today who express a desire to work. Work seems also to provide children with the means to change their situation by giving them greater independence and control over their life, or in other words agency.⁵ This term has recently been the subject of a study

1. White, Ben. "Defining the Intolerable. Child work, global standards and cultural relativism". *Childhood*, 6/1 (1999): 133-144. International organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO), as well as various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs), have acted over the last decades to stop the phenomenon of children working around the world, using legislation and other political and social means. See for example: Haspel, Nelen; Jankanish, Michele. *Action against child labour*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2000; and other reports: International Labour Organization. "International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)". *International Labour Organization*. 15 October 2015 <<http://www.ilo.org/ipec/index.htm>>. For a general summary: Bonnet, Michel. *Travail des enfants: terrain de lutes*. Lausanne: Page Deux, 1999.

2. Oswell, David. *The Agency of Children: From Family to Global Human Rights*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2013: 3-36. On the use of the term see: Abebe, Tatek. "Interdependent rights and agency: the role of children in collective livelihood strategies in rural Ethiopia", *Reconceptualizing Children's Rights: in International Development: Living Rights, Social Justice, Translations*, Karl Hanson, Olga Nieuwenhuys, eds. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2013: 74-76.

3. Oswell, David. *The Agency of Children...*; Liebel, Manfred. *A Will of Their Own. Cross-Cultural Perspective on Working Children*. London-New York: Zed books, 2004; Hungerland, Beatrice; Liebel, Manfred; Milne, Brian; Wihstutz, Anne, eds. *Working to Be Someone: Child Focused Research and Practice with Working Children*. London-Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2007; Liebel, Manfred; Overwien, Bernd; Recknagel, Albert, eds. *Working Children's Protagonism. Social movements and empowerment in Latin America, Africa and India*. Frankfurt am Main: Iko-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2001; André, Géraldine; Godin, Marie. "Child labour, agency and family dynamics: The case of mining in Katanga (DRC)". *Childhood*, 21/1 (2014): 161-174. Such voices were heard before, see: Jenks, Chris; James, Allison; Prout, Alan. *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge (UK): Polity Press, 1998: 3-21.

4. Most scholars refer to this distinction. For a summary and a theoretical point of view see: Jenks, Chris; James, Allison; Prout, Alan. *Theorizing Childhood...*: 108-115.

5. Schlemmer, Bernard, ed. *L'enfant exploité*. Paris: Éditions Karthala-Orstom, 1996. A different approach is taken by: Boyden, Ling and Myers (Boyden, Jo; Ling, Birgitta; Myers, William E. *What Works for Working*



by David Oswell who analysed its history, its uses and implications in the different aspects of children's life in a modern society. Children's agency appears as a relative concept, inadequate for the problem that most children are facing.⁶

The present study shares Oswell's perspective, but examines the relation between the concept of children agency and child labour by focusing on the role it played in a medieval society: Byzantium. An analysis of the Byzantine case study will show that a child's will and a child's agency are highly speculative, and depend entirely on the ethical norms and cultural ideals dictated by society. Psychological research has shown that children aspire to fulfil their social and familial expectations, and that an independent will develops at adolescence.⁷ An analysis of the situation of children in Byzantine society will reveal that child's desires and child agency are constructed in the framework of a political, moral and economic agenda. Childhood is no longer believed to be a modern conceptual construction.⁸ This is also the case for the concepts of a child's will, work and agency. This article aims to reveal the relation between these three concepts by focusing on a period in history in which they played an important role. Analysing the relation between child labour, a child's will and agency, we will show that a child's will and a child's agency was used in Byzantium to legitimize child labour.

Children. Florence: Radda Barnen-Unicef-International Child Development, 1998), who although calling for listening to children, do not call for delegating them the social responsibility for their lives (see especially chapter 6: "Mobilizing Society in the Best Interests of Working Children"). The same approach is found in: Burr, Rachel. *Vietnam's Children in a Changing World*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

6. See also: Ansell, Nicola. "Childhood and the politics of scale: descaling children's geographies?". *Progress in Human Geography*, 33/2 (2009): 190-209; Abebe, Tatek. "Interdependent rights and agency...": 74-76.

7. Starting from the book: *Childhood and Society* written by Erik Erikson (Erikson, Erik H. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), and his work: *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (Erikson, Erik H. *Identity, Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1962) up to psycho-sociological works such as the one of Laura Purdy (Purdy, Laura M. *In their best interest? The case against equal rights for children*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) and a sociological point of view in Rachel Brett and Irma Specht (Brett, Rachel; Specht, Irma. *Young Soldiers: why they choose to fight*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

8. See Philippe Ariès' argument in: Ariès, Philippe. *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Plon, 1960; Rosenthal, Joel T., ed. *Essays on Medieval Childhood. Responses to recent debates*. Donington: Shaun Tyas Publishers, 2007, especially the introduction (pages 1-12), as well as the historiographical chapter: Haas, Louis; Rosenthal, Joel T. "Historiographical Reflections and the Revolt of the Medievalists", *Essays on Medieval Childhood. Responses to recent debates*, Joel T. Rosenthal, ed. Donington: Shaun Tyas Publishers, 2007: 13-28.



1. What can the study of Byzantine society offer to the debate?

Child labour was not an unusual phenomenon in Byzantine society. Byzantine children worked in their families' households and were employed by others. They had economic tasks in both rural and urban milieus, and their work was part of an economic system.⁹ Moreover, the economic value of their work was recognized and was considered a commodity: alongside children who remained at home, there were others who were pawned, exposed or enslaved. These were employed in a variety of tasks, some more and some less abusive. In all this Byzantine society offers nothing special to the modern debate on child labour. The elucidation Byzantium offers to our question about child's agency derives from two types of sources: its laws and its literature. Byzantine law originated from Roman law. Following its first codifications in late antiquity, it was constantly renovated and was remodelled as Christian law. As far as children were concerned, the law determined the legal boundary between childhood and adulthood, while dealing with social circumstances related to the child's everyday life.

Byzantine literature, in particular Byzantine Christian literature, was also interested in this boundary, but unlike the Byzantine legislator, attributed a face to the child. The term 'Christian literature' refers here to any literature with a Christian religious agenda. This includes Church's canons, patristic literature as well as hagiography. One of the subjects which this literature was concerned with was the encounter between the private sphere of the family and the Christian public sphere. Children and childhood sometimes became a subject in themselves, and were used to advance a cultural and religious agenda.

In defining the borderline between the private and the public in reference to children, Byzantine law and Byzantine literature established the ways in which children acted, and caused children to be perceived as social entities. This was particularly apparent in the period between the 5th and the 11th century, when both Byzantine law and literature were used to remodel the Empire's social institutions. We shall thus concentrate here on this period in order to reveal the development in the perception of the child in both juridical and literary sources.¹⁰ Hagiography, a new literary genre of early Christianity, had a cardinal role in making the child a social entity by attributing agency to it. Thus Byzantine children could henceforth

9. See: Nieuwenhuys, Olga. "The Paradox of Child Labour and Anthropology". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25 (1996): 237-251. Olga Nieuwenhuys reveals the ways in which the family in rural societies is economically dependent on non-remunerative child labour. In her study on working children in the countryside of Kerala, India, she has also demolished any possible idealization of children engaged in their family' economic organization. See: Nieuwenhuys, Olga. *Children's Lifeworld: gender, welfare and labour in the developing world*. London: Routledge, 1994. See also: Bales, Kevin. *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1999: 149-194 (chapter 5: "Pakistan: When Is a Slave Not a Slave?").

10. This is also the case as far as the geopolitical context is concerned. Since this article deals with Byzantine civilization and the place it accorded to the child, we shall take as a geographical framework the Greek-speaking communities of the Mediterranean world. This will include texts from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Southern Italy.



have a will of their own and act upon it as independent agents. Two examples will demonstrate this.

The *Life of Luke the Younger* narrates the life of a peasant boy in 10th century in central Greece. Luke is devoted to the labours of shepherding and farming, which include sowing the fields.¹¹ Before he is twelve, Luke decides to leave his life and responsibilities as a peasant for a monastery. His choice is especially hard for his widowed mother, who expects him to take on the economic responsibility for the family after his father's death. This independent act leads him on his way towards sainthood. Another example is the story of George, the son of pawnbrokers from Constantinople, who, at the age of nine, is trained by his parents to master their profession.¹² His apprenticeship trains him in the use of scales and weights and other technical utensils and procedures. But George slowly withdraws from his parents' home, and spends his time in church instead. His parents make a great commotion and succeed in bringing him back home by force.

These examples present agency as the child's ability to act upon an independent will, which is here a product of the boy's spiritual character. In both cases the child's agency is expressed in opposition to the family lifestyle, which includes an economic task. However, the child's agency here is a literary construction, which serves the author's moral agenda favouring running away from home and work towards a life in a monastery.

In order to analyse how child's agency is conceptualized we shall follow three lines of examination: (1) We shall start with a study of the child's economic activities in Byzantine society. Child labour was a built-in component of the Byzantine economy and a part of the family's economic organization. We shall see, however, that Byzantine children also worked outside of their family household, and their work was recognized as a commodity. This was linked to the representation of the child as a passive agent. (2) We shall then continue to examine the representation of the child as an independent social entity in Byzantine literature. In the two examples cited above, Byzantine literature attributes agency to the child. This proved to be a literary innovation of Byzantine hagiography in response to particular social needs. (3) The third line of examination will focus on a child's will as it was conceptualized in Byzantine mentality and laws. The child's capacity to possess an independent will is an essential component of its agency, and forms a necessary link between the child's agency and the context in which it is enacted. This study will conclude with an analysis of the relationship between agency, will and morality. The Byzantine child's agency was constructed within the framework of a moral agenda. An analysis of the ethical aspect of the term 'agency' will reveal that it is constructed in order to serve an agenda, and that in encouraging a child to act independently society uses the child in order to advance its cultural and social ideals.

11. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ed. and trans. Carolyn L. Connor, W. Robert Connor. Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1994: 10 and following.

12. *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, ed. and trans. Virgil S. Crisafulli, John W. Nesbitt. Leiden-New York: Brill, 1997: 196-204.



2. Child labour in Byzantium

The Greek language did not provide a means of categorization as far as children were concerned. Byzantine terminology used for children includes words such as *νήπιος*, *ἀνήλικος*, *ἰμφάς*, *νέος*, *παιδίον*, *παῖς*, *τέκνον*, *ἄνηβος*, *νεανίσκος* which designate a child, but not exclusively. The word *παῖς*, for example, also designates a slave, while the word *τέκνον* refers to any offspring. Both are used for children and adults equally. In the same manner the word *υἱός* –son– does not designate a specific age, while the word *νήπιος*, which normally refers to infant/minor, is also used metaphorically for someone childish.¹³

The law, on the other hand, makes use of the child/adult categorization in order to determine who is subject to jurisdiction and who is not. Following the definition of Roman law, Byzantine law set puberty (Latin *pubertas*, Greek *ἡβη*) at the age of twelve years for girls, and fourteen for boys.¹⁴ These were the minimum age for marriage. Infancy was set below the age of seven, while full juridical majority was granted to men at the age of twenty-five.¹⁵ Childhood and adulthood were thus defined by the law according to an age criterion. In regard to the economic context of child labour in Byzantium, a few other categories must be taken into consideration: milieu (urban, rural); socio-economic status; juridical status (slave, freedman, free born); and gender (boys, girls). Child labour proved to be an integral component of any Byzantine economic organization.

The two stories cited above show a boy who is trained to follow the profession and economic responsibility of his parent/s, both in an urban and a rural milieu.¹⁶ To reveal the child's economic position within the family household we rely mainly on hagiographic sources here, since they are the most descriptive as far as everyday life and social reality are concerned.¹⁷ However, inheriting the family's

13. Arianti, Despoina. *Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2012: 28-50 (chapter 2: "Terminologie der Kindheit"); Prinzing, Günter. "Observations on the Legal Status of Children and the Stages of Childhood in Byzantium", *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Alice-Marie Talbot, eds. Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, 2009: 15-34 (especially, see the terminological table at pages 21-22). See: Pache, Corinne Ondine. *Baby and Child Heroes in ancient Greece*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004: 7-8. See the confusing terminology in regards to children in: *Life of st Philaretos the Merciful Written by His Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. Lennard Rydén. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2002: 60, 72, 84-86. The same vagueness in Latin terminology: Dixon, Suzanne. *The Roman Family*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992: 104.

14. Prinzing, Günter. "Observations on the Legal Status of Children...": 15-34.

15. Patlagean, Évelyne. "L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (Ive-XIe siècles)". *Annales de démographie historique*, 1 (1973) : 85-93; Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hélène. "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque Byzantine (du VIe au XIIe siècles)". *Annales de démographie historique*, 1 (1973): 77-84.

16. Moschi, Joannis. "Pratum Spirituale", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus. Series Graeca* Prior, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris: Jacques Paul Migne, 1865: LXXXVII/3, col. 3092, where the boys are required to follow the trades of the father.

17. Chevallier Caseau, Béatrice. "Childhood in Byzantine Saint's Lives", *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Alice-Marie Talbot, eds. Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, 2009: 127-166; Arianti, Despoina. *Kindheit in Byzanz*...15-25; Hagiography offers to the historian rich information about daily social life in the Middle Ages precisely because the author needed to be



economic responsibilities was, in fact, also a subject of the law. Urban economic life in Byzantium was organized in professional guilds. The *Theodosian Codex*, which compiles legislation from the 4th-5th centuries, contains the regulations of different guilds, specifically mentioning the offspring of artisans who are 'born into the profession' and must bear their fathers' fiscal status and economic position. This applies to the children of armourers, bakers, smiths, carpenters, artists, miners etc.¹⁸

This was the content of the law in the case of peasants as well. The *coloni* (in Greek, *κόλωνι* or *γεόργοι*) were a part of rural society in late antiquity, whose form of dependence derived from the land that they cultivated, and forced them to pay the taxes attached to it. They, and their children after them, were bound to this fiscal responsibility, generation after generation. Children inherited this fiscal status from their parents and were attached to the fiscal obligation of the land.¹⁹ This was probably also the case of the *πάροικοι*, Byzantine dependent peasants.²⁰ Ownership documents and cadastral registers as early as the 9th century enumerate each family of *πάροικοι* in every village, and list the names of fathers and mothers together with their sons and daughters.²¹ Girls in peasant families also shared in rural labours.²²

As the examples cited above show, childhood was the period during which children were trained by their parents in order to continue the family's economic organization. Work was thus considered a necessary part of the child's education and training. In fact, the economic and educative objectives of the child's work could not be differentiated, especially in families of the lower and middle classes,

credible as far as the social and economic descriptions that he used: Patlagean, Éveline "Ancienne hagiographie Byzantine et histoire social". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 23/1 (1968): 106-126.

18. *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1962: 745-746 (XIII.4.1-2 dated to 334 and 337); 560-561 (X.19.15 dated to 424).

19. *Codex Theodosianus*... : 190 (IV.21.3 dated probably to 320); 239-240 (V.18.1 dated to 419); *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum*, ed. Paul M. Meyer. Berlin: Weidmann, 1962: 129-132 (*Novellae Valentiniani* number 31).

20. Lefort, Jacques. "Rural economy and social relations in the countryside". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 47 (1993): 101-113; Lefort, Jacques. "The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries", *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Angeliki E. Laiou, ed. Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2001: II, 236-310; Rotman, Youval. "Formes de la non-liberté dans la campagne Byzantine aux VIIe-XIe siècles". *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 112/2 (2000): 499-510.

21. Lefort, Jacques; Oikonomidès, Nicolas; Papachryssanthou, Denise, eds. *Actes d'Iviron. II : Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1990; Lefort, Jacques. "Radolibos: Population et paysage". *Travaux et Mémoires*, 9 (1985): 195-234. On listing of the entire family in the fiscal inventories, see: Laiou, Angeliki E. "Peasant names in fourteenth-century Macedonia". *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1975): 71-95.

22. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*... : 10 and following. Byzantine literature usually places the pious girl in the interior of her home, often spinning at the wheel or weaving at the loom: Palladius, Bishop of Aspuna. *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. and trans. Gerardus J. M. Bartelink. Milan: Mondadori, 1974: 31; "Vie de sainte Athanasie d'Egine", *Six inédits d'hagiologie Byzantine*, ed. François Halkin. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1987: 180; Sathas, Konstantinos N. *Mesaionike bibliothekhe*. Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972: I, 66 and following; Abrahamse, Dorothy. "Images of Childhood in Early Byzantine Hagiography". *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 6 (1979): 497-517.



who were totally dependant on the child and its ability to work for the continuation and the existence of their economic organization.²³

In her book *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, Évelyne Patlagean has revealed how a demarcation is defined within Byzantine society, between the poor family who could maintain an economically functioning social unit and the poor who were sited outside the social structure due to their economic situation.²⁴ This demarcation was also evident as far as child labour was concerned. As Ville Vuolanto has argued, child slavery and child exposure were mostly the consequences of severe economic situations, and marked a crisis for poor families who could no longer function as a social and economic unit.²⁵

Such was the case of Elias of Heliopolis, whose *Life* probably dates to the 10th century. An orphan, he could not be trained by his father. At the age of eleven, he is apprenticed to a carpenter for a period of two years.²⁶ He works in the workshop of his master and is paid a salary (*ἐκμισθομα*), which makes him a twelve-year-old employee.²⁷ As far as girls' labour is concerned, spinning, weaving and sewing were also performed by young women outside their house, as apprentices in the production of cloth in Constantinople.²⁸ In any case the family benefited also from the work of children who worked outside their family household, as is apparent in the following example in the *Life of Elias of Heliopolis*. When Elias turns twelve his master converts to Islam (the story is set in Damascus). Elias, who is afraid to be forced to convert, turns to his older brothers. They demand his salary from his employer for his year's work, but the master decline to pay, and refuses to let Elias go.²⁹ Entrusting a boy to a professional as an apprentice, therefore, served a double purpose: the boy learned a profession, while the family derived an income from his labour. Elias' case suggests that there was a binding contract between the employer and the employee's family as to the period of work and salary.³⁰ There was a specific juridical procedure for such contracts.

23. See: *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and trans. Denis F. Sullivan. Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1987: 34 and following.

24. Patlagean, Évelyne. *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, IV^e-VII^e siècles*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton, 1977.

25. Vuolanto, Ville. "Selling a Freeborn Child. Rhetoric and Social Realities in the Late Roman World". *Ancient History*, 33 (2003): 169-207; Miller, Timothy S. *The Orphans of Byzantium. Child Welfare in the Christian Empire*. Washington D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003: 144-152; Trexler, Richard C. *The Children of Renaissance Florence, Power and Dependence in Renaissance Florence*. Asheville: Pegasus Press, 1998: I; Trexler, Richard C. "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results". *Journal of Psychohistory*, 1 (1973): 35-53.

26. *Life of Elias of Heliopolis*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus. *Pravoslavni Palestinski Sbornik*, 19/3 (1907): 45. See: McGrath, Stamatina. "Elias of Heliopolis: The Life of an Eighth-Century Syrian Christian Saint", *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, John W. Nesbitt, ed. Leiden: Brill, 2003: 85-107.

27. For children as apprentices see: Palladius, Bishop of Aspuna. *Historia Lausiaca*...: 35.

28. Laiou, Angeliki E. "The Festival of 'Agathe', comments on the life of Constantinopolitan Women", *Byzance. Hommage à André N. Stratos*. Athens: N. Stratos, 1986 : I, 111-122.

29. *Life of Elias of Heliopolis*...: 46-47.

30. Francine Michaud (Michaud, Francine. "From Apprentice to Waged-Earner: Child Labour before and after the Black Death", *Essays on Medieval Childhood. Responses to recent debates*, Joel T. Rosenthal, ed.



The *παραμονή* was a special social institution, documented in the papyri since Antiquity, by which people hired themselves out as workers for a long period of time under a legal contract.³¹ As Vuolanto has shown, this juridical institution was used for pledging and leasing out children in late antiquity.³² The *παραμονή* continued to be practised in Byzantine Egypt and Palestine in relation to children. The salary, mainly in goods, was paid to the child's father.³³ Elias' story reveals the way in which the family made use of the value of the child's labour. This made the child's work a commodity. In fact, in the medieval world children were commodities in themselves. One example of this was pawned children.³⁴ Another was slave children.

Slavery was a juridical institution that Byzantium inherited from the Roman Empire. It was a common belief that this institution declined in late antiquity. However, sources from the entire medieval period show that slavery continued to be prevalent in the medieval Mediterranean societies.³⁵ Slaves were employed in Byzantium in every possible economic and social position: in rural as well as urban milieus; in the private as well as the public sectors; by emperors, by the rich and by ordinary people. A person's economic position determined the number of slaves s/he had. Many of these slaves were children. Trade in children is well attested throughout the entire Byzantine period, including Arab, Slav and Bulgarian children, along with Greek children.³⁶

Donington: Shaun Tyas Publishers, 2007: 73-90) analyzes labour contracts of children and reveals the decisive importance of the economic conjuncture and the social situation of the child for the conditions of its employment. This is inline with Patlagean's and Vuolanto's analysis of Byzantine society. According to Vuolanto, the exposure of the child to outside labour could have indicated the family's failure to function as an economic unit. Michaud's study, however, shows that the family did not end its responsibility towards the exposed child, but intervened in the terms of its employment, as is also clear from Elias' story.

31. *Paramone: Editionen und Aufsätze von Mitgliedern des Heidelberger Instituts für Papyrologie zwischen 1982 und 2004*, ed. James M. S. von Cowey, Bärbel Kramer. Munich: Saur, 2004; Montevecchi, Orsolina. "BGU IV 1139. Paramone e trophitis". *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 22 (1985): 231-241.

32. Vuolanto, Ville. "Selling a Freeborn Child...": 194-197.

33. Kraemer, Casper J., ed. *Excavations at Nessana*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958: III, 156-160 (P. Nessana 56).

34. References to this practice come also from Arab Ifriqiya and Egypt: Goitein, Shelomo Dov. *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1967: I, 259; which suits the rhetorical use of such cases as Vuolanto shows in regards to late antiquity.

35. Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 2009; Rio, Alice. *Legal Practice and the Written Word in Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae c. 500-1000*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2009; Köpstein, Helga. *Zur Sklaverei im Ausgehenden Byzanz. Philologisch-historische Untersuchung*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag: 1966. Many of the Byzantine Novellae from the 6th to the 12th centuries referred to the institution of slavery, while reforming and renovating the juridical definitions of this institution (see: Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery...*: 190-195 (Appendix B : "Legal Sources").

36. Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery...*: 57-81. Late antique sources also mention African children, see: Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery...*: 57.



Children born to slave mothers were considered the property of their mother's owner.³⁷ Other slave children, however, were freeborn. The 9th-11th centuries saw countless Byzantine inhabitants, among them many children, kidnapped, enslaved and then sold into slavery by pirates in the Mediterranean, as well as in the Balkan regions.³⁸ Byzantine markets offered imported children of foreign origin who were sold as slaves.³⁹ Orphaned children were the most vulnerable. Orphaned girls could be easily prostituted.⁴⁰

Timothy Miller has revealed a sophisticated child care system that was developed in Byzantium following an imperial policy dated to Constantine to respond to the difficult situation of orphans.⁴¹ A famous *Novella* of Justinian from 535 mentions traders who travelled through the provinces and exploited the condition of unfortunate young women (*νέαι ἐλκεῖναι*) by offering them new clothes and then prostituting them in the Capital.⁴² The *Novella* states that even girls under the age of ten were forcibly prostituted, and attributes the term slavery to cases in which the young women were not paid and were held against their will.⁴³ But girls were also procured by their parents.⁴⁴

In fact, Byzantine children could also be sold into slavery by their parents.⁴⁵ The practice is attested in the sources as far back as the 4th century, and was mainly

37. *The Digest of Justinian*, eds. Paul Krüger, Theodor Mommsen. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985: I, 15 (*Digesta* I.5.5). *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. Ioannes Zepos, Panagiotis Zepos. Darmstadt: Scientia Aalen: II, 199 (*Prochiros Nomos* XXXIV.5-7). Normally these children can be identified in the sources by the adjective *οἰκογενής*, born in the house. See: Lemerle, Paul. "Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas (avril 1059)", *Cinq Études sur le X^e s. byzantin*, Paul Lemerle, dir. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977: 15-63.

38. Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery...*: 47-48.

39. *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, ed. and trans. Lennard Rydén. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1995: II, 12-18. Although probably a legendary figure, his situation as a slave child sold in a Byzantine market was not uncommon. See: Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery...*: 82-120.

40. Moschi, Joannis. "Pratum Spirituale...": LXXXVII/3, cols. 3097-3100.

41. Miller, Timothy S. *The Orphans of Byzantium...*

42. *Novellae Justiniani*, ed. Rudolf Schoell. Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1993: 105-109 (*Novellae Justiniani* number 14). See: *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. and trans. George Nedungatt; J. Michel Featherstone. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995: 166; the 86th canon of the Council 'in Trullo' (from 692) excommunicates clerics who procure and bring up prostitutes.

43. *Les récits édifiants de Paul évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs*, ed. and trans. John Wortley. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987: 126-136.

44. Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, ed. Gerhard Wirth. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964: 56. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, ed. and trans. André-Jean Festugière. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1970: I, 3. For prostitution in Byzantium see: Irmscher, Johannes. "Die Bewertung der Prostitution im Byzantinische Recht", *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechisch-römischen Altertum: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, Mihail N. Andreev, ed. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968: II, 77-94; Leontsini, Stavroula. *Die Prostitution in frühen Byzanz*. Wien: Universität Wien, 1989.

45. *Codex Justinianus*, ed. Paul Krüger. Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1997: 179 (IV.43 dated to 294), forbade such an act. Melluso, Marco. *La schiavitù nell'età giustinianea*. Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2000: 33 and following; Harper, Kyle. *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275-425*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2011: 391-423 (chapter 10: "The enslavement of Mediterranean bodies: child exposure and child sale", especially page 392 and following).



a desperate act of parents who were too poor to raise their children.⁴⁶ In a letter from 527, Cassiodorus describes the annual fair held on Saint Cyprian's day in the Lucania, where peasants come from the countryside to sell their sons and daughters.⁴⁷ A *Novella* of Justinian mentions creditors who used to take away the children of their debtors if the latter had no means to repay their debts, in order to use the children as slaves.⁴⁸ The *Novella* proclaims that parental consent is necessary to perform this transaction, but testifies to the fact that children were taken away without their parent's consent.⁴⁹ An imperial *Novella* from 1095 attests to cases of Bulgarian parents who, in time of famine, sell their children.⁵⁰

As these examples demonstrate, all throughout the period under consideration child slavery and child exposure were not only the act of a desperate parent. Children were kidnapped and sold into slavery since a demand for their labour existed. In most families of a stable economic position children worked and were part of the family's economic organization. Children would not be exposed or sold in families who could afford their keeping. Nonetheless, their capacity to work turned them into a commodity once they found themselves working outside the family unit.

Whether they worked within the family's household or were sent to work elsewhere, Byzantine children were not themselves remunerated. This accords with their representation as passive figures. The importance of rhetorical representation

46. *Codex Theodosianus*...: 182-183 (IV.8.6 dated to 323); *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum*...: 138-140 (*Novellae Valentinianae* number 33). Vuolanto starts with the juridical and social reality of selling and exposing of the child in classical Rome and goes up to the 4th-5th centuries (Vuolanto, Ville. "Selling a Freeborn Child...": 169-207). Holman, Susan, R. *The Hungry Are Dying. Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001: 69 (footnote 23). For the juridical aspect see: Buckland, William Warwick. *The Roman Law of Slavery*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1970: 420-422; Kaser, Max. *Das römisch Privatrecht*. Munich: Beck, 1959: I, 60. On the practice in late antiquity see: Basilii Magni. "Homilia II: In Psalmum XIV", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus. Series Graeca Prior*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris: Jacques Paul Migne, 1857: XXIX, col. 277; Glancy, Jennifer A. *Slavery in Early Christianity*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2002: 71.

47. Cassiodorus. *Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1894: 261-263 (*Varia* VIII.33); following: Barnish, Sam J. "Pigs, Plebeians and 'potentes': Rome's economic hinterland, c. 350-600 A.D.". *Papers of the British School of Rome*, 55 (1987): 157-185, 171.

48. *Novellae Justiniani*...: 682-683 (*Novellae Justiniani* number 134.7); Fichman, I.F. "Aspects économiques de la dépendance individuelle dans l'Égypte romaine et tardive", Gaudey, Jacqueline, trans. *Esclavage et dépendance dans l'historiographie soviétique récente*, Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, Évelyne Geny, eds. Besançon-Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995: 157-184. For the practice see volume 6 of the *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*: Bell, Harold Idris; Crum, Walter E., eds. *Jews and Christians in Egypt. Vol. 6: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy illustrated by texts from Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Publisher, 1924: 72-80 (*P. Lond.* VI, 1915).

49. For the practice : *Les récits édifiants de Paul évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs*, ed. and trans. John Wortley. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987: 132.

50. *Jus Graecoromanum*...: I, 341-346. Although the *Novella* indicates that anyone who can prove to be freeborn will be freed, it is hard to imagine how children who were either kidnapped or sold by their parents to slave traders and found themselves slaves far from home, could prove their freeborn status. See: Köpstein, Helga. "Zur Novelle des Alexios Komnenos zum Sklavenstatus (1095)", *Actes du x^{ve} Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Septembre 1976, Athènes)*. Athens: Association Internationale des Études Byzantines, 1979: IV, 160-172.



for economic and social dynamics has been demonstrated by Susan Holman.⁵¹ The representation of the child as a passive figure in Byzantine literature thus matched its exploitation. However, starting from the 6th century, a new perception of the child developed in the Christian discourse that changed its passive figure completely by attributing agency to it.

3. Children's agency in Byzantine literature

Although classical Greek biographies include information related to the protagonist as a child, the interest in childhood is mainly confined to the protagonist's education.⁵² To the classical mind, character had three attributes: agency, rationality and responsibility.⁵³ In the words of Stephen Halliwell: "action is held to manifest mind or character, while the latter is itself predicated on the basis of the virtues or vices embodied in action".⁵⁴ Thus character is exhibited through action but depends on rationality, which is the product of adulthood.⁵⁵ Following this reasoning, agency cannot be attributed to a child who has not reached a level of rationality and hence has no ability to possess a character.⁵⁶ This is no longer the case in medieval Greek literature, namely in Byzantine hagiography. Although many hagiographical tales stay in line with their classical biographical antecedents, and do not put much emphasis on the saint's experience as a child, others choose to portray the protagonist as a holy agent already in childhood. In that, Byzantine hagiography proved to be innovative.

Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger is a characteristic example of the new role children began to play in this literature as holy agents. He was born in 521 in Syria. The first part of his *Life* is dedicated to his childhood. Symeon has his first vision of Christ when he is but five years old.⁵⁷ He wanders about away from home, enters a monastery, and begins his career as a stylite saint on top of a pillar when he is seven. His agency as a child is manifested in his asceticism, his combats against demons, his preaching and his healing of the sick, all of which he performs from

51. Holman, Susan, R. *The Hungry Are Dying...*: 69.

52. Pelling, Christopher. "Childhood and Personality in Greek Biography", *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, Christopher Pelling, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990: 213-244. This is the case not only for fictional biographies such as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* ("Cyrus' Education"), but also in Plutarch's biographies.

53. Halliwell, Francis Stephen. "Traditional Greek Conceptions of Character", *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, Christopher Pelling, ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990: 32-59.

54. Halliwell, Francis Stephen. "Traditional Greek Conceptions...": 32-59.

55. Gill, Christopher. "The Question of character-development: Plutarch and Tacitus". *Quarterly*, 33/2 (1983): 469-487.

56. There are exceptions of course, such as the legendary physical powers of the infant Heracles, but even in mythology the hero has no agency during childhood, and is portrayed merely as a hero-to-be.

57. *La Vie Ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (521-592), ed. and trans. Paul van den Ven. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962 : I, 1-13.



on top of his pillar. This is also the case of Theodore of Sykeon, who as a small boy is sent to school, but runs away of his own accord to seek a life of reclusion at the Martyrium of Saint George.⁵⁸ Already as a boy he adopts a holy manner of living: fasting and refusing to take part in his family's meals. Other examples are Saint Luke the Younger and Saint Nikon 'Repent-Yourselfes'. Both run away from home in order to pursue a holy career as monks, and both are followed by their parents who try to retrieve their runaway children.⁵⁹ Such children, all boys, are portrayed as having an independent will, and as acting on it. Whether fictional or not, stories such as these manifest a change in the way children were portrayed in literature.⁶⁰ The question is why such a change occurred.

Hagiography is a special literary genre. It is written as historical biography, but since it has a religious context and is a part of the cultural practice of the cult of saints, it differs from historiography.⁶¹ Hagiography has the characteristics of moral literature, for example of literature with a clear moral agenda. As far as children are concerned, the moral agenda sheds light on the special role attributed to the saint's childhood. Hagiographers started to develop this theme as early as the 4th century, following the prototype of Jesus.⁶² This *topos* of the saint's spiritual character in childhood is further developed by the hagiographers between the 6th and the 10th century. It is important to state that this became possible only by attributing an independent will to the child. Hagiography is an extremely varied genre. Byzantine authors used it to describe both fictional and non-fictional figures, for either religious or literary objectives. However, all the authors who chose to narrate the saint's childhood did this in order to demonstrate the child's special spiritual character. This is emphasized by the child's will to disconnect himself from earthly life. The decision to lead a spiritual life is a rational one, and is made in childhood. The independent holy character is thus manifested in childhood. It is the product of the child's qualities that sets it apart from other children and drives the saint-to-be to independent action. Agency is thus connected to the child's character and aspirations. It is what we may call 'a spiritual agency,' that will correspond to the spiritual ideals this literature wants to advance.

58. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*... : I, 6-13.

59. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*... : 8-12; *The Life of Saint Nikon*... : 38 and following.

60. The theme of a saint-to-be expressing his/her own will as a child and acting upon it, appears, of course, in other hagiographic narratives besides those mentioned here.

61. Hinterberger, Martin. "Autobiography and Hagiography in Byzantium". *Symbolae Osloenses*, 75 (2000): 139-163; Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative". *Viator*, 25 (1994): 95-113. For its spiritual objectives see: Rapp, Claudia. "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of 'Diegesis'". *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 6/3 (1998): 431-448; Rapp, Claudia. "The origins of hagiography and the literature of early monasticism: purpose and genre between tradition and innovation", *Unclassical Traditions: Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, Christopher Kelly, Richard Flower, Michael Stuart Williams, eds. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2010: 119-130.

62. Following Jesus' example in: *Luke*, 2: 41-49. Athanasius. *La Vie d'Antoine*, ed. and trans. Gerhardus Johannes Marinus Bartelink. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994.



Scholars have termed this sort of a child a *puer senex*, for example a child who possess the moral character of a wise old man, which makes him exceptional from childhood and pushes him to follow in the footsteps of Christ.⁶³ However, to attribute a character of a wise old man (*senex*) to the boy (*puer*) is to ignore the agency this literature attributes to children. If the character of a grown man is exceptionally attributed here to a child, then his actions and decision to act would also be those of a grown man.⁶⁴ But in fact, attributing agency to a child serves the hagiographer's objective in outlining a moral conflict.

Hagiography was created as an early Christian form of literature in late antiquity in order to commemorate the lives of the first martyrs, and hence had a strong religious and political agenda from its beginning. As far as children are concerned, the early martyrologies did not give them leading roles and rarely mentioned them. One of the most famous children's martyrdoms is the *Passion* of the three sisters Pistis, Elpis and Agape, and their mother Sophia. It is the story of a Christian family (the girls are twelve, ten and seven), who refuses to sacrifice to Artemis, suffers horrible tortures and is executed. The mother urges her smaller seven-year-old daughter: "my hope for you is a crown worthy of those of your two sisters". Little Agape does not fail her mother and speaks up against the emperor. She then suffers horrible tortures and is finally executed.⁶⁵

The story is modelled on the legend of the Maccabee mother and her children who refuse to follow the orders of the Seleucid King and to eat the forbidden pork (*Maccabees*, II, 7:20-23). This story from *Maccabees II* is specifically used as a reference in late antique matrytologies.⁶⁶ In addition, the authors refer also to the Biblical binding of Isaac, the archetype of a parent who is willing to sacrifice their own child for their beliefs (*Genesis*, 22:1-18). This becomes especially significant in the case of the martyr children. Their stories serve the martyrology's political agenda. However, although the martyr children adhere to the ideals of their time, their will is not at all

63. Carp, Teresa C. "'Puer Senex' in Roman and Medieval Thought". *Latomus*, 39/3 (1980): 736-739; Hatlie, Peter. "The Religious Lives of Children and Adolescents", *Byzantine Christianity: A People's History of Christianity*, Derek Krueger, ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006: III, 182-200; Kalogeras, Nikos. "What do they think about children? Perceptions of childhood in early Byzantine literature". *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 25 (2001): 2-19. All focus on the pious child, not on the rebel child who runs away from home and family. The 'wise child' was already appreciated in Roman society. See: Dixon, Suzanne. *The Roman Family...*: 105.

64. The Greek origin of this Latin term is *παιδαριότητες*. It was created in late antiquity to designate young holy men in their 20s and 30s, who were admired by their high level of asceticism worthy of old ascetics. According to Palladius and Sozomenus, who first mention the term, it was attributed to Saint Makarios of Egypt when he was thirty years old by his fellow monks, hence not at all a child: Palladius, Bishop of Aspuna. *Historia Lausiaca...*: 17; Sozomène, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, ed. and trans. Joseph Bidez. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996: III, 14.

65. *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest: As written above the old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Qanūn in A.D. 778*, ed. and trans. Agnes Smith Lewis. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1900: I, 118-144; Halkin, François. *Légendes grecques de martyres romaines*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1973: 179-228; Girardi, Mario. "Le fonti scritturistiche delle prime 'recensioni' greche della 'passio' di S. Sofia". *Vetera Christianorum*, 20 (1983): 47-76.

66. Musurillo, Herbert. *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972: 212-213, 230-231.



independent, but derives from the parent's will. It is the parent who encourages the child to hold to its faith. Just like the binding of Isaac, their martyrdom emphasizes more than anything else their parents' faith and endurance.⁶⁷ They are caught in the combat of the parent against the emperor or king and take the side of the parent.

The *Passion of Vitus* presents a different combat. Vitus is a seven-year-old Sicilian boy, who refuses his father's entreaties to return to paganism, confronts the emperor Diocletian, and is martyred for his principles.⁶⁸ Although his martyrdom differs from that of the children who die to testify their parents' faith, in both cases the martyr child's agency is manifested in opposition to a third (be it the emperor, the king or the parent). The protagonist child adheres to the spiritual-religious ideal which challenges the authority of either the political leader or the child's parent. The hagiographer builds a confrontation for the child to express his agency. In this way this literature attributes agency to children in order to outline a social conflict. This is evident in the *Passion of Lucillianus*, in which four children following in the martyr's footsteps, and are decapitated after proclaiming their wish to share his destiny.⁶⁹

Just like the martyr children, the saints who run away from home in their childhood are also following the religious ideals of their time. Their running away from home has an objective: the monastery. The conflict which the child is caught up in here confronts the monastic life with the ordinary family life. This was not a new theme. Cutting off ties with the earthly world was already an ideal of early Christianity. This included the severing of biological, social and economic ties. Monasticism challenged the family nucleus as a unit from its beginning.⁷⁰ Christian believers left their families and their socio-economic positions in favour of a monastic family and a monastic way of life. Not all saints' *Lives* were uniform in their treatment of the role of the nuclear family. Some accepted family links and some rejected them.⁷¹ Not all of them confronted the child's will with the parents' will. Most of the hagiographers present their protagonist as a pious and diligent child at home. Nevertheless, when the author does set up such a confrontation for the child, it is always the child's will which prevails, since the child's duties towards God precede its duties towards its parents.⁷² When the child is caught up in a conflict between loyalty to his parents and to God, the child is forced to act upon a will of its own. The act is running away from home, which is directed against the parent. The duties towards the parent are performed in the family household; the duties towards God in the monastery. As such they contradict one another. We saw

67. In contrast Jewish midrashic literature made Isaac a thirty-three-year-old man, which is important in order to argue for his awareness and acceptance of his fate.

68. *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*. Paris: Société des Bollandistes, 1698: II, 1021-1026 (*Passio S. Viti*).

69. "They happen to be my children (*paidia*)", says Lucillianus, "in both their age and intention to pursue Christ". Delehay, Hippolyte. "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912) : 187-192.

70. Talbot, Alice-Marie. "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990): 119-129.

71. Kazhdan, Alexander. "Hagiographical Notes". *Byzantion*, 54 (1984): 176-192.

72. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris...*: 24.



that at home these duties comprised economic tasks. This was also the case in the monastery.

In the 4th century, Basil of Caesarea set the age of entering a monastery at sixteen or seventeen years.⁷³ This did not become a binding law. In fact, until the end of the 7th century, no legislative regulation limited the age of joining a monastery for either boys or girls. The first legislative action in this matter was taken in the ecumenical council of 692, which set the age at ten years for both sexes.⁷⁴ This regulation was repeated two hundred years later.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the rule was not always respected.⁷⁶

The examples cited above exemplify children who all came to the monastery in order to pursue a new life of spiritual and religious submission. Monasteries also took in orphans as well as abandoned children.⁷⁷ Once in the monastery, these children obviously received a religious education. As part of their education, they were assigned to a person who served as their spiritual guardian and master. That meant obedience, service and labour. All the sources cited above emphasize that these future saints enjoyed serving their admired masters. Other sources give a closer and somewhat different picture of the kinds of labour that children were required to carry out in monasteries. Children performed cleaning and washing services.⁷⁸ They also served as personal servants to their masters. In this respect they were no different from adult monks, whose duty was to wait on others. However, children proved to be very useful in these tasks for two reasons. First, it was an easy way to integrate them into monastery life and teach them how to be submissive inside the monastery. Secondly, it was a form of compliance which they were used to in their original homes.

The replacement of old family ties with new monastic family ties also meant the replacement of one form of obedience with another. This is exactly the question that the hagiographic literature deals with: should the immediate loyalty of a child be to his biological father and family, or to God through the mediation of a new monastic father and family. Moreover, the labour that these children were required to do was essential to the functioning of the monastery. Even in remote

73. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. Geōrgios A. Rallēs (Γεώργιος Α. Ράλλης), Michaēl Potlēs (Μιχαήλ Ποτλής). Athens: Ekdoseis Gregore, 1996: IV, 141 (canon number 18 dated to 375).

74. *The Council in Trullo Revisited...*: 119-121; Greenfield, Richard. "Children in Byzantine Monasteries: Innocent Hearts or Vessels in the Harbor of the Devil?", *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Alice-Marie Talbot, eds. Washington D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, 2009: 253-282; which opens with a late Byzantine debate about whether to accept children in monasteries.

75. *Οι Νεαρές Λέοντος του σοφοῦ*, ed. Spyros N. Troianos (Σπυρὺς Ν. Τρωιάνοῦ). Athens: Hrodotos, 2007: 60-62 (*Novella* number 6 as edited by Pierre Noailles).

76. *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλήτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Διήγηση περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας*, ed. Symeon Paschalidis (Συμεὼν Πασχαλίδης). Thessaloniki: Kentro Hagiologikōn Meletōn, 1991: 21 (chapter 9).

77. Miller, Timothy S. *The Orphans of Byzantium...*: 153-161; Greenfield, Richard. "Children in Byzantine Monasteries...": 274-276.

78. *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*, ed. and trans. Robert Doran. Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, 1992: 117.



monasteries where there was only a single monk, we find a little boy who waits upon the monk by polishing his shoes, cleaning his cell, and opening the door for him.⁷⁹ In the 9th century, Theodore Stoudite forbade monks from having immature disciples (*μειράκια μαθέται*) with them in the cell.⁸⁰ However testaments from the 10th to the 14th centuries preserved in Athos, reveal abbots who had retinues composed of monks and novices assigned to serve them. These were called servants (*ὑπερέται*), slaves (*οἰκέται*), or simply children (*παῖδες*).⁸¹

This economic responsibility was part of the social role of novices in monasteries, in convents as well as in churches.⁸² Monks who enjoyed great prestige and high socio-economic positions had personal servants of their own, and could also bring their own servants or slaves with them to the monastery.⁸³ This was also the case of rich women who brought along their female slaves when they entered convents.⁸⁴ Nuns and novices spun and wove in the convents, just like young girls and women in private homes, and were also required to carry out other economic tasks such as grinding grain at the mill.⁸⁵

These examples reveal that the monastery was not a refuge from work. In fact, they suggest the opposite: that the monastery had a lot to gain from runaway children. Just like the family household, the monastery's existence and continuous functioning depended on an upcoming generation. Since there were no biological possibilities, a constant integration of new novices was essential. Monasteries profited from runaway children, thanks to the fact that children and their labour were commodities.

The hagiographic narratives cited above were mostly written by monks. Since this was also an exemplary literature, the hagiographers set in their stories models for imitation.⁸⁶ This literary construction defined a limited space for the child to express a very specific wish, and thus subdued the child's agency to a will that was

79. *The Lives of Simeon Stylites...*: 117

80. Studitae, Theodori. "Testamentum", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus. Series Graeca Prior*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris: Jacques Paul Migne, 1903: XCIX, col. 1821A ("article 18").

81. *Archives de l'Athos, Actes de Lavra: I. Des origines à 1204*, ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos. Paris: Lethielleux, 1970: 151-155, 177-179 (documents number 19, 26, from 1016, 1030); *Actes de Xenophon*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou. Paris: Lethielleux, 1986: 59-75 (documents number 1 from 1089); *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. Franz Miklosich, Joseph Müller. Vienna: Gerold, 1890: VI, 81-90, document number 20 of Patmos, is a testament from 1093 that mentions a monk who had his own *παῖδια* with him. Greenfield, Richard. "Children in Byzantine Monasteries...": 274-276.

82. Talbot, Alice-Marie. "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine". *Analecta Bollandiana*, 112 (1994): 85-104, 95; Nicétas Stéthatos. *Un grand mystique byzantin: vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, ed. Irénée Hausherr, Gabriel Horn. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 1928: 53.

83. John of Ephesus. *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. Ernest Walter Brooks. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: I, 665-666 (*Patrologia Orientalis* IXC, XVII).

84. *Acta Sanctorum Novembri*. Paris: Société des Bollandistes, 1910: III, 790-813 (*Vita prima S. Matronae*, chapter 44); John of Ephesus. *Lives of the Eastern Saints...*: I, 290 (*Patrologia Orientalis* IXC, XVII).

85. *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλήτιδος Θεοδώρας...*: 32 (chapter 28).

86. Greenfield, Richard. "Children in Byzantine Monasteries...": 269-270; Hennessy, Cecily. *Images of Childhood in Byzantium*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008: 111-142.



not his to begin with. In this respect, the difference in the literary representation of children who run away from home to join the monasteries on the one hand, and of orphans who are reared in monasteries and orphanages on the other hand is very significant.⁸⁷ Only the first are presented as possessing a will of their own; while in order to protect children and develop a care system the imperial laws outlined the helpless situation of the exploited orphans.⁸⁸ To develop the *topos* of the child who runs away from home, the child's will needed to be acknowledged. In other words, the capacity to independent action depends on possessing a will; not any type of will but a will to act in a certain way. In contrast, in the *Life of Zosimos the Bishop of Syracuse*, Zosimos the child runs away from the monastery where his parents left him as a boy simply because he misses them.⁸⁹ He is stopped by the Virgin who punishes him and makes him go back to the monastery with the promise never again to attempt an escape. As this exceptional example shows, the question whether Byzantine children ran away from home to join monasteries or not is not pertinent here for the analysis of the child's agency as a cultural construction. In any case when such a confrontation is presented, one act is legitimized while the other is delegitimized. In other words, the child's agency is here constructed according to a moral distinction between positive and negative wills. This lead us to the following question: how is such a process of legitimization created? What determines that a child's will is legitimized? In other words, what determines that a child will be responsible for his or her acts? This depends on the child's capacities to make a moral decision. In what follows we shall analyse the relation between a child's agency and its ability to differentiate right from wrong.

4. What is a child's will?

In the 6th century, Justinian's *Code* repeats the classical Roman definitions according to which puberty is set at twelve years for girls and fourteen years for boys.⁹⁰ Below this age a child was considered *impubes* (Greek *ἄνῃβος*), and without a juridical personality. This coincided with the fact that under this age the child was incapable of procreative sexual intercourse and could not be married. Puberty did not elevate the child to a level of full adulthood. *Pubes/eres* who had juridical personality and could be married, were considered minors (*minor/res*) up to the age of twenty-five, and could not take part in business transactions without a father

87. Miller, Timothy S. *The Orphans of Byzantium*...: 127-132, 152-161.

88. *Novellae Justiniani*...: 105-109 (*Novellae Justiniani* number 14). Miller, Timothy S. *The Orphans of Byzantium*...: 148-154.

89. I am grateful for Mario Re for this reference to the third version of the *Life*: Re, Mario. "La 'Vita' di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: qualche osservazione". *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 37 (2000): 29-42, especially 40 (footnote 41).

90. *Codex Justinianus*...: 231 (V.60.3 from 529)



or a guardian.⁹¹ Having a juridical personality also meant that a minor was liable to penalty in the eyes of the law, and was held responsible for his or her actions. Under the age of puberty, the child was regarded as incapable of criminal intent (*doli incapax*). In regard to the child's liability to penalty, this definition proved to be flexible.

This was a subject of juridical discussions, starting probably from the 2nd century AD.⁹² The jurists cited in Justinian's *Digest* deal with the possibility that a child who has not reached puberty might be liable to penalty. This is determined by the child's capacity to carry out an intentional action. It was clear to the Roman jurists that below the age of seven years the child, who was considered an infant (incapable of speech), could not carry out intentional actions or have an independent will. Wilful fraud (*dolus malus*), however, could be applied in special circumstances to a child who was between infancy and puberty. The jurists of the 2nd century cited in the *Digest* affirm that in the later stages before puberty (*proximus pubertati*), a child is capable of fraud and guilt.⁹³

These juridical definitions were integrated into Byzantine law with no special or further discussions.⁹⁴ In the 8th century, the *Ekloga* affirms that someone who has come of age (*εἰς ἡλικίαν*), and reached a stage of 'possession of reason' (*φρόνησιν ἔχειν*), cannot withdraw from it.⁹⁵ The *Ekloga* also determines the indemnity from the death punishment of a boy guilty of a passive homosexual act if he was under the age of twelve, since "his age manifests that he did not know what he was doing".⁹⁶ The law did not take into consideration the child's will. What made the act intentional and determined the liability to penalty was not the fact that it was an act of will, but the intellectual capacity to understand it. Homosexuality became liable to penalty with the Christianization of the Empire. Christianity added a religious dimension to the law, but did not change the Roman definitions of liability to penalty. Nevertheless, being a moral religion, Christianity, needed to establish what constituted a sinful act, and determine the age from which an act can be considered as a sin.

Similarly to Judaism early Christianity needed to establish its own age boundary between childhood and the life of religious adulthood. Baptism, which could

91. Kaser, Max. *Das römisch Privatrecht*. Munich: Beck, 1959: II, 78-81. That meant that a minor could be in possession of property, but could not administer it. Lemosse, Maxime. "L'incapacité juridique comme protection de l'enfant en droit romain". *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, 35 (1975): 247-255.

92. Prinzing, Günter. "Observations on the Legal Status of Children...": 23-30; Thomas, Joseph A. C. "Delictal and Criminal Liability of the Young in Roman Law". *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, 38 (1977): 9-31.

93. *The Digest of Justinian*...: IV, 743 (*Digesta* XLVII.2.23); following: Rawson, Beryl. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003: 138. See also: Perrin, Bernard. "L'apparition du 'proximus puberti' en droit romain classique", *Synteleia: Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz, Antonio Guarino, Luigi Labruna, eds. Naples: Jovene, 1964: 469-474.

94. Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hélène. "Quelques notes sur l'enfant..." : 77-84.

95. *Ekloga: das Gesetzbuch Leons III und Konstantinos V*, ed. Ludwig Burgmann. Frankfurt am Main: Lowenklaus-Gesellschaft, 1983: 170 (*Ekloga* 1.4.2).

96. *Ekloga*...: 238 (*Ekloga*, 17.38 and 17.39).



be performed at any age, could not define such a boundary. The same goes for participation in the Eucharist, which had no minimum age.⁹⁷ In his *Questions & Answers*, Timothy of Alexandria deals with the case of a catechumen who takes the Eucharist before his or her baptism.⁹⁸ This article's title (in English), "Regarding a child (*παιδίον*) such as a seven-year-old, or a grown man (*ἄνθρωπος τέλειος*)", suggests that conversion, which required a verbal declaration of faith, was not performed below the age of seven – the end of infancy.

In his study of the way childhood was perceived in Eastern patristic thought Graham Gould terms 'the capacity of the infant soul for religious understanding or moral development' as 'the anthropological question of childhood'. He defines the condition of childhood in this respect in terms of three interrelated factors:

firstly, the development of a child's soul in terms of its possession, or lack of possession, of faculties such as reason and desire (*ἐπιθυμία*), which were considered to be among the components of the human soul; secondly, the extent to which a child's soul is open to the same temptations, desires, or passions as that of an adult; thirdly, the extent to which children are capable of understanding religious ideas and precepts, or may be held to deserve reward or punishment for their actions.⁹⁹

In the writing of the Church Fathers, these three factors of the child's rational development became connected to its sexual development. Origen is the first to argue that children have not yet fully attained the possession of reason, thanks also to their freedom from sexual temptation.¹⁰⁰ Both Clement and Origen affirm the freedom of the infant soul from both passion and reason. Their followers separate reason from desire, and stress the importance of the first, which becomes essential to overcome the second. John Chrysostom, Basil of Ancyra and Jerome outline in their writings the importance of early education that must precede the development of the sexual sense in order to prevent the sins that can derive from it. According to Basil of Ancyra 'the law of sin' can be equated with sexual desire. Sin is here set to the age of puberty. In the *Life of Mary of Egypt*, the heroine leaves her parents at the age of twelve to embark on a sinful life as a prostitute in Alexandria.¹⁰¹ At the age of twelve she is no longer considered a child. It is striking how the definition of criminal intent in the Empire's code of laws, which was based on the age of puberty, receives here a new interpretation according to the Christian conceptualization of the sexual desire as a sin.¹⁰²

97. Moschi, Joannis. "Pratum Spirituale...": LXXXVII/3, cols. 3080D-3084A.

98. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων*...: IV, 331.

99. Gould, Graham. "Childhood and Eastern Patristic Thought: Some Problems of Theology and Theological Anthropology". *The Church and Childhood, Studies in Church History*, 31 (1994): 39-52, especially, 39-40.

100. Gould, Graham. "Childhood and Eastern Patristic Thought...": 41-43.

101. Moschi, Joannis. "Pratum Spirituale...": LXXXVII/3, col. 3712.

102. See the same construction of the sexual lust of a girl who has just come to age and maturity as part of Procopius' slander of Theodora: Procopius, *Historia Arcana*...: 56-57. The proximity of puberty and the first intercourse was already noted by the Roman physician Cornelius Celsus in the 1st century BC



Sins, of course, were not necessarily a product of sexual desire. And the Church Fathers referred in their writing directly to the development of the capacity to differentiate right from wrong. In the 4th century Basil of Caesarea stresses the importance of education in moulding the mind in childhood, and in particular of schools in monasteries, which may offer a perfect environment.¹⁰³ Religious responsibility thus starts with reason before puberty, and is developed together with a capacity to choose. As noted above, Justinian's *Digest* cites the 2nd century jurist Julian, according to whom children (*impubes*) are considered capable of criminal intent, if they could be shown to have understood the nature of their deed.¹⁰⁴ A Christian echo of this view is given by Timothy of Alexandria. Who writes in his *Questions & Answers*: "Q: From what age are sins decided by God? A: From the knowledge and judgment of each one, some from the age of ten, others older".¹⁰⁵ Sin here is not a product of the sexual drive, but is determined by God, and can precede puberty. As noted above, this age was taken in the 7th century as the minimum age of entering a monastery. A scholion to the *Nomocanon* comments on the discussion in the *Digest* about accusations of forgery and adultery relating to a child who had not reached puberty.¹⁰⁶ It states that although puberty is set at the age of twelve or fourteen years, a child who had not yet reached it (Greek *ἄνηβος*, Latin *impubes*) is capable of treachery and forgery starting from its seventh birthday. The scholion states, however, that between the ages of seven to twelve or fourteen years, the transgressor is not punished as a grown man (*τέλειος*), but punished in moderation.

In the 12th century, in his own *Questions & Answers*, Theodore Balsamon states, nevertheless, in the matter of confession of sins, that although according to the laws the sins of those who did not yet reach puberty are to be forgiven, it is advised "that after their sixth birthday (for example starting from their seventh year) both males

(Rawson, Beryl. *Children and Childhood...*: 141). See: *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, ed. Solomon Schechter. New York: Feldheim, 1945: 16, 32-63; Kaplan, Zvi. "Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Michael Berenbaum, Fred Skolkin, eds. Detroit: MacMillan, 2007: III, 165.

103. "When reason enters in and habits of choice develop, they will take their course from the first elements learned at the beginning and from traditional forms of piety; reason proposing that which is beneficial, and habit imparting facility in right action. At this point, also, permission to make a vow of virginity should be granted, inasmuch as it is now to be relied upon, since it is the individual's own choice and the decision follows upon the maturing of reason". *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (Patristic series)*, trans. M. Monica Wagner. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962: 9, 267.

104. *The Digest of Justinian...*: IV, 743 (*Digesta* XLVII.2.23).

105. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων...*: IV, 331; which contains Theodore Balsamon's comments on this view from the 11th century: *Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀξυτέρως φησεως ὄντες τῶν παιδῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐρηγορίας, συντομώτερον διακρίνουσι τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον. οἱ δὲ νοητοτέρως τυχόντες καὶ ἀναπεπτοκνίας ἐξέως, βραδεῖς εἰσι πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ δέχοντος διὸ τοῖς μὲν, ἀπὸ δεκάτου δωδεκάτου ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν λογιζέσθαι εἴπε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, τοῖς δὲ, ἐκ μείζονος καὶ τελευτέρας* ("some of the children having more power, develop quite fast..., others who develop more gradually... are delayed in understanding what is needed. Thus with the former, their sins are counted from their tenth birthday ["twelve years" in a different version], but with the others, only when they are older and full-grown").

106. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. Geōrgios A. Rallēs (*Γεώργιος Α. Ράλλης*), Michaël Potlēs (*Μιχαήλ Ποτλής*). Athens: Ekdoseis Gregore, 1852: I, 127-128 in reference to: *The Digest of Justinian...*: IV, 828 (*Digesta* XLVIII.10.22).



and females will be liable by confession to amend themselves and to become holy”.¹⁰⁷ He bases his argument on a previous council’s decision, according to which a seven-year-old girl is capable of seducing a man. Religious responsibility, being a moral quality, is composed of two components: the capacity for sin, and the capacity for sanctity. However, what the juridical and patristic sources suggest is that religious responsibility was determined by the child’s capacity to act intentionally. This process did not push down the borderline between childhood and adulthood. The borderline stayed defined at puberty. But there was a demonstrable tendency to attribute individual intent to the child at an ever earlier age. A similar process attributed the capacity of consent to marriage also to children at an earlier and earlier age.

Évelyne Patlagean has shown how the flexibility of the age criterion served the family in its social planning for expansion.¹⁰⁸ Marriage required the two spouses’ sexual maturity, and was set at the age of puberty. However, betrothal could be performed in a much earlier age, and depended on the consent of the boy and girl to get married in the future. Unlike puberty, the age of consent proved to have a flexible definition. Patlagean shows the family’s tendency to push it down to the age of six or seven years, in order to use the offspring for the family’s social projects. This reveals the way in which a new definition for a child’s will is being set in order to fulfil a social need. The Church, an active partner in this process, since it was in control of the institution of marriage, had to provide the legal means for the family’s social needs. One of the consequences was a drop in the age limit between unconscious and conscious will, so that matrimonial engagements could be performed at an earlier stage.

This was a parallel process to the drop in the minimum age of moral responsibility and religious duties. The Church could, in addition, profit from such processes in recruiting younger novices at an earlier stage in their life. Hagiography responded to this sort of need by developing a moral privilege and an exemplary model for the child in the form of holy agency. This exemplary model is contrasted in hagiographic texts with descriptions of non-holy and wicked children, who behave in an unchristian way.¹⁰⁹ Agency is thus attributed to children in relation to the responsibility that they are given. Since in this case it is a moral responsibility, the agency is defined in moral terms as well.

5. To conclude

In order to examine the subject of child’s agency we have analysed the way in which the concept was constructed and enacted in relation to the economic, social and cultural aspects of Byzantine life. A child’s agency in Byzantium was legitimized,

107. Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων...: IV, 484-485. He defines ἀνήβοι (Latin *impuberes*) to be below fourteen years for boys, and below twelve for girls.

108. Patlagean, Évelyne. “L’enfant et son avenir...” : 85-93.

109. Kalogeras, Nikos. “What do they think about children?...”: 10-19. See also: Abrahamse, Dorothy. “Images of Childhood...”: 2-19.



and enabled children to abandon their socio-economic position at home in favour of a spiritual Christian career. Namely, it defined a space for the child to express and carry into effect a very specific kind of will. Agency was attributed to the Byzantine child in order to construct moral capacities for the child that would serve a Christian agenda.

Moreover, in defining a limited space for the child to express a predetermined will, Byzantine society delegated an ethical responsibility to the child. This proves to be an essential element in the child's ability to possess agency. The Byzantine case demonstrates that when agency is attributed to the child, this is done for a specific objective which is ethically legitimized and defined as the 'right' one. Most pious children are presented in the Byzantine literature as diligent and hard-working, and do not think of leaving their home and family. Indeed, most Byzantine children probably did not run away. And as long as the children worked within their home, their work could not be differentiated and defined as a commodity. However, when hagiography sets a choice for the child to leave the house in favour of the monastery, it constructs a model of behaviour that is determined by the cultural ideals of the time and the social and economic needs that these ideals serve. Thus when a child's agency is defined, it is the agency to act in a predefined specific way. Once children worked outside their family household, their work was recognized as a commodity. Thus, a moral agenda that argues for the child to exert agency and to leave home, thus accorded with an economic objective to profit from the child's work.

This article started with the current debate on the question whether a child's will to participate in the labour market should be carried into effect, and whether its agency should be recognized and legitimized. The Byzantine case study shows that the socio-economic and moral-cultural aspects coincide in relation to the child's capacity to express a will of its own. This enables us to understand that a child's agency conceptualized in an economic framework, whether medieval or modern, masks a moral agenda that favours child employment. The question that we need to ask, therefore, is not whether to legitimize child labour, but why there is a call today to legitimize a child's will to labour.



DEPICTIONS OF VIRTUES AND VICES AS MNEMONIC DEVICES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to explore the reach of mnemonics practices and the idea of mental images in illuminated manuscripts, specifically in five illuminated manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* that are dated between the 9th and 10th century. During the Middle Ages, mnemonics were a key point for learning. Many Literature scholars have studied the relationship between mnemonics and virtues and vices, and how mental images of these allegories aided the memory. Within the monastic culture, the mental images of the virtues and vices helped monks to learn and memorize the moral teachings of the Church. It suggests that the illuminations in these five manuscripts were meant as mnemonics devices for the monks, especially those that could not read at all.

KEYWORDS

Virtues and Vices, Psychomachia, Mnemonics, Learning, Monks.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Virtutes et Vitia, Psycomachia, Mnemonicum, Disciplina, Monachi.

1. *Psychomachia* manuscripts

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens' literary works were done between the years 392 and 405.¹ These were so famous that as early as the 5th century around all Europe copies of them circulated. Today more than 300 manuscripts with Prudentius' works survived in different libraries and collections of the European continent.² Due the extensive popularity of the *Psychomachia*, this is the work with the most surviving copies. It includes the oldest Prudentius manuscript, a 6th century copy today in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Ms. Lat. 8084), and 20 illuminated examples. These illustrated codices are dated between the late 9th century and late 13th century but many scholars agreed that as early as the 5th century illustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* where available.³

The aim of this paper is to study the relationship between the illuminations of the *Psychomachia* manuscripts and some mnemonic practices. To analyze this relationship five specific Prudentius' manuscripts of the twenty surviving were chosen: 1) Manuscripts, Ms. 10066-77 and 2) Manuscripts, Ms. 9987-91 in the *Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*; 3) Codice, Cod. 264 of the *Burgerbibliothek Bern*; 4) Manuscripts, Mss. Burm. Q.3 in *Bibliotheek der Universiteit de Leiden* and 5) Manuscripts Latin, Ms. Lat. 8085 of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. The reason for selecting the manuscripts is because they share some particular characteristics that have been studied by Richard Stettiner and Helen Woodruff, such as the fact that they were created in scriptoriums of important abbeys and monasteries of the Meuse Valley and then Rhine River zone, they are the oldest surviving examples (dated between the 9th and 10th centuries), and they have a substantial number of glosses. Thus, the fact that they have the greatest number of figures of all the *Psychomachia*, including an effigy of the author and the subtitles explaining all the images, is something that has caught our attention for this research.

Thanks to Richard Stettiner's catalog and stemma, the provenance and origin of these manuscripts are well known (Illustrations 23, 24). Stettiner divided the surviving illustrated manuscripts in two groups: Group I has eight manuscripts of French and Anglo-Saxon origin. On the other side of the stemma it is Group II, formed by twelfth codices which were illustrated around the zone of the Rhine River and the Meuse Valley and are directly related to Carolingian abbeys and monasteries. The manuscripts with illustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* also have other Prudentius' works, but most of the illuminations belong to the *Battle of the Soul*. Many scholars who had studied these manuscripts have kept Stettiner's classification and division.

1. Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio. *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio*, ed. and trans. Alfonso Ortega, Isidoro Rodríguez. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1981: 29.

2. Haworth, Kenneth R. *Deified Virtues, Demonic Vices, and Descriptive Allegory in Prudentius' Psychomachia*. Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1980: 1; Rodríguez, Isidoro. "Introducción general", *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio*, ed. and trans. Alfonso Ortega, Isidoro Rodríguez. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1981: 66.

3. Stettiner, Richard. *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*. Berlin: Druck von J.S. Preuss, 1895; Mâle, Émile. *El arte religioso del siglo XIII en Francia: el Gótico*. Madrid: Encuentro, 2001; Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius". *Art Studies*, 7 (1929): 31-79; Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art, from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*. New York: W.N. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964.



1.1 Leiden, *Bibliotheek der Universiteit. Ms. Burm. Q.3. Stettiner Le*²

Manuscript Burm.Q.3, has 181 folios written in one column. It measures 24,4 cm x 15 cm and it contains different works dated between the 9th and the 10th century. It begins with a grammar treatise (*Tractatus ad grammaticam*) ff. 1v-8v., which according to Stettiner was added later.⁴ The rest of the manuscript is comprised by a 9th century compilation of Prudentius' works. (f. 9) *Preface*, (ff. 10r-29r, 83v- 88r) *Cathemerinon*, (ff. 29v-83v) *Peristephanon*, (ff. 88v-105r) *Apotheosis*, (ff. 105r-119v) *Hamartigenia*, (ff. 120r-149v) *Psychomachia*, (ff. 150r-178r) *Contra Symmachum*, (ff. 178v-181v) *Dittochaeum*. The entire *Psychomachia* poem is illuminated; it has 80 miniatures in two colors which were arranged within the columns, following the text and a *tituli* describing the image. This is one of the oldest manuscripts, dated at the end of the 9th century. Tracing its provenance is quite difficult. According to Stettiner it is from the Egmond Abbey, Helen Woodruff ties it to the School of Reims, Adolf Katzenellenbogen to the North of France, from the Abbey of Saint Amand. Recent information states that the manuscript was created in the second quarter of the 9th century in Saint Denis and later on it was taken to the Egmond Abbey.⁵ It is quite probable that the codex was made in Saint Denis due the fact that it was not until the 10th century that the Egmond Abbey was founded. Its style resembles that of the Utrecht Psalter.⁶

1.2 Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France. Ms. Lat. 8085. Stettiner P*²

Manuscript Latin 8085 has 82 folios written in two columns which measure 21cm x 17 cm. This codex also contains different works by Prudentius: (ff. 3r-11r, 37v-40r) *Cathemerinon*, (ff. 11r-37v) *Peristephanon*, (ff. 40r-48r) *Apotheosis*, (ff. 48r-55r) *Hamartigenia*, (ff. 55v-70r) *Psychomachia*, (ff. 70r-82v) *Contra Symmachum*. The *Psychomachia* contains 80 miniatures in colors arranged within the text columns. Each miniature has a *tituli* describing it. Richard Stettiner and Helen Woodruff dated it in the late 9th century, recent information from the *Bibliothèque nationale* dates it between the last third of the 9th century, 870-899. Even though experts recognized three different hands, it was created in the same scriptorium. It is related to the School of Reim and its style is very close to the Douce Psalter.

4. Stettiner, Richard. *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften...*: 33.

5. Bergmann, Rolf. *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005: I, 363; Bischoff, Bernhard. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004: II, 47 (Teil II: Laon-Paderborn).

6. Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius...": 52.



1.3 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Ms. 9987-91. Stettiner B¹

Codex 9987-91 has 157 folios which approximately measure 24 cm x 16 cm. Most of the texts are written in one column, except for some folios which are written in two columns. The manuscript contains six Prudentius' works: (ff. 1r-17r, 64r-66v) *Cathemerinon*, (ff. 17r-63v) *Peristephanon*, (ff. 66v-83v) *Apotheosis*, (ff. 83v-99v) *Hamartigenia*, (ff. 100r-129r) *Psychomachia*, (ff. 130r-157v) *Contra Symmachum*. The *Psychomachia* poem is illustrated with 80 images depicting the different verses. These also have a *tituli* explaining the miniatures. Even though Stettiner and Woodruff stayed that is a 10th century manuscript, Katzenellenbogen and recent information from the *Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* dates it to the second half of the 9th century, to the Abbey of Saint-Amand.⁷

1.4 Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. Ms. 10066-77. Stettiner B.

This manuscript contains 157 folios which measure 25,5 cm x 17,5 cm. It includes different texts from the 10th century to the 14th century. The 10th century texts are: (ff. 112r-139r) Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, (ff. 140r-156v) *Physiologus*, (f. 157r) Gerbertus Aureliacensis' *Commentary on Boethius' Arithmetica*, (f. 161r) Boethius' *Commentarius in Ciceronis Topica*, and (ff. 139v, 161v-162r) some grammatical notes. Some of the 12th century texts are: (ff. 4v-65r) Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, (ff. 85v-86r) Glosses to Prudentius *Psychomachia*, (ff. 80r-85r) some word lists Hebrew-Latin and Greek-Latin, and a (ff. 89r-111v) Biblical glossary. The manuscript has many miniatures which correspond to Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and the *Physiologus*. The *Psychomachia* has about 52 miniatures and the figure cycle is incomplete, when compared with the 9th century manuscripts. Also there are many blank spaces between verses that probably were meant to include a miniature. The *Psychomachia* is the oldest text of the codex, dated to the 10th century. However, its provenance is quite blurry. The *Bibliothèque royale* links its origin to the Meuse region. At some point it belonged to the Abbey of Saint Laurent in Liège.

1.5 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264. Stettiner Be

This manuscript has 145 folios which approximately measure 27,3 cm x 21 cm. It contains all Prudentius' works: (ff. 2r-2v) *Praefatio*, (ff. 3r-17v) *Cathemerinon*,

7. Bergmann, Rolf. *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften...*: I, 287-288; Bischoff, Bernhard. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998 : I, 159 (Teil I: Aachen-Lambach); Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. "Prudentius, Carmina". *Bibliothèque numérique de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*. 7 November 2013 <http://belgica.kbr.be/fr/coll/ms/ms9987_91_fr.html>; Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art...*: 4.

(ff. 20r-28v, 50r-74v) *Peristephanon*, (ff. 31r-48v) *Psychomachia*, (ff. 76r-80r) *Dittochaeon*, (ff. 118r-145r) *Contra Symmachum*. Some miniatures depict the lives of saint Romanus and saint Cassianus in the *Peristephanon*. Regarding the *Psychomachia* miniatures, it has 38. The cycle is incomplete, comparing it with the 9th century codices. It is dated around the 900 to the region of the Lake Constance, probably from Saint Gall or Reichenau.⁸

These five codices belong to Group II, which means that they belonged to monasteries between the zone of the Rhine River and the Meuse Valley. Also they are the oldest surviving examples of both groups, dated between the 9th and 10th century. Aside from these common points, they also share the fact that are the copies with the most substantial number of miniatures, including an effigy of the author (four of them have two), and all the figures have a *titulus* which describe them and between the text and the images they are a lot of glosses in vernacular.⁹ The manuscripts of Group II style resemble that of the Utrecht Psalter and the School of Reims.¹⁰

These manuscripts were copied and illustrated in different monasteries and abbeys of the geographical zones mentioned above. There are some discrepancies surrounding the origin of the manuscripts. Regardless this, more or less, it can be stated that these codices were created and used in abbeys and important intellectual centers with big scriptoriums such as Saint Gall, Saint Amand, Saint Laurent and even Saint Denis. The literary and pictorial works were meant to be seen by certain spectators. Even though it was common between monasteries to lend and exchange manuscripts, the public and the use of the works were the same, a private one: the monks and religious men of the monastic community that they belonged.

8. Utz, Sabine. "Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264-Prudentius Carmina". *e-codices - Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*. 18 November 2014 <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0264>>; Utz, Sabine. "Reprise et réinvention des manuscrits antiques à l'époque carolingienne: l'exemple du Prudence de la Burgerbibliothek de Berne (Codex 264)", *Actualiser le passé: figures antiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, Delphine Burghgraeve, eds. Laussane: Université de Laussane, 2012: 34; Bergmann, Rolf. *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften...*: I, 260; Bischoff, Bernhard. *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)...*: I, 120; Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius...": 43; Stettiner, Richard. *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften...*: 88-96.

9. Sinea O'Sullivan analyzes the vernacular glosses in some of these manuscripts. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004.

10. Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius...": 51.



2. Monasteries: the place of literate, illiterate and semi-literate

2.1 Monastic schools: the teaching of grammar and rhetoric

These five codices were created in important *scriptoria* or used in important monasteries related to the Carolingian world, such as the abbeys of Saint-Denis, Saint-Amand, Saint-Laurent and Saint-Gall. Even though manuscript Lat. 8085 is related to the School of Reims which operated within the Cathedral, this can be linked to the abbey of Saint-Remi in Reims. This abbey was an episcopal one, and from the 8th century till the 10th its abbot was the Bishop of Reims.¹¹ Saint-Remi close ties to the bishopric of Reims gained it the name of *Monastère de Reims*.¹² All these monasteries at some point of their histories adopted the Benedictine rule and also promoted the Carolingian Renaissance. These abbeys in general had the favor of the monarchy, especially between the 8th and the 10th centuries. During the 8th century, thanks to Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis*, through all the Carolingian empire schools were established in the monasteries to teach the psalms, grammar, calculus and music, and these abbeys were not an exception. In these schools were created to thought the infant oblates and the sons of nobles.¹³ Saint Gall even had two schools, one where the novices and oblates were taught and the other where laymen of high rank, Illustrations secular priest and the sons of wealthy nobles were educated.¹⁴ After gaining the basic education, novices continue studying under their master's guidance. The teachers of these abbeys were considered scholars.¹⁵ They visited the different abbeys to gain new knowledge and many times became the *magister* of advanced subjects.¹⁶

The general curriculum consisted of the disciplines of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* and its relation to the study of scripture. But before learning the subjects which composed the liberal arts, the students had to learn by heart the elements of the faith: the creed, the *Pater Noster* and the Psalms. They learned these through the act of repetition: the

11. Prache, Anne. *Saint-Remi de Reims: l'oeuvre de Pierre de Celle et sa place dans l'architecture gothique*. Geneva: Droz, 1978: 10.

12. Poussin, Clovis. *Monographie de l'abbaye et de l'église de St-Remi de Reims, précédée d'une notice sur le saint apôtre des Francs d'après Flodoard*. Reims: Lemoine-Canart, 1857: 52.

13. Platelle, Henri. *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340*. Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962: 65-66; Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1926: 8; D'Ayzac, Félicie-Marie-Emilie. *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France. Tome Premier*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1860: 13-15; Félibien, Michel. *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France: contenant la vie des abbez qui l'ont gouvernée depuis onze cens ans, les hommes illustres qu'elle a donnez à l'Eglise & à l'Etat, les privileges accordez par les souverains pontifes & par les évêques, les dons des rois, des princes & des autres bienfaiteurs: avec la description de l'église & de tout ce qu'elle contient de remarquable: le tout justifié par des titres authentiques & enrichi de plans, de figures & d'une carte topographique*. Paris: Chez Frederic Leonard, 1706: 61.

14. Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 94.

15. Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 10.

16. *Des maîtres plus instruits, qui avaient eux-mêmes recueilli leur savoir dans différents centres, y enseignaient les sujets plus âgés et capables 'études plus relevées*. ("The more educated teachers, who had collected themselves their knowledge from different centers, where they taught ancient subjects and other relevant studies"). Platelle, Henri. *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand...*: 65.



magister repeated them again and again until the pupils memorized the one hundred and fifty Psalms.¹⁷ Afterwards they started to learn how to read and write Latin. The attendance to service “provided the young oblate with a passive knowledge of the shapes of Latin words”.¹⁸ The first reading-book was the Psalter, which by now they must have memorized, continuing with the memorization of word lists, followed by practicing the letters of the alphabets on wax tablets. This was combined with the study of grammar: The first subject of the *trivium* to be learned. The importance of grammar is based in the notion that it enhances the understanding of the world of God manifested in the Holy Scriptures. Aside from the theoretical works of classical and medieval grammarians, the works of Christian poets, especially Prudentius, were used to illustrate examples of the principles of grammar and prosody.¹⁹

After studying grammar, the students were introduced to rhetoric and dialectic. The order in which these were taught changed depending on the school. Dialectic was used to define ideas and formulate arguments.²⁰ Students also had to study rhetoric, but only the theory. Cicero remained the authority and his *De Inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were the usual texts to teach and learn this subject.²¹

The presence of Prudentius’ works in these abbeys is quite understandable considering the teaching curriculum. Some of the manuscripts, even exhibit the intrinsic relationship between these Christian poet’s works and grammar. Manuscript Burm. Q.3 begins with a grammar treatise (ff. 1v-8v), and Ms. 10066-77 has some grammatical notes (ff. 139v, 161v-162r) and words lists (ff. 89r-111v). Whether these folios were added when Prudentius’ works were copied or later, they are evidence of the importance of his work for the learning of grammar.

2.2 The act of reading

The different miniatures of the *Psychomachia* in these five codices are intertwined with the verses of the poem, which means that the reader reads the image and the text, he links the images to the words of vice versa. For understanding this it is important to review how the reading process was and what it meant to be literate during the Middle Ages. Today, the meaning of being literate is very different of what it meant during medieval times, and this also changed depending on the

17. Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 97-98.

18. Law, Vivien. “The Study of Grammar”, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Rosamond McKitterick, ed. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1997: 88.

19. Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 101-102.

20. Law, Vivien. “The Study of Grammar...”: 97; Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 117.

21. Butterfield, David. “Classical Manuscripts at St Gall and Reichenau”. *Carolingian Culture at Reichenau & St. Gall. 2012. The Carolingian Libraries of St. Gall and Reichenau*. University of California-Los Angeles. 25 April 2015 <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/tours_classical_mss.html>; Reynolds, Suzanne. *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1996: 28; Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 114-115.



period. Being a literate in the Early Middle Ages, within the monastic culture, was not the same as being literate in the Late Middle Ages around the growing cities.²²

In the period that is being studied, the concept *littera* was associated with the act of speaking and hearing more than that of writing.²³ Isidore of Seville uses the word *littera* to refer both to the written character and to the sound for which it stands.²⁴ Letters are forms connected to sounds or voices but at the same time through the eyesight they help the memory presenting the voices of those that are not physically present.²⁵ So the term *littera* did not only refer to the graphic forms, but also to the sounds of each graphic form. The significance of the image and sound connection has to do with how was the act of reading during the first centuries of the Middle Ages. This, mainly focused in reading aloud, a thing that Michael Camille calls audible reading: seeing, reading and hearing.²⁶

Since late antiquity, audible reading was the common way of reading.²⁷ Reading silently was so rare²⁸ that even Saint Augustin tells in his confessions how astonished he was when he saw Ambrose reading without pronouncing words.²⁹ Reading aloud had many purposes such as helping the illiterate and as an efficient way of memorizing texts. Within the religious community reading was a communal act³⁰ from which all the monks, especially those unable to read, took advantage of it. Examples of audible reading can be found throughout the different activities that took place within the abbey. For example, at service when the Holy Scriptures, Psalms and Hymns were read, during the course of the meals a lector read aloud while the rest of the community ate in silence and listened to him, and at lessons the teacher read aloud from a book.

Even though during the Early Middle Ages abbeys and monasteries were the centers of culture and learning, not all of its members were fully literate, contrary

22. According to Michael Camille depending of the time and period the meanings of words can change. Camille, Michael. "The Gregorian Definition Revisited: Writing and the Medieval Image", *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du 6e "International Workshop on Medieval Societies"*, Centre Ettore Majorana (Erice, Sicile, 17-23 Octobre 1992), Jérôme Baschet, Jean Claude Schmitt, eds. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1996: 91.

23. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and reading: some visual implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy". *Art History*, 8 (1985): 28.

24. Isidore uses the word *littera* ("letter") to refers both to the written character and to the sound for which it stands". See: Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, Oliver Berghof. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 40 (footnote 3); Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1992: 111; Camille, Michael. "The Gregorian Definition...": 92.

25. *Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa verborum, quibus tanta vis est, ut nobis dicta absentium sine voce loquantur*. Isidoro de Sevilla. *Etimologías*, ed. and trans. José Oroz Reta, Manuel A. Marcos Casquero. Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1982: I, 278 (I.iii.1).

26. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 28.

27. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 170.

28. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 170.

29. Agustín de Hipona. *Obras de San Agustín*, ed. Ángel Custodio Vega. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1973: II, 233 (VI.iii).

30. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 33.



to the popular belief that all monks could read and write.³¹ Those able to read in fact were a minority and those that were able to write or (more precisely), capable of copying a text, could not necessarily read what they have copied. Even though the oblates formed quite a numerous group within the abbey, and after finishing their education many of them took the vows and remained in the community,³² they were under formation. It took them various years to have the necessary knowledge to handle complex texts by themselves. Aside from the students in training, there were also other members that could not read: the lay brothers, the ones in charge of the manual works. These men usually joined the community during their adulthood, and in most cases this meant that they were not educated. It seems that there are cases from the 10th century but their role became noticeable during the 11th century when their number increased.³³ If we consider the different members that constituted the monastic community and what Camille states through his analysis, three types of monks can be found within the community: the literate ones, those who needed the literates help to fully understand a text and can be call semi-literates and the illiterates.³⁴

A copyist's or scribes' job mainly consisted in transcribing correctly what was dictated to him and that did not mean that he was a *litteratus* ("literate").³⁵ Within the monastic context the *litteratus* was the person that aside from being able to read a text in Latin, he was also capable of fully understand what was written in this language.³⁶ The first thing a young monk learned to memorize the dogmas and the different teachings of the Church, but this did not mean that they comprehended what they were memorizing. They were in fact semi-literate and not fully literates because they did not comprehend everything. Since many could pronounce what they read in Latin, the understanding of what was read was important thing to be considered a literate. In this period a person who knew how to read did not necessarily know or could read.³⁷ The institutional language was Latin, and all the important documents and texts were written in it, but on a daily basis what was used were the vernaculars.³⁸ Even though many of the monks of a community could read the different manuscripts that the abbey held, only a few could fully comprehend the content of them. This is the main reason why the semi-literates needed the skills of the literate monks in order to have full access to the texts: in order to comprehend its meaning.

31. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 32.

32. Poussin, Clovis. *Monographie de l'abbaye et de l'église de St-Remi de Reims...*: 48.

33. Lawrence, Clifford Hugh. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London-New York: Longman, 1989: 178; Knowles, David. *El monacato cristiano*. Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, S.A., 1969: 73-74; D'Ayzac, Félicie-Marie-Emilie. *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France...*: 75.

34. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 32.

35. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 28.

36. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 28.

37. Reynolds, Suzanne. *Medieval Reading...*: 28.

38. Camille, Michael. "The Gregorian Definition...": 98.



Also, different tools were designed to make these works reachable to the semi-literate individuals. The vernacular glosses are the best known tools. Thanks to these, a literate monk explained in vernacular the main ideas and concepts of the text. The *grammaticus*, *magister*, or the lector who guided the lecture, was another resource for understanding Latin texts.³⁹ Audible reading allowed some comprehension of what was read. The comprehension that came with the audible reading was not only the result of the individual's own thoughts. It was also the product of thoughts, questionings and introspections of the literate aid by monumental paintings, sculptures and many other representations.⁴⁰ Therefore, images where like glosses and allowed a better understanding of the text to those not fully literate.

2.3 The library and scriptorium

These monasteries had important libraries and scriptoriums. Today, thanks to some surviving inventories and the writings of some of the *magistri*, at some extent, subjects and authors that comprised the library and where used as part of the teaching curriculum of these abbeys are known. Most of these consisted of classical authors, the Greek and Latin Fathers, early Christian poets and the Holy Scriptures.⁴¹ Some of the most notorious authors quoted either by the monks or by the inventories are: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Prudentius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Bede, Alcuin, Donatus, Priscian, Quintilian, Virgil, Horace, Terence, Cicero and Ovid.

Books were the main source of cultural dissemination in Carolingian time and afterwards.⁴² The scriptoriums played an important role in this process, by exchanging, lending, copying and producing theme. In some scriptoriums, such as Saint Gall and Reichenau, books were produced to fill the needs of the monastery school and library.⁴³ They borrowed the text from another library and copied it at their scriptorium. Also, there were abbeys that were famous for the production and exportation of certain books. Saint Amand, for example, was well known for its Mass Books.⁴⁴

The first examples of codices can be traced to the 2nd century and in the 4th and 5th century its use became more and more the norm, setting aside the papyrus.⁴⁵

39. Reynolds, Suzanne. *Medieval Reading...*: 29.

40. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 33.

41. Platelle, Henri. *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand...*: 68 ; Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*: 91-124; Poussin, Clovis. *Monographie de l'abbaye et de l'église de St-Remi de Reims...*: 70-71; D'Ayzac, Félicie-Marie-Emilie. *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France...*: 15.

42. McKitterick, Rosammond. "Script and Book Production", *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Rosamond McKitterick, ed. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1997: 221.

43. McKitterick, Rosammond. "Script and Book Production...": 242.

44. McKitterick, Rosammond. "Script and Book Production...": 243.

45. Weitzmann, Kurt. *El rollo y el códice. Un estudio del origen y el método de la iluminación de textos*. Madrid: Nerea. 1990: 58, 60 (original text from 1947); Weitzmann, Kurt. *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript*



Even though manuscripts were used so early in history to transmit and circulate texts, many of the classical, Christian and Jewish works were passed down through 9th century copies. Countless of these texts were shaped by the Carolingian scribes, influencing on the visual and aesthetic comprehension of later centuries.⁴⁶ They were the responsible for the *mise-en-page* of many surviving manuscripts. This arrangement was not arbitrary, but rather well fixed, it had a purpose. The distinct elements that visually comprise the folio such as the use of different shapes and sizes of fonts and images, the arrangement of the text, the columns and the miniatures, seduced and persuaded the reader.

The codex is par excellence the surface in which text and image are bound together. The miniatures of these five codices are not mere aesthetic elements that embellished the pages of the poem. They complement each other and aid the reader in different ways. They can transmit in a more efficient way the meanings of the words and also they can help the reader to memorize them, in our particular case the verses of the *Psychomachia*.⁴⁷ In these five illustrated copies of Prudentius' poem he is depicted once or twice. In every case the effigy is accompanied by a subtitle which can be fully comprehend thanks to the miniature. The images and subtitles are within the text, creating a close relation between image-word-memory.

3. *Prudentius orat: the author's image*

There is a clue within the *Psychomachia* manuscripts that confirm that these were read aloud, Prudentius' image. In these five codices the poet was represented and in four of them twice. This is curious because in the text the author is not mentioned. Even though Helen Woodruff in her study used the pseudo portrait of the author to treat the affiliation problem of the manuscripts, she did not pay attention to the fact that these representations are not related to the text but are inventions of the illuminator or the person that ordered the figures of the text.⁴⁸

These five codices are part of the same group, manuscripts Burm.Q.3 and Lat. 8085 derive from the same prototype (Illustrations 23 and 24). In the nine miniatures with the authors he is in front of an altar and thanks to the *tituli* the anthropomorphic figures can be identified as Prudentius.

In the 9th century manuscripts the author was represented preceding the first twenty verses of the poems in which God is invoked. In the miniatures, Prudentius was depicted in front of an altar, in a praying attitude with his knees on the

Illumination. ed. Herbert L. Kessler. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971: 96.

46. Garrison, Mary. "The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne", *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Rosamond McKitterick, ed. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1997: 112; McKitterick, Rosamond. "Script and Book Production...": 231.

47. McKitterick, Rosamond. "Script and Book Production...": 231; Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 38.

48. Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius...": 52.



ground and his hands raised towards the sky (Illustrations 1, 2 and 3). In these miniatures most of the composition is dominated by the altar and the building has a less important role and was set aside in the background. The façade of the temple resembles that of an antique Roman temple: two columns with capitals and on top a pediment. The title of manuscripts Burm Q. 3 and Ms. 9987-91 is: *Prudentius orat* (Illustration 2). In the Parisian codex: *Prudentii. Invocatio giusde* (Illustration 3).

In these codices there is another representation of the poet. In the three examples, the image precedes the last twenty-five verses of the poem which are a thanksgiving prayer (Illustrations 4, 5 and 6). Here, the illuminators eliminated the altar and only kept the façade of the temple. Prudentius is standing in front of the temple which was drawn in a higher level, and looks towards it. His hands gestures are similar to those in the first representations: open and palms facing up. The *tituli* of these three miniatures says: *Prudentius gratias agit do*.

The 10th century illuminations show a more elaborated composition, in all of them the altar is inside a more embellished temple (Illustrations 7, 8 and 9). Through the entrance and the windows, the altar and a lamp that resembles a lot to a votive crown can be seen (Illustrations 7 and 8). In front of the temple, sitting on what looks like a scriptorium table, is Prudentius. On top of this table are different objects which are related to the act of writing, such as pens, inkwell, and parchment rolls. Thanks to these objects can be inferred that the author is within a space dedicated to the process of writing. Of these two examples only Ms. 10066-77 has a second image of the author (Illustration 9). Again he is in front of a temple, but this is quite different from the rest of the illuminations. This temple resembles mores to a tower and ends with a little altar decorate with a lamp and a cross.

The gestures of the poet in the invocation miniature of the 10th century manuscripts are more intricate and different than those of the 9th century ones. In these two miniatures with his right hand he touches a codex while he elevates his left hand, palm facing up (Illustrations 7 and 8). In the Berm manuscript, aside from touching the codex, Prudentius also holds a stylus which he uses to write. In the 10th century Belgium manuscript he only touches the book but the gesture of his left hand is peculiar, since he brings his thumb to his lips. The *tituli* are different, in Ms. 10066-77 written in yellow ink can be read *Prudentius scolastic orat*. The identification of the Cod. 264 image title was more difficult. The pigments are worn-out, but we managed to read in the read letter over the purple background: *Prudenti, oratio*.

In all of the *tituli* the name of the authors appear and these are helpful to identify the anthropomorphic Illustration. Even though Prudentius' name or any other allusion to his person can be found in the poem, the presence of his portrait or image can be explained through the text of it. The miniatures within these five manuscripts closely followed Prudentius' text. The poem starts with the *Praefatio*, in which some events of Abraham's life are narrated, more precisely Loth's rescue and what came after it. These events where depicted in the five copies. In some of the codices also was included a miniature of the Binding of Isaac, which clearly is connected to the verses about Abraham's descendent and how he followed God's



will.⁴⁹ The *Praefatio* is followed immediately by the poem which begins with a prayer asking God the capacity to defeat the passions and vices and to be able to follow the path of virtues.⁵⁰ The prayer ends saying that the tool to defeat these passions it is in the reader's hand; and immediately the battle of the soul starts. The verses of the poem describe the different combats of the virtues and vices, the victory of the virtues and the sermons pronounced by this. The poem ends with a thanks prayer to God.

The Prudentius' images at the beginning and end of the poem are connected to the verses of the prayers at these parts of the poem. Read aloud the verses of both prayers inside a monastery could have been interpreted as the readers praying instead of the author's prayer. It is very difficult to establish the active voice, because the conjugation of the verbs in these verses points out to a third person singular form or a first person plural form. This confusion is cleared out through the poet's portrait. The miniatures and its *tituli* clearly states who pronounces the worlds: the author. Thanks to the images and the articulation of words it is possible for does voices that are not physically present, to be present.

The *tituli* of Prudentius' miniatures help the spectator to identify the human Illustration as the poet, but in a transversal way the images also help to clarify the meaning of the *tituli*. The gestures of the images enrich the titles. The word *orat* appears in four of the miniatures. This word can be translated and understood as 'pray', but this is not the meaning in all the cases. In the depictions where Prudentius is on his knees in a praying attitude *Prudentius orat* can be perfectly translated for Prudentius prays (Illustrations 1).⁵¹ The gestures of the portrait in the codex of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* is the same but instead of *orat* was used the word *invocation*. This can be translated to 'invoke', perfectly describing the action of the Illustration: the poet invokes God's guidance through a praying (Illustration 3).

In the two 10th century representations different forms of *orat* could be found. In these cases, their meaning change and it cannot be translated for to pray because the gestures of the Illustrations do not show this action. It is thanks to the hand gesture of the Illustration that the meaning of *orat* can be clarified (Illustrations 7 and 8). *Orat*, form the Latin verb *oro*, aside from to pray, also stands for other actions such as: to say, to speak and even to pronounce. The hand gestures of the poet in Cod. 264, elevated hand palm facing up, and the more specific gesture of Ms. 10066-77, the thumb touching his mouth, points out that he is speaking or saying something. In the Belgium manuscript (Illustration 8) the Illustration turns the page of the book his holding, as he is reading the text. In other words, the hand gesture clarifies the meaning and also assures the viewers that the action taking place is that of speaking. Prudentius is not only writing the first verses, the praying, of his poem but he is pronouncing them also. The author's portrait reminds the reader that the

49. Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio. *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio...: 308-309 (Psychomachia, "Praefatio", vv. 1-10).*

50. Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio. *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio...: 312-313 (Psychomachia, vv. 1-18).*

51. Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes: dans l'occident Médiéval*. Paris: Gallimard, 1992.



active voice thru the first and last verses is Prudentius'. As Isidore asserted, through the eyesight it is possible to give a voice and hear those who are not physically present.⁵² This is done not only with graphic symbols, letters, but also with the aid of images. Before reading the texts of the praying verses, the reader or spectator read Prudentius' image which introduces them to the following verses. Aside from giving the author a voice in Isidore's sense, the 10th century illuminations, served also as proof of how the reading process was during this period, even though it is unknown if the *tituli* were read aloud or were read only by the *litteratus* or the semi-literate. What it is clear in these different representations of the poet is that regardless of the verb used in the *tituli* they all state that *littera* are been pronounced.

4. The battles of virtues and vices: the narrative cycle

The diverse battles between the virtues and vices take place immediately after the praying verses. They follow the same schemes as Prudentius' image: first, it is the miniature of the combat or any other scene and after it the verses in which these are described. The 9th century codices have approximately eighty miniatures directly related to the verses. The 10th century manuscripts have fewer images: Ms. 10066-77 has around 52 while Cod. 264, approximately 38. Even though the 10th century manuscripts have less miniatures than the rest of the codices, the most important and memorable scenes, such as the ones where a vice attacks a virtue, the moment when the virtue defeats the vice and kills her, and the following scene after the virtue's victory were kept in the five codices. Certain characteristics also were kept: the depiction of the vices as monstrous and hideous Illustrations, the use of red ink in the monochrome manuscripts (Ms. 9987-91 and Burm.Q.3) to highlight the blood and the *tituli* in red which describe the different scenes and also helps identifying the virtues and vices. Regardless some of the stylistics differences, in the five manuscripts the body language and energy of the anthropomorphic Illustrations in the various illuminations stand out, especially in those of the combats and the vices' death.

The hand gestures and the *tituli* in Prudentius' images are what allowed the spectator to fully understand the meaning of the image. Hand gestures can be found throughout the entire poem, specifically in each part of the poem when the different virtues reprimand (*increpat*) the conquered vices, as if they were pronouncing *littera*. In these particular scenes, as in the miniatures with the author's effigy, we can find subtitles that clarified the meaning of the image. Usually in the *tituli* appear the name of the virtue with the word *increpat* and under the miniature the named virtue with her hand in a similar manner to Prudentius'. Nevertheless, the gestures of the virtues are similar of those of the poet, in this particular case they are not the

52. Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías.....: 278 (I.iii.1).



illuminators personal creation. They are following what the texts implies, the text was transcribed in an image.

Thanks to Prudentius' miniatures the person with the active voice in the first and final verses of the poem can be identified: the poet himself. Also they remind the readers and spectators that the poem begins and ends with a prayer, engraving in their memory the *incipit* and the *excipit* of the literary work. The author's image presents the persons that is not physically present, but in the case of the virtues and vices does not work in the same manner.

All of these miniatures graphically summarize the most memorable verses of the poem. In many illustrated Carolingian manuscripts, especially those with works in verses, the images worked as glosses of the text that allowed a better understanding of it, such as in the Utrecht Psalter.⁵³ These Prudentius' manuscripts are not an exception. But also all the miniatures of the *Psychomachia* codices function as mnemonic tools.⁵⁴ Within the monastic context most of the medieval knowledge was transmitted by memory, this was one of the main reasons it was so important to memorize different texts.

5. Medieval memory: the importance of memorizing

Through its vivid and elaborated allegories, the *Psychomachia* turned an abstract subject to a concrete one. This allowed it to gain a lot of popularity throughout the Middle Ages. Nowadays, it is unknown who Prudentius wrote his poem to, but as early as the 4th century the battle against vices and passions affected religious men. In this subject many have written and have given advice on how to keep away from them.⁵⁵ Despite these men's efforts, the *Psychomachia* was the tool that offered men how to defeat them: the virtues.⁵⁶ Even Prudentius asserts this in the last three verses of the invocation: *Vicendi paresens ratio est, si comminus ipsas / virtutum facies et conculcantia contra / viribus infestis liceat portenta notare.*⁵⁷

During the Early and High Middle Ages the *Battle of the Soul* was an important resource within the monastics communities. This was a key tool within the

53. Sánchez Ameijeiras, Rocío. *Los rostros de las palabras. Imágenes y teoría literaria en el Occidente Medieval*. Madrid: Akal, 2014: 191.

54. Mary Carruthers in *The Craft of Thought* briefly analyses some of the mnemonic qualities of one of the *Psychomachia* manuscript. Carruthers, Mary. *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1998: 143-150.

55. Evagrius Ponticus compiled the first list of vices that affected the souls of monks. Eventually Johan Cassian and Gregory the Great also treated the subject. See: Newhauser, Richard. *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1993.

56. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia...*: 4.

57. "The path to victory is there before your eyes. We must study the features of the virtues and the dark monsters waiting there to challenge their strength". Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio. *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio...*: 312-313 (*Psychomachia*, vv. 18-20).



curriculum, especially for teaching grammar.⁵⁸ Also it was used as a moral treatise, and it was used to learn the stories of the Bible, because its structure resembled a little one. It begins with a story of Genesis and ends with apocalyptic allusions.⁵⁹ The fact that today more than three hundred copies, illustrated and unillustrated, of Prudentius' work survived, the great amount of glosses within them and the use of his work as an authority confirms the popularity of Prudentius during the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ Since the combat against vices began in the monasteries, it was imperative for the monks of the community to know with what they were dealing with and as Saint Paul says: "Put on the full armor of God so as to be able to resist the devil's tactics" (*Ephesians*, 6:11).

Because the poem was important for the study and learning of grammar and also provided the path of how to conquer the vices that invaded the thoughts and acts of anyone, it was essential for religious men to learn by memory Prudentius' poem.⁶¹ Within the moral, memory plays a key role. This provides the capacity that shows or represents the experiences that will help to make any moral judgment.⁶² The moral value of memory was important for praying and meditation.⁶³ For studying grammar memorizing was so crucial that learning to memorize or to read was thought as the same activity.⁶⁴

The practice of memorization was crucial for learning anything, especially to read and write. During the course of the Middle Age the role of memory was essential. All that was learned from books was archived in this: the different sermons and above all the moral behaviors which will gain an individual eternal salvation.⁶⁵ Through the repetition of a text read aloud this was engraved in the mind of a person, and for this audible reading was used as a mnemonic device.⁶⁶ However, the best sense to use for memorizing was the eyesight and not the hearing.⁶⁷

The eyesight was linked to the memorization process and also to the process of reading. Even though reading was done aloud, it was necessary to see the different

58. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*...: 11.

59. To Sinéad O'Sullivan the structure of the *Psychomachia* resembles the Bible. According to Gernot Wieland the episodes of Abrahams' life and the Apocalypses are not enough proves to state that the structure of the poem follows the Bible. Regardless of Wieland's statement, we most highlight that throughout the poem, particularly within the virtues' speeches, there are a lots of references to different stories from the Old and New Testament. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*...: 128; Wieland, Gernot. "Review Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia': The Weitz Tradition". *Speculum*, 80/3 (2005): 945.

60. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*...: 20.

61. O'Sullivan, Sinéad. *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*...: 131.

62. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 68.

63. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 101.

64. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 101.

65. Kimberly A. Rivers analyzes the use of mental images of the virtues and vices as mnemonic devices between the 12th and 13th century for the act of preaching. Rivers, Kimberly A. *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice. Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

66. Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 30.

67. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 73; Camille, Michael. "The Gregorian Definition...": 99.



letters and words and memorize these images to do it right.⁶⁸ So, mnemonic devices were developed in different learning centers. Things (*ad res*) or words (*ad verba*) could be memorized.⁶⁹ Medieval mnemonics were inspired by classical texts. Cicero's treatises the *Ad Herennium* or *De Inventione* established the rules of classic mnemonics and are related to classical rhetoric.⁷⁰ Aside from the theoretical teaching of these treatises, the Medieval world found useful its advices for learning moral. These treatises recommended the memorization of *ad res*, which was more effective than memorizing *ad verba*.⁷¹ For the mnemonics to work, the *memoria ad res* created mental images also known as *phantasmata* which were the product of material images, memory images or linguistics images.⁷²

According to these texts, it was necessary the creation of *loci* for memorizing *ad res*, places within the mind in which the person was going to keep the *phantasmata* (the mental image) of whatever he wanted to memorize. The authors of these treatises established as the *loci*, the rooms of architectural spaces, and its descriptions should include its location or the different things that decorate it.⁷³ Even though late antiquity preferred a three-dimensional space to establish the mind spaces, the first centuries of the Middle Ages favored the two-dimensional surface. The best example is the manuscript's folio.⁷⁴

The folio of a manuscript was an essential tool for memorizing. For this reason, it was encouraged to memorize the text from the same written source.⁷⁵ Later on Victor of Saint Hugh transferred the mnemonic practices to the structure of the folios and its decorations.⁷⁶ The columns, paragraph and even the images of the sheets became the *loci* of memory.⁷⁷ The constant emphasis in memorizing images has to do with the fact that through this it is possible to retain effectively more information.⁷⁸ According to Yates, during the Middle Ages the artificial memory was relocated from the learning of rhetoric to the learning of ethics.⁷⁹ This moralized the

68. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 19.

69. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 73.

70. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*. Madrid: Taurus, 1974: 13-41 (Chapter: "Las tres fuentes latinas del arte clásica de la memoria").

71. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...; Geary, Patrick. "Memoria", *Diccionario razonado del Occidente medieval*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal S.A., 2003: 533.

72. Schmitt, Jean-Claude. "Imago': de l'image à l'imaginaire", *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du 6e "International Workshop on Medieval Societies", Centre Ettore Majorana (Erice, Sicile, 17-23 Octobre 1992)*, Jérôme Baschet, Jean Claude Schmitt, eds. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1996: 29.

73. Yates in her book also describes some of the classical treatises of memory, such as Cicero's *Ad Herennium*, *De Inventione* and *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Instituto oratoria*. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...: 13-41.

74. Geary, Patrick. "Memoria...": 533; Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...

75. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 9.

76. Rivers, Kimberly A. *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice*...: 47.

77. Patrick Geary points out the mnemonic use of illuminations within a manuscript. Geary, Patrick. "Memoria...": 533.

78. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 73.

79. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...: 76.



imagines agentes and throughout the physical resemblance of these Illustrations it was possible to distinguish between those acts that could help an individual in the afterlife to win Heaven or avoid Hell.⁸⁰

Prudentius' vivid allegories and its many Biblical references showed religious men determined sinful behaviors that they needed to avoid and the path to follow in order to gain salvation. Very early in history, the mental images created by the author became real ones, since some scholars affirm that as early as the 5th century illuminated manuscripts of the *Battle of the Soul* were circulating.⁸¹ It can be concluded that it was an imperative for any religious men to learn by memory the entire poem and this was easily possible by creating certain images that helped the artificial memory.

Early monastic rules encouraged the members of the monastic community to fully memorize in a right manner the different texts of their libraries, above all those of Christian authorship, and Prudentius' work was part of this list.⁸² After all, the classical poet's work was an essential one during the Middle Ages. We only need to consider the amount of manuscripts that today survive or all the different artistic and literary works that were influenced and inspired by this poem. Through the illuminations of these manuscripts is possible to engrave in the mind the verses of the poem. This works for all of the parts of the poem, because even the verses of the *Praefatio* have been represented following the scheme mentioned above.

After explaining how significant was the memory for the monastic culture between the Early and High Middle Ages, the period where these five manuscripts were illuminated, the word-image-memory relationship mentioned at the beginning of this paper can be clarified. This connection work as follow: an individual reads a text which he needs to learn by memory. The first image or images he perceives are the words. In order to retain them he must create a *phantasmata* of them. This will be perceived and analyzed by the mind, and stored in an organized place, keeping in mind the structure of the folio, and lastly the text which wants to be memorized will be kept.⁸³ It is easier to remember it with the help of a visual stimulus; after all we think in images.⁸⁴ These must be engraved in the mind as a wax seal and should be memorable. Memorable images:

[...] should be of moderate size, but that is their only moderate feature. Because the memory retains distinctly only what is extraordinary, wonderful, and intensely charged with emotion, the images should be of extremes –of ugliness or beauty,

80. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria...*: 98.

81. Stettiner, Richard. *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften...*; Mâle, Émile. *El arte religioso del siglo XIII en Francia...*; Woodruff, Helen. "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius...": 31-79; Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art...*

82. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory...*: 88; Ganz, David. "The Libraries, Librarians and Library Catalogues of Reichenau and St. Gall". *Carolingian Culture at Reichenau & St. Gall. 2012. The Carolingian Libraries of St. Gall and Reichenau*. University of California-Los Angeles. 24 April 2015 <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/tours_libraries.html>.

83. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory...*: 17.

84. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria...*: 49.



ridicule or nobility, of laughter or weeping, of worthiness or salaciousness. Bloody figures, or monstrosities, or figures brilliantly but abnormally colored should be used, and they should be engage in activity of a sort that is extremely vigorous.⁸⁵

For contemporary scholars of medieval memory, such as Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers, the phantasmata materialized and became real images depicted in different mediums. The creation of images, mental or real, was a reciprocal one. Well-known representations could be used as phantasmata. This speeded up the memorization process because the individual did not have to create new images. He just needed to use the ones that already were given to him.⁸⁶ These mnemonic practices of the classical and medieval world were used in the illuminations of these *Psycomachia* manuscripts, and they function as follow.

5.1 *Virtues and Vices as mnemonic devices*

All the miniatures in these manuscripts were painted within the columns of the text, especially those where the virtues and vices are located. Apart from the Parisian manuscript, the rest of them were written in one column in which the text and the images that illustrate it are fixed in between. The *tituli* were written in red on top the scene they describe. In these five manuscripts the same scenes are immediately followed by the same verses. Even though the text of Ms. Lat. 8085 was written in two columns, the scheme was kept and every single illumination was placed in the same order following the exact same verses that in the codices arranged in one column

Several characteristics in these codices should be pointed out. First, they were likely illustrated with similar gestures. Also, the vices were depicted as grotesque figures. And in all of them particular scenes were kept like the one where the virtues lecture the vices or the one where the virtues kill the vices.

Some of these traits were the ones considered by Richard Stettiner and Helen Woodruff to catalog these manuscripts under the same group, as it can be observed in both stemmas (Illustrations 23 and 24). This sort of explains the resemblances in composition and style.⁸⁷ Beside the visual likeness of all of them, they also share other features such as the geographical zone they were created and their relationship with important Benedictine abbeys and the Carolingian world.

Monasteries exchange codices to make copies of them and enlarge their libraries.⁸⁸ The abbeys of Saint-Denis, Saint-Amand, Saint-Laurent, Saint-Gall, Saint-Remi were connected in many aspects. This relationship was not only enclosed to the inter-library loan. It also comprised the different members of the community; these

85. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 133

86. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...: 103.

87. See Richard Stettiner's work: Stettiner, Richard. *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*...

88. Pächt, Otto. *La miniatura medieval: una introducción*. Madrid: Alianza, 1987: 74-75.



often were assigned to serve as teachers and even as abbots of other cloisters.⁸⁹ This can explain some of the similarities between the codices, above all the arrangement of the scenes and the text, but the location of these miniatures is not arbitrary. In all the cases, each miniature precedes the verse they depict. The reader or spectator first reads the verses in image and then in written words. The columns and the arrangements of the illuminations became the *loci*. The images were located in specific places of the text to remember the *ad res*. The *ad res* helps remembering the main idea or topic of what wants to be reminded and allows the person to explain the text in its own words.⁹⁰ When reading, first one sees the graphical representation and then the verses. The image allows us to know the verses in advance. As an example, the first scene of the poem will be used to explain how this works. The *Cultura deorum* and *Fides* scene begins with the representation of it and through the image the spectator knows in advance that *Fides*, with bare shoulders, is the first virtue to come to the battle field. Immediately she is attacked by *Cultura deorum* (Illustrations 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14). The representation is followed by the text in which, in written words, displays the same information of the image:

*Prima petit campum dubia sub sorte duelli
pugnatura Fides agresti turbida cultu
nuda umeros intonsa comas exerta lacertos.
Namque repentinus laudis calor ad noua feruens
proelia nec telis meminit nec tegmine cingi;
pectore sed fidens valido membrisque reiectis
provocat insani frangenda pericula belli.
Ecce lacessentem conlantis viribus audet
prima ferire Fidem veterum Cultura deorum.*⁹¹

This first scene is just an example, but this exercise can be perfectly done with any other scene and verse of these manuscripts.

In these manuscripts the use of the folio as the location for the *loci* is not the only mnemonic advice used. In the different miniatures some particularities that make them memorable can be identified and these can also be considered mnemonic devices. These

89. For the subject see: Prache, Anne. *Saint-Remi de Reims...*; Platelle, Henri. *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand...*; Clark, James Midgley. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre...*; D'Ayzac, Félicie-Marie-Emilie. *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France...*; Poussin, Clovis. *Monographie de l'abbaye et de l'église de St-Remi de Reims...*; Félibien, Michel. *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France...*

90. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory...*: 87.

91. "Faith is the first to appear on the field to face the uncertainty of this conflict. Her rough dress is disheveled, her shoulders are bare, her long hair is untrimmed and her arms are uncovered. The glow on her skin is caused by the prospect of sudden and unexpected battle. She hurls to enter new contests, she ignores the demands of armor. Faith puts her confidence in her strong heart and arms. She scorns the dangers of hand-to-hand combat and intends to destroy her foe by exhausting him. The first adversary approaches Faith; it is Worship-of-the-Old-Gods who proposes to accept the challenge of Faith". Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio. *Obras Completas de Aurelio Prudencio...*: 312-313 (*Psychomachia*, vv. 21-29).



memorable characteristics are almost in all the miniatures: the figures' posture and more precisely the hand gestures in the scenes where the virtues lecture the dead vices. In these scenes, the winning virtue elevates her hand, two fingers pointing out and the rest close, in a scolding attitude. In each *titulus* of these scenes the verb used is *inrepat*. This can be translated for 'to reprimand' or to 'scold', confirming that the action taking place is a scolding. The verses that come next have the complete reprimand to the defeated vice. For example, in Ms. 9987-91 in the miniature *Pacientia victrix Iram mortuam inrepat* (Illustration 15) with one hand *Pacientia* is holding her spear and shield and with the other one she is pointing out two fingers towards the defeated and death *Ira*. This gesture shows the reader that she is saying something. Based on this gesture, the religious man that consulted the manuscripts could know that every time he sees a virtue or vice with its hand in the same manner it means that the figures were pronouncing something, and in most of the cases scolding the vice (*inrepat*) (Illustrations 15, 16 and 17).

Other memorable features are the tremendously vigorous actions of the figures in the combats and the death scenes. The vices rush against the virtues as in the scene *Cultura Deorum attacks Fides* (Illustrations 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14). Also, the virtues kill the vices, they cut their throats, decapitate or dismember them (Illustrations 18, 19 and 20). In addition, in some scenes certain vices are defeated by their own actions (Examples *Ira*, *Superbia* or *Luxuria*). These actions are all enhanced through the pictorial quality of the miniatures: fast and short traces.

All over the poem the vices are described as wild monsters: some of them with froth, others with long-haired and others with swelling eyes. As *Fides*, the virtues are calm, while the depictions of the vices followed closely the verses and are agitated, furious, and once death their bodies are in bizarre positions, not human at all (Illustrations 10 to 19). Through these gestures the internal movement of the soul, the emotions and the moral life of an individual is physically revealed. Because God is eternal, immovable and the virtues are directly related to Him, they are represented calm and hieratical. On the other hand, the quick and vigorous movements of the vices are common of unstable and earthlier attitudes.⁹²

Apart from the vitality of the figures, other elements were taken from the different advices on memorable images and these also lure the eye of the reader or observer. In some cases, colors were used to accomplish this, like for example, the red of the blood. Regardless the color arrangement of the five manuscripts, monochrome or polychrome, this color and its different shades were used in the miniatures of the five codices. In the monochrome manuscript is the only color that can be found, as it was important for the miniaturist to emphasize these details. In Ms. 10066-77 the faces of the vices were painted green making them more hideous (Illustrations 14 and 21).⁹³

In the first scene of the poem of the 10th century Belgium codex, *Cultura Deorum*, aside from the green face, was depicted also with horns, as if she was a devil (Illustration

92. Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes...*: 26-29 ; Camille, Michael. *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. London: Reaktion books, 1992: 60.

93. "Bloody figures, or monstrosities, or figures brilliantly but abnormally colored should be used [...]". Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory...*: 133.



14). Her counterpart, *Fides* is an androgynous figure, her bare chest shows her breasts but her face is embellished with a beard. She has a halo, even though her description in the poem does not mention this symbol. In this exact same scene of the French manuscript *Fides* was also depicted with a halo (Illustration 12). Regardless the poem not mentioning this attribute, it can be state that the presence of the nimbus enhances the divine quality of Faith, after all these is one of the theological virtues and men can only acquire these virtues by been infuse with divine grace. The figure of *Fides* in Ms. 10066-77, with the beard and the nimbus, evokes a Christ like figure. This virtue was depicted in the two preceding miniatures, but there is not any trace of the beard (Illustration 22). A possible explanation for this detail could be that it was added by a user of the manuscript, which had in mind the Pauline notion that Jesus brings the obedience of faith (*Romans*, 16: 25-27).

In overall these characteristics, the vigor, the gestures, and every distinctive feature of each figure, turn the miniatures of these manuscripts into *imagines agentes*. The closeness to reality, which is accomplished through the use of very well-known images such as those related to the battle and the military world, or symbols already known by the Christian culture such as the palm branch for martyrs, and the halo for reinforcing the idea of holiness, heavenly and divine, of these representations arouse the emotions of the overseers, engraving theme more efficiently in the mind.⁹⁴ The affective quality is important because it helps the memory of any individual and inside the monastic community the semi-literate religious men.⁹⁵ All these visual elements within these manuscripts were used as mnemonic devices to memorize the *Psychomachia*.

As we tried to prove through this paper, the different advices and teachings of the art of memory were applied in these manuscripts and can be found in the different elements and characteristics of them. The arrangement of the scenes is not a random one, but rather is a well thought one because it follows the narration and introduces the reader to it. The images clearly explain the text and the subtitles are barely needed to identify them. A semi-literate or illiterate monk could only have needed to see and memorize each image to remember the *ad res* of the entire poem. After all, when memorizing the thing that was important was retaining the general matter of the text and not the text itself verse by verse.⁹⁶

These early manuscripts are linked directly to the monastic culture and the needs of the individuals of these communities. Despite the fact that this poem is an abstract allegory because the place or *loci* of the battle is intangible because it is within the soul, the author created an allegory that surpassed the limits of mental images, becoming real ones, as the ones in these codices. These real images and its *tituli* allowed the illiterate and semi-literate to memorize the poem, since all the verses have an image equivalent.

94. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...: 23.

95. Yates, Frances Amelia. *El arte de la memoria*...: 23; Camille, Michael. "Seeing and Reading...": 37.

96. Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*...: 87.



Illustrations



ILLUSTRATION 1. BIBLIOTHEEK DER UNIVERSITEIT, LEIDEN. BURM. Q.3 *PRUDENTIUS ORAT*, f. 122r. (9th CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: SOCRATES.LEIDENUNIV.NL.



ILLUSTRATION 2. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 9987-91, *PRUDENTIUS ORAT*, f. 102r. (CIRCA 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.





ILLUSTRATION 3. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS. MS. LAT. 8085, *PRUDENTII. INVOCATIO EIUS DEO*, F. 56V. (9TH CENTURY).
ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: GALlica.BNF.FR.



ILLUSTRATION 4. BIBLIOTHEEK DER UNIVERSITEIT, LEIDEN. BURM. Q.3., *GRATIAS AGIT DO*, F. 149R. (9TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: SOCRATES.LEIDENUNIV.NL.



ILLUSTRATION 5. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 9987-91, *PRUDENTIUS GRATIAS AGIT DEO*, F. 129R. (CIRCA 890).
ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 6. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS. MS. LAT. 8085, *PRUDENTIUS GRATIAS AGIT DEO*, F. 69V. (9TH CENTURY).
ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.





ILLUSTRATION 7. BURGERBIBLIOTHEK, BERN. COD. 264, *PRUDENTI...ORATIO POETATE*, F. 4R. (CIRCA 900). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: WWW.E-CODICES.UNIFR.CH (E-CODICES-VIRTUAL MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY OF SWITZERLAND).



ILLUSTRATION 8. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 10066-77, *PRUDENTIUS SCOLASTIC ORAT*, F. 14V. (10TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 9. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 10066-77, *PRUDENTIUS ORAT*, F. 128v. (10TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 10. BIBLIOTHEEK DER UNIVERSITEIT, LEIDEN. BURM. Q.3., *FIDES PUGNAT CONTRA VETERUM CULTURAM DEORUM*, F. 122v. (9TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: SOCRATES.LEIDENUNIV.NL.





ILLUSTRATION 11. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 9987-91, *FIDES PUGNAT CONTRA VETERUM CULTU DEORUM*, f. 102v. (circa 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 12. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS. MS. LAT. 8085, *FIDES SE CURA ADHUC BELLIS IDOLATRIAM REPUGNAT PRIMA*, f. 56v. (9th century). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: GALICA.BNF. FR.



ILLUSTRATION 13. BURGERBIBLIOTHEK, BERN. COD. 264, *FIDES, CULTURA DEORUM*, F. 4v. (CIRCA 900). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: WWW.E-CODICES.UNIFR.CH.

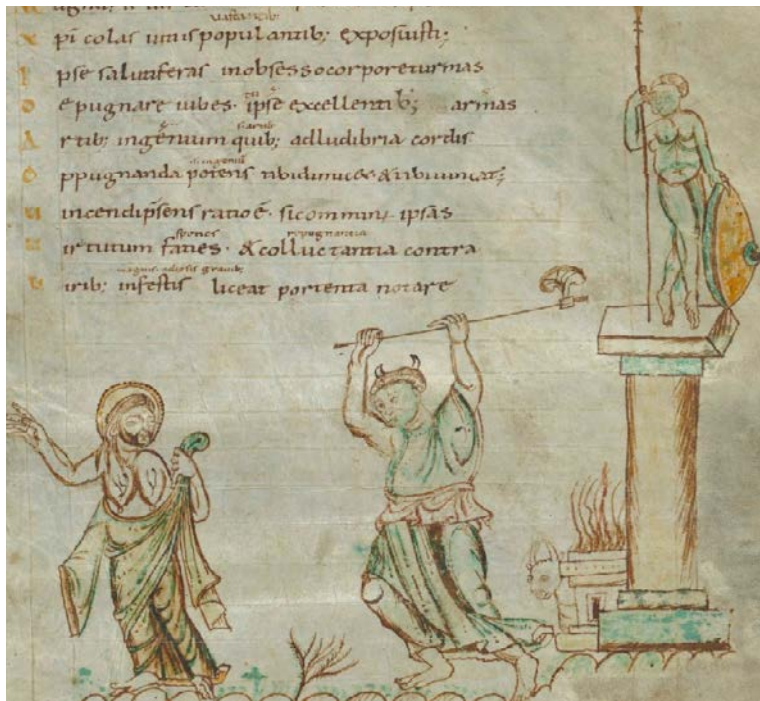


ILLUSTRATION 14. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSEL. MS. 10066-77, *CULTURA DEORUM ATTACKS A FIDES* F. 115r. (10TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.





ILLUSTRATION 15. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 9987-91, *PACIENTIA VICTRIX IRAM MORTUAM INCREPAT*, F. 107V. (CIRCA 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.

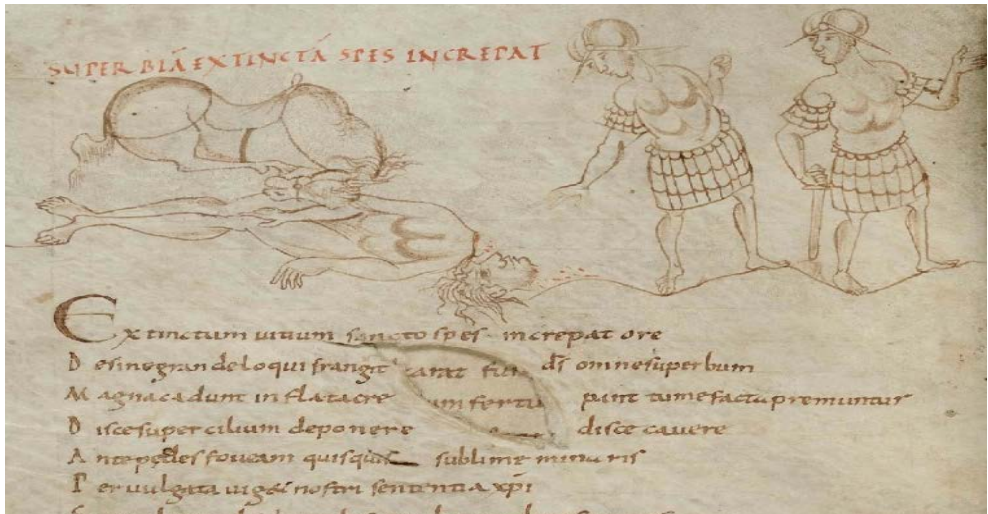


ILLUSTRATION 16. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 9987-91, *SUPERBIA EXTINCTA SPES INCREPAT*, F. 111V. (CIRCA 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 17. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. Ms. 9987-91, *SOBRIETAS INCREPAT LUXURIAM EXTINGTAM*, F. 115R. (CIRCA 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 18. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. Ms. 9987-91, *PUDICITIA LIBIDINEM TRANSFIGIT GLADIO*, F. 104R. (CIRCA 890). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.





ILLUSTRATION 19. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS. MS. LAT. 8085, *HUMILITAS CAPUT SUPERBLAE OFFERT SPEI*, f. 61r. (9th century). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: GALlica.BNF.FR.



ILLUSTRATION 20. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. MS. 10066-77, *MEN AND ANIMALS DISMEMBER DISCORDIA*, f. 133v. (10th century). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 21. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. Ms. 10066-77, *DISCORDIA IS UNCOVERED*, f. 123v. (10TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



ILLUSTRATION 22. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS. Ms. 10066-77, *FIDES VETERUM CULTURAM DEORUM PROSTERNIT ET PEDE CALCAT* AND *FIDES MARTYRIBUS SANCTIS CORONAS OFFERT*, f. 115v. (10TH CENTURY). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR, FROM: KBR.BE/FR.



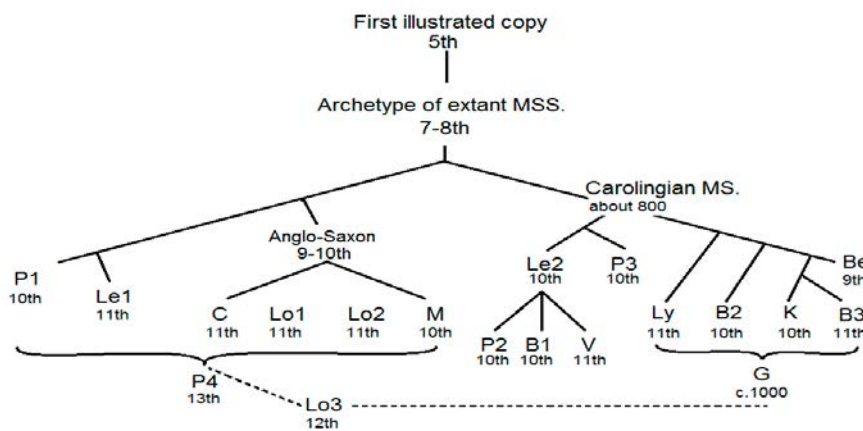


ILLUSTRATION 23. RICHARD STETTINER’S STEMMA. FROM: STETTINER, RICHARD. *DIE ILLUSTRIRTEN PRUDENTIUSHANDSCHRIFTEN...*: 21; WOODRUFF, HELEN. “THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS...”: 48.

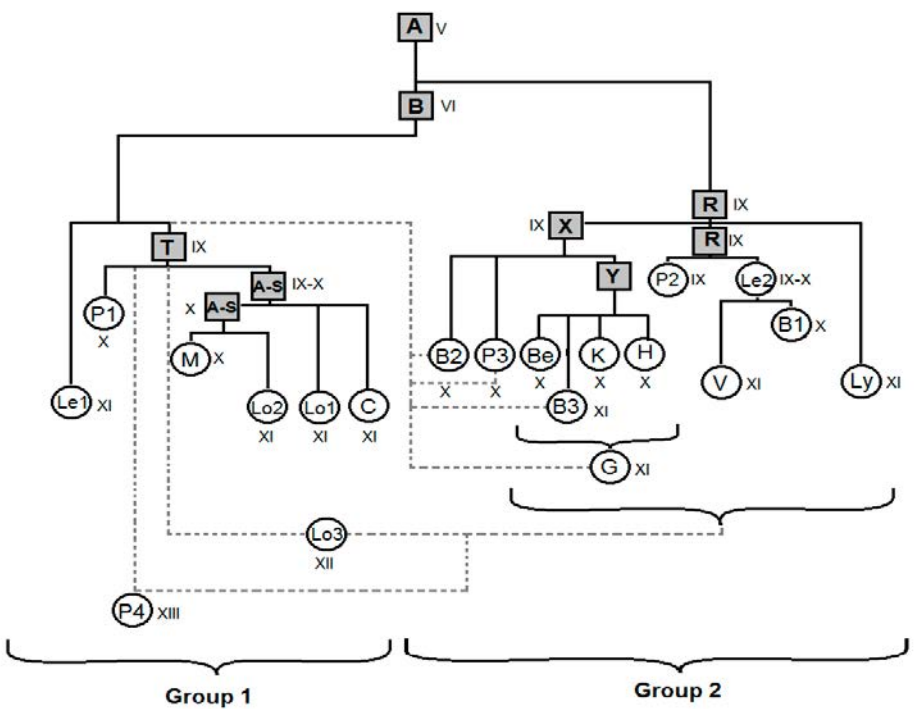


ILLUSTRATION 24. HELEN WOODRUFF’S STEMMA. FROM: WOODRUFF, HELEN. “THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS...”: 50.

GREYWARE POTTERY FROM SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL: SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE OF UTILITARIAN COOKING POTS IN MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

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ABSTRACT

Medieval greyware pottery from Sant Miquel de la Vall presents a specific case for the study of this type of production in Catalonia. The archaeometric characterization of a group of 10 samples, consisting of their petrographic analysis based on the microscopical examination of thin sections and their chemical and mineral characterization through the analysis of X Ray Fluorescence (XRF) and X Ray Diffraction (XRD), has allowed to identify up to four different productions, some of which have also been retrieved in distant sites located on the areas of Anoia and Gironès. The aim of this paper is to present some thoughts about the possible routes of distribution and exchange of pottery in the Middle Age and on the role played by the rivers Segre, Llobregat and Ter in connecting different sites throughout the Catalan landscape between 11th and 12th centuries.¹

KEYWORDS

Middle Age, Greyware Pottery, Petrography, X Ray Fluorescence, and X Ray Diffraction.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Medium Aevum, Ceramica cinerea, Petrographia, Radiorum X fluorescentia et Radiorum X diffractio.

1. Introduction

Utilitarian cooking wares fired under reducing atmosphere, usually known as ‘greyware’, constitute one of the most common archaeological remains in Medieval sites in Catalonia, the North of the Iberian Peninsula, the South of France and Italy. Commonly regarded as local products, their process of manufacture has often been interpreted either as a seasonal activity, complementing agricultural and herding activities in order to satisfy domestic needs, or as a trade product in narrow circles, like small local markets. The highly utilitarian quality of these products, often lacking ornamentation or just including simple carved motives, and the continuance of their simple shape for very long periods of time make it very difficult to interpret their origin only through a morphologic and macroscopic approach.

For the last few years, a multidisciplinary research project has been carried out focusing on the analysis of a large group of greywares from all over Catalonia, aiming to define with precision the existence of production areas with singular features and their interrelation at the territorial level. The result of this project has revealed the general scenario of production and distribution of this type of product, showing a distinction between major and minor production centres scattered throughout the territory, and causing different impact on the land according to their productive capacity.² In general, this type of cooking-ware corresponds in fact to a narrow regional production, strongly influenced by the local production and distribution networks. However, the word ‘local’ turns out to be an imprecise denomination when defining this type of production.

In fact, the word ‘local’ has been triggering extensive reflection and discussion for so long. Since the first analytic approaches carried out in the late 1970s aiming to determine the provenance of pottery products, it is generally accepted that the sources of raw materials determining the original location of a group of items can be distinguished through their chemical, mineral and petrographic composition.³ From this perspective based on the analysis of pastes, the identification of the production area is complex in absence of direct evidence. A key element for the identification of provenance is the knowledge of the local and regional geology and the comparison with materials of known origin.⁴ Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into account

1. This article is part of the work carried out by the Medieval and post-Medieval Archaeology Research Group of the University of Barcelona (GRAMP-UB), a research group supported by the Regional Government of Catalonia (2014SGR1252). The article derives from the post-doctoral project: *La ceràmica de cuina en època medieval: provinença, tecnologia i comerç al camp català* (2010 BP-A 00335) funded by the Regional Government of Catalonia. We would like to express our gratitude to the Institute of Archaeology (UCL) for kindly allowing us to use the Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories.

2. Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. “Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria en el noreste peninsular: una aproximación territorial a partir del estudio analítico de vajilla utilitaria”. *Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval*, 21 (2014): 125-153.

3. Tite, Michael S. “Ceramic production, provenance and use – a review”. *Archaeometry*, 50/2 (2008): 216-231.

4. Arnold, Dean E.; Neff, Hector; Bishop, Ronald L. “Compositional analysis and ‘sources’ of pottery: an ethnoarchaeological approach”. *American anthropologist*, 93 (1991): 70-90; Bishop, Ronald L.; Rands,



other factors that may influence provenance, such as the variability of sources of raw materials and the techniques used for paste preparation.

If we consider as 'local' those vessels produced exclusively by the community that will use it, this phenomenon is not so frequent as it might seem. In Catalonia, the large dimensions and productive capacity of the medieval workshops of Cabrera d'Anoia and Casampons have revealed the necessity of a much wider production, circulating across a much more extensive area. On the other hand, the tradition of pottery manufacture in towns like Verdú, Piera, Quart and La Bisbal, widely known as common pottery production centres, most of them still working, also constitutes an element for reflection about the extent of this type of production in Medieval times. In any case, the scenery in Catalonia seems to be that of a diversity of regional circles with unequal levels of impact on the territory. As a matter of fact, they should be described as a group of reduced networks where one or several isolated or nucleated⁵ workshops supply the villages around them, at a shorter or longer distance depending on their productive capacity.

However, supposing that a significant nuance in the word 'local' allowed for the inclusion of this more extensive regional area, the analysis of the greyware pots found in Castelló Sobirà de Sant Miquel de la Vall (Illustration 1) provides evidence that goes beyond these reduced networks. Within the above mentioned project framework, the study of a small batch of 10 samples from this site in the Pyrenees⁶ has revealed the existence of clearly different productions, and their comparison with other known reference groups suggests regular circulation of products between the Pyrenees and the plains within a considerable distance. This paper presents the results of the archaeometric characterization of this sample as a significant starting point for a much wider reflection on the reach of this type of product and their potential in a multidisciplinary study aiming to determine the processes of organization of the territory in the Middle Age.

Robert L.; Holley, George R. "Ceramic compositional analysis in archaeological perspective". *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 5 (1982): 275-330; Rice, Prudence M. *Pottery analyses: a sourcebook*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987: 413.

5. Peacock, David P. S. *Pottery in the roman world: An ethnoarchaeological approach*. London: Longman, 1982: 9.

6. Riu, Manuel. "Castelló Sobirà de Sant Miquel de la Vall", *Catalunya romànica*, Antoni Pladevall, ed. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993: XV, 333-339.



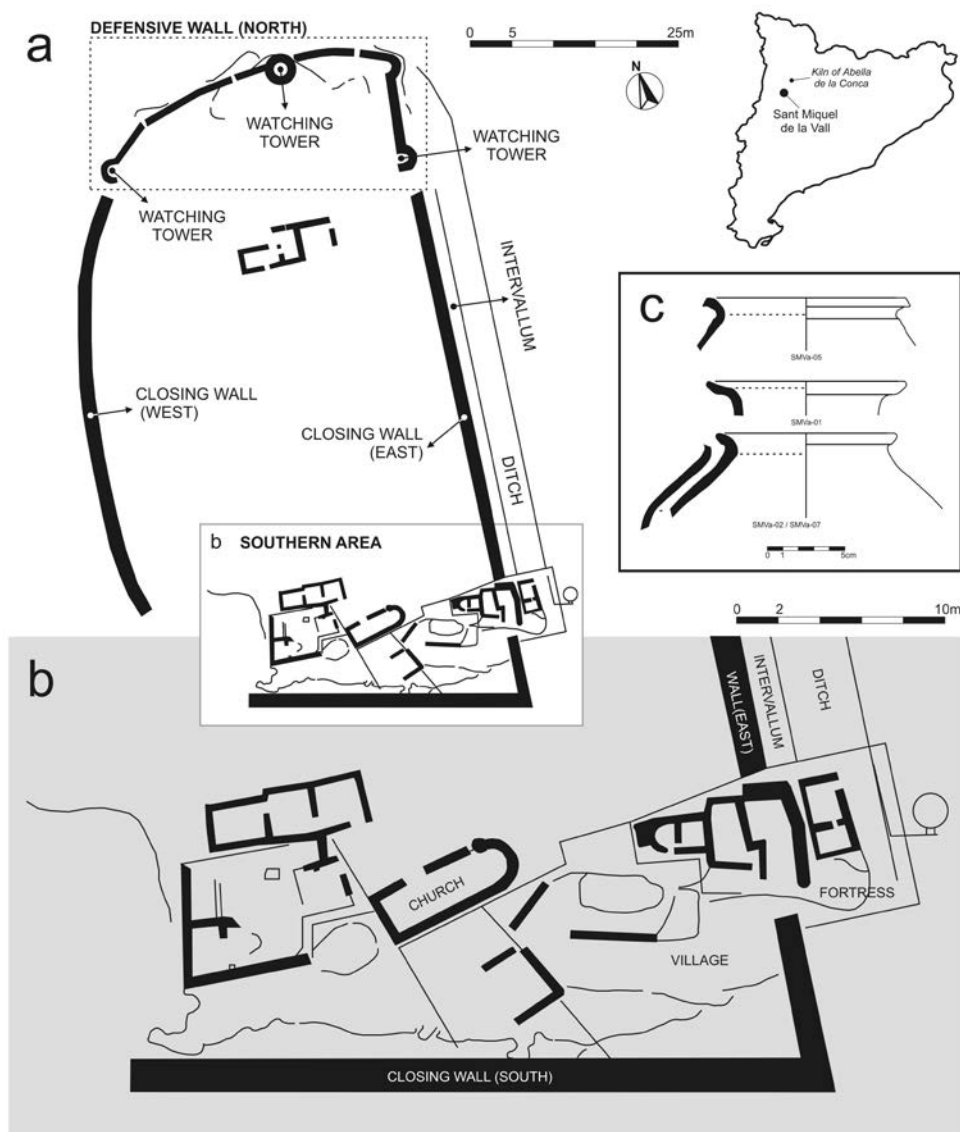


ILLUSTRATION 1. GENERAL LAYOUT OF THE VILLAGE OF SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL (A), DETAIL OF THE SOUTHERN AREA (B) AND REPRESENTATION OF THE FRAGMENTS WITH SHAPED ANALYSED IN THIS ARTICLE (C).

In that sense, the site of Sant Miquel de la Vall becomes a paradigmatic case of study, as far as its population features are concerned. This site offers a small-sized representation of the main traits found in a society in process of feudalization, and

it is a clear example of 11th and 12th century fortified villages.⁷ This model of land occupation, including a fortification and a concentration of rural habitat within the same space, was widely spread in County territories during the 11th century, in correspondence with the transformations in social and political structures. The distribution of dwelling structures inside a walled village (Illustration 1a), surrounding houses with a defensive structure and often presenting reinforced back walls, is not always in order to defend them from dangers outside, but also to organize the territory and existing population strategically. This phenomenon reflects the consequences on territory organization generated by the implantation of the feudal order.⁸ Similar examples of this type of village can be found in the area of the Pallars itself, in the castle of Mur,⁹ and all over Catalonia in villages abandoned from the 14th century onwards, such as Roc de Palomera,¹⁰ in the area of Berguedà; the village of Caulers,¹¹ in Caldes de Malavella; or the medieval village of l'Esquerda,¹² in Osona; all of them inhabited during 11th and 12th centuries.

The inner distribution of the site is not very different from the usual structure of Medieval villages and hamlets, whether fortified or not. The small castle and the whole village are located to the south of the walled structure, where the houses are placed along a NE-SW axis that follows the slope of the terrain, upwards until the eastern corner along three successive terraces (Illustration 1). At the highest point, the castle stands over the village, protected by the southern wall. The village spreads downwards to the south, until the lowest area where the church devoted to St. Michael is placed. Probably of late-Roman origin, the building presents a single nave and basilical shape.¹³

2. Methods and analytical routine

The 10 greyware samples analysed were taken from wall fragments of the boiling-pot shape, with the exception of three fragments of rim (Illustration 1c), each of them belonging to different individuals. They were characterized through a combination of techniques including the petrographic analysis through optical microscopy (OM)

7. Riu, Manuel. "Creació i desaparició d'alguns vilatges fortificats a la Catalunya Medieval". *Cota Zero: Revista d'Arqueologia i Ciència*, 6 (1990): 57-66.

8. Padilla, José I. "Últimas intervenciones en el despoblado de Sant Miquel de la Vall (Pallars Jussà)". *Tribuna d'Arqueologia*, (1985-1986): 75-82.

9. Adell, Joan Albert; Benito, Pere. "Castell de Mur", *Catalunya romànica*, Antoni Pladevall, ed. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993: XV, 347-352.

10. Riu, Manuel. "Creació i desaparició d'alguns vilatges...": 57-66.

11. Riu, Manuel. *Excavaciones en el poblado medieval de Caulers (mun. Caldes de Malavella, prov. Gerona)*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia, 1976.

12. Ollich, Imma. "Roda ciutat (L'Esquerda) i la defensa de la línia del Ter al comtat d'Osona", *Actes del Congrés Els Castells Medievals a la Mediterrània Nord-Occidental (Arbúcies, Girona, 5-7 març 2003)*. Arbúcies: Museu Etnològic del Montseny, 2004: 179-194.

13. Padilla, José I. "Últimas intervenciones en el despoblado...": 78.



of thin sections and the examination of chemical composition through X Ray Fluorescence (XRF). Both procedures have been carried out independently, and then the results both results have been compared to each other, as well as to the macroscopic and contextual information from the fragments themselves and other samples of greyware coming from sites all over Catalonia, which have been used as reference material.

In order to carry out the petrographic study (OM), a 3µm-thick standard thin-section was prepared out of a vertical cut of each of the samples. These sections were then observed under a polarising light microscope *LEICA DM EP*, provided with a *Q-imaging Go-3* photo camera. Studying them allowed for their grouping in petrographic fabrics according to their inclusions, matrix and voids.¹⁴ This technique makes it possible to identify particular aspects about the provenance of the samples, the raw material used to make them and the technology of their process of production. The study of their provenance was carried out comparing the obtained results to other greyware samples and to the geological map of Catalonia, using the geological cartography base provided by the Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya. This base was compared to the topographic base through the online application <http://www.icc.cat/vissir3/>.

The chemical analysis of pressed pellets was carried out with a *Spectro X-Lab 2000 ED-XRF* equipment. Pellets were made out of a sample of c. 5g, with the exception of sample SMVa03, which was too small to undergo all the tests. For that reason, the preparation of the thin section was prioritized in this case. As to the rest of individuals, the pressed pellets were obtained from a mixture of 4g of sample previously grinded, milled and dried for 12 hours at 100°C, with 0.9g of *Hoescht* powder wax pressed for 2.5 minutes under 15 Tm of pressure. 8 major (Na_2O , MgO , Al_2O_3 , SiO_2 , K_2O , CaO , TiO_2 , Fe_2O_3) and 2 minor elements (P_2O_5 , MnO) were analysed and expressed as %wt. Also 20 trace elements (S, V, Cr, Co, Ni, Cu, Zn, Ga, Rb, Sr, Y, Zr, Nb, Ba, La, Ce, Hf, Ta, Pb, Th) were included in statistical data exploitation expressed as ppm. All the elements with concentrations inferior to 10 ppm were discarded because they were below the limit of detection of the instruments.

The data table obtained, once values had been normalized to 100%, is a special case of the d+1-dimensional vector space giving a d-dimensional projective geometry, in which projective points from the origin are projected within the *Sd* simplex following logarithmic intervals.¹⁵ Therefore, the dataset has been centred log-transformed (CLR) according to

14. Travé, Esther. *Producció i distribució d'una terrisseria medieval: Cabrera d'Anoia*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2009: 260-275; Travé, Esther. "Producció i distribució d'una terrisseria medieval: Cabrera d'Anoia". *Tesis doctorales en Red*. 12 January 2010, Universitat de Barcelona. 14 January 2015 <<http://www.tesisenred.net/handle/10803/2072>>; Quinn, Patrick S. *Ceramic Petrography. The Interpretation of Archeological Pottery & Related Artefacts in Thin Section*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013: 73-79.

15. Barceló Vidal, Carles; Martín Fernández, José A., Pawlowsky Glahn, Vera. "Mathematical foundations of compositional data analysis", *Proceedings of IAMG'01. The Annual meeting of the International Association for Mathematical Geology (Cancun 6-12 September)*, Gina Ross, ed. Lawrence: Kansas Geological Survey, 2001: 1-20 (CD-ROM). Online version: Barceló Vidal, Carles; Martín Fernández, José A., Pawlowsky Glahn, Vera. "Mathematical foundations of compositional data analysis". *Universitat de Girona*. 12 January



$$\mathbf{x} \in S^d \rightarrow \mathbf{y} = \log\left(\frac{\mathbf{x}}{g(\mathbf{x})}\right) \in \mathbb{R}^{d+1}$$

where S^d is the d -dimensional simplex and $g(\mathbf{x})$ is the geometric mean of all the $\mathbf{x}$ $d+1$ components. Data obtained from this transformation have been statistically exploited through several Principal Component Analyses (PCA) and Hierarchical Cluster Analyses (HCA), by using the software IBM SPSS (19.0). There is still no unanimous agreement about the use of log-transformation because, even though it contributes to minimize internal variability of datasets due to the perturbation problem, raw data exploitation maximizes group difference in homogenous assemblages.¹⁶ Despite this, it seems to be obvious that such a small batch as the one introduced in this paper requires the minimization of effects occurring from internal variability.

In addition, total variance (vt) of the dataset has been calculated through the equation

$$vt = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n d_a^2(x_i, g(\mathbf{x}))}{n}$$

and the origin of this variability has been analysed by a compositional variation matrix (CVM) defined as

$$T = [\tau_{ij}] = var[\log(x_i/x_j)]$$

where $i = 1, \dots, D - 1$ and $j = i + 1, \dots, D$. It is a symmetric matrix with '0' values in its diagonal simplified considering $v_{ij} = \exp(-\sqrt{\tau_{ij}})$ for each value in the final version in order to obtain values included within the interval $[0, 1]$, where 0_{ij} implies lack of proportionality and 1_{ij} implies perfect proportionality.

Once the main compositional groups had been determined, the mineral characterization of samples SMVa02, SMVa05 and SMVa09 were analysed through X Ray Diffraction (XRD), using 0.5g of previously prepared powder from the specimen. This powder was placed on a sample carrier prepared for that use and compacted by hand against a glass slide until a flat and even surface was obtained. Measuring was performed with a benchtop RIGAKU MiniFlex 600 X-ray diffractometre operating with Cu ($\lambda = 1,54060 \text{ \AA}$) K α radiation at 0,6 kW (40kV, 15mA) in a scan range between 3 and $90^\circ 2\theta$ with a step with of $0,02^\circ 2\theta$ and a scan speed of $10^\circ/\text{min}$. Crystalline phases have been determined by using the X'Pert High Score Plus[®] software with a PDF2 2005 ICSD (Inorganic Crystal Structure Database). This multidisciplinary approach offers interesting insights for archaeological interpretation of these pieces of greyware, their circulation

2015 <http://ima.udg.edu/~barcelo/index_archivos/Cancun.pdf>; Aitchison, John. "A concise guide to compositional data analysis". *Department of Statistics University of Glasgow*. 2005. 14 January 2015 <http://www.leg.ufpr.br/lib/exe/fetch.php/pessoais:abtmartins:a_concise_guide_to_compositional_data_analysis.pdf>; Buxeda, Jaume. "Revisiting the compositional data. Some fundamental questions and new prospects in Archaeometry and Archaeology", *Proceedings of CO-DAWOK'08, The 3rd compositional Data Analysis Workshop, May 27-30, Girona*, Josep Daunis, Josep Antoni Martín, eds. Girona: Universitat de Girona, 2008, 1-18.

16. Baxter, Mike J., Freestone, Ian C. "Log-ratio compositional data analysis in archaeometry". *Archaeometry*, 48 (2006): 511-531.



across the territory and the production techniques used to make them, adding new insights as to the greyware production and distribution strategies in the rural areas of Medieval Catalonia.

3. Characterization of the greyware from Sant Miquel de la Vall

The greyware from Sant Miquel de la Vall presents pale or slightly lead grey pastes, homogeneous and properly mixed, relatively fine, with some little inclusions usually less than 1mm thick. From a macroscopic perspective, it is only possible to distinguish between one fabric, formed by samples SMVa01 and SMVa09, presenting a large number of small inclusions of diverse nature, usually whitish, and other darker ones; and another fabric including the rest of samples, with slightly coarser inclusions and generally identifiable as quartz, with exception of some reddish and yellowish inclusions of indeterminate nature.

The petrographic analysis of the thin sections allowed for the identification of four clearly differentiated fabrics, according to the nature of the inclusions. The first one is a (1) fine quartz and micrite fabric; the second one is a (2) fine quartz, calcite and opaques fabric; the third one is a (3) sandy marl fabric and, finally, a fourth outlier sample with sedimentary and metamorphic rock fragments (table 1).

Table 1. General classification of the samples analysed

Sample	Number	Petrographic fabric	Chemical group
SMVa01	SMVa.0262.004	Fine quartz, micrite and opaques	2
SMVa02	SMVa.0262.011	Fine quartz and micrite	1
SMVa03	SMVa.0262.012	Sandy Marl	Discarded (<5g)
SMVa04	SMVa.0263.002	Rock Fragments	Non-classified
SMVa05	SMVa.0263.003	Fine quartz and micrite	1
SMVa06	SMVa.0263.008	Sandy Marl	3
SMVa07	SMVa.0263.018	Fine quartz and micrite	1
SMVa08	SMVa.0263.019	Fine quartz and micrite	1
SMVa09	SMVa.0263.021	Fine quartz, micrite and opaques	2
SMVa10	SMVa.0264.003	Sandy Marl	3



The fine quartz and micrite fabric (Illustration 2a) includes the highest number of samples. It is characterized by the presence of 35-40% inclusions forming a predominant fine or very fine monocrystalline quartz sand, their dimensions ranging from 0.03 to 0.5mm (exceptionally up to 1mm in samples SMVa02 and SMVa07). It also includes a small part of microcrystalline calcite or micrite, ranging from common to very scarce, which does not seem to have been added intentionally. The pastes of SMVa02, 05 and 07 present some very scarce inclusions of chert and some tiny fragments of rock fragments (≤ 0.25), likely to be sedimentary. Only sample SMVa08 contains some very infrequent inclusions of feldspar, biotite and opaque minerals. All of them show a proportion of brown or greyish clay matrix, around 55%, generally dark and not birefringent, and 5% voids formed by meso- and macrovoids.

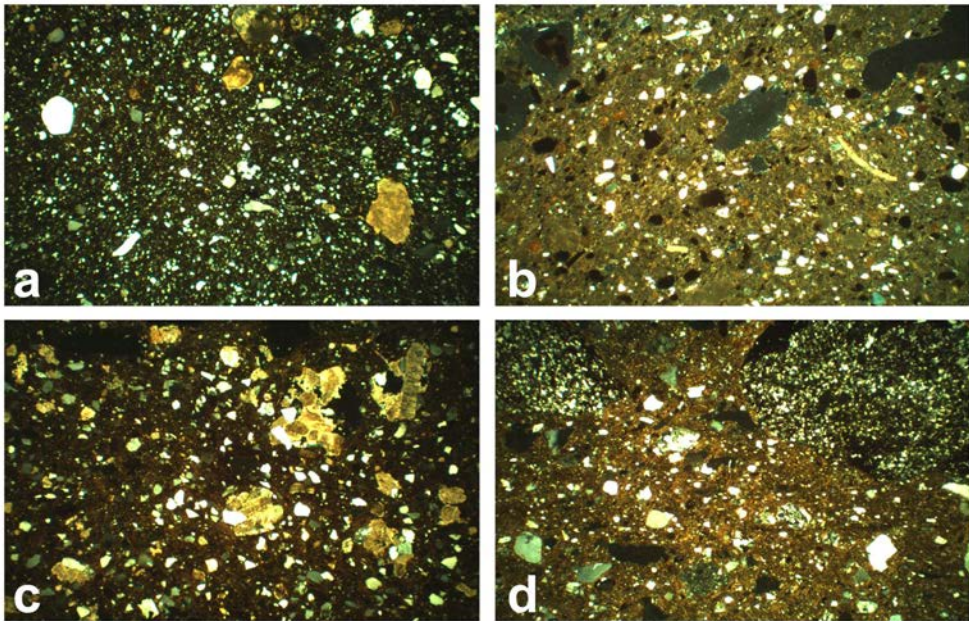


ILLUSTRATION 2. REPRESENTATION OF THE DOCUMENTED PETROGRAPHIC FABRICS: FINE QUARTZ AND MICRITE FABRIC (A), FINE QUARTZ, CALCITE AND OPAQUES FABRIC (B), SANDY MARL FABRIC (C) AND OUTLIER SAMPLE WITH SEDIMENTARY AND METAMORPHIC ROCK FRAGMENTS (D). MICROPHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT 25X IN CROSSED POLARS. FIELD OF VISION: 6MM WIDE.

The fine quartz, calcite and opaques fabric (Illustration 2b) is formed by two samples which are clearly distinguishable at naked eye. It presents 60% light brown yellowish matrix of slightly calcareous appearance, not birefringent and slightly vitrified in SMVa01, and 30% inclusions formed by predominant monocrystalline quartz (0.1-0.5mm) and very frequent opaque inclusions (0.1-1mm), occasionally



looking like reddish clay. It also presents common calcareous inclusions, some of them coming from bivalve mollusc shells. The final 10% presents porosity, generally marked by the presence of quite round meso- and macrovaughs. All the inclusions seem related to some type of biomicritic or coralline carbonate rock, which in some cases seems to cause small micrite inclusions and in other cases presents the texture of clay rock, likely to cause the opaque inclusions.

The sandy marl fabric (Illustration 2c) is made out of relatively coarse paste, in comparison to the other ones, with 35-45% inclusions. The predominant inclusions are fragments related to sandy marl, formed by aggregations of monocrystalline quartz and calcite, generally micrite and sparite. The breaking of these inclusions seems to originate a calcareous sand formed by monocrystalline quartz and 50% micrite and 50% sparite, constituting the majority of inclusions. However, some whole fragments of sandy marl are also perceptible, especially in SMVa03. Sample SMVa10 also presents some scarce fragments of chert. The samples of this fabric present 50-55% matrix and 5-10% porosity. Exceptionally, SMVa06 and SMVa10 are the coarsest and most porous samples respectively.

Finally, sample SMVa04 (Illustration 2d) cannot be included in any of the groups above mentioned. It is characterized by the presence of 25% poorly sorted inclusions formed by quartz (0.25-0.5mm), which is the predominant element, common fragments of sedimentary rock, probably limestone (2.5-4mm), and some scarce fragments of metamorphic rock. Some clay pellets, chert, and some very scarce calcareous inclusion can also be found. 65% of the paste is composed by non-calcareous homogeneous matrix, and its colour is light brown or reddish brown with moderated optical activity. The last 10% corresponds to porosity, which is similar to the fabrics previously described, although this case presents a macrovaugh (1mm) with slightly burnt and darkened edges.

Regarding chemical traits, obtained through FRX, the group presents very high total variation ($tv = 2.2979$), revealing polygenetic origin, although the sample is quite small. Observing the chart of compositional uniformity (Illustration 3a), it can be perceived how the elements MnO , P_2O_5 , TiO_2 and MgO impose very little variation on the whole group, since $tv/\tau_i > 0.75$, whereas the origin of the variation can be found in the multiplicity of components where $tv/\tau_i < 0.55$. It is important to remark that the variability imposed by these components grows evenly. Due to this fact, it is possible to conclude that variability depends on many sources. Another significant fact is that the major elements SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 and Fe_2O_3 , generally constituting c. 90% of pottery, are included in this group of components, so that they explain a very high degree of variability, which reinforces the idea of polygenetic origin for the entire group.



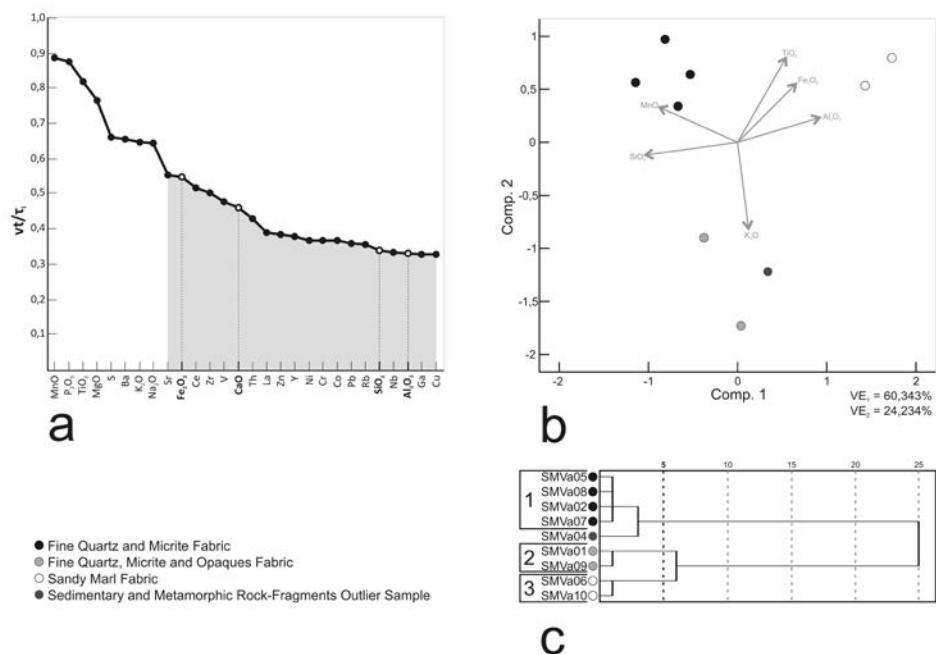


ILLUSTRATION 3. CHARTS REPRESENTING THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MATERIALS FROM SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL: CHART OF UNIFORMITY OF COMPOSITIONAL VARIABILITY WITH THE DETERMINED ELEMENTS (X-AXIS) IN DECREASING ORDER ACCORDING TO THE TV/T_i VALUE (Y-AXIS) (A); SCATTER PLOT ACCORDING TO COMPONENTS 1 AND 2 IN THE PCA REALISED FOR SUB-COMPOSITION Al_2O_3 , SiO_2 , K_2O , TiO_2 , Fe_2O_3 AND MnO WITH LOGARITHMIC TRANSFORMATION (B); AND DENDROGRAM RESULTING FROM THE HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS FOR THE SAME SUB-COMPOSITION USING WARD'S LINKAGE (C).

It is possible to define clearly the chemical singularities of each detected fabric (Illustration 3b) through a principal component analysis (PCA) taking into consideration the major elements, with the exception of Na_2O , MgO , CaO and P_2O_5 . These elements have been excluded from the analysis because the values they present in some samples seem to indicate that either they are affected by postdepositional alteration, or their variability depends on the texture of the paste. In the case of P, its concentration in sample SMVa06, 0.46%, which creates a significant contrast with the usual values in the rest of samples (c. 0.1%) suggests that the origin of this element in the sample might be due to some contamination through organic material, although the origin is unknown¹⁷ (table 2).

17. Collomb, Phillippe; Maggetti, Marino. "Dissolution des phosphates présentes dans des céramiques contaminées". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 2 (1996): 69-75; Duma, György. "Phosphate content of ancient pots as indication of use". *Current Anthropology*, 13 (1972): 127-130.



Table 2. Concentration of major elements in each of the samples analysed, expressed in %wt.

	Na ₂ O	MgO	Al ₂ O ₃	SiO ₂	K ₂ O	CaO	TiO ₂	Fe ₂ O ₃	P ₂ O ₅	MnO
SMVa01	0,04	1,31	24,06	58,66	1,95	3,36	0,95	9,31	0,10	0,03
SMVa02	0,04	1,14	14,77	68,93	2,03	5,85	0,82	5,97	0,10	0,13
SMVa04	0,19	1,36	18,39	66,73	3,05	2,05	0,72	7,09	0,13	0,08
SMVa05	1,26	1,47	15,74	68,56	1,96	2,78	0,82	7,00	0,08	0,14
SMVa06	0,29	1,34	14,34	65,83	2,62	9,09	0,66	5,12	0,46	0,04
SMVa07	0,26	1,18	13,75	74,74	1,75	1,13	0,75	6,06	0,08	0,12
SMVa08	0,04	1,18	15,16	71,23	1,83	2,82	0,88	6,40	0,10	0,15
SMVa09	0,04	1,36	28,24	55,25	1,87	3,58	1,08	8,22	0,11	0,03
SMVa10	0,04	1,85	17,15	70,99	1,95	2,37	0,65	4,69	0,10	0,04



On the other hand, the variation of the proportion of calcium in the majority of samples depends on the number of calcareous inclusions detected through the petrographic analysis. Sample SMVa06 presents a high level in comparison to the rest of samples (9.09%), directly related to the higher number of calcareous inclusions of sandy marl. Likewise, sample SMVa02 presents 5.85% CaO concentration, also related to a higher proportion of micrite inclusions than in the rest of samples of its fabric. The presence of calcareous inclusions decisively characterizing the petrographic fabrics in slightly variable proportions also seems to affect the concentrations of Na_2O and MgO , and that is why it was decided to exclude these elements as well from the PCA.

Moreover, taking into account these elements causes a decrease in the total variation explained by the two first components in the PCA, so that, excluding them, the total variation becomes 84.577% (Illustration 3b). In the scatter plots resulting from the comparison between the first two components in the PCA for major elements, it is possible to detect the presence of 3 definite groups corresponding to the petrographic fabrics described above. In this chart, the outlier sample SMVa04 appears close to the fine quartz, calcite and opaques fabric samples. This fact seems to be due to a major attraction towards the element K_2O . Nevertheless, the nature of the paste and the main inclusions in this sample makes it difficult to consider it beforehand as belonging to this fabric.

In order to clarify this relationship and to prove the validity of the identified groups, a hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) has been carried out for the same composition, and the resulting dendrogram makes it possible to prove the division of the group into three chemical groups (Illustration 3c). Therefore, it is possible to identify the existence of a chemical group '1' including the samples corresponding to the fine quartz and micrite fabric, basically characterized by a very high concentration of SiO_2 (70.87%), due to the abundance of small quartz inclusions, moderate values of Al_2O_3 (14.86%) and a remarkable concentration of Zr (275 ppm) in comparison to the other groups (table 3).



Table 3. Average values of chemical composition and values of standard deviation (*italics*) for each of the groups identified in Sant Miquel de la Vall (SMVa), and chemical data from the reference groups, from the sites in Sant Feliu de Girona (SFG) and Sant Miquel de Veciana (SMV).

	Fine Quartz and Micrite Fabric			Fine quartz, Micrite and Opaques Fabric						Sandy Marl Fabric				RF Fabric	
	(1)			(2)			(3)			(3)					
	SMVa			SMVa			SFG			SMVa		SMV			SMVa04
	(N=4)			(N=2)			(N=4)			(N=2)		(N=8)			
	(μ)	(σ)		(μ)	(σ)		(μ)	(σ)		(μ)	(σ)	(μ)	(σ)	(σ)	-
Na ₂ O	0,40	0,50		0,04	0,00		0,17	0,16		0,17	0,12	0,60	0,33	0,19	
MgO	1,24	0,13		1,33	0,03		1,51	0,05		1,60	0,25	2,43	0,25	1,36	
Al ₂ O ₃	14,86	0,72		26,15	2,09		22,23	0,54		15,74	1,41	17,69	0,69	18,39	
SiO ₂	70,87	2,46		56,95	1,71		61,52	0,60		68,41	2,58	66,02	0,75	66,73	
K ₂ O	1,89	0,11		1,91	0,04		3,39	0,56		2,29	0,34	3,42	0,18	3,05	
CaO	3,14	1,70		3,47	0,11		2,32	1,23		5,73	3,36	1,94	1,00	2,05	
TiO ₂	0,82	0,05		1,02	0,06		0,98	0,08		0,65	0,00	0,72	0,02	0,72	
Fe ₂ O ₃	6,36	0,40		8,76	0,54		7,00	0,68		4,90	0,21	6,75	0,17	7,09	
P ₂ O ₅	0,09	0,01		0,10	0,00		0,33	0,19		0,28	0,18	0,11	0,01	0,13	
MnO	0,14	0,01		0,03	0,00		0,06	0,03		0,04	0,00	0,07	0,01	0,08	
S	354	60,64		417	77,22		1012	655,28		535	179,68	518	64,88	347	
V	154	24,82		153	37,97		122	14,53		121	8,41	123	5,77	106	

Cr	130	13,15	139	0,05	95	12,87	114	1,38	96	11,79	98
Co	47	13,74	27	6,82	39	14,92	31	14,41	28	12,63	55
Ni	43	4,24	53	4,92	42	10,05	33	6,43	42	1,84	52
Cu	28	3,37	28	1,66	25	5,41	20	3,14	42	3,60	36
Zn	87	6,83	47	1,96	97	41,55	58	5,34	88	3,33	85
Ga	19	1,02	32	0,33	29	2,54	18	2,53	22	1,05	23
Rb	113	5,44	111	5,95	177	44,57	112	5,40	122	8,48	128
Sr	159	30,35	215	95,37	154	53,18	152	49,47	131	13,47	100
Y	34	3,26	48	10,71	60	5,62	31	5,96	41	2,25	54
Zr	275	12,21	191	6,79	196	28,82	172	7,90	284	13,41	225
Nb	20	2,04	24	4,42	31	8,10	13	2,81	19	1,52	19
Ba	309	29,32	501	110,65	572	123,02	348	62,32	725	144,13	598
La	36	7,57	74	15,01	67	10,75	36	10,70	37	4,67	48
Ce	67	23,22	141	78,48	146	19,42	45	12,77	71	14,72	58
Pb	30	1,72	36	4,07	38	7,32	27	2,91	31	3,46	31
Th	13	0,57	19	0,04	24	6,10	11	0,65	16	0,82	14



Chemical group '2' includes the samples belonging to the fine quartz, calcite and opaques fabric. It is a singular group as regards the majority of elements. Firstly, the most remarkable traits are the unusually high proportion, in comparison to the rest, of Al_2O_3 and Fe_2O_3 (26.15% and 8.76% respectively), along with a rather low proportion of SiO_2 (56.95%). These traits seem to be closely related to the nature of the inclusions, with a low proportion of quartz, which gives an explanation for the silica values and a great number of opaque inclusions, of clay type, very rich in iron and aluminium. However, the trace elements explain a great part of the singularity in this group, which presents particularly high concentrations of Cr, Ni, Zn, Ga, Sr, Ce and Th (table 3). It must be remarked that in this group the unusually high concentration of barium is due to an anomalous concentration in sample SMVa01 (612 ppm), probably caused by postdepositional contamination.¹⁸

Chemical group '3' corresponds to the *sandy marl fabric*. Although the high proportion of CaO (5.73%) in this group is affected by the high concentration in sample SMVa06 and that makes standard deviation (σ) not entirely reliable, the concentration of Na_2O and MgO (0.17% and 1.6% respectively) seems to confirm the relationship between these concentrations and the calcareous inclusions identified as sandy marl. The group outstands because of its low concentrations in trace elements in comparison to the rest, the values of V, Cr, Ni, Cu, Ga, Y, Zr, Nb, Ce, Pb and Th being especially remarkable (table 3).

Finally, sample SMVa04 was definitely considered as an outlier sample, although according to composition it presents a higher similarity with group 1 than with groups 2 and 3, particularly as far as the elements Fe_2O_3 , S, Zr, Ce, Pb and Th are concerned. This similarity is clearly perceptible in the dendrogram (Illustration 3c), where sample SMVa04 appears as related to group 1, whereas groups 2 and 3 appear related (to each other / to it) farther from the base of the dendrogram. Taking into account that, in this chart, the farther from the base the relationship is placed the higher the compositional difference of the groups is, then it is significant that groups 2 and 3 are highly dissimilar from group 1 and sample SMVa04. Thus, it is possible to presume a distinction between local and imported products beforehand.

From the technical point of view, all pastes have been prepared with relatively coarse clay, and in no case do they seem to present added temper. On the contrary, both the inclusions present in the past and their variability seem to result from the natural presence of these non-plastic components in residual clay originated out of the erosion of preferably sedimentary rocks. Even when they are basically characterized by the higher or lower presence of calcareous inclusions, the pastes are technologically defined as non-calcareous, since the presence of $\text{CaO} < 5\text{-}6\%$. This fact is not surprising when dealing with cooking greyware.¹⁹

18. Picon, Maurice. "Un exemple de pollution aux dimensions kilométriques: la fixation du baryum par les céramiques". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 9 (1985): 27-29; Picon, Maurice. "La fixation du baryum et du strontium par les céramiques". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 11 (1987): 41-47.

19. Picon, Maurice. "Grises et grises: quelques réflexions sur les céramiques cuites en mode B", *Actas das 1ª Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval, métodos e resultados para o seu estudo* (1992). Tondela: Edições Municipais, 1995: 283-287.



Taking a close look at the situation both of the analysed samples and the groups identified in the so-called greyware triangle, a ternary chart indicating the percentages of SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 and $\text{CaO-MgO-Fe}_2\text{O}_3$, normalized at 100% in its endpoints (Illustration 4a), it can be perceived how the greyware from Sant Miquel de la Vall is located at the edge between the quartz-anortite-wollastonite and quartz-anortite-mullite thermodynamic balance triangles. These triangles correspond to calcarian greyware and non-calcareous greyware respectively. This situation is basically due to the high presence of Fe_2O_3 in some samples, likely to act as a flow, and also to the relatively high presence of CaO in some cases, which strongly points at the pastes of SMV1a02 and SMVa06 being calcarian.

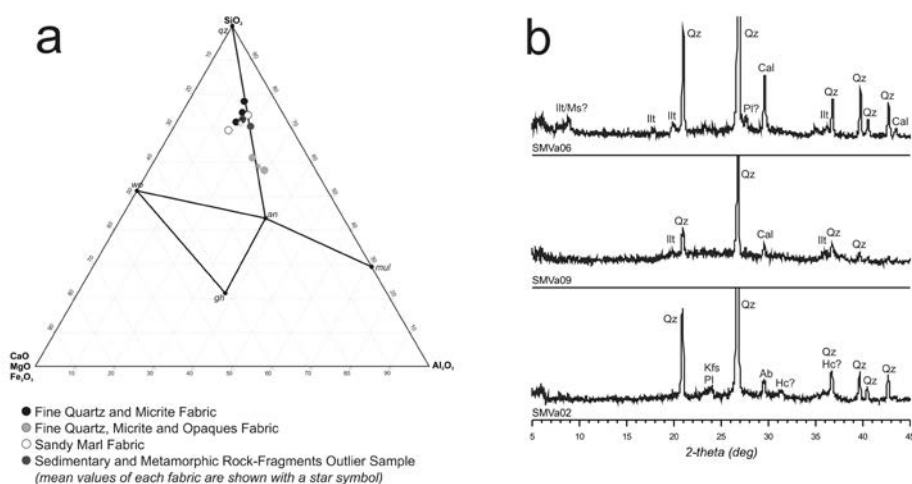


ILLUSTRATION 4. CHARTS REPRESENTING MAIN TECHNOLOGICAL TRAITS IN THE ANALYSED SAMPLE: TERNARY CHART OF THE GREYWARE TRIANGLE ($\text{CaO} + \text{MgO} + \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$) – Al_2O_3 – SiO_2 , AN: ANORTITE ($\text{Ca}[\text{Al}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_8]$), GH: GEHLENITE ($\text{Ca}_2\text{Al}[\text{Si,Al}]_2\text{O}_7$), MU: MULLITE ($\text{Al}_6[\text{Si}_2\text{O}_{13}]$), QZ: QUARTZ (SiO_2) AND WO: WOLLASTONITE (CaSiO_3) (A) AND DIFFRACTOGRAMS OF THE THREE SAMPLES ANALYSED THROUGH XRD (B).

The results obtained from the XRD for samples SMVa02 SMVa09 and SMVa06 belonging to groups 1, 2 and 3 respectively make it possible to determine a low firing temperature for groups 2 and 3, whereas the greyware belonging to the fine quartz and micrite fabric would have probably experienced higher firing temperatures (Illustration 4b). Samples SMVa06 and SMVa09 certainly present the mineral phase of calcite in primary form, as can be clearly perceived from microscopic observation. Thus, it is possible to estimate a firing temperature that could have not been higher than 750-800°C. Nevertheless, sample SMVa02 does not present this mineral phase and seems to present some hercinite peaks. Hercinite is a mineral steadily developed in reducing atmospheres higher than 900°C.



4. Discussion of results: local and imported products

The comparison of the materials from Sant Miquel de la Vall to the geologic map of the area (Illustration 5) does not suggest the non-local origin of the analysed greyware. However, the lack of clay samples and reference materials from some kiln-sites known in the area, such as the greyware pottery kiln in Abella de la Conca²⁰ makes it difficult to determine beyond doubt the origin of the described groups. Indeed, the site of Sant Miquel de la Vall is placed on a conglomerate, clay and sandstone outcrop north of the Serra de Montsec (Illustration 5). North of this sandstone zone, there are a series of calcareous outcrops east of the Lake Sant Antoni, spreading to Organyà, Coll de Nargó, and the surroundings of Port del Comte. The presence of the kiln in Abella on these formations might suggest a relation with some of the identified fabrics –probably the first one.

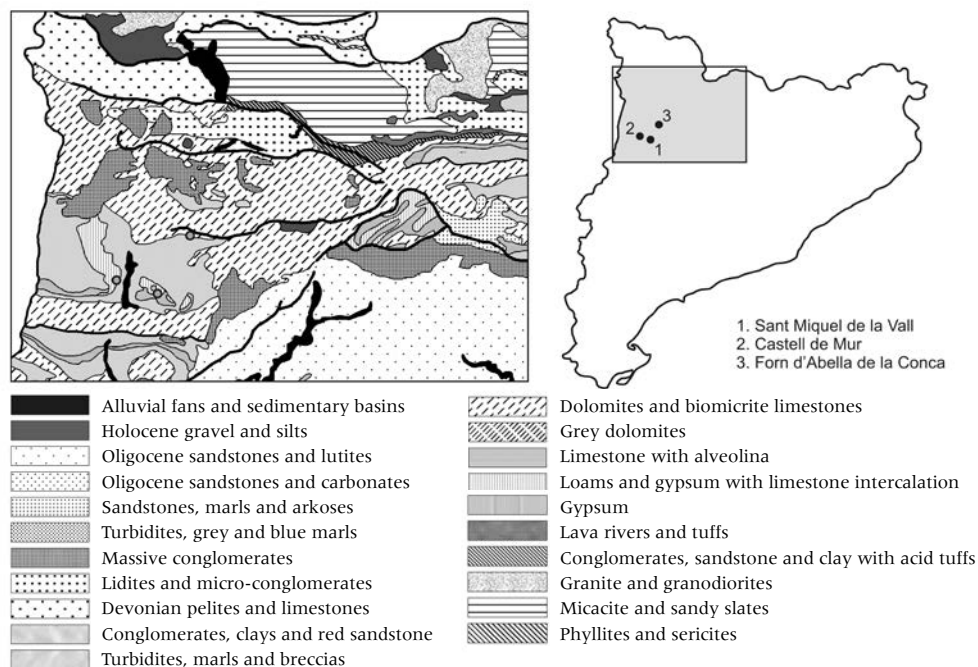


ILLUSTRATION 5. GEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE AREA OF SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL.

20. Riu, Manuel. "Talleres y hornos alfareros de cerámica gris en Cataluña", *Fours de Poitiers et testares Médiévaux en Méditerranée Occidentale*. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Casa de Velázquez, 1990: 105-115.

In order to throw light on this question as far as possible, and to determine the local or external origin of the fabrics of Sant Miquel de la Vall, the obtained results were compared to the data of archaeometrical characterization, from a wide collection of coetaneous greyware samples from all over Catalonia.²¹ In this new group, we were able to check that fabric 1 presents significant similarities with the greyware from other areas of Catalonia, whereas fabrics 2 and 3 find parallels in two groups of greyware retrieved in the churches of Sant Feliu de Girona (Gironès) and Sant Miquel de Veciana (Anoia) respectively. The similarity between the fine quartz, calcite and opaques fabric (Illustration 6a-d) and sandy marl fabric (Illustration 6e-f) and the fabrics of the same name in distant areas is evident from the petrographic point of view, particularly in the first case, and also reasonable from the compositional point of view (Illustration 7).

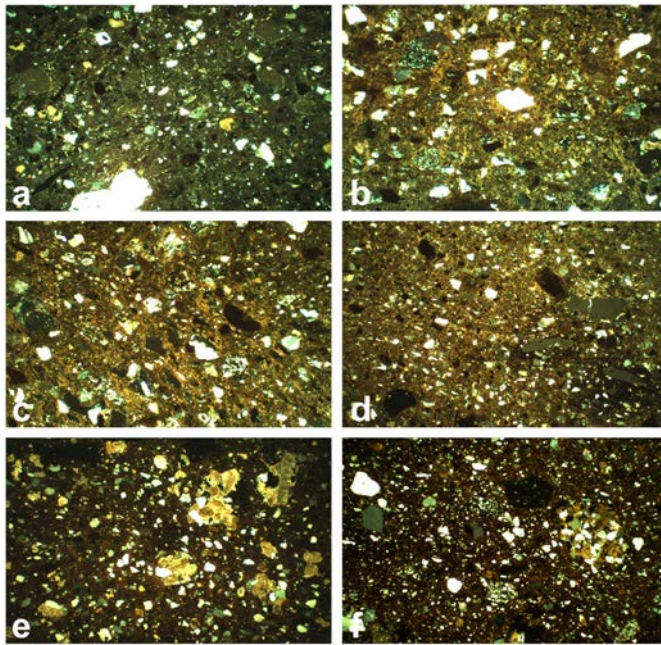


ILLUSTRATION 6. MICROPHOTOGRAPHS FROM SAMPLES SMVA01 (A), SFG09 (B), SFG10 (C), SFG05 (D), SMVA03 (E) AND SMVA08 (F), WHERE THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE SAMPLES FROM SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL AND THE REFERENCE SITES CAN BE PERCEIVED FOR THE FINE QUARTZ, CALCITE AND OPAQUES FABRIC (A-D) AND THE SANDY MARL FABRIC (E-F). MICROPHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT 25X IN CROSSED POLARS. FIELD OF VISION: 6MM WIDE.

21. Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Estrategias de producción y distribución de cerámicas grises medievales en el Nordeste Peninsular: caracterización arqueométrica de los materiales de Caulers y Sant Feliu de Girona". *Munibe. Antropologia-Arkeologia*, 64 (2013): 199-217; Travé, Esther; Ollich, Imma; Rocafiguera, Montserrat de. "Les terrisseries i la producció d'atuell de cuina a Osona en època medieval: Caracterització química i petrogràfica d'un conjunt de ceràmica grisa de l'Esquerda". *Ausa*, 172 (2013): 259-285; Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria...": 125-153.



In order to establish a much more detailed comparison, samples from these fabrics found in Girona and Veciana were selected and analysed along with those from Sant Miquel de la Vall. In this case, the total variation presents a lower value ($tv = 1.3314$), which is explained by the incorporation to the dataset of a series of samples very similar in theory to some of the samples from Sant Miquel de la Vall, so that it is easy to suggest a relation between them.

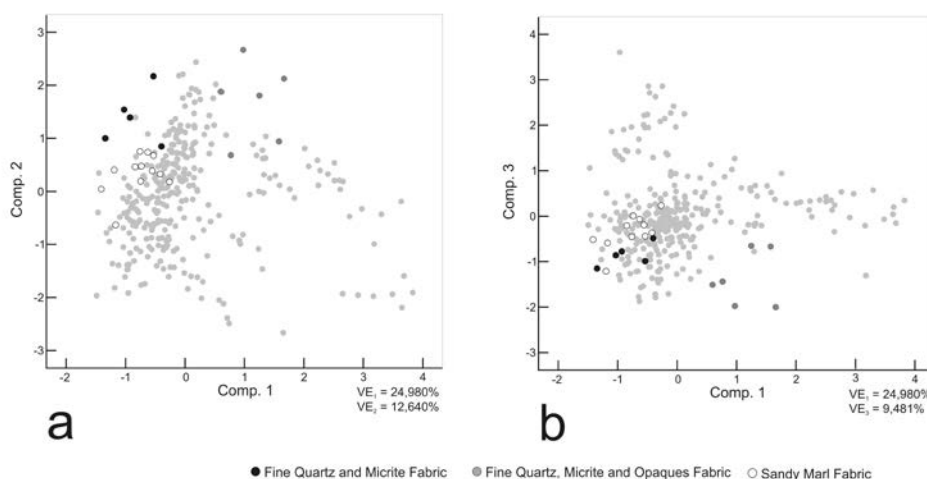


ILLUSTRATION 7. IDENTIFICATION OF THE FINE QUARTZ AND MICRITE FABRIC; FINE QUARTZ, CALCITE AND OPAQUES FABRIC AND THE SANDY MARL FABRIC RETRIEVED FROM SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL, SANT FELIU DE GIRONA AND SANT MIQUEL DE VECIANA ON THE CHARTS CORRESPONDING TO A GENERAL PCA INCLUDING ALL THE SAMPLES IN THE PROJECT TAKEN AS REFERENCE ACCORDING TO COMPONENTS 1 AND 2 (A), AND 1 AND 3 (B).

Both the new PCA and HCA (Illustration 8) carried out on this group as a comparison regarding the concentrations of certain elements in the shape of a dispersion matrix allow as to perceive how the samples in fabric 2 present a higher similarity with each other independently of the origin site, whereas the sandy marl fabric presents some discrepancies between the group from Sant Miquel de la Vall and the samples from Veciana. The detailed analysis of the fine quartz, opaques and micrite fabric in relation to the greyware retrieved in Girona corroborates the relationship between the samples. For this reason, it seems accurate to regard them as belonging to the same fabric, whose place of production is still unknown, although it could be hypothetically located in some area in the Pyrenees, rich in biomicritic limestone, and quite far from the city of Girona.

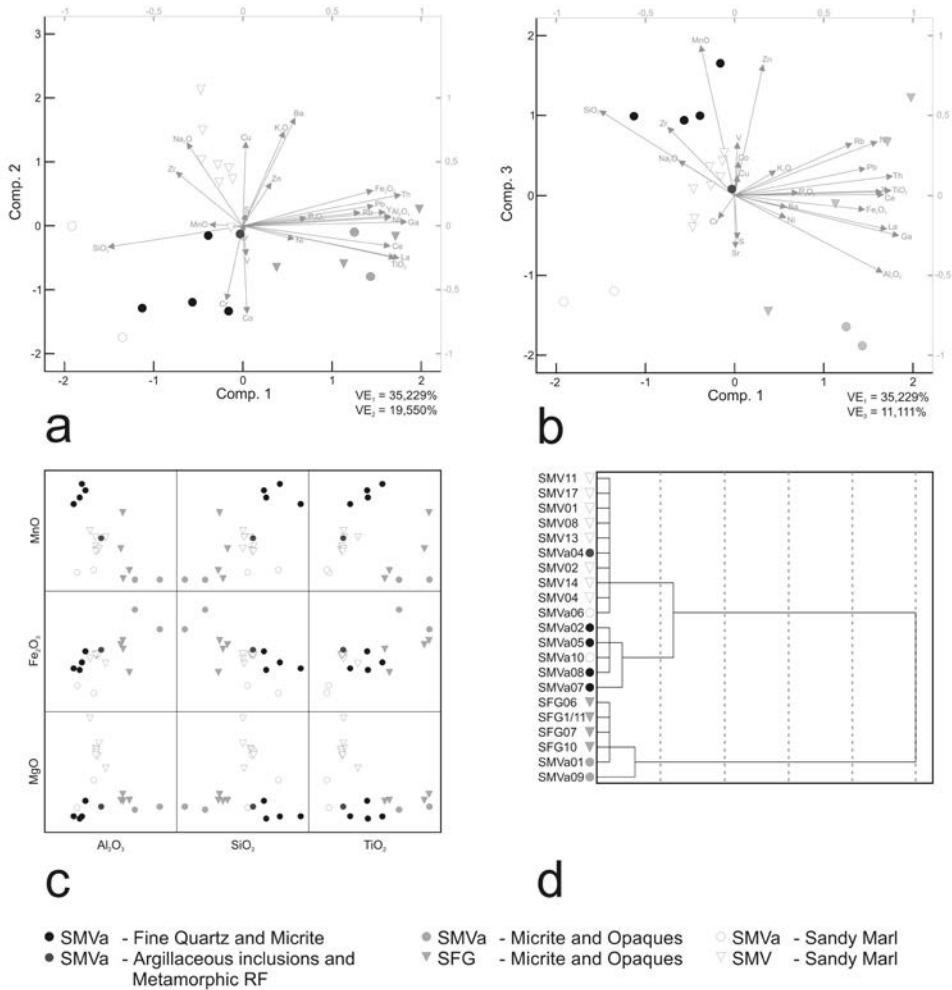


ILLUSTRATION 8. CHARTS OF EXPLOITATION OF THE SAMPLES FROM SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL ALONG WITH THE EQUIVALENT FABRICS RETRIEVED FROM OTHER SITES AND USED AS REFERENCE: SCATTER PLOT ACCORDING TO COMPONENTS 1 AND 2 OF THE PCA CARRIED OUT FOR SUB-COMPOSITION Na_2O , Al_2O_3 , SiO_2 , K_2O , TiO_2 , Fe_2O_3 , P_2O_5 , MnO , S, V, Cr, Co, Ni, Cu, Zn, Ga, Rb, Sr, Y, Zr, Nb, Ba, La, Ce, Pb and Th WITH LOGARITHMIC TRANSFORMATION (A); SCATTER PLOT ACCORDING TO COMPONENTS 1 AND 3 OF THE SAME PCA (B); DISPERSION MATRIX ACCORDING TO ELEMENTS Al_2O_3 , TiO_2 AND SiO_2 ON THE X-AXIS AND MgO , Fe_2O_3 AND MnO ON THE Y-AXIS; AND DENDROGRAM RESULTING FROM THE HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS FOR THE SAME SUB-COMPOSITION USING WARD'S LINKAGE (D).



The particular nature of the sandy marl inclusions characteristically found in group 3 and their petrographic similarity with the greyware from Anoia make us cautiously think of a possible relation between these samples and the limestone-rich area within the triangle delimited by the towns of Veciana, Tàrraga and Cervera, including the town of Verdú. The relation between the fabrics detected in Sant Miquel de la Vall and the samples retrieved in other far more distant areas could point to the theory above mentioned, according to which the productions might be external in relation to the immediate local area surrounding Sant Miquel de la Vall. In any case, the clearly differentiate nature of the identified productions in this site in the area of Pallars must necessarily start a reflection about the traditionally considered 'local' productions, as far as the study of utilitarian cooking wares fired under reducing atmosphere in medieval times is concerned.

In fact, it is necessary to apply diverse criteria in the definition of local and external. The abundance or scarcity of different groups in a given territory, the stylistic factor and the possibility of documenting production centres in the surrounding area must be necessarily taken into account along with the compositional traits in the pastes. Indeed, the idea of a large site that might have been receiving products from several productive centres instead of producing them itself is not new in the field of utilitarian wares. Recent research on ceramic vessels from the Andes, for example, reveal this paradigm²². In our case, the products from Sant Miquel de la Vall, seemingly related to greyware located more than 100km away, open a new perspective to interpret the dynamics of production and distribution of this type of pottery products in Catalonia, and reinforce the idea of an intra- and supra-regional range of distribution of pottery products, which had been suggested in previous works.²³

In that sense, it seems accurate to claim that the basins of rivers Llobregat, Segre and Ter played a remarkable role in the circulation and exchange of products, goods and ideas along these supra-regional distribution circuits, as proved by the circulation of products along the rivers Ter and Onyar in the area of Girona, or the distribution of the products of Casampons and Cabrera d'Anoia along the Llobregat. Indeed, in the case examined here, it is relevant to remark the role of the river Segre as an axis of circulation of products. The route along the Pyrenees traced by the flows of the rivers Segre and Ter could have been a remarkable connection of these Pyrenean circuits, making it possible to distribute pottery whose exact origin is unknown but seems genuine from the north of Catalonia, supplying both the area of Pallars and the area of Girona. On the other hand, the Segre, in its flow southwards, links the Pyrenean area with the plains of Lleida and central Catalonia, so that it could have been a usual distribution space for the products in this area.

22. Druc, Isabelle. "What is local? Looking at ceramic production in the Peruvian Highlands and Beyond". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 69 (2013): 485-513.

23. See also: Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Estrategias de producción y distribución de cerámicas grises...": 199-217; Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria...": 125-153.



5. Conclusions

It is difficult to determine the place of production of utilitarian pottery with precision, due to the lack of characterization of the production centres of reference in great part of Catalonia. However, the multiplicity of factors intervening in provenance determination and the creation of a new wide inventory of greyware offer significant elements of comparison between the different detected productions in quite a vast territory –within a period comprised between 11th and 12th century, and make it possible to detect interrelations. Moreover, the highly diverse geology found in Catalonia is advantageous to this kind of approach.

The petrographic, chemical and mineral characterization of the samples from Sant Miquel de la Vall which has been presented in this paper provides significant insights as to the distribution of greyware in Catalonia. Moreover, it makes it possible to doubt, or at least to add significant nuances, to the generally accepted belief according to which the production of utilitarian cooking wares fired under reducing atmosphere is restricted to local centres with a limited regional impact.

The apparent relation between two of the three provenance groups detected at Sant Miquel de la Vall and some other products which, although not in vast majority, have been found significantly in the areas of Anoia and Girona respectively point to the strong possibility of the external provenance of these groups from the area of the Western Pyrennes. The evidence of petrographic traits which do not seem intrinsically relatable to the geology of Pallars reinforces this idea. Therefore, the analysis brings to the foreground the existence of an exchange circuit beyond the traditionally considered regional circles, and describes a scenario of relationships between different places in the Pyrenees and between the Pyrenees and the plains. Watercourses, particularly the rivers Segre, Ter and Llobregat, would have played a remarkable role in these circuits.

The sample characterized in Sant Miquel de la Vall is highly heterogeneous in spite of being formed by a small number of items. The comparison of this sample with the materials used as reference makes it possible to detect tendencies reinforcing the idea of wide exchange circles. However, as regards production technology, the materials in Sant Miquel de la Vall are similar to the usual appearance of medieval greyware pottery in general, and they answer to production processes widely spread across a vast territory, consisting of a simple preparation of pastes out of originally coarse clays which do not undergo systematic specific treatment. Consequently, it seems that the existence of widely shared manufacturing techniques and local and regional production circles, exercising more or less impact on the territory according to the dimensions and production capacity of the different workshops, does not prevent the existence of communication and exchange between remoter areas, beyond the immediate regional circles.



MARIA PALEOLOGINA AND THE IL-KHANATE OF PERSIA. A BYZANTINE PRINCESS IN AN EMPIRE BETWEEN ISLAM AND CHRISTENDOM

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ABSTRACT

In the 13th century Persia, dominated by the Mongols, a Byzantine princess, Maria Paleologina, stood out greatly in the court of Abaqa Khan, her husband. The Il-Khanate of Persia was then an empire precariously balanced between Islam, dominant in its territories and Christianity that was prevailing in its court and in the diplomatic relations. The role of Maria, a fervent Christian, was decisive in her husband's policy and in that of any of his successors. Her figure deserves a detailed study and that is what we propose in this paper.

KEYWORDS

Maria Paleologina, Il-khanate of Persia, Abaqa, Michel VIII, Mongols.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Maria Paleologa, Ilkhanatus Persiae, Abaqa, Michael VIII, Mongoles.

1. Introduction

The great expansion of Genghis Khan's hordes to the west swept away the Islamic states and encouraged for a while the hopes of the Christian states of the East. The latter tried to ally themselves with the powerful Mongols and in this attempt they played the religion card.¹ Although most of the Mongols who entered Persia, Iraq and Syria were shamanists, Nestorian Christianity exerted a strong influence among elites, especially in the court. That was why during some crucial decades for the history of the East, the Il-Khanate of Persia fluctuated between the consolidation of Christian influence and the approach to Islam, that despite the devastation brought by the Mongols in Persia,² Iraq and Syria remained the dominant factor within the Il-khanate.

2. The Latins, Byzantium and the alliance with the Mongols

Constantinople, Acropolis of the Universe, capital of the Roman Empire, that had been, by God's will, under the power of the Latins, finds itself again under the power of the Romans, and this was granted through us.³

The year was 1261 and the sovereign so expressed, arrogant and proud was the future Michael VIII Palaeologus, who had just accomplished the dream long shared by the Greeks: reconquer Constantinople and throw the Latins out of it. But this arrogant ruler had ahead of him an even more titanic task than the one done so far: to restore and maintain the Byzantine Empire against its many enemies. He had much to fear; therefore he used to resort to divination worried about what fate might bring to his dynasty and his Empire.⁴ An Empire which at that time was nothing more than *un corps grêle, disloqué, misérable, sur lequel se posait une tête énorme, Constantinople*.⁵ From each one of the cardinal points, there were predators lurking, and the Empire in the centre like a wounded animal; East in Asia the Turks and the Mongols, the Serbs and the Bulgarians North in the Balkans; the Venetians in the Archipelago, the Genoese in the Black Sea and the Latins West.⁶ At this

1. Foltz, Richard. *Religions of the Silk Road*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

2. Morgan, David. *The Mongols*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

3. Gregoras, Nicephorus (Γρηγόριος, Νικηφόρος). *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία. Α' Περίοδος: 1204-1341*, ed. and trans. Dimitrios Moschos (Διμήτριος Μόσχος). Athens: Νέα Σύνορα, 1997: 103-109.

4. Ducas. *Historia Turco-Bizantina*, ed. Francisco Javier Ortolá, Fernando Alconchel. Madrid: Antonio Machado Libros, 2006: 66, 2643-264; *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, ed. Louis Cooper. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1989: 255.

5. "a weak, emaciated and miserable body with a huge head: Constantinople". Diehl, Charles. *Etudes byzantines*. Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1905: 220 ("L'Empire byzantin sous les Paléologues").

6. Marcos Hierro, Ernest. *La Croada Catalana. L'exèrcit de Jaume I a Terra Santa*. Barcelona: L'esfera dels llibres, 2007; Marcos Hierro, Ernest. "La croada a Terra Santa de 1269 i la política internacional de Jaume I", *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Ferrer i Mallol, Maria Teresa, ed. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011: I, 509-522.



juncture was forged a masterful diplomat, Michael: stubborn, crafty, unscrupulous and so skilful that was able to carry out a complicated foreign policy that managed to neutralize the enemies of the Empire and to expand its borders.⁷

Meanwhile the Byzantine Emperor was trying to regain his capital and his empire and was facing his Western enemies; the Mongols had settled in Persia and Iraq and were trying to take over Syria.⁸ This led to a new division of strategy and powers in the East, where Mamelukes, Turks and Mongols were fighting to gain control of the region. The Byzantine ruler decided to use the diplomatic roads opened by the new situation and sent two embassies, one to the Mamluk sultan and another one to Hulagu, prince of the Tartars.⁹ By the first embassy was not established any alliance, the second will have more positive and lasting outcomes as the Mongols and the Byzantines forged a lasting, but of a complex character, political and military alliance between two very different political and cultural worlds.¹⁰ The emperor sent numerous gifts and sealed alliances signed by two imperial marriages, one with the Khan of the Golden Horde and the other with the first Khan of the Il-Khanate: Hulagu.¹¹ Two illegitimate daughters of Michael VIII, Maria and Euphrosyne,¹² gotten with one of his mistresses whose name is unknown, although we know that she lived in Constantinople between 1224-1307 and belonged to the family of Diplovatatzoi or Diplobatatzés.¹³

7. Beihammer, Alexander; Parani, Maria; Schabel, Chris. *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008; *La Crónica de Morea*, ed. José M. Egea. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996: 295; Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles". *Syri.ac. An annotated Bibliography of Syriac resources online*. 12 September 2015 <<http://syri.ac/bhchronicles#CSPage>>, see especially chapter 10; Gregoras, Nicephorus (Γρηγόρας, Νικηφόρος). *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία...*: 116-117; Pachymère. "Histoire des Empereurs Michel et Andronique". *L'antiquité grecque et latine Du moyen âge*. 12 June 2016 <<http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/histoireconstantinople/table1.htm>>, see book IV: chapter II; chapter XXXII, part 1; chapter XXXV, part 2; chapter IV and chapter XXIX (from the version: Pachymère. "Histoire des Empereurs Michel et Andronique". *Histoire de Constantinople depuis le règne de l'Ancien Justin, jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire. Traduite sur les originaux grecs par Mr Cousin*, VI. Paris: Chez Damien Foucault, 1674); Runciman, Steven. *Vísperas Sicilianas. Una historia del mundo mediterráneo a finales del siglo XIII*, trad. Alicia Bleiberg. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1979: 139-140.

8. Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West: 1221-1410*. London: Routledge, 2005.

9. Pachymère. "Histoire des Empereurs...": book IV, chapter III, part 1.

10. Mansouri, Mohamed Tahar. "Byzantins, Mamluks et Mongols aux alentours de 1265". *Byzantiaka XII* (1992): 317-324; *Mongols, Turks and others. Euroasian nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai, Michal Biran. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005.

11. Richard, Jean. "Älgigidäi à Gazan: la continuité d'une politique franque chez les Mongols d'Iran", *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, Denise Aigle, ed. Teheran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1997: 57-69; Gregoras, Nicephorus (Γρηγόρας, Νικηφόρος). *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία...*: 62; Amitai-Preiss, Reuven. "Hulagu Khan", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Ehsan Yarshater, Ahmad Ashraf, eds. New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2001: X, 554-557. Online version available in: Amitai-Preiss, Reuven. "Ġāzān Khan, Maḥmūd (1271-1304)". *Encyclopædia Iranica*. 3 February 2012. 12 June 2016 <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gazan-khan-mahmud>>.

12. Pachymère. "Histoire des Empereurs...": book IV, chapter III, part 2.

13. Hunger, Herbert, ed. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 3 Faszikel: A...-Ῥούγιος. Viena: Erstellt von E. Trapp, 1978: 50-51.



Maria Paleologina (1258/9-1282) was the first to arrive in 1265 to mongol lands being the future wife of Hulagu, as part of an ambitious plan of political and military cooperation between the Byzantines and the Mongols. For both Hulagu and Michael VIII being allies suited them at the time.¹⁴ The Byzantine emperor in this way overcame his ineffectiveness to protect the eastern borders of the Empire, using the Mongols to hold the Turkish threat.¹⁵ Michael wanted to protect his empire at all of its costs, and so he acted oblivious to religious or ethnic prejudices, as did in his time John Vatatzes (emperor of Nicaea) when he allied himself with the Seljuks of Iconium to guard against the threatening Mongolian expedition that was then progressing unstoppable in Russia, Hungary and Poland.¹⁶ In addition to strategic and defensive considerations, Michael had to think about the profitability of the location of the Hulagu's states that were cutting the land route between the Mamluks and the Kiptchaks (Cumans), this route was not only of economic importance to the Mamluks and Italian merchants, but also of political and military one. It was among the Cumans that slaves were drawn, and once arrived in Egypt, were becoming Mamluks forming the military and political elite of the country.¹⁷ Thus, the control of the land route by the Byzantine emperor together with his control of the Hellespont, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea gave him a powerful tool of pressure on the Mamluks of Egypt.

To Hulagu, the conqueror of Persia and Baghdad, who dreamed of conquering the entire Muslim East, coalition with the Byzantines, also appeared very fruitful.¹⁸ The Christian sovereigns were not strangers to him, because even before agreeing with Michael he had been in contact with Louis IX of France to whom he offered a coalition to conquer Jerusalem for the benefit of the 'Holy Man' (Pope),¹⁹ a conquest that failed due to the extreme heat and the lack of provisions. Despite this setback Khan continued in his efforts to form a connection between the Christians and the Mongols against the Muslims, hence he was trying continually to partner with the Christians: Latins and Byzantines, against whom he had no prejudices as it was demonstrated after the tough and bloody invasion of Persia, which led the region in

14. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, ed. John Andrew Boyle. New York-London: Persian Heritage Series, 1971: 233.

15. Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1959: 81.

16. Acropolites, Jorge. *Narración Histórica*, ed. Teresa Vila Vilar. Granada: Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas, 2012: III, 41, 133.

17. Amitai-Preiss, Reuven. *Mongols and Mamluks. The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1995.

18. Sudheim, Ludolph de. "Le Chemin de la Terre Sainte", *Croisades et Pèlerinages. Récits, Chroniques et Voyages en Terre Sainte XIIe-XVIIe siècle*, Danielle Régner-Bohler, ed. Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997: 1029-1056, especially, XXXI-XXXII, 1054; 'Abd Az-Zahir, Ibn. "Baibars against Tripoli and Antioch. His Letter to Bohemond VI", *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. and trans. Francesco Gabrieli. London: Routledge-Kegan Paul, 1957: 308; Sparapet, Smbat. *Chronicle*, ed. Robert Bedrosian. New Jersey: Long Branch, 2005: 110, 114, 116; Nicolle, David. *The Mongol Warlords: Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Hülāgū, Tamerlane*. New York: Richard Hook, 1990.

19. Meyvaert, Paul. "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France". *Viator* 11 (1980): 258.



a period of prosperity and freedom for Christians.²⁰ Definitely and as shown later, this prosperity was due to the influence of his Christian mother Sarkutti Bagi and his favorite wife Khatun Dokuk a stubborn Nestorian from the Khereid people, both decisive in their political and religious decisions.²¹ The influence of Christian wives over the rulers of Persia was not new, like the Persian Queen Shirin, wife of Chosroes II, who occasionally determined his political and religious decisions.²² While the majority of the Mongols were shamanists and Buddhist, many Mongolian women had been attracted by the Nestorian Christianity that had entered in some of their tribes, like in that of the Naimans and the Khereids, since the XI century. The arrival of Christian missionaries and ambassadors from the West since 1245 to the Mongol lands reinforced the Christian influence among the Mongols and especially among the women of the court. These succeeded at influencing their ruling husbands and sons as it had already occurred earlier in Europe with the Christianisation of the wives and mothers of the pagan kings which determined the fate of entire nations.²³ In Persia, the role played by Dokuk Khatun was especially prominent.²⁴ Her husband was consulting with her about everything; the Mongols respected her and the Christians revered her.²⁵ Hulagu's wife was a devout and determined Christian who was not afraid the Islamism of the vast majority of the subjects of her husband. So, she ordered the destruction of more than a few mosques, forbade the celebration of feasts in the name of Allah, built numerous churches, granted many privileges to the Christians at the expense of Muslims who condemned to servitude, and even saved the lives of the Christians of Baghdad and

20. De Nicola, Bruno. "Las mujeres mongolas en los siglos XII y XIII. Un análisis sobre el rol de la madre y la esposa de Ghinggis Khan". *Acta Histórica y Arqueológica Medievalia*, 27-28 (2008): 37-64.

21. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 100, 106.

22. Al-Tha'ālibī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. Ismā'il. *Histoire des rois des perses*, ed. Hermann Zotenberg. Amsterdam: Academic Publishers Associated Oriental Press, 1979: 671, 691; Greatrex, Geoffrey; Lieu, Samuel, eds. *The Roman Eastern frontier and the Persian Wars: Part. II, ad 363-630: A narrative Source Book*. New York: Routledge, 2002: 229 ("The Khuzistan Chronicle"); Ryan, James D. "Christian wives of Mongol Khans: tartar queens and missionary expectations in Asia". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8-9 (1998): 411-421.

23. Ryan, James D. "Christian Wives of Mongol Khans: Tartar Queens and Missionary Expectations in Asia". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8/3 (1998): 411-421; Weatherford, Jack. *The Secret History of the Mongol Queens*. New York: Broadway Paperbacks, 2010; Buell, Paul D. "Some Royal Mongol Ladies: Alaqa-Beki, Ergene-Qatun and Others". *World History Connected*. 20 March 2016 <<http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/7.1/buell.html>>; Runciman, Steven. "The Ladies of the Mongols", Εἰς Μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου, Nikolaos V. Tomadakes (Νικόλαος Β. Τομαδάκης), ed. Athens: Μυρτίδη, 1960: 47-50.

24. Fiey, Jean Maurice. "Iconographie Syriaque, Hulagu, Doquz Khatun... et six ambons?". *Le Museon*, 87 (1975): 59-64; Melville, Charles P. "Dokuz (Doquz) Katun", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Ehsan Yarshater, Ahmad Ashraf, eds. Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1996: VII, 475-476; Melville, Charles. P. "Bologan (Bulugan) Katun", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Ehsan Yarshater, Ahmad Ashraf, eds. New York-London: Routledge-Kegan Paul, 1990: IV, 338-339. Online version in: Melville, Charles. P. "Bologan (Bulugan) Katun". *Encyclopædia Iranica*. 15 December 1989. 26 January 2016 <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bologan-katun-the-name-of-three-of-the-royal-wives-of-the-mongol-il-khans-in-iran>>.

25. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 145.



Aleppo when these cities were taken by the army of her husband.²⁶ The footsteps of this tremendous Christian queen will follow another woman no less obstinate in her deep religious beliefs: Maria Paleologina.²⁷

The winter of 1265 a new Christian queen came to Persia as part of a diplomatic marriage destined to seal the alliance of the Khan with Michael VIII, which would provide a new wife to fill the bed of the old Hulagu. The Byzantine imperial entourage had left Constantinople towards Tabriz led by the Patriarch of Antioch and Euthymius Theodosius de Villehardouin, abbot of the Monastery of Pantocrator, escorting the very young fiancée and his magnificent imperial baggage that included among others a splendid chapel with curtains embellished with images of Saints and the Holy Cross and enriched with lots of drinks prepared for the celebration of the sacred mysteries.²⁸ Being in Kayseri (Caesarea in Cappadocia) the members of the entourage of Maria Paleologina were informed of the death of Khan in February,²⁹ just when he planned to march against Egypt as part of his coalitions with the Christians.³⁰ This death far from breaking the Byzantine-Mongol alliance led to Maria being asked to marry his successor: Abaqa, favourite son of Hulagu, governor of Turkestan and his heir. He in this way consolidated his father's association with the Christians against the Muslims of Egypt and Syria.³¹

26. Sawma, Rabba. *The Monks of Kublai Khan Emperor of China*, ed. Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge. London: Religious Tract Society, 1928: 63 (chapter 8); Conrad, Philippe. *Las Civilizaciones de las Estepas*. Geneva: Editions Forni, 1977; Vine, Aubrey R. *The Nestorian Churches*. London: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1937: 141-147; Knobler, Adam. "Pseudo-Conversions and Patchwork Pedigrees: The Christianization of Muslim Princes and the Diplomacy of Holy War". *Journal of World History*, 7/2 (1992): 181-197.

27. De Nicola, Bruno. "Women's role and participation in warfare in the Mongol Empire", *Soldatinnen. Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis Heute*, Klaus Latzel, Silke Satjukow, Franka Maubach, eds. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010: 95-112; De Nicola, Bruno. "Ruling from tents: the existence and structure of women' ordos in Ilkhanid Iran", *The Mongols and Iranian History: Art, Literature and Culture from early Islam to Qajar Persia*, Robert Hillenbrand, Andrew Peacock, Firuza Abdullaeva, eds. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013: 116-136.

28. Grigor of Akner. "History of the Nation of Archers. Translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian". *Attalus: sources for Greek & Roman history*. 12 November 2015 <<http://www.attalus.org/armenian/gatoc.html>>, especially chapter 17; Pachymère. "Histoire des Empereurs...": book IV, chapter III, parts 1-2.

29. Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles...": see especially chapter 11.

30. Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient", *Croisades et Pèlerinages. Récits, Chroniques et Voyages en Terre Sainte XIIe-XVIe siècle*, Danielle Régnier-Bohler, ed. Paris: Robert Laffont, 1997: 803-878, especially 841 (chapter 26).

31. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 153-154; Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 839 (chapter 22); Grousset, René. *El Imperio de las Estepas. Atila, Gengis Kan, Tamerlán*. Madrid: Edaf, 1991: 407.



3. Maria Paleologina and Abaqa Khan: a Christian and a Shamanist against Islam

The new Ilkhan ruled very prosperously Persia advised, especially, by his Greek wife.³² However it would take some time for this to happen. For when Maria came to Persia was just seven or eight years old, so its direct influence on the Khan in the early years had to be absent or exercised by the emissaries of her father Michael VIII, or by the servants the latter had positioned in Khan's court to take care of his interests and those of his daughter. Maria will grow in the harem of her husband under the shadow of his powerful and influential wife: Padshah Khatun, daughter of Sultan Terken³³ and will cohabit in it with other Nestorian Christian wives as Nukdan Khatun, mother of Karkatuchani. In other words the little Byzantine princess will grow in a Mongolian environment and the maintenance of her Byzantine identity in such an environment can only be explained by the existence of a small Byzantine court beside her responsible to deal with her training and through this, with her future influence on the Mongol court in favour of Byzantium. But then, an education of Maria under the supervision of the Nestorian wives of Khan explains her seamless integration and harmony with the Nestorian Christians and her little influence among other Eastern Christian communities like the Monophysite Armenians. In any case, as the years went by, this young girl succeeded in turning Abaqa into a protector of Christians until his death. A role, that of the protector of Christians, that had been instilled already by his mother Dokuk Khatun.³⁴ She died in the summer of 1265 just when Maria appeared in the Mongol court and her death together with the one of her husband a few months ago, cause great consternation among Christians who regarded the couple as a new Constantine and Helen, instruments of vengeance against the enemies of Christ. She was remembered with sorrow and nostalgia, the devout Dokuk, traveling with her church in a tent, ringing the bell during religious ceremonies and accompanied by Armenian and Syrian clerics.³⁵ The broken hearts of the Christians in Persia soon found solace in a new benefactor and protector: Maria Paleologina. She would be known in the region as Despina Khatun or Bulaghan Khatun.³⁶ This led to the replacement of a protector with another, a replacement that was perfect to such a degree, that as we have found, the sources sometimes confuse the two of them.³⁷

Despina Khatun was revered for her kindness, wisdom and strong leadership by Christians and Mongols in Persia, a great part of them Nestorians. Sources portrayed her as leading a pious life and being quite influential in politics and the religious

32. Grigor of Akner. "History of the Nation of Archers...": see especially, chapter 14; Sawma, Rabba. *The Monks of Kublai Khan...*: 45-46 (chapter 3).

33. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 305.

34. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 136; Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles...": see especially chapter 11.

35. Grigor of Akner. "History of the Nation of Archers...": see especially chapters 12 and 13.

36. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 102.

37. Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles...": see especially chapter 11.



perspectives of her husband Abaqa, who was also interested in protecting Christians in his kingdom.³⁸ Yet the devout Maria come to Persia in praise of holiness and demanding that Abaqa had to be baptized before their marriage, failed totally to convert him, only achieving to make her a pagan spouse: *καλοί τε καί ἄγαθοί* expression that was used by Homer to refer to the gods. Abaqa was a convinced shamanist and while felt great sympathy for the Christians he did not want to become one.³⁹ But he needed the Christians to maintain his power and independence against the Islamic powers that he was fighting. Beyond the religious dimension he had clearly seen the political and economic potential around Christianity. Indeed, the main trade routes of his time linking China with the Mediterranean through Persia had their four great stations of arrival in Trabzon, Ayas, Constantinople and Tripoli, cities, all under the control of Christian power united by the Mongol Khanate of Persia either by ties of allegiance, or by political and business alliances. In addition, and like most of the Mongols the Khan did not make any discrimination among Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, etc., for him they all worshiped the Cross.⁴⁰ This is why he did not hesitate to pact with the Byzantine Michael VIII and with the Latin rulers, while making war with his own race to defend his territories.⁴¹ Above all, he would fight the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia, the real enemy in the East of the Empire,⁴² the ones that the Mongol ruler always had to held off to fulfil his treaty with his father.⁴³

The political ambitions and the influence of his wife Despina Khatun determined the government of this Mongol Khan in political, religious, economic and social issues. Thus, Khan limited and in some cases even banned the practice of Islam, promoted Christianity, and ordered that all positions in the government offices were occupied by Christians and Jews (clearly excluding Muslims). His affinity towards Christianity and his interest in its development came to a point where he appointed as Patriarch of the Christians of his empire the Nestorian Uighur of China, Markos.⁴⁴ The importance of Christianity in this first phase of the history of the Ilkhanate of Persia can be seen as well through numismatics, as the Khan minted coins that showed a Christian cross with an inscription in Arabic that read in the "Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God".⁴⁵

38. Sparapet, Smbat. *Chronicle*...: 110, 118, 119.

39. Sawma, Rabba. *The Monks of Kublai Khan*...: 50 (chapter 4); Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 841 (chapter 27).

40. Fiey, Jean Maurice. *Chrétiens Syriaques sous les Mongols (Il-Khanat de Perse, XIII^e-XIV^e s.)*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1975: 13.

41. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*...: 20, 23, 24, 123, 124, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 152, 153, 175.

42. Savvides, Alexis G. C. *Byzantium in the near East: its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor. The Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols. A. D. c. 1192-1237*. Thessaloniki: Byzantine Research Centre, 1981.

43. Runciman, Steven. *Vísperas Sicilianas*...: 197.

44. Vine, Aubrey R. *The Nestorian Churches*...: 147.

45. Luisetto, Frédéric. *Arméniens et autres Chrétiens d'Orient sous la domination Mongole*. Montpellier: Geuthner, 2006: 233. See also: Jackson, Peter. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. Cambridge (UK):



Although the Mongols generally showed great tolerance toward all religions in their vast domains and could get to practice a number of them without finding any contradiction in it, in the 13th century most of them remained shamanists. Although it is true that Buddhism, Islam and Christianity were becoming increasingly important. Therefore it is not surprising that this religious tolerance linked to the political interests of the Khanate determine the Mongolic tolerance toward the Nestorian missions that penetrated through Turkestan, Mongolia and reached even China and that many Mongols were converted into Christians just when they began to collaborate militarily with the Byzantines.⁴⁶ In times of Doquz Khatun and Despina Khatun tolerance towards Christianity was transformed into a very clear inclination towards this religion something that allowed new churches and convents to be built in Tabriz, Bartelli, Maragha, Baghdad and Arbil decorated by western Syrians and Greeks with Byzantine paintings.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, as Maria settled in Persia, with some reluctance, like the one shown by the Armenians who feared the influence and power of the “dirty apostate nation of the Greeks” in the domain of Abaqa,⁴⁸ her sister Euphrosyne arrived in Mongol lands just a year after marrying Nogai Khan, chief of the Golden Horde.⁴⁹ Finally the Byzantine emperor made it in the East protecting the backs of his empire in Asia. Meanwhile, the other Mongol alliance of Michael VIII, the one linking his empire with the Golden Horde that dominated the steppes of the black Sea, also begun to bear fruit. Shortly before locking the alliance, Khan Nogai had crossed the Danube with his men making the Byzantine forces flee and devastating the cities of Thrace. But now, finally by achieving the marriage of another of his bastard children with Nogai, the Byzantine sovereign secured the tranquillity against the Mongolic incursions into the Balkans and at the same time he made Khan of the Golden Horde a possible ally against to Venetians and Genoese, whose business interests in Black Sea could be damaged in case they provoked the lord of the Golden Horde. Now, thanks to one of his wives that was a Christian, Djaylak, the Khan of the Golden Horde, also begun to show favour to the Christians.⁵⁰ This alliance was very profitable for the Empire. Nogai helped militarily the Empire in 1273 and 1279 by defending it from the Bulgarians and in 1282 when he sent 4,000 soldiers to Constantinople to fight the Despot of Thessaly, John. Only sporadically the relationship between son in law and father in law was spoiled when the latter remained closer to Hulagu and his other son: Abaqa. Nogai did not consider any of the two Mongol leaders as his friends as the former had led to the death of his father

Cambridge University Press, 2005.

46. Gregoras, Nicephorus (Γρηγοράς, Νικηφόρος). *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία...*: 119-121.

47. Fiey, Jean Maurice. *Chrétien Syriaques...*: 85-97.

48. Grigor of Akner. “History of the Nation of Archers...”: see especially, chapter 17.

49. Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2005: 79; Pachymère. “Histoire des Empereurs...”: chapter III, part V.

50. Grousset, René. *El Imperio de las Estepas...*: 441.



and the second caused him to lose an eye in Tbilisi.⁵¹ Years later it would be Nogai himself who initiated an approach to Abaqa sending to his court his wife Chubei and his son Torai with an emir to ask one of his daughters as a wife for Torai, an attempt for a matrimonial bond and an alliance that ended successfully.⁵²

Behind the political arrangements and diplomatic manoeuvres of Abaqa can be seen the long hand of his father in law Michael VIII acting through his pious daughter Maria. The Byzantine-Mongol alliance was always in force until the death of the Mongol Khan although more than a few enemies of Byzantium tried to end it, as was the case of Charles of Anjou. He, fearing an alliance of the Byzantines with the Turks approached Abaqa who received his embassy politely, but luckily for Constantinople nothing more than this. The Mongol ruler wanted to establish relations with the Latins, but provided that these should not hurt his relationship with his father in law. Along with Michael and upon request of the king of Armenia, the King of Aragon and Pope Clement IV, Abaqa offered to help the passage of the Eighth Crusade to the Holy Land.⁵³ Via the king of Armenia, Khan sent letters to the Pope and the Christian kings of the West asking for troops to carry out the crusade mission, but they always responded indecisively.⁵⁴

Anyway, Abaqa could not engage in any business as he was too busy holding off the Golden Horde.⁵⁵ In 1268 he went further in his pro-Christian diplomatic gamble and promised an alliance of perpetual peace between himself and the Holy Roman Church and he also offered to conquer the Holy Land.⁵⁶ The truth is that his promise was unrealistic because in that moment he was totally unable to help as it was demonstrated by his disastrous attempt to rescue Alexandria and his embarrassing attempt to assist the small Catalan crusade arrived at Acre in 1269. Mongol Khan despite his wish to ingratiate himself with the Christians had to face serious dangers threatening his status, like the war that his cousins had started from the house of Jagatai invading his eastern lands, and also he had to ingratiate himself with his uncle and master, the great Kublai Khan of China. After defeating his cousins in 1270, Abaqa wrote to Louis to assure him of his military aid as soon as the crusade came to Palestine but the French went to Tunisia where the Mongols were unable to help. He did, however, help Prince Edward of England who alarmed by the luck of the French king, requested assistance from the Mongols. In mid-October 1271 the Mongol ruler sent a detachment of twenty thousand

51. Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars...*: 79; Gregoras, Nicephorus (Γρηγοράς, Νικηφόρος). *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία...*: 164.

52. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 129.

53. *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar...*: 257.

54. Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 844; Aigle, Denise. "The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü, and Abaqa: Mongol overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?". *Inner Asia*, 7/2 (2005): 143-162; Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1995 (3 volumes); Richard, Jean. *The Crusades, c. 1071- c. 1291*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999.

55. D'Ohsson, Abraham Constantin Mouradgèa. *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqu'à Timur Béc*. La Haye-Amsterdam: Les frères Van Cleef, 1834-35: III, 539-542; Atwood, Christopher Pratt. *The Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. New York: Facts On File, 2004.

56. Tisserant, Eugène. "Une lettre de l'Ilkhan de Perse Abaga adressee en 1268 au Pape Clément IV". *Le Muséon*, 59 (1946): 547-556.



horsemen of the Anatolian corps that advanced into Syria, defeating the Turkoman troops that were protecting Aleppo and passing like a simoom on Maarath an-Numan and Apamea. The Muslims of the area were alarmed of the Mongol advance but the head of the Mamluks, Baibars, was not. Baibars requested reinforcements from Egypt and when he advanced northward on November 12 the Mongols turned around as they were not strong enough to face all the Mamluk army, even less after being betrayed by their Anatolian Turks vassals who fled loaded with a big booty leaving the Mongols alone literally in a moment of danger.

In the *modus operandi* of Abaqa's diplomacy can be observed the repetition of a single pattern, he always used to act in response to the calls for alliance or partnership of the Christians, but in 1273 the one looking for a coalition was him, fearing a possible attack by Baibars. He sent a letter to Edward now the King of England asking for a new crusade, the response was polite but negative. In 1274 Mongol emissaries arrived at the Council of Lyon and they barely received a friendly response from the Pope and his Curia who failed to see that the kingdom of Abaqa, secretly from Islam, opened them two interesting possibilities: to press the Muslims from both fronts and to evangelise many of his subjects. The Mongol Khan's offer to provide assistance to Michael VIII, facilitating the passage of Christian troops through the Turkish Asia Minor to recover the Holy Land was ignored. In 1276 the ruler of Persia carried out a new attempt to approach the Latins through two Georgian brothers, John and James Vaseli. They landed in Rome and in the courts of France and England with a letter in which Khan apologized for not being more effective in 1271 but despite the good Mongol provision neither the English ruler Edward nor Philip III of France and even less the Pope showed interest in organizing a new holy war in the East.⁵⁷ The most suitable for initiating one: the Pope was under the dark influence of Charles of Anjou who was then negotiating with the Mamluks and hated the Mongols, allies of his sworn enemies: the Byzantines and the Genoese. In the meantime, while Abaqa displayed his diplomatic mantle at the foot of most Christians more to fight the Mamluks and safeguard his territories than to become himself or let the conversion of his people to Christianity, Maria Paleologina, his wife, was the centre of many miraculous events that did nothing but increase her devotion to the Eastern Christians. In 1279 the 'Great Queen' realizing that Christians had stopped practicing the procession of Maragha, by which the waters were blessed on the banks of the river Safi the day of Epiphany, because of the intense cold and the disputes that her subjects had with the Arabs, she went in person to the city of Maragha. Once there, she ordered the procession of the Christians according to the custom, with crosses hanging from the lances of their leaders, and it seems that after the procession had started, the 'Divine Grace' visited the believers. As if a miracle had happened, suddenly the force of the cold decreased and the grass began to grow causing great joy among the Mongols concerned about the fate of their hungry horses and among the Christians satisfied by the miraculous triumph of their faith.⁵⁸ For some researchers, this event did not happen with Despina but with Qutai Khatun, one of the

57. Sparapet, Smbat. *Chronicle...*: 120.

58. Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles...": see especially chapter 11.



women of Hulagu and mother of Tekuder.⁵⁹ But according to our opinion, it should be remembered that on the date on which the event occurred, the 'great dame' of the Khanate of Persia was Despina Khatun, or Maria Paleologina, not Qutai Khatun who became important in the Mongol court when her son ascended to the throne in 1282.

Then Baibars died, the greatest enemy of the Latins and the Mongols. Both could have taken advantage of the fact that he was succeeded by his weak son Baraqa, but they did not.⁶⁰ Although Abaqa and his vassal Leo III of Armenia continued to beg the Latins asking them to form an alliance and a new crusade, his pleas barely resonated in the West where they were only answered by the Order of Malta and the lands of Edward I, who anyway had no funds to do anything. Meanwhile, Charles of Anjou echoed and attempted a partnership with the Venetians, the Templars and the court of the Mamluks. Finally, a true Christian-Mongol expedition was launched, composed of 200 Hospitaller Knights, some Cypriots Knights and two Mongol armies, one commanded by Abaqa himself and another by his brother Mangu Timur. They all moved to Syria in September 1281 managing to invade the land of Aleppo, Hamas and Emesa and causing great damage to the Saracens.⁶¹ This was the last Latin-Mongol military partnership, as Abaqa retired after this to his homeland and the 1st of April, 1282 he died. According to some sources this happened while he was in a state of delirium tremens, induced by excessive consumption of alcohol (something common among the Mongol chiefs) and according to others, he was poisoned for his intolerance towards Islam.⁶² With this death the plans of partnership between the Khanate of Persia, the Byzantines and the Latins are over, the situation of the Christians in the region takes a radical turn and the life of Maria Paleologina is back to the hands of fate.

4. The Il-khanate of Persia: from the preponderance of Christianity to the triumph of Islam

In order to seize the power, the brother of Abaqa, the Muslim Tekuder, began to persecute the Christians that until then were protected by Abaqa and Maria.⁶³ Such was the cruelty with which they were treated thereafter that Arghun, son of Abaqa, did not hesitate to go to Kublai and inform the Great Khan of the Tartars that his uncle had left the path of his ancestors to be a Saracen, with many Tartars

59. Fiey, Jean Maurice. *Chrétiens Syriacques...*: 38.

60. Winter, Michael; Levanoni, Amalia, eds. *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004.

61. Tyr, Guillaume de. "Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum (History of deeds done beyond the Sea)". *Fordham University*. September 1998. 14 May 2016 <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/GuillaumeTyr5.asp>>.

62. Boyle, John Andrew, ed. *The History of Iran. Vol. 5. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1968: 364; Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 845.

63. Grigor of Akner. "History of the Nation of Archers...": see especially, chapter 16.



following him.⁶⁴ But nothing and nobody stopped Tekuder. The Mongol court of Persia is full of tense moments now and Persian sources mention the wedding of Maria Paleologina with her stepson Arghun, whom he had to protect from the lust of his uncle with a purely nominal marriage.⁶⁵

However it is known that for some time Maria was enclosed, but there is also evidence that she was frequently visited by her nephew Baidu Khan in her ordo (nomadic palace) who was very interested in the stories about Christianity. After all, Arghun, the stepson of Maria, after winning back the power from his uncle, rebuilt numerous churches and at the request of the kings of Armenia, Georgia and other Christians ensured that he would recover the Holy Places of Christendom with the help of the Eastern Christians.⁶⁶ It was a return to the policy of alliance with the Christians, launched by his father who consolidated it under the influence of Maria Paleologina. For this reason he wrote to Pope Honorius IV in 1285 for common action but without receiving any response.⁶⁷ Two years later the Il-khanate of Persia decided to send an embassy to the West with Rabban Sauma that passed through Constantinople where at that time Maria was still living, and was very well received. In Rome it was ignored, the Genoese praised it and in France and England nobody assured them of anything.⁶⁸ By then, the Mamluks were preparing to extinguish the last Crusaders states in Syria and in the West no one was doing anything. Finally Arghun, the 'friend of the Christians',⁶⁹ disappointed by the lack of interest of the West to preserve the Latin East, did nothing more.

Arghun would be succeeded by his brother Gaykhatu. The latter would in turn be succeeded by his cousin Baidu as Khan in 1295 and although he ruled only five months he showed an excellent disposition toward Christians largely thanks to Despina Khatun whom he knew and respected for many years and thanks to her influence he formed a good opinion of Christians, allowing them to have chapels and sound the bells in their tents during his government. It even seems that he used to say in his inner circle that he was a Christian and as proof he used to wear a cross around his neck, but did not dare to show his preference for the Christians too openly. The Muslims did not appreciate him less for his inclination towards Christians as under his reign they were not underprivileged.⁷⁰ The Ilkhan that succeeded him, Ghazan, the grandson of Abaqa adopted Islam as the official

64. Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 846.

65. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 102.

66. Sawma, Rabba. *The Monks of Kublai Khan...*: 42-61, 72-75; Hayton, Prince. "La Fleur des histoires...": 847.

67. Lupprian, Karl-Ernst. *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981: 229, 239, 246.

68. Sawma, Rabba. *The Monks of Kublai Khan...*: 53-61.

69. Montecroce, Ricoldo of. "Itinerarium", *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. Johann Christian Moritz Laurent. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1873: 121.

70. Bar Hebraeus. "Chronicles...": see especially chapter 11.



religion for his state despite having been educated by Despina Khatun.⁷¹ Despite his conversion, the new Mongol ruler remained a friend of the Christians, distrusting Egyptians and Turks, but no more embassies were sent to or received from the West. The West due to its lack of interest not only lost the opportunity to save the last crusader states, but also to evangelize much of the East. And what seemed to be the chance at the time of Despina Khatun, for Persia to turn into a Christian power was lost. Persia eventually became an intolerant Muslim state.⁷² 1291 was the end of the crusades and the Mongols considered this event as a final victory of Islam over Christianity and tended to renounce Christianity and all the figures that represented it so well as Despina Khatun.

But back to Maria Paleologina or Despina Khatun and her delicate situation in the Mongol court after the death of her husband and the rise of his brother, the Muslim Tekuder, who saw Maria as part of his rightful inheritance, therefore, she had no doubts to flee to Constantinople the moment she could. Her brother in law, apart from distributing everything he found among his barons, did not hesitate to take and make his all the women of his brother, something that deplored even many of his own people.⁷³ But Maria escaped in time from his control and return to Constantinople.

5. A Mongol Khatun in Constantinople: Maria Paleologina and the founding of Saint Mary of the Mongols

Fifteen years after her departure young Khatun returned to her home in the Byzantine capital to learn of the death of her father Michael VIII and the accession to the throne of her brother Andronicus II Palaeologus. According to some sources Andronicus tried to marry her again with another Mongol khan, something she refused joining a monastery. Actually, her brother married another Maria, his own illegitimate daughter, with Tokhta or Tojta, Khan of the Golden Horde, but not his sister. He received his sister with great honors in the Byzantine capital and he also granted her the title of 'Princess of the Mongols'. She was unmoved by the pageantry of the court in Constantinople and decided to embrace the religious life. Over an old church she restored, she founded the Monastery of Theotokos Panaghiótissa (literally: "All Saint Maria") in 1285, known as Saint Mary of the Mongols (Panagia Mouchliótissa) where she remained as Ktētorissa, 'founder' of it until her death.⁷⁴ It

71. Savory, Roger M. "Relations between the Safavid State and its Non-Muslim Minorities". *Islam and Christian. Muslim Relations*, 14/4 (2013): 435-458.

72. Frothingham, Octavius Brooks. *Oriental Religions and their relation to universal religion. Persia*. London: Trubner and Co., 1885: 526.

73. Polo, Marco. *Viajes*, ed. María de Cardona, Suzanne Dobelmann. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1998: 204-205.

74. Van Millingen, Alexander. *Byzantine Churches of Constantinople*. London: J. Murray, 1912; Nicol, Donald. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1993;



is known that she donated a valuable fortune to the monastery, endless land rents, product of the dowry with which she came back from Persia and all of the benefits provided by her brother. And the convent she founded was full of chapels, cells, gardens, orchards, vineyards and of a great charm it remained active until 1453. Nowadays still remains a part of the church and an ancient icon of the time Maria Paleologina which depicts the Virgin Mary known as Panagia Mouchliōtissa that for security reasons has been transferred to Greek Patriarchate.⁷⁵ Interestingly, an image of Maria Paleologina survived through the centuries preserved in the narthex of the Chora Monastery in the lower right corner of the scene of the Deesis. In that image, Maria appears bearing nun habits and the image comes with an inscription reading her monastic name: Melania.

6. Conclusion

It can be said that Maria Paleologina or Despina Khatun, as the Mongols called her, had a great influence over politics and the religious views of the Mongols in Abaqa times.⁷⁶ And even after her escape from Persia and her death her influence looms large in the son and grandson of her husband Arghun and Ghazan and his nephew by marriage Baidu.⁷⁷ Maria Paleologina was the main protagonist of a period of pacts and alliances against a common enemy, both Christians and Mongols. She was high on the international politics of the time pawn.

Zachariadou, Elizabeth A. "The Mosque of Kahriye and the Eastern inclinations of its late. Byzantine Patron". *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 30 (2013): 281-301; Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the time of Andronikos II Palaiologos". *Byzantion*, 66 (1966): 188-207; Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople". *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 43 (1995): 163-184.

75. Aguado, Francisco A. *Guía de Constantinopla. Un viaje a Estambul en busca de Bizancio*. Aviles: Spania-Bizas, 2007: 460.

76. Khanbaghi, Aptin. *The Fire, the Start and the Cross. Minority religions in Medieval and Early Modern Iran*. London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006.

77. Al-Dīn, Rashīd. *The Successors of Genghis Khan...*: 98, 105.



EPISCOPAL APPOINTMENTS AND ROYAL POWER: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF AN UNWRITTEN PRIVILEGE IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to study the role of kings in the episcopal appointments in Portugal from 1245 to 1357. This chronology covers the period marked by the government of three kings: Afonso III, Dinis and Afonso IV on what it is a crucial phase in the construction of Portuguese royalty after the deposition of king Sancho II by the pope in 1245. At the same time the procedures of episcopal elections are considerable defined by the papacy and the canon law, leaving less space for royal influence. That is why we will reflect about the forms this influence can adopt as a key element in the king's policy of reward loyalty.¹

KEYWORDS

Middle Ages, Royal Power, Episcopal Appointments, Ecclesiastical careers.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Medium Aevum, Potestas Regis, Designatio Episcoporum, Cursus Ecclesiastici.

1. Introduction

Episcopal appointments was a crucial point of discussion between kings and popes in Portugal since the 12th century. Behind the conflicts about this appointments, kings discussed the real capacity of intervention in this process. In this text we will take in account the episcopal appointments as a privileged focus of analyse. And we will have in mind a crucial period that goes from 1245 and the deposition of Sancho II and the end of the reign of Afonso IV, in 1357. A period marked by a considerable effort in the definition of the royal power as the numerous legislation promulgated shows.

2. From capitular elections to royal rights: the sphere of practice

Este rey entendendo a gaanhar pera sy moor autoridade em ellas, envia suas cartas aos cabidos das igrejas, geralmente ao cabidoo e especialmente a cada huum conego, rogando por seus clérigos de sua casa e por outros meos dignos, porque espera, que em as ditas igrejas e nos hordenamentos dos preitos seguirom sua vootade delle e estas igrejas nom defendorom contra elle em seus direitos nem em suas livridões; e estas leteras envia elle de rogo, por ameaças, e por grandes espantos que lhes poee, que nom enlegaam por bispo senom aquele, que elle nomea em suas cartas ou faz nomear em suas messagees e aquesto meesmo faz nas outras Igrejas meores, que devem a proveer do prelado ou do reitor per enliçom.²

This was how, in 1289, within the scope of the so-called 40 Article Concordat,³ specifically in article 28, the Portuguese clergy echoed its complaints about the

1. This article takes part of the research project *A Dimensão Europeia de um grupo de Poder: o clero na construção política das Monarquias Peninsulares (secs. XIII–XV)* (PTDC/EPH-HIS/4964/2012, within the scope of the *Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades da Universidade de Évora-Projeto UID/HIS/00057/2013*), supported by the *Fondo Europeo de Desarrollo Regional-FEDER-* (through the *Programa Operacional Competitividade e Internacionalização-COMPETE-*, Portugal 2020, POCI-01-0145-FEDER-007702) and funded by the *Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia-FCT-*.

2. “Seeking to strengthen his authority, the King sends his letters to the church chapters - usually one to the chapter and one to each canon - campaigning for the royal clergymen and for other less honorable ones. And he does that in the hope that those churches may follow his will. And, despite the fact that he campaigns for those clergymen in his letters, the truth is that he threatens the churches and chapters that elect as bishop someone other than the one he names in them. And he does that in both the greater and the smaller churches that need to elect a prelate or a rector”. *Ordenações Afonsinas*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984: II, 22-23 (Título I, artigo XXVIII).

3. These agreements or ‘articles’, as they are called, were the result of an agreement concluded between the Portuguese prelates and King Dinis’ proxies, under the aegis of the Pope’s representatives, at the Basilica of Saint Mary Major, in Rome, on February 12th, 1289. This concordat was copied and kept in different archives, other than the pontifical one, to which the document was sent in order to disseminate the agreement that had been reached. António Domingues de Sousa Costa identifies some of the copies kept in different diocesan archives and in the royal archive, as well as several subsequent documents that approve it. The importance of what was agreed at the time justified the fact that the text was included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, and it is this text that we have used as a base for this introduction. We must also



pressure exerted by the monarch in the choice of benefit holders, with a special emphasis on episcopal elections. To this request, King Dinis replied that *if porventura o rei tinha pedido que elegendessem algumas pessoas, fê-lo pelo facto de elas serem dignas para esse lugar, não tendo havido ameaças, pelo que não houve qualquer consequência para a referida igreja*.⁴

However, the king, through his proxies—who were also clergymen—committed himself to campaigning without imposing his choices. Nevertheless, that commitment seems to have gone unheard by the king, or even by the proxies who had been involved in this reply, since they immediately took advantage of the effects of this royal pressure, which will be extremely useful for their careers.⁵

In fact, the eloquence of this article is obvious and even, in a way, groundbreaking, in the Portuguese context, for the straightforwardness of those who complain about the king's intervention, but also of those who reply to them. But, actually, this was not a recent issue. This article retrieves and tries to address a complaint that had already been made by the bishops who, from 1266 onwards, travelled to the Curia where they presented a libel with 43 articles against King Afonso III.⁶ He was the king whose ascent to the throne had actually been supported by the prelates after the oath of Paris, in which the prince chosen by the Pope to defend and protect

remember that this concordat it was only the first of a large number of agreements concluded with the following kings, from King Dinis to King John I, to be included in *Ordenações*. See: *Ordenações Afonsinas*....: II, 1-2. As it is mentioned in the introduction to Book II, the integration of these agreements into the *Ordenações*, which are understood as a first effort to compile the available legislation, was justified by the fact that the King's 'intention' was to "greatly honor and appreciate our Holy Mother Church"; so, wanting to keep the provisions agreed in the Court of Rome between the previous Kings and the clergy, the King ordered the concordats to be collected for his and the clergy's information. On the 1289 agreement and its copies, please refer to: Costa, António Domingues de Sousa. "D. Frei Telo, arcebispo-primaz, e as concordatas de D. Dinis", *LX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas*. Braga: Faculdade de Teologia da Universidade Católica Portuguesa-Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990: II/1, 283-316.

4. "if by any chance, the King had asked for some people to be elected in certain cathedrals or other churches, he had done that because they were worthy of the position, without any threats and, therefore, without any consequences for the churches in question". *Ordenações Afonsinas*....: II, 23 (Título I, artigo XXVIII).

5. We are referring ourselves, specifically, to Martinho Pires de Oliveira and João Martins de Soalhães, two clergymen whose careers have already been analysed, albeit generically, in: Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder. A Diocese de Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999: 50-51; Lima, Maria Justiniana Maciel. *O Cabido de Braga no tempo de D. Dinis (1278-1325)*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 2003: 89-98. The careers of these two men are the focus of the forthcoming comparative study of: Branco, Maria João; Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "Contacte et Échange: la circulation et les carrières de quatre archevêques portugais du XIII^e et XIV^e siècles", *Mobilité des clercs et circulation culturelle en Europe (XIIe-XVe siècles). Workshop organisé par le Groupement de Recherche Européen (GDRE) "Aux origines de la modernité étatique en Europe: L'héritage des clercs médiévaux" (Angers, 17-19 novembre 2011)*, unpublished.

6. According to Maria Alegria Marques, the original list of complaints had been prepared by the bishops when they were already in Rome, according to a document that was then identified as a draft and published by the author. Of course that this previous list suffered a lot of changes until the construction of final agreement. Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes. *O Papado e Portugal no tempo de D. Afonso III (1245-1279)*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra (PhD Dissertation), 1990: 390-399, 499- 521. There is a summary of these articles in: Herculano, Alexandre. *História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até o fim do reinado de Afonso III*. Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1982: III, 131-141. The complaint about episcopal appointments corresponds to the article 41.



the kingdom had sworn to protect and defend the church, its privileges and assets against the ineffectiveness of his brother Sancho.⁷

However, this trip to the Curia in a quest for the Pope's support to untangle a complicated situation in the relationships between the Portuguese royalty and the Episcopal clergy did not result in a quick solution. A succession of relatively short pontificates throughout most of the second half of the 13th century, the strategy of indecision developed by Afonso III in his relationship with the Papal legates who travelled to Portugal in the 70's,⁸ together with the change of king caused by the death of Afonso III, in 1279, resulted in the prolongation of a conflict that, in the first years of the reign of king Dinis, between 1279 and 1289—when the agreement was concluded—seems to have limited the space for diplomacy and negotiation between the parties and their representatives, all of whom were secular clergymen.

But the text accepted in 1289 and approved by the Papacy⁹—that, at the time, became a privileged interlocutor for the parties—, which was later included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, as we have mentioned, together with other agreements that would be concluded in the following years, sets out an initial overview of the clergy's complaints but, above all, of the replies given by the royal power to those complaints.

However, we should not forget that, as a text that was designed and written with the aim of building up an idea of harmony and interaction, the 1289 agreement should be primarily understood as a diplomatic point of arrival reached after a long negotiation that was clearly focused on the definition of a few areas of competence or borders for the intervention of each of the parties, but whose actual short-term efficiency is not easy to ascertain.¹⁰

In fact, the conclusion of partial agreements in the following years, as well as of more general texts in the following reigns¹¹ shows us that not everything had been solved by the 1289 agreement. However, the text written in 1289 seems to set off, in the Portuguese context, a pattern of dialogue between the royalty and the clergy

7. King Sancho II will be deposed by the Pope in 1245. Fernandes, Hermenegildo Nuno Goinhas. *D. Sancho II. Tragédia*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Ventura, Leontina. *D. Afonso III*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006: 70-71; Costa, António Domingues de Sousa. *Mestre Silvestre e Mestre Vicente, juristas da contenda entre D. Afonso II e suas irmãs*. Braga: Editorial Franciscana, 1963: 437-444.

8. Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes. *O Papado e Portugal...*: 407-413.

9. According to the information provided by António Domingues de Sousa Costa, the concordat's text was approved by Pope Nicholas IV by the bull 'Ad Perpetuam rei memoriam'. Costa, António Domingues de Sousa. "D. Frei Telo, arcebispo-primaz, e as concordatas de D. Dinis...": 302.

10. The agreements that came to be concluded, focused on complaints that were virtually similar to the ones presented in the previous concordats, demonstrated how ineffective these agreements actually were, at least as leverages for the resolution of conflicts. However, we should highlight that these lists of articles were not exclusively prepared with the goal of finding a definitive solution for those complaints, many of which were likely impossible to address, at least to the full extent of what was being proposed by the clergy. They were primarily aimed at claiming and reasserting privileges and accomplished the purpose of a recurring demand for a broader sphere of intervention.

11. During the reign of King Dinis there was also a partial agreement with some bishops, an agreement that was followed by other, more general, concordats, such as the one produced in the Courts of Elvas, in 1361, during the reign of King Pedro, all of which were included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*.



summarized in texts built around the complaint/reply binomial, following a model that would prevailed in the Courts and what seemed to be a common practice in other European kingdoms.¹²

The article presented by the bishops, which touched on the subject of the royal interference in the appointment of the holders of benefits, namely of episcopal benefits is, on the other hand, in line with a vast and varied production that, throughout the final centuries of the Middle Ages, sought to clarify the daily implementation of the agreed regulations. In fact, the episcopal elections and the positioning of the various, direct or indirect, stakeholders in this process had, for a long time, been a matter of disagreement and, above all, of debate, which gave rise to an extensive and fruitful legislative production, particularly during the 12th and 13th centuries, with the aim of accurately defining the steps required for electing a bishop.¹³

In this context, when the proxies of the clergy and of the king codified and drew up a written agreement on the royal intervention in elections in 1289, they were not certainly unaware of what was being signed.

At the time, the King was not stating his intention not to interfere in the electoral sphere. The elusiveness of the answer seemed to demonstrate that this intervention was right in an electoral model dominated by the capitular election, and that only the pressure to elect certain individuals was wrong. And, in a sense, that is what is being said by the complainants when they highlight that the king imposed the chosen ones with threats, sending letters that left no room for a free election and seeking, in this way, to obtain more power over the churches, because what was really at stake was the election of individuals who were close to him and, through them, the reinforcement of the royal power over the churches.

In the late 13th century, when the capitular election model that had been gradually imposed began experiencing the actual effects of the measures that would eventually lead to a growing papal intervention —as proven, for example, by Katherine Harvey for England—¹⁴ the King's intervention seemed to have continued to be seen as common and usual, embodied in letters sent by the king to the members of the chapter, a practice that king Dinis does not deny or undertake to abandon, being

12. About the grievances presented by the English clergy to the King see: Jones, William R. "Bishops, Politics, and the Two Laws: The Gravamina of the English Clergy, 1237-1399". *Speculum*, 41/2 (1966): 209-245; Denton, Jeffrey Howard. "The Making of the 'Articuli Cleri' of 1316". *The English Historical Review*, 101/400 (1986): 564-595; Wright, J. Robert. *The Church and the English crown, 1305-1334*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980: 185-194.

13. There are many works on the definition of the Episcopal election process and on the role played by the pontifical power in that definition, namely several monographic studies that address this issue using case studies. In this context, and privileging the more general approaches, we highlight the classical, yet indispensable, studies by: Barraclough, Geoffrey. "The making of a bishop in the Middle ages. The part of the pope in law and fact". *The Catholic Historical Review*, 19 (1934): 275-319; Pacaut, Marcel. *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1957. More recently, a good overview can be found in the study by: Peltzer, Jorg. *Canon law, careers and conquest. Episcopal elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c. 1140-c. 1230*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2008.

14. Harvey, Katherine. *Episcopal Appointments in England, c. 1214-1344. From episcopal election to papal provision*. London: Ashgate, 2014.



quickly implemented in new ways other than the ones that, in the 12th century and in the early decades of the 13th century, had led to a review of the electoral universe.

These arguments show that this intervention continued to be, not only acknowledged, but also legitimized, as Peltzer had already underlined.¹⁵ On the other hand, the arguments presented by the bishops are very close to the ones used, in 1279, by the pontifical legate Pedro de Rieti to address the issue of the interference of the Castilian kings in the episcopal elections, accusing them also of threatening the electors and imposing the election of certain individuals,¹⁶ revealing the common nature of the problems caused by the royal intervention.

And while there is not much direct evidence of these interventions in the Portuguese context,¹⁷ a few documentary references made during an election process and, above all, the list of those who were elected and candidates to the different dioceses during this period reveals the extent to which the king was able to influence the process.

In Portugal, unlike what happened in Castile with Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, the existing legislative collections did not include the determinations produced by the councils and integrated, specifically, into the canons of the III and IV Councils of the Lateran, which set out, in detail, the way how the elections should proceed, as well as the requirements that the candidates for bishop should meet.

The attention paid by those responsible for the preparation of the *Siete Partidas* to the issue of the episcopal election by including, in the First *Partida*, the articles of the council canons on the election virtually in their entirety, is a clear sign of the importance given by the monarchs to these appointments. What also comes across as important is the integration into the articles of the *Partidas* of a reference to the royal rights within the scope of the election process, synthesized in the legal concepts of *consensus* and *assensus*, which implied that the election had to be authorized after the communication of the vacancy, that the elected official had to be accepted and that there had to be a collaboration for the safekeeping of the episcopal assets during

15. Peltzer, Jorg. *Canon law, careers and conquest...*: 31-38. Please refer to what the author says about the change in the role played by the prince in the election process in these pages, but also about the practical side of that intervention, namely in the Norman context. We should highlight that Peltzer's analysis is focused on a period that ends in 1230.

16. Nieto, José Manuel. *Iglesia y poder real en Castilla. El episcopado. 1250- 1350*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988: 199. To compare with the situation in Castile see also the indispensable work of Linehan: Linehan, Peter. *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth century*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1971 (namely chapters 8 and 9). Furthermore, the list of complaints prepared by the English clergy in 1316 addressed the issue of the elections by actually retrieving articles included in previous lists of complaints, while integrating it into a broader approach by stating that all the elections for ecclesiastical positions should be free, including, obviously, those for prelates. In this case, Edward II also replied in a vague and conciliatory way, leaving more open questions than definitive answers to a hypothetical change in the existing practice. Denton, Jeffrey Howard. "The Making of the 'Articuli Cleri'...": 583-584, 591.

17. "Interference with elections has, naturally, left little evidence in the sources. It operated in largely unseen ways and was persuasive, if often resisted". Like in other contexts, as highlighted, among other authors, by: Denton, Jeffrey Howard. "The Making of the 'Articuli Cleri'...": 583.



the vacancy.¹⁸ It was also important to explain the arguments that legitimized those rights grounded on conquests, on the foundation of new churches and on the prodigal funding of institutions by the king.¹⁹

The legitimizing arguments used in Castile²⁰ were not much different from the ones presented in other European contexts, namely in France,²¹ which were possibly also followed in Portugal where the *Partidas* had already been known since the late 13th century²² and used, as denounced by the representatives of the clergy in the Courts of 1361, in the context of the excommunication of royal officials, when it was said that the royal justice did not follow the canon law, as all Christians should, but rather *as sete partidas feitas por el rey de Castela ao qual regno de Portugall nam era sujeito mas bem isento de todo*.²³ To this criticism, King Peter replied that his justice kept the exceptions *como ho direito manda e sam teídas de o fazer*.²⁴

Since king Dinis did not intend to waive the right to appoint reliable people to the episcopal elections, it would be difficult to assume that he would waiver the other rights that were also legitimized, in practice, in the neighboring kingdoms. In fact, the rights that were exercised, namely in what regarded the collaboration in the safekeeping of assets, seemed to be linked with the rather abundant legislation on

18. *Las siete partidas del sabio rey don Alonso el nono, glosadas por el licenciado Gregório Lopez del Consejo Real de Indias de su Magestad*. Salamanca: Impresor de la Catholica Real Magestad, 1565: 193-250 (Primera Partida, Título V: “De los perlados de Santa Iglesia que han de mostrar la fe e dar los sacramentos”), especially 207-217.

19. *Las Siete partidas...*: 38v-39 (Ley XVIII). On the role of the laymen and the discussion that had occurred during the Gregorian reform and in the context of the investiture struggle: Caron, Pier Giovanni. “Les élections épiscopales dans la doctrine et la pratique de l’Église”. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 11 (1968): 573-585. There are many works on the royal intervention in episcopal elections in Castile. See: Nieto Soria, Jose Manuel. *Iglesia y poder real...*: 197-204; and also the overview by Oscar Villarroel, despite the fact that it is focused on a later period: Villarroel, Oscar. *Las relaciones monarquía-Iglesia en época de Juan II da Castilla (1406-1454)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense (PhD Dissertation), 2006 (particularly pages 87 to 91). As we have seen above, the novelty lies not so much in the claims related to the king’s intervention, which was obvious, at least, since the early 13th century, but rather in the justifications that were given and in its identification as a conquest-based Hispanic tradition.

20. Villarroel, Oscar. *Las relaciones monarquía-Iglesia...*

21. The kings had been claiming the right to manage and keep the vacant benefits, as long as they remained vacant, since the Carolingian period. Despite the discussion on the extent to which that right could be exercised and on the comprehensiveness of the regale, within the meaning that was given to it in the central Middle Ages, the fact is that the French royalty continued to claim that right. For an overview, please refer to the classical work by: Lot, Ferdinand; Fawtier, Robert. *Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age, Tome III : Institutions Ecclesiastiques*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962: 243-256; but also: Pacaut, Marcel. *Luis VII et les Élections épiscopales...*

22. On the expansion of the *Partidas* in Portugal, see the framework by : Silva, Nuno Espinosa Gomes. *História do Direito Português. Fontes de Direito*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2011: 265-267 (5th edition).

23. “the *sete partidas* made by the King of Castile, to which the Kingdom of Portugal was subject, but from which it was totally free”. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, ed. António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, Nuno José Pizarro Dias. Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1986: 2.

24. “acts as required by law and as it should”. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I...*: 22.



the royal patronage that began with Afonso II and the recurring reassertion of the king's right to hold the churches that did not have a patron.²⁵

Despite being questioned in the 13th century by the gradual definition of the legislative framework according to which the episcopal elections should be held, as well as of the process they should follow, the space for the king's intervention managed to survive, as clarified in the letter sent by Innocent III to the legate Nicholas late in 1213 or early in 1214, with regard to the episcopal elections in England.²⁶ In this letter, the Pope explained that the canons were obliged to let the king know about the vacancy and to tell him the name of the elected bishop, as soon as it became known, and that the king was expected to immediately express his support.²⁷

In this way, the sphere of royal intervention and the king's rights, which were echoed by the *Siete Partidas*, were fully explained. However, practice showed that the gaps that had been left open allowed other ways for the king's wishes to be heard. In the context of this somewhat impressionist approach to the legal framework that ruled the practice of the royal intervention in episcopal elections in Portugal, which deserves an in-depth study, the actions of kings Afonso III to Afonso IV seemed to be focused on a close monitoring of the vacant cathedrals, hinted by a few documentary references.

Similarly, and as it has been stated with regard to other contexts, the royal influence was not limited to the sphere of the capitular election, and it is not likely to have diminished with the increase of pontifical reserves and the broadening of the scope of the Pope's intervention. In fact, the reinforcement of the Pope's intervention was contemporary of the development of a discourse and a policy aimed at reinforcing and increasingly defining the royal competencies, in a movement that, above all, determined the definition of new links and frontiers, in the wake of a previous practice of intervention that was felt at the different levels of the hierarchy that was responsible for appointing the prelates.

25. The royal legislation on the King's right of patronage is yet to be analyzed and systematically compared to the contemporary practices of the neighboring kingdoms and integrated into a broader policy of assertion of the royal power. However, in some studies there are more or less comprehensive references to its exercise and to its legal framework. Within denying the urgency of conducting partial studies, there are three analyses that, in our opinion, reveal the chronological evolution of this legislation and, therefore, are three particularly important reflections. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985: II, 162; Homem, Armando Carvalho. "Dionisius et Alfonsus, dei gratia reges et communis utilitatis gratia legiferi". *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, 11 (1994): 11-110; Ventura, Margarida Garcez. *Igreja e poder no século XV. Dinastia de Avis e liberdades eclesiásticas (1383-1450)*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1997: 181-204.

26. Harvey, Katherine. *Episcopal Appointments...*: 22-24. This letter is mentioned by Katherine Harvey as an example of Innocent III's influence in the definition of the content of the Letter on Free Election, written in 1214.

27. As highlighted by Katherine Harvey, the letter reasserts as royal competences and obligations the license to elect, the ability of the electoral body to proceed with the election away from the court and the need to obtain the King's prompt approval of the elected prelate. Harvey, Katherine. *Episcopal Appointments...*



In fact, when, in 1258, Afonso III asked the archbishop of Compostela to confirm the election of Pedro Eanes to Lamego, his request not only reflected the royal protection given to the clergyman, but also the king's ability to influence an election that was likely disputed at the archdiocesan level.²⁸

Afonso III argued then that Pedro Eanes was *viro utique literato provido et honesto tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus* and asked the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela to confirm the name of Pedro Eanes without delay after examining the election, an act for which the king would be grateful. Although there might have been many requests like this one, the truth is that this is the only letter with this type of content that was preserved and registered in Afonso III's chancery, a choice that single-handedly reflects the importance given to this election, despite the fact that it does not clarify the real reasons that were behind this record.

Similarly, Afonso III's resistance to the transfer of Mateus Martins from Viseu to Coimbra in 1268 seems to reveal the ability to accept or reject an elected bishop; the two dioceses, Viseu and Coimbra, were listed as vacant in the royal documents until 1278, despite the fact that the Pope provided otherwise. This rejection only came to an end in January 1279, when Mateus returned to Viseu.²⁹

Let us recall that the presence of Mateus in the royal documents can be traced back, at least, to the beginning of the reign of Afonso III; at the time he was referred to as royal chaplain and, therefore, he was someone who was close to the king. He was appointed to Viseu, apparently as a result of the king's pressure, and there he remained until 1268, despite the fact that his appointment was rejected by some members of the chapter, among which the cantor Pedro Peres. In 1268 he was transferred by Clement IV to Coimbra but, apparently, the king refused to recognize that transfer and Mateus returned to the diocese of Viseu in 1279. The changes in the royal attitudes towards Mateus is yet to be properly explained and analyzed, but it might have been related to a broader conflict that opposed Afonso III to the prelates. However, they are particularly enlightening with regard to the fluctuations in terms of royal protection. The prelate was retransferred to Viseu in January 1279, *id est*, right at the end of the reign of Afonso III, who died in February that year.

But, many times, meeting the royal interests did not entail such drastic measures. In 1323, when Gonçalo was appointed to the bishopric of Viseu, John XXII asked the bishop of Lisbon to confirm the election of Gonçalo, the treasurer of Viseu, as

28. *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, ed. Leontina Ventura, António Resende de Oliveira. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006: I/1, 165 (doc. No. 143).

29. Afonso III's apparent refusal to accept the transfer of Mateus to Coimbra is mentioned by: Morujão, Rosário. *A Sé de Coimbra. A instituição e a Chancelaria (1080-1318)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2010: 138-139. Leontina Ventura highlights the anomalous nature of the situation of the two dioceses in: Ventura, Leontina. *D. Afonso III...*: 187; which is evidenced by the documents published in and related to the King's chancery. In fact, the two dioceses are mentioned as vacant in the lists of *confirmantes* that closed the most important documents and were transcribed in the chancery. The vacancy does not match with the papal documents, nor the date of the appointment of Mateus as bishop of Coimbra.



bishop, out of consideration for king Dinis of Portugal.³⁰ But, as we will see, the kings did not depend solely on the acknowledgement of their influence by the religious superiors. Whatever might have been at stake —either gaining more power over the churches, as the proxies of the clergy advocated in 1289, or recognizing and rewarding those who faithfully served their king— was far more important.

So, the episcopal elections became a key element in a policy focused on the reward of loyalty and proximity, and this applied equally to the king and to the papacy, but also to families that had a regional influence and tended to control the capitular elections.³¹ Even if that influence often oscillated between a violent assertion of the royal power and the influence of what remained unsaid but was actually translated into a daily practice.

3. The 'rotation' of the dioceses or the slow disappearance of the internal *cursus honorum*

Between 1245 and 1357, nearly 82 clergymen occupied the 9 dioceses that composed the kingdom of Portugal since the second half of the 12th century, except for Silves, which was under Castilian jurisdiction until the treaty of Badajoz, signed in 1267.³² This figure corresponded to 92 elections or procedures for the selection of prelates. However, this figure does not cover all of the clergymen who were involved in disputes for these positions within the scope of episcopal elections, which were usually settled by the Pope, but only those whose actual presence in the diocesan governance is likely to be proven by the existing documents. Similarly, the definition of this universe also took into consideration the growing importance of the transfers between dioceses, particularly from the early 14th century onwards, and the reinforcement of the Pope's intervention, which meant that a given clergyman could hold, during his career, episcopal positions in more than one diocese.

The constraints that surrounded the definition of the universe under analysis are just one of the problems that emerge while studying episcopal appointments. The difficulties we still face in the definition of the episcopology of dioceses like Guarda, Silves, or even Viseu,³³ particularly during the 14th century, are serious restrictions

30. *Lettres communes du pape Jean XXII (1316-1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les Registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. Guillaume Mollat. Paris: Boccard Éditeurs, 1910: IV, 227 (doc. No. 16828). The bishop of Lisbon addressed by the Pope was Gonçalo Pereira, a clergyman who, in 1326, was appointed as coadjutor to archbishop João, who was still alive at the time.

31. Peltzer, Jorg. *Canon law, careers and conquest...*: 219-230; Bouchard, Constance B. "The Geographical, Social and Ecclesiastical Origins of the Bishops of Auxerre and Sens in the Central Middle Ages". *Church History*, 46/3 (1977): 277-295. For a more general approach, please refer to: Barrow, Julia. *The Clergy in medieval world. Secular clerics, their families and careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-c.1200*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2015.

32. Ventura, Leontina. *Afonso III...*: 138-148.

33. These dioceses are quite different in terms of available sources of information. While in the case of Viseu, the Cathedral's collection for this period is preserved and has been analyzed in both partial



to obtaining an accurate information about the profile, or even about the number of prelates or elections in each diocese, an information that becomes a lot more complex when we look for specific data related to the episcopal appointment procedures.

Simultaneously, and unlike what happened in other contexts, the king's intervention in the episcopal elections left very few written traces. As José Mattoso highlighted in his work *Identificação do país*, with regard to the royal patronage and the appointment of bishops:

Em segundo lugar, reduziu-se a liberdade de eleição dos bispos que até meados do século XIII foi de regra. A partir de 1233, como vimos, o número de bispos que foram eleitos por sugestão do rei tornou-se cada vez mais numeroso

a statement that associated the clear existence of a royal influence with the growing presence of bishops that came from the ranks of the royal service.³⁴

This evidence seems to become particularly important in the period we have chosen to analyze, which spans between the beginning of the reign of Afonso III³⁵ and the end of the reign of Afonso IV.³⁶ This period of a little over a century was marked by a royal policy focused on the assertion and clarification of the royal powers and rights and on their written codification, a process in which the laws enacted by the three monarchs are an obvious milestone.

The change in the relationship between the royalty and the kingdom's governing bodies witnessed during these one hundred years did indeed have an impact on this particular area and the number of elections disputed in Portugal is, as in other

and in-depth studies, in the case of the dioceses of Guarda and Silves, the fact that there are not any documentary collections compromises the conduction of systematic studies on its episcopology, forcing the researchers to cross different sources and use data found in both papal and royal documents.

34. "Secondly, the freedom to elect the bishops, which had been the norm until the mid-13th century, was reduced. From 1233 onwards, as we have seen, there was an increasing number of bishops elected following a suggestion by the king". Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um país...* II: 162.

35. We used 1245, the year in which the bull that deposed Sancho II was passed, as our reference date. On this deposition, and in order to set the background for these circumstances, please refer to the biography of the King by: Fernandes, Hermenegildo Nuno Goinhas. *D. Sancho II. Tragédia...*: 257-262.

36. We should also justify our choice of end date. The reign of Afonso IV is a corner stone in the development and consolidation of a series of measures that had begun to emerge in the two previous reigns, namely in what regards their legal codification and the definition of the associated administrative structure. The nearly 30 years of this reign remain surprisingly understudied, particularly in what regards the relationships with the clergy—that were relatively calm when compared to the ones that had marked the preceding reigns—, despite being marked by key measures like the ones related to the confirmation of jurisdictions. Among other studies, we highlight the approaches by: Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos. *D. Afonso IV*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006; Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. "O poder e a sociedade ao tempo de D. Afonso IV". *Revista de História*, 3 (1988): 35-51; Marques, José. "D. Afonso IV e as jurisdições senhoriais galaico-leonesas no Norte de Portugal". *Relações entre Portugal e Castela nos finais da Idade Média*, José Marques, ed. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Junta Nacional para a Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1994: 179-204; Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "No tempo de Avinhão: Afonso IV e o episcopado em meados de Trezentos". *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd series, 22 (2010): 149-168; Vitória, André. *Legal Culture in Portugal from the twelfth to the fourteenth Centuries*. Porto: Universidade do Porto (PhD Dissertation), 2012: 336-394.



coeval political contexts, a clear indication of the transformations that were affecting the role and the competencies of each of the players involved in the episcopal appointment procedure and the importance given to their involvement.

The documentary traces left behind by the conflicts and alliances associated with many of these appointments are, therefore, the starting point for this reflection, which is based on the notion that episcopal appointments took center stage in the system of redistribution and reward of loyalties, both by the royalty and by the papacy. This determined the inclusion of these benefits in the benefit circulation chain that characterized the 14th century and, furthermore, the fact that the points of conflict or alliance associated with these appointments became key elements in the assertion of the sphere of influence of each of the players.

So, in this reflection, we chose the Portuguese case and the evolution of the types of royal interference in episcopal appointments throughout these one hundred years as our main line of analysis, from a point of view that is necessarily partial considering the numerous questions raised by the study of the episcopal appointment procedures. In order to do that, we divided our analysis into two levels: the first level is a generic characterization of the election procedures and the second level is an identification of the ascent and appointment requirements and of the positions held at the service of the king, in order to assess the importance that these criteria had in the characterization of a more general universe.

In Portuguese case there is a limited availability of data on many procedures for the election and appointment of prelates, particularly with regard to the second half of the 13th century and the early years of the 14th century. The increase in the number of pontifical appointments will allow a better understanding of the reasons or circumstances that led to those appointments, but that knowledge will be limited to the references found in the papal records. With regard to other types of appointments, it will only be possible to reconstruct some of the stages of these procedures by crossing different dispersed sources and data.

The preparation, or rather, the preservation of minutes is virtually non-existent in the Portuguese dioceses and there are only written records of elections that were disputed or in which there were conflicts related to the definition of the electoral universe. That was the case in Braga, following the death of Telo and the null and void election of João Martins de Soalhães in 1292, which resulted in the production of a particularly important documentary collection that portrays the debate on the constitution of the electoral universe.³⁷

The same happened in Viseu when, following the election of the royal chaplain, Mateus Martins, in 1254, his opponent, Pedro Peres, the diocese's cantor, addressed the Pope claiming that the diocese had not compensated him for the costs of the election, which the Pope had ordered to be paid. This conflict was at the origin of a curious document that clarifies the procedure that followed the election and the

37. The procedure for the election of the archbishop of Braga following the death of Telo has already been studied by, Maria Justiniana Maciel Lima, based on the documents preserved in the District Archive of Braga. Lima, Maria Justiniana Maciel. *O Cabido de Braga no tempo de D. Dinis (1278-1325)*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 2003: 89-92.



fate of the players that did not obtain the benefit in question.³⁸ Due to these gaps, the image we are able to draw from the available data is necessarily incomplete.

As we have mentioned above, the universe under study includes 82 clergymen who held the position of bishop in the Portuguese dioceses between 1245 and 1357. In our analysis, we considered all the prelates elected between those years, excluding the ones that formed part of the diocesan government when Afonso III was appointed. Nevertheless, the fact that all the dioceses witnessed changes in the second half of the 1240's is rather curious and means that only a few years were left out of this analysis. Chronologically, our analysis ends with all the bishops appointed before 1357, i.e., before the death of Afonso IV.

By choosing a political chronology based on a dynastic logic, we were aware of the need to establish a common chronological framework for all the dioceses that would allow overcoming the regional vicissitudes, even if that choice meant following an approach focused on the relationship between the royalty and the episcopal clergy right from the start, a standpoint that became the focal point of this analysis.

In addition to the lack of data on the selection processes we have mentioned above, there are scarce, or even contradictory, sources on the 14th century episcopology of dioceses like Guarda, Silves and Viseu, among others. However, by overcoming these limitations we find that, during these nearly 110 years, all the Portuguese dioceses, except for Viseu, were ruled by approximately 9 to 11 bishops, a common feature that seems to reflect the existence of relatively short terms of office that were interrupted, either by the death of the person in charge or, frequently, by the transfer of the prelate in question to another diocese.

In fact, there seems to have been a great number of transfers between dioceses in these decades, particularly from the early 14th century onwards, when the pontifical intervention became more pressing. Sometimes, a transfer was used to settle conflicts, as was the case in disputed elections; in these circumstances, the pope often called a clergyman —prelate or not— who was not involved in the conflict, or pushed one of the contenders out of the run in order to facilitate the integration of the chosen one.

Transfers could also be used to reward favors or consolidate careers, as was the case in the transfer of João Martins from Lisbon to Braga, in 1313, or of Gonçalo Pereira also from Lisbon to Braga.³⁹ Furthermore, transfers could be used to strengthen the

38. Mentioned in: Linehan, Peter. *Portugalia Pontificia: materials for the history of Portugal and the Papacy 1198-1417*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013: 343; and published in: *Diplomatário da Sé de Viseu (1078-1278)*, ed. Leontina Ventura, João da Cunha Matos. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra-Instituto de Estudos Medievais-Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura da Universidade de Coimbra, 2010: 320-359.

39. The election of João Martins as archbishop of Braga in 1313, following the death of Martinho Pires, seems to crown a career that was developed close to the King and end a procedure that had begun in 1292 with a failed election of this clergymen to Braga. On this procedure, please see: Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "O episcopado do tempo de D. Dinis —trajectos pessoais e carreiras eclesiásticas (1279-1325)". *Arquipélago. História*, 2nd series, 5 (2001): 581-604. Gonçalo Pereira also ended his career in Braga, following a path that led him from Porto to Lisbon and, then, to the archdiocese of Braga. On



pope's presence and intervention in the Portuguese kingdom, as was the case in the appointment of Franciscan clergymen during the 1260's and 1270's, like Frei Telo for Braga, Frei Vasco and Frei João Martins for Guarda —being that the latter was bishop of Cadiz⁴⁰ when he was transferred to Guarda—, or in the appointment of foreign clergymen, like the Ebrard in Coimbra or Guilherme de La Garde in Braga, who were invariably appointed by the Pope.⁴¹

Among other consequences, the pope's growing intervention broadened the scope of the circuits in which these clergymen moved and were recruited, and defined new models of mobility between benefits. In fact, in a somewhat simplistic way—that is nonetheless revealing—, we could say that, in the 13th century and in the dioceses that composed the Portuguese kingdom, the capitular elections that were successful were characterized by a preference for clergymen with careers within the diocese in question, but also by a relatively poor ability to reach consensus, despite the three different forms of capitular election permitted by law. This circumstance gave rise to a large number of disputed elections that, after 3 months,⁴² according to the IV Latran Council, should be submitted to the Pope for a decision.

Nearly half of the 37 capitular election procedures clearly recorded during this period were disputed by different clergymen and ended in the Pope's hands. In fact, the Papacy's early reservation when it came to settling disputed elections sought, on the one hand, to reduce the duration of the vacancies and, therefore, the period during which the dioceses were managed by the chapters and, on the other hand, it was aimed at taking advantage of a practice that was common in capitular elections to its own advantage.

In the case of the universe in question, it was relatively common to find elections disputed by two candidates that divided the members of the chapter. In some cases,

Gonçalo Pereira, please refer to: Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "No tempo de Avinhão...": 149-168; and, especially, to: Coelho, Maria Helena. "O arcebispo D. Gonçalo Pereira: um querer, um agir", *IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga. Congresso Internacional. Actas*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa e Cabido Metropolitano e Primacial de Braga, 1990: II/1, 389-462.

40. Costa, António Domingues de Sousa. "D. Frei Telo, arcebispo-primaz, e as concordatas de D. Dinis...": 284 (note 3). He was appointed in 1287 but, in 1289, Nicholas IV entrusted this bishop, together with a few other ones, with the consecration of Egas as bishop of Viseu. *Documentos de Nicolas IV (1288-1292) Referentes a Espanha*, ed. Santiago Domínguez Sánchez. Leon: Universidad de León, 2009: 166 (doc. No. 138). We should highlight that the appointment of these three Franciscan prelates was made by the Pope in the context of the conflict between the Portuguese kings and the episcopate, i.e., between 1266 and 1289. About the importance of mendicant bishops, see: Tabbagh, Vincent. "Les évêques profés des ordres mendiants dans la France de la fin du Moyen âge", *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d' Hervé Martin*, Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot et Lionel Rousselot, eds. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003: 243-253.

41. On the Ebrard family, please refer to the above mentioned work by: Morujão, Rosário. *A Sé de Coimbra...*; Morujão, Rosário. "La famille d'Ébrard et le clergé de Coimbra aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles", *A Igreja e o clero português no contexto europeu*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa-Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2005: 77-91. The tables attached to this paper illustrate the network established by this family. It is possible to find additional information in these studies on previous analyses made about the presence of French clergymen in Portugal.

42. For all the conditions establish by Latran conciles see: Peltzer, Jorg. *Canon law, careers and conquest...*: 20- 72.



these divisions were solved through the selection of a series of members of the chapter that became responsible for suggesting a potentially consensual name, thus following the way of compromise. That is what happened, for example, in the election of João Martins de Soalhães to Braga, in 1292, and of Afonso Eanes, also to Braga, in 1313.⁴³ However, in many other cases, the disputes could not be solved by compromise because the gaps between opposing positions kept widening.

In fact, a capitular election was influenced by multiple interactions other than the abovementioned royal pressures. At a time and in a space where the logic of the episcopal appointment was still markedly internal, the episcopal elections were also pivotal moments in the confrontations between families and clienteles, often at a regional level.

The clear preference for clergymen with careers in the dioceses —often marked by the enjoyment of dignities— in the context of the capitular elections cannot be explained solely by what the capitular universe might have known about the individuals in question, but also by the fact that, in many cases, these choices were associated with the local prominence of certain families and clientele networks that integrated the access to and the control of capitular and episcopal benefits into their strategies of social ascent or consolidation.⁴⁴

This situation tended to change as the 13th century progressed and as a result of changes in the logic of the episcopal appointments that led to a deep separation between the circuits of appointment of the prelates and those of the capitulars, leaving the chapters subject to regional logics.

But the growing number of disputed elections that were not settled within the timeframe given by the papacy made it easier for the pontiff to intervene, often by choosing a third individual that had not been involved in the dispute.

That is what happened in Evora, in 1312, in the conflict that opposed Gonçalo Pereira to João Afonso de Brito, which was settled by the pope through the appointment of Pedro de Cuenca. That is also what happened in Coimbra, in 1302, with the appointment of Fernando, canon of Burgos, as bishop of Coimbra, following a disputed election between Egas Lourenço Magro and Francisco Domingues,⁴⁵ and, again in the same diocese, in 1325, with Raimundo Ebrard II,⁴⁶ appointed by John XXII when he was a dean. That was also the choice made by Clement V when he appointed Diogo,⁴⁷ dean of Salamanca, to the diocese of Lamego, following a

43. *Documentos de Clemente V (1305-1314) referentes a Espana*. ed. Santiago Domínguez Sánchez. Leon: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 2014: 1265-1266 (doc. No. 1329).

44. By way of example, please refer to: Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder...*: 44-55.

45. Morujão, Maria do Rosário. *A Sé de Coimbra...*: 166-169.

46. Morujão, Maria do Rosário. *A Sé de Coimbra...*: 168 (note 418).

47. Diogo was appointed in November 1306 by Clement V: *Documentos de Clemente V...*: 157-158 (doc. No. 107). According to Anísio Saraiva, Diogo came from Salamanca after a disputed election and tried to return to this diocese a few years later. In 1306 he was transferred to Zamora a ruling that was relatively distant from the diocese of Lamego. Saraiva, Anísio. *A Sé de Lamego na primeira metade do século XIV (1296-1349)*. Leiria: Magno edições, 2003: 53-59.



disputed election in Salamanca,⁴⁸ and João Martins to the diocese of Guarda in 1278.

The pope's tendency to choose a third individual allowed integrating a person that was almost always unrelated to the opposing sides into the appointment procedure and transferred the choice of the prelate to the sphere of the papal policy. Hence, the mobility circuits of the clergymen tended to expand according to a logic that was not limited by regional, or even national, criteria, but guided by a policy of distribution and accumulation of benefits within the sphere of Christendom.

This was the background for the gradual increase in the number of foreign prelates that ruled Portuguese dioceses, which did not begin with the Avignon Papacy, but was witnessed in dioceses such as Braga, Coimbra, Lamego and Guarda from the 1270's onwards and during the pontificates of Gregory X, Nicholas III and Nicholas IV.

Among the foreign individuals appointed to Portuguese dioceses we find Castilian and French clergymen, like Guilherme de La Garde in Braga, or Aimerico de Ebrard—whose term of office marks the beginning of a more or less continuous presence of the Ebrard family in the diocese of Coimbra—, as we have already mentioned, but also individuals who were close to the kings, like Raimundo Ebrard I—bishop of Coimbra between 1319 and 1324 and a clergyman at the service of King Dinis.⁴⁹

It is obvious that when we consider the presence of Castilian and French clergymen we are, above all, facing two different logics of mobility: one that matches the peninsular space and another one that brings to the discussion the issue of mobility within the Christendom and the importance of the French pressure on the Papacy from the late 13th century onwards. In fact, the peninsular circuits of mobility were ruled by principles and legacies that we shall not analyze in this paper, but whose presence can be attested since the 12th century. There were many Castilian clergymen in Portugal and Portuguese clergymen in Castile and Leon who held prelatial positions, capitular benefits or benefits in churches. Those are the cases, in the universe under study, of Geraldo Domingues, bishop of Porto, Palencia and Evora, Egas Fafes de Lanhoso, bishop of Coimbra and archbishop of Compostela, and Frei Estêvão, bishop of Porto, Lisbon and Cuenca.

Despite the growing papal intervention legitimized in cases of long vacancies, local unresolved disputes or following the death of holders of in Curia benefits,⁵⁰ the fact is that there were other elections that, despite being disputed, were solved

48. *Documentos de Clemente V...*: 152 (doc. No. 101); Sataiva, Anísio. *A Sé de Lamego...*: 53-59.

49. Farelo, Mário; Roldão, Filipa; Marques, André Evangelista. "Les clercs dans l'administration dionysienne (1279-1325)", *Carreiras Eclesiásticas no Ocidente cristão (séc. XII-XIV)*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa-Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2007: 310.

50. For an overview of the evolution of the papal intervention and of the different forms it took, namely throughout the 13th century, please refer to the study by: Bégou-Davia, Michèle. *L'interventionnisme bénéficiaire de la papauté au XIII^e siècle. Les aspects juridiques*. Paris: De Boccard, 1997. About the impact of foreigners clerics in diocesis, see: Montaubin, Pascal. "Étrangers en chrétienté: clercs italiens en France et en Angleterre (XII^e-mi XIV^e siècle)". *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 30/1 (1999): 233-244 (Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 30^e congrès, Göttingen, 1999. L'étranger au Moyen Âge).



at the local level through a *maior* or senior pars election, a compromise or a divine inspiration. Either way, it is likely that the chapters were pleased with the possibility of finding a local solution, because forwarding the issue to the papal sphere would hypothetically lead to a loss of control in their freedom of choice, all the more so when the pontiffs often chose individuals that were not related to the dispute.

4. On service and loyalty or the corridors of the beneficial paths

As we have seen, the issue of the importance of the royal service in the definition of career paths, and even of its actual content, raises many doubts. However, when we try to analyze a level of information that is often within the sphere of the unsaid and the unwritten, we should take other indications into account in order to reconstitute and reflect on the criteria that might have guided the episcopal appointments.

As we have mentioned above the royal influence was not an alternative to the capitular election. In fact, it could be present both in capitular elections and in pontifical appointments. So, the royal interest can be measured using criteria other than the right of presentation; instead, we can focus our analysis on the proximity of the individuals that were appointed to the royal circles, who held positions in the governance structure, worked as prosecutors or ambassadors, were members of the royal chapel or simply had the status of royal clergyman. Based on these criteria, we can trace back the positions held and the roles played within the spheres of kings Afonso III, Dinis and Afonso IV by 34% of the clergymen under study, a number that would possibly increase if there were more eloquent information on dioceses like Guarda or Silves.

The title of royal clergyman is the one that is more frequently found among the clergymen who were promoted to bishops. This title revealed a proximity to the king that distinguished the individual in question by highlighting the particular bond that linked them. Although the specific duties associated with this title are not always clear, the proximity it entailed was sufficiently important for many of its holders to end their careers as dignities or prelates in different dioceses.⁵¹ That was the case of Martinho Pires, archbishop of Braga, João Martins de Soalhães, also archbishop, Estevão Anes Brochardo, Raimundo Ebrard I, Martinho da Guarda, Estevão Eanes de Vasconcelos bishop of Lisbon, Domingos Anes Jardo also bishop of Lisbon, João Soares Alão bishop of Silves, Afonso Eanes of Silves, among others.⁵²

51. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "Les 'clerici regis' et le service du roi dans le Portugal des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles", *Église et État, Église ou État. Les clercs et la g  nese de l'  tat Moderne*, Christine Barralis, Jean- Patrice Boudet, Fabrice Deliv  r  , Jean-Philippe Genet, dirs. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne-  cole Fran  aise de Rome, 2014: 153-158.

52. The main data about this royal clergyman are being collected in a data base of the Project *A Dimens  o Europeia de um grupo de Poder: o clero na constru  o pol  tica das Monarquias Peninsulares (secs. XIII-XV)* – DEGRUPE—: DEGRUPE. "Home". DEGRUPE. 15 January 2016 <degrupe.cidehus.uevora.pt/>.



But while the status of royal clergyman stopped being mentioned when a clergyman obtained the episcopal status, the same did not happen with positions such as the ones of chancellor as these titles continued to be used as identification details after an election. That was the case, for example, with Domingos Anes Jardo, bishop of Lisbon and royal chancellor. The charge of chancellor was also occupied by Pedro Martins and Estevão Eanes Brochardo, bishops of Coimbra.

As prelates, some of these clergymen continued to hold positions for which they had been appointed before or after an election. Royal counselor, as it was the case of Pedro Juliães and Domingos Anes Jardo, among others, or physicist⁵³ or even ‘ouvidor’ are other titles used by these ecclesiastics.⁵⁴ In other cases, these connections were not translated into the bestowal of positions or titles that revealed the proximity of the individuals to the royalty, but rather insinuated when they were chosen to be the king’s proxies or representatives in foreign affairs or integrated into broad family and clientele networks.

In Portugal, the dioceses of Braga, Coimbra, Lisbon and Evora were the ones that had a higher number of prelates with careers marked by the royal service, both as candidates in episcopal elections—that were not always favorable—and as elected and confirmed prelates. In fact, the placement of clergymen with connections to the royalty seems to have been particularly relevant in these dioceses reflecting, on the one hand, their financial importance—with an emphasis on Braga, which was the only archdiocese in Portugal until the late 14th century—⁵⁵ and, on the other hand, the King’s ability—or lack of ability—to influence chapters that were often particularly difficult to manage.

In the case of Braga, out of the nine archbishops whose term of office began during this period, four held positions in the royal council or acted as the king’s representatives in foreign affairs.⁵⁶ In Evora, eight of the 11 prelates had careers that placed them close to the king⁵⁷ and the same happened in Lisbon, where seven of the ten bishops held governance positions or had statuses that placed them close to the king.⁵⁸

53. Pedro Martins bishop of Coimbra, and Afonso Dinis, bishop of Evora were two of the clergymen also known as royal physicians.

54. On the presence in the *Desembargo*, please refer to: Homem, Armando Carvalho. *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990.

55. Lisbon was made archdiocese in 1393. Almeida, Fortunato de. *História da Igreja em Portugal*, ed. Damião Peres. Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1967: I, 283 (4 volumes); Brásio, António. “Erecção da metrópole lisbonense”. *Lusitania Sacra*, 1st series, 2 (1957): 51-56.

56. They were Pedro Juliães, Martinho Pires, João Martins de Soalhães and Gonçalo Pereira. Among other studies, some of them already mentioned: Ventura, Leontina. *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra (PhD Dissertation), 1992: II, 771-772 (2 volumes); Coelho, Maria Helena. “O arcebispo D. Gonçalo Pereira...”: 389-462.

57. Martinho Pires, Durando Pais, Domingos Anes Jardo, Pedro Martins, Geraldo Domingues, Martim Afonso, Afonso Dinis, and João Gomes de Chaves. For all these bishops see: Vilar, Herminia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder...: 27-100*.

58. Estevão Eanes de Vasconcelos, Domingos Anes Jardo, João Martins de Soalhães, Frei Estevão, Gonçalo Pereira, João Afonso de Brito and Vasco Martins. See: Farello, Mário; Roldão, Filipa; Marques,



In the other dioceses there were three or four clergymen, within a similar context of 10 to 11 prelates, whose careers had placed them close to the royalty. Silves is possibly the only exception, but the gaps in the existing data do not allow for now any definitive conclusions. However, they do suggest the existence of an apparently higher number of clergymen who were close to the royalty in this diocese.

The explanation for the prevalence of clergymen who served the king or were close to him in the dioceses of Braga, Lisbon and Evora can only be found through an analysis made at different levels. First of all, and as we have underlined, it does not mean that there were no royal clergymen in other dioceses or that there were no royal favors granted to prelates from other dioceses,⁵⁹ but the political weight of the bishops of this cities who were, simultaneously, key elements in the Portuguese urban and economic geography and, in many cases, linked to the political elites,⁶⁰ did not come across as a negligible issue to the royalty.

Braga is particularly relevant in this context. Being, as we have mentioned, the only archdiocese in Portugal, Braga also stood out as the head of a profitable diocese and as the centre of an episcopal manor. In fact, until the early 15th century, Braga, as well as Porto, was a city held by the episcopate. But, unlike Porto, where the prevalence of prelates with careers marked by the royal service was significantly lower, in the first half of the 14th century Braga was dominated by clergymen who were close to the monarchy. Between 1295 and 1348, all the archbishops who were appointed had been somehow related to the corridor of the royal service or favor. However, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which these appointments were the result of a royal influence or depended also on the changes that occurred in the chapters upon the archbishops' initiatives. In fact, the changes made to the chapters as a result of the integration of clergymen with connections to the archbishops are a phenomenon whose implications are yet understudied, but can also explain the conflicts that surrounded the elections.

In Braga, the period between 1295 and 1348 coincided with the terms of office of three clergymen who were not connected by family bonds, but by the fact that they shared and served in the same political spheres. Martinho Pires, João Martins de Soalhães and Gonçalo Pereira ruled the archdiocese of Braga between 1295 and 1348. The former two had been proxies of king Dinis in the Curia when the Concordats were negotiated and, additionally, they shared family ties as a result of the marriage

André Evangelista. "Les clercs dans l'administration...": 271-315; Farelo, Mário. *O Cabido da Sé de Lisboa e os seus cônegos (1277-1377)*. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa (Master Dissertation), 2003.

59. The case of Miguel Vivas is paradigmatic. He was the chancellor of Afonso IV and, according to Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, the King tried to transfer him to Porto after the death of João Gomes. However, this seems to have been an unsuccessful attempt, because he was appointed by John XXII as bishop of Viseu, under a special reservation, in 1329. Sousa, Bernardo Vasconcelos. *Afonso IV*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005: 93; *Lettres communes du pape Jean XXII (1316-1334)*. *Lettres communes analysées d'après les Registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. Guillaume Mollat. Paris: Boccard Éditeurs, 1924: VIII, 228 (doc. No. 44855).

60. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. "Canons and cities: cathedral chapters and social composition in the medieval Portugal". *E- Journal of Portuguese History*, 5/2 (2008): 1-19.



between a brother of João Martins and a sister of Martinho Pires,⁶¹ Gonçalo Pereira was coadjutor to João Martins in Braga, served king Dinis as a clergyman and was close to king Afonso IV. He also served as a clergyman in the household of Martinho Pires, to whom he was bound by dependency ties.⁶² Curiously enough, both the election of Martinho Pires and that of João Martins gave rise to internal disputes that were settled in favor of the two clergymen but still reveal how these internal oppositions were likely to be triggered and it might reflect the resistance that the candidates who were close to the royalty seemed to face in many diocesan spheres.

The diocese of Evora was marked, since its early days, by the presence of bishops who were close to the royalty. In a first moment, that proximity was related to the fact that, during a significant part of the 13th century, the diocesan territory was still dominated by military conflicts and by the definition of borders with the Muslim power. Hence the importance given to these appointments and to the reinforcement of the ties of dependency with the royalty. In a second moment, this proximity seemed to persist and consolidate itself as Evora was gradually integrated into a new political axis that was progressively being defined by the royalty, in which Lisbon was the organizational centre of the kingdom's central and southern regions; in this context, families with an eminently local influence, like that of Martinho Pires, bishop of Evora, were able to gain political influence during the 1240's.⁶³

So, the presence of clergymen who were close to the royalty in Lisbon was framed in the broader context of the growing importance of the city as capital that was led by the monarchy from, at least, the second half of the 13th century onwards. This process involved different aspects and took its course over the following centuries, covering different levels, from administration to economic and social transformations. It is in the context of this capitalization process that we should understand the influence and the attention given by the royalty to those who played episcopal roles in the city, as well as to all the numerous conflicts associated with their elections. But, as we have mentioned above, together with the royal service, the integration into family networks with different connections to the ecclesiastical structures and to the political circles that were closer to the royalty was also particularly important when it came to defining careers.

In Portugal, as in 13th and 14th centuries in France—which was masterfully characterized in Bernard Guenée's study on the careers of 4 archbishops—⁶⁴ or as in 13th century Spain—which was brought to the forefront by the analysis of Gudiel's unique career—⁶⁵ an episcopal position seldom crowned a career built around the Portuguese noble families of the 13th or 14th centuries. The success of a bishop's career was more influenced by his knowledge, his service and loyalty to the king

61. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder...*: 48-49.

62. Arquivo Distrital de Braga. Coleção Cronológica. Caixa 4, nº 159.

63. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder...*: 48-49.

64. Guenée, Bernard. *Entre l'Église et l'État. Quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1987.

65. Hernández, Francisco J.; Linehan, Peter. *The Mozarabic Cardinal. The life and times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel*. Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004.



or the Pope, and the weight of his family's previous generations in the ecclesiastical structure than by a noble origin. Not that this origin was of secondary importance, but the truth is that the time for the nobility to look at ecclesiastical careers as a key alternative in their power consolidation strategies was yet to come.

In addition to the fact that many of these clergymen, or their predecessors, had relatives that were integrated into the ecclesiastical structure and held benefits, we should highlight that there were bonds of kinship between 18 of the individuals who became bishops of different dioceses throughout this period. In some cases, these positions were held by successive generations of clergymen from the same family, while in other cases they were held simultaneously in different dioceses. That was the case, for example, of Julião Fernandes, bishop of Porto between 1247 and 1260 —if he was actually connected to the Pereira family—,⁶⁶ who was the uncle or great-uncle of Sancho Pires, bishop of Porto between 1296 and 1300, and of Gonçalo Pereira, bishop of Lisbon between 1313 and 1326 and archbishop of Braga from 1326 onwards.

That was also the case with the Ebrard family, since Aimerico, Raimundo I and Raimundo II d'Ebrard became bishops of Coimbra.⁶⁷ Geraldo Domingues, Vasco Martins and Afonso Pires were related and, respectively, bishops of Porto, Lisbon and Evora.⁶⁸ It was also the case of Frei Estevão and Fernando Ramires, respectively bishops of Porto and Lisbon,⁶⁹ and especially of Martinho Pires, bishop of Evora, whose descendants became prelates in dioceses as different as Braga, Lisbon and Lamego.⁷⁰

While the royal influence was focused on the dioceses that were seen as strategic within the scope of the royal policy of control of the kingdom's physical and political territory—an interference that had an impact on different levels of the ecclesiastical structure, and not only on the episcopal positions—the papal influence seems to have gradually managed to worm its way into all the dioceses from the 1270's onwards, taking advantage, on the one hand, of the conflict between Afonso III and the episcopate and, on the other hand, of the growing legitimization of the papal intervention fostered by the laws on pontifical reservations. So, in this period, nearly

66. Ventura, Leontina. *A nobreza de corte de Afonso III...*: II, 755-756.

67. Pradalié, Gerard. "Quercynois et autres méridionaux au Portugal à la fin du XIIIe et au XIVe siècle: l'exemple de l'Église de Coimbre". *Annales du Midi. Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France meridionale*, 94 (1982): 207-219; Morujão, Rosário. "La famille d'Ebrard et le clergé de Coimbra aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles...": 75-91.

68. Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos. *As Dimensões de um poder...*: 76.

69. Cunha, Rodrigo da. *Catálogo e História dos bispos do Porto*. Porto: I. Rodríguez Impressor, 1632; Lopes, Frei Fernando Félix. "Das actividades políticas e religiosas de D. Frei Estevão, bispo que foi do Porto e de Lisboa", *Colectânea de Estudos de História e Literatura*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1997: II, 95-152.

70. For the family relations of some of this bishops see also: Krus, Luis. *A Conção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico. (1280-1380)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Junta Nacional Científica e Tecnológica, 1994: 88-89, 98-99, 107, 111, 313; Pizarro, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor. *Linhagens Medievais Portuguesas. Genealogias e estratégias (1279-1325)*. Porto: Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Família-Universidade Moderna, 1999 (3 volumes).



36% of the prelates were appointed by the Pope under the reservation, namely in cases of in Curia vacancies.

The fact that this type of appointments was very common does not question what has been said above regarding the importance of the royal service when it came to appointing clergymen. All the more so when many of these clergymen had careers both in the royal service and in the papal service, visible in the use of the title of papal chaplain and in the appointment as papal representative, like in the cases of Martinho Geraldês, Martinho Pires, Frei Vasco, Gonçalo Pereira or Vasco Martins, among others.⁷¹ However, the expansion of the papal provisions, namely in the Avignon period, reoriented and tended to integrate Portugal in the circuits of beneficial provision defined by the Papacy, albeit with some limitations; this integration resulted in an increase in the number of foreign clergymen who held benefits in Portugal and, potentially, in the growing ability of the Portuguese clergy to obtain benefits outside the kingdom and, especially, outside the Peninsula, a possibility that is yet to be fully proven.

This period was, in fact, characterized by a growing definition of the roles of the different protagonists of the episcopal appointments process. The growing role of kings and popes in this process had inevitable consequences in the importance of the local families and of the canon in the nomination of the bishop. In fact what was in stake was not only the episcopal benefices but the control of the ecclesiastical benefices as it was clear since early and reaffirmed in IV Latran Council when Innocent III reaffirmed the necessity of having elections free from any secular power pression.

The royal influence in the episcopal elections did not disappear after 1357; however, in the wake of what happened in Castile, and throughout the 15th century, that influence was marked by new models of interaction and legitimation within a framework of papal interventionism guided by the different existing regulations.

71. For the papal career of this ecclesiastics see, among others, for Martinho Pires: *Documentos de Nicolas IV (1288-1292) referentes a Espana...*: 270-271 (doc. No. 245); for Frei Vasco, bishop of Guarda: Castro, José Osório da Gama e. *Diocese e Distrito da Guarda*. Porto: Typographia Universal, 1902: 406-407; for Gonçalo Pereira: Cunha, Rodrigo da. *História Eclesiástica dos arcebispos de Braga*. Braga: Manuel Cardozo, 1989 (2 volumes, facsimiled reproduction); Coelho, Maria Helena. "O arcebispo D. Gonçalo Pereira...": 389-462; for Vasco Martins: Coelho, Maria Helena; Saraiva, Anísio. "D. Vasco Martins, vescovo di Oporto e di Lisbona: una carriera tra Portogallo ed Avignone durante la prima metà del Trecento", *A Igreja e o Clero português no contexto europeu*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa-Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2005: 119-138.



*AL QUAL DONÀ AMPLE E BASTANT PODER
A TOTS LOS ACTES FAEDORS EN LES DITES CORTS.*
POWER AND MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION OF
LLEIDA IN THE CATALAN CORTS (1416-1458)

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ABSTRACT

Municipal representation in the assemblies of the Catalan *Corts* ("Parliament") is a particularly interesting argument to observe, especially from the point of view of the municipality, the main problems of the city and the intricacies of political and economic power between the city, the monarchy and the other estates. Therefore, analysing the power that the *Consell General* ("General Council") of the royal towns and cities of the Crown of Aragon granted its procurators in the *Corts* enables us to more precisely explain the systems used by the municipality to control their representatives and be better informed of what was happening in the Royal Estate in particular as well as in the general assembly. Lleida will be used as a case study, given its importance and the interesting documentation in its municipal archives during the period of Alfonso the Magnanimous.¹

KEYWORDS

Power, Procurators, Parliament (*Corts*), Lleida, Alfonso the Magnanimous.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Potestas, Procuratores, Cortes, Ilerda, Alphonsus Magnanimus.

1. Introduction

Municipal representation in the assemblies of the Catalan Parliament or *Corts* is a particularly interesting argument to observe, especially from the point of view of the municipality, the main problems of the city and the intricacies of political and economic power between the city, the monarchy and the other estates.

Therefore, analysing the power that the General Council granted its procurators, and how they used it according to the occasion, enables us to more precisely explain the systems used by the municipality to control their representatives and be better informed of what was happening in the Royal Estate in particular as well as in the general assembly.

Thus, within the complex parliamentary system, the figure of the procurator allows us to penetrate the structure of the assemblies, offering us from a privileged point of view —halfway between the procurator's city and the Royal Estate— a vision of the relationships of power amongst the municipal government, the monarchy and the kingdom. Thus, the figure of the syndic within the assemblies of the *Corts* had a vital role, given that a number of responsibilities were conferred to this important person that would allow his city to have an effective communication channel with the upper echelons of decision in the Crown of Aragon.

Recent studies have helped to provide more information on this essential figure in late medieval parliaments, on his functions, his *cursus honorum* and his social status.² In Catalonia, similar to the other territories of the Crown of Aragon, the syndics corresponded to citizens belonging to the oligarchy that controlled the city government and used assemblies as an ideal place to protect and increase their

1. This publication was possible thanks to the project *Auctoritas. Iglesia, Cultura y Poder (siglos XII-XV)* (HAR2012-31484), funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Government of Spain. Used Abbreviations: AML, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida.

2. Among the main contributions, we must highlight the works of: Palacios, Bonifacio. "La representación municipal en Cortes. Estudio de la figura del Procurador de Zaragoza a mediados del siglo XV". *En la España medieval*, 7 (1985): 1241-1270; Sarasa, Esteban. "Monarquía, cortes y ciudades en la Corona de Aragón", *Monarquía, cortes y ciudades en la Corona de Aragón: siglo XV. La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*. *Actas III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval* (Sevilla, 25-30 de noviembre de 1991), Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes, Antonio María Claret, eds. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1997: I, 611-626; Sánchez Aragonés, Luisa María. *Cortes, Monarquía y ciudades en Aragón (1416-1458)*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1994; Muñoz, María Rosa. "Autonomía ciudadana y poder regio en las Cortes valencianas bajomedievales". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 2 (2001): 81-108; Turull, Max. "Síndicos a Cortes. Perfil social, político e institucional de los representantes ciudadanos a Cortes y Parlamentos en Cataluña (1333-1393)". *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 989-1012; Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts. Els síndics municipals a l'època d'Alfons el Magnànim*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2005; Barrio, Juan Antonio. "Los procuradores del Brazo Real en las Cortes medievales del Reino de Valencia". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 21 (2009): 59-98. Similarly, we must point out the general works of: Hébert, Michel. *Parlementer: assemblées représentatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014.



own group interests.³ In addition, they normally belonged to notable families, citizens who exercised a prominent role inside and outside the city thanks to the fortunes made with their businesses. Also, a high percentage of syndics reached this important position thanks to university education, usually in laws, and could thus legally defend their city in the *Corts*.⁴ However, how did this proxy work? Did procurators have full or partial autonomy of decision? How and when should they be accountable to their city?

Moreover, within the city government different committees that acted during the assemblies are detected, occupying a very important role in the election, subsequent control and counsel from the procurators sent by the *Corts*. An analysis of this counsel, seen as working groups, is particularly interesting to better understand the management of the political and economic power of the city and its relationship with the rest of the Royal Estate and the monarchy.

On the other hand, we can say that the view offered by the municipal documentation is very interesting because it gives us a complete view of the processes of the *Corts*, giving a different and innovative perspective. Power struggles between the monarchy and urban governance, in relation to the *Corts*, are now seen from the city.

Thus, *Cort* assemblies from the 15th century are taken into account and particular attention is given to the period of Alfonso the Magnanimous.⁵ Similarly, given

3. Oliva, Anna Maria; Schena, Olivetta. "Autonomie cittadine e potere regio negli atti dei Parlamenti del Regno di Sardegna nel Quattrocento". *Archivio Sardo: rivista di studi storici e locali*, 2 (2001): 73.

4. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 103-104.

5. For an overview of relations of power between the monarchy and its cities, see, among others: Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "El ejercicio del poder real en la Corona de Aragón". *En la España Medieval*, 17 (1994): 31-93; Sabaté, Flocel. "Municipio y monarquía en la Cataluña bajomedieval". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 13 (2000-2002): 255-282; Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1973; Guinot, Enric. "Sobre la génesis del modelo político de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XIII: Pactismo, Corona y Municipios". *Res Publica*, 17 (2007): 151-155; Narbona, Rafael. "El rey y la ciudad. Sinergia entre el Magnánimo y Valencia", *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 7 (2015): 193-210 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/7>>); Péquignot, Stéphane. "Pouvoir royal et sociétés dans la couronne d'Aragon. Un essai de lecture historiographique (1990-2006)". *En la España Medieval*, 30 (2007): 381-432; Earenfight, Theresa. "The Political Dynamic between the Aragonese Monarchy and the Consell de Cent of Barcelona during the Lieutenancy of Maria of Castile (1440-1458)", *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 245-264; Sobrequès, Jaume. *El pactisme a Catalunya: una praxi política en la història del país*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1982; Montagut, Tomás de. "Pactisme o absolutisme a Catalunya: les grans institucions de govern (s. XV-XVI)". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 19 (1989): 669-680. Concerning urban oligarchies, please see, among others: Asenjo, María, ed. *Urban Elites and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Spanish Kingdoms at the End of the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013; more in particular: Sabaté, Flocel. "Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana de Cataluña". *Revista d'Història Medieval*, 9 (1998): 127-150; Bertran, Prim. "Oligarquías y familias en Cataluña", *La sociedad en Aragón y Cataluña en el reinado de Jaime I: 1213-1276*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2009: 53-80; Narbona, Rafael. "Algunas reflexiones sobre la participación vecinal en el gobierno de las ciudades". *Res Publica*, 17 (2007): 121, 135-136; Narbona, Rafael. "Cultura política y comunidad urbana: Valencia, siglos XIV-XV". *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 14, (2013): 171-211; Bernabeu, Sandra. "L'oligarquia municipal de la ciutat de València durant el regnat



the large amount of documentation that the city of Lleida has in its possession concerning this argument, this documentation will be used as a case study.⁶

2. The subtle thread of power: urban government and the municipal procurator in the *Corts*

Once the *Corts* were convened by the monarch to the General Council of the city of Lleida, the *paers* “mayor” proceeded to the election of the syndics to attend the representative assemblies. Then, a reduced commission was set up, as we shall see, which was responsible for monitoring everything that happened in the *Corts* and advise the syndics on the proposals and responses they had to give both within the Royal Estate as well as in the heart of the assembly, and before the monarch or, in his absence, before his lieutenant. The instructions that these procurators had to develop were also brought to the *Corts*.

Therefore, what autonomy did these syndics have? It is interesting to ask ourselves about the real degree of independence of these procurators and the degree of action, negotiation and freedom that they enjoyed concerning the General Council, given that this prestigious commission was accompanied by a large responsibility. Thus, the power that the city gave its procurator or procurators to make decisions, speak on behalf of the city, present grievances or negotiate the donation to the Crown during assemblies was usually ample and sufficient.⁷

We must point out that the degree of freedom in decision-making varied substantially depending on the time period and the city of which we speak. Thus, we know that, although their room for manoeuvring seems high to us and the procurators possessed certain autonomy of decision, the control of the Lleidan government was always present, with procurators having to be accountable and consult the *paers* or commissions created explicitly to help during parliamentary sessions, as we shall see. This control was performed either through continuous letters that the municipality wrote to them, containing all the instructions on

d'Alfons el Magnànim i Joan II (1416-1479)”, *Identidades urbanas. Corona de Aragón-Italia. Redes económicas, estructuras institucionales, funciones políticas (siglos XIV-XV)*, Paulino Iradiel, Germán Navarro, David Igual, Concepción Villanueva, eds. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2016: 93-114.

6. In particular, the *Cort* assemblies from the Parliament of 1416 to the *Corts* of Barcelona from 1454-1458 will be taken into account. Udina, Antonio. “El braç reial a les *Corts* catalanes durant el regnat del Magnànim”, *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 1013-1022.

7. *E publicats los dits vots, encomitent lo present consell constituíhí síndic e missatger a les dites corts lo dit honorable micer Jacme Navarra, al qual donà ample e bastant poder a tots los actes faedors en les dites Corts, fermant-li sindicat ample e bastant, segons a semblants síndichs e missatgers és acostumat fermar* (“And published said votes, this council, as a group, has chosen as syndic and messenger Jaume Navarra, to whom the council gives ample and sufficient power in all the acts of said *Corts*, giving him ample and sufficient power of attorney, as is usually given these syndics and messengers”). AML. reg. 412, ff. 59v-63v.



the tasks to be developed, or through memorials that the citizen representatives brought to the *Corts*. Other forms of control were an oath on the Gospels and the supervision of a commission with advisory functions, the *Consell de Prohoms* de les *Corts*. Also, the fact that normally there were two Lleidan procurators for each assembly of the *Corts* (very often a *ciutadà honrat* [“honourable citizen”] and a legal expert), beyond responding to the will of better representing the city and being a question of honour —since the more syndics that a city could present to the *Corts*, the greater its prestige— it was another way to avoid counter-productive behaviour of one of them.

3. The instruments to control the procurator

The power of the procurator granted by the General Council of the city had very precise limits imposed by the latter. And these limits were applied by means of an efficient control that the city would implement with different instruments.

3.1 The Memorials

The memorials, authentic instructions that royal cities developed as a guideline for their representatives to defend their interests, and that the procurators bring to their parties in the assemblies, which in the case of Catalonia are usually very complete and explicit, which gives us a broad view not only of the problems and grievances that the city had to face in the *Corts*, but also the behaviour and protocol that the citizen representatives had to follow. Thus, every royal city discussed within its Estate through its syndics the grievances that it wanted to resolve, and decide whether to submit them jointly or separately before the sovereign.⁸

We can say that, apart from the studies of Joan Lluís Palos on the 16th century⁹ and Bonifacio Palacios on Aragón,¹⁰ we have very few that are more or less recent that make explicit reference to this issue. Thus, we must highlight the works of Tomás

8. Martí, Esther. “Els memorials o instruccions per als síndics a Corts de la ciutat de Lleida durant el regnat d’Alfons el Magnànim”, *Proceedings of the 53rd Conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (Barcelona, 3-6 September, 2003)*, Jaume Sobrequés, Jon Agirreazkuenaga, Mercè Morales, Mikel Urquijo, Mamés Cisneros, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions del Parlament de Catalunya, 2005: II, 1633-1641.

9. Palos, Joan Lluís. “Un sector específico de diputados: los síndicos municipales y capitulares”, *Les Corts a Catalunya. Actes del Congrés d’Història Institucional*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991: 394-401.

10. Palacios, Bonifacio. “La representación municipal en Cortes...”: 1241-1267.



Puñal on Castile;¹¹ of José Antonio Alabau and María Rosa Muñoz concerning the Kingdom of Valencia,¹² and of Esther Martí on Catalonia.¹³

When news reached the city of Lleida of the convening of the *Corts*, its General Council elected the syndics in the assembly hall. Once chosen, usually before leaving for the meeting, the *paers* and the General Council elaborated the memorials, which contained all the provisions and elements that the syndics should have in mind throughout the *Corts*.

These instructions varied depending on the municipality that drafted them. Thus, we can find memorials with very general guidelines, which leave plenty of leeway for the procurators, and others in which the instructions are very precise and detailed, leaving little room for ingenuity or personal action. The latter was the case with the syndics of Lleida, at least judging by the documentation that was studied, which specifies the place the municipal representatives must occupy (following the rigid rules of protocol) to an endless collection of issues to address in Parliament, often numbered and expressly detailed, referring to both municipal management as well as protocol issues.

By means of some memorials given to the syndics of Barcelona, which were subsequently included in the processes of the *Corts*, we can also see the high degree of control that the city oligarchy exercised over the syndics, since the city oligarchy determined how the syndics had to present themselves before Queen Mary and even the control that they should apply over the other syndics to prevent participation in the *Corts* by someone who had no authorization to do so. They also had to ensure that the only scrivener of the Royal Estate was from Barcelona—to the chagrin of Lleidan syndics, who, on more than one occasion, as in the *Corts* of Monzon of 1435, would try to impose their will.¹⁴ In addition, these instructions made it clear that the syndics would not take any decision without prior consultation with their city.¹⁵

However it was quite common, especially when the city government had hastily assembled, that the instructions were basically a compilation of grievances that the city wanted to present to the monarchy. Regarding Lleida, this is the case of the memorial written for the *misser* Simó Sunyer and Antoni Cardona, syndics of the city in the *Corts* of Monzon of 1436.¹⁶

The themes that are repeated the most in these formulations of grievances, and also in the broader memorials are especially complaints against royal officials,

11. Puñal, Tomás. “El memorial medieval de cortes”. *Norba. Revista de Historia*, 17 (2004): 187-203.

12. Alabau, José Antonio. “‘Per tot be avenir de la nostra vila’. El sistema representativo de las villas reales en las Cortes valencianas durante la Baja Edad Media. Alcoy en las Cortes de 1443-1446”, *Proceedings of the 53rd Conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (Barcelona, 3-6 September, 2003)*, Jaume Sobrequés, Jon Agirreazkuenaga, Mercè Morales, Mikel Urquijo, Mamés Cisneros, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions del Parlament de Catalunya, 2005: I, 537-553.

13. Martí, Esther. “Els memorials o instruccions...”: 1073-1091.

14. AML. reg. 742, f. 7r.

15. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1912: XXI, 134-137.

16. AML. reg. 742, ff. 4v-7v.



including the vicar (*veguer*), often due to the poor management of issues related to prisoners. There are also many complaints against the officers of justice, due to bad actions or continuing in their office beyond the established term, blaming the king for the mismanagement of their local officers, which ended up becoming, in many cases, a cause of public disorder. The economic needs of the Crown converted the sovereign into a fast issuer of licenses, privileges and favours, with the ultimate aim of obtaining immediate economic benefit to the detriment of the public.¹⁷

Another recurring issue that we find written down in these memorials, as well as correspondence regularly exchanged by the syndics and *paers* are complaints presented by the city in the *Corts* on the failure to comply, by royal officials, with some very special privileges for the city, the election of its advisers, especially as we progress through the reign of Magnanimous and after his attempts to apply a random method so-called *sach i sort*.¹⁸

There were also an abundance of complaints due to breaches of the Constitutions of Catalonia¹⁹ or the privileges of the city, how to make towns pay contributions that were considered residents of Lleida, such as Almacelles, or paying other taxes of which the city was exempt. More than once complaints were manifested concerning mismanagement by the General Council, and the monarchy was urged to intervene so that the city of Lleida would be better represented.²⁰

In connection with the above, in the memorials we also found a large number of petitions related to the lamentable state of city finances.²¹ Thus, in the consulted documentation there is the repeated demand to the Crown to return substantial amounts of money that the city of Lleida loaned to meet expenses caused by the war, to face other types of debts and also for holding *Corts* in the city.²²

17. Sabaté, Flocel. "Municipio y monarquía...": 266.

18. Sobrequés, Santiago. *Régimen municipal gerundense en la baja edad media. La 'insaculación'*. Girona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1955: 40.

19. AML. reg. 844, ff. 87r-88v.

20. AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

21. On city taxation in Catalonia, see, among others: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel, ed. *Fiscalidad real y finanzas urbanas en la Cataluña medieval*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "La monarquía y las ciudades desde el observatorio de la fiscalidad", *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208-1458: la monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, J. Ángel Sesma, ed. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2010: 45-66; Küchler, Winfried. *Les finances de la Corona d'Aragó al segle XV (regnats d'Alfons V i Joan II)*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim-Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1997; Turull, Max; Verdés, Pere. "Gobierno municipal y fiscalidad en Cataluña durante la Baja Edad Media". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 76 (2006): 507-530; Turull, Max. *El gobierno de la ciudad medieval. Administración y finanzas en las ciudades medievales catalanas*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009; Turull, Max. *La configuració jurídica del municipi baix medieval: règim municipal i fiscalitat a Cervera entre 1182-1430*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1990; Morelló, Jordi. "Las villas del Camp de Tarragona ante la presión fiscal de la Corona durante la Baja Edad Media", *Fiscalidad de Estado y fiscalidad municipal en los reinos hispánicos medievales*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, Denis Menjot, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006: 357-376.

22. *E axí mateix la dita Ciutat prestà a la dita Senyora Mil liures jaqueses ara darrerament quant la dita Senyora celebrà corts en la dita Ciutat de Leyda, de les quals feu debitori e promès tornar a la dita Ciutat aquelles de les primeres pecunies que-l Principat de Cathalunya en Corts o en parlament li donàs, que supliquem sa Senyora sie sa mercè tornar les dites quantitats a la dita Ciutat si en la dita Cort li es feta subvenció o donatiu com la dita Ciutat sie*



In the memorials we also find several references to issues and problems related to censuses.²³ Often these complaints, which make reference to unpaid censuses, must relate to the lamentable state of city finance as of the 14th century, which would be further complicated over the next century, when it is impossible to separate public debt from municipal finances, with the serious problems that this entails.²⁴

These memorials also include some complaints to the monarchy due to various issues affecting individual citizens, also often related to the census or any imprisonment that the local authorities believe to be unfair.²⁵ On other occasions, memorials provided information about social unrest in the city. Thus, it highlights the appeal of the city to the monarchy to sort out the fights between the sides trying to control the officials.²⁶

Just as notable and interesting are the indications for the procurators as to how they should behave in the *Corts*: they were asked to do nothing that could be detrimental to the General Council and to inform about everything that went on at the assemblies so that the urban government could write up further instructions in later letters on specific or more delicate matters. The procurators also had to bring the city a copy of

en gran necessitate ("Similarly, the city lent the Lady Queen a thousand pounds when she held *Corts* in the city of Lleida, who promised to return to the city with the money obtained in the *Corts* or in Parliament. Therefore, we beg your lady to return said amount to the city if in said *Corts* a grant or donation has been obtained, as the city is experiencing great need"). AML. reg. 742, f. 43r. Concerning donations, see: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel; Ortí, Pere. *Corts, Parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del Donatiu (1288-1384)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997.

23. AML. reg. 742, ff. 42v-42r.

24. Verdés, Pere. "Car les talles són difícils de fer e pijors de exigir": a propósito del discurso fiscal en las ciudades catalanas". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 30 (2012): 129-153; Verdés, Pere. "Per tal que no calgués a logre manlevar": el endeudamiento a largo plazo de un municipio catalán durante la Baja Edad Media (Cervera, 1333-1387)". *La deuda pública en la Cataluña bajomedieval*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, ed. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2009: 21-99. For an overview of public debt in the Crown of Aragon, see: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel, ed. *La deuda pública en la Cataluña bajomedieval*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2009; Furió, Antoni. "Deuda pública e intereses privados. Finanzas y fiscalidad municipales en la Corona de Aragón". *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 2 (1999): 35-80. Equally interesting are the contributions of: García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "Avalando al rey: Préstamos a la Corona y finanzas municipales en la Valencia del siglo XV", *Fiscalidad de Estado y fiscalidad municipal en los reinos hispánicos medievales*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, Denis Menjot, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006: 377-389.

25. In 1443, in the memorial that the city of Lleida gave its procurators in the *Corts* of Tortosa, there appears an appeal to Queen Mary to order her officers to release Esperanza from prison, the wife of Francesc Torà. AML. reg. 742, ff. 42-45v.

26. *Ítem supliquen la dita Senyora Reyna que sie de sa mercè voler fer alguna deguda provisió en les suspites que quiscum any les partides dels bandositats donen en les eleccions dels officis de la Ciutat, com se'n segueixque gran dan a la cosa pública* ("Similarly, we beseech Your Lady if her Majesty sees fit to intervene to prevent clashes between factions in the elections of the offices of the city, because it causes great damage to the public good"). AML. reg. 742, f. 45r. On the fighting sides in the Principality of Catalonia, see the classic works of: Batlle, Carme. "Retorn a la Busca i la Biga, els dos partits de la Barcelona medieval". *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 3 (1982): 229-234; Sabaté, Flocel. "Els bàndols com a solidaritat en la societat urbana baixmedieval". *Afers: fulls de recerca i pensament*, 13/30 (1998): 457-472. On the urban unrest, see also: Asenjo, María; Zorzi, Andrea. "Conflicto y discordia en ciudades bajomedievales. Italia y reinos hispánicos". *Hispania*, 75/250 (2015): 323-330; Narbona, Rafael. "La conflictividad social en las ciudades", *Conflicto, violencia y criminalidad en Europa y América*, J. Antonio Munita, ed. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Publicaciones de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2004: 79-104.



all the documents and processes derived from the assembly so that the city could use them in any future controversy.²⁷

With respect to the delicate negotiations, with great economic importance for the city, such as donations or concessions of any amount of any other nature, the instructions the procurators received were exhaustive. Bartomeu Maull and Joan Riambau, syndics of Lleida in the *Corts* of Perpignan, were informed by means of a memorial, which they had to take to the assembly, that they must not consent to any donation, either to the king or to any other person or association, without having previously consulted with the city. The syndics were not allowed to dare to use their power to prejudice any citizen or any possession of the city and, above all, they were not allowed to dedicate their time to any matter that did not have to do with the *Corts*, in view of the great harm they could cause the city and the waste of time that this would mean for the *Corts*.²⁸

The fact that the procurators dedicated themselves to other things that were not exclusively their functions must not have been an isolated case, particularly if we consider that it was a reason for a mention in the memorials. Therefore, a certain relaxation between the representatives in the assemblies was fairly frequent.²⁹ In fact, sometimes the Lleida syndics were encouraged by the *paers* to take care of the matters for which they had been sent to the *Corts*, and at times they were called to return to the city and were threatened that they would not be sent any more money.³⁰

It should be said that at other times, these memorials simply did not exist as such, but were compiled as matters dealt with in the General Council, coinciding with the arrival of the syndics or at least of one of them, whether for personal matters, because the *Corts* had been suspended, or due to an important holiday, such as Christmas. Under these circumstances, the greatest possible number of members of the General Council was called together and the procurators were invited to explain what had happened in the *Corts* in great detail, at the same time as receiving, by word of mouth or in writing, the new dispositions that were to mark their behaviour at the following assembly.

One further point of the control that the General Council had over the Lleida syndics, as can be seen in some memorials, was the type of material that the procurators were asked to take with them to the *Corts*, to be the object of consultation if required. Thus, the urban representatives in the popular assemblies took various

27. *Ítem que ls dits missatgers a la fi del parlament o de les corts haien e sien tenguts portar e liurar a la Ciutat dins la Casa de la Paeria lo jorn que faran la relació, treslat se fahent capítols e tots actes que sien fets en la dita cort o parlament, com lo notari del braç real l'age donar ffranch e quiti a la dita Ciutat* ("Similarly, the syndics at the end of the parliament or the *Corts*, the day that they must relate their activity, must deliver to the city a copy of all proposals and decisions that have been made in said *Corts* or parliament, since the notary of the Royal Estate is bound to give it to the city"). AML. reg. 742, f. 45r.

28. AML. reg. 742, f. 73v.

29. Along these lines, this state of certain turmoil is perfectly illustrated in the following fragment *E no ontrestant açò ses seguit que los dos Braços aquesta nit són trobats fort poch en los Braços, que ja les més gents se n eren anats pe-les festes* ("It has happened that tonight we have found very few members of the two classes, as most had left for the festivals"). *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XXIII, 376.

30. AML. reg. 405, ff. 1v-2r.



kinds of documents: the King or Queen's letters, as a credential, documents related to non-payment of censuses and taxation that could be a cause of controversy, and finally all types of documents that referred to rulings, donations and *maridatges* (a tax from royal weddings)³¹ among others, that could have been considered important to develop the demands and grievances of the city at the *Corts* in a coherent way.³²

In the instructions that the city conferred on its procurators, the procedures that the syndics had to carry out once they reach the place of the assembly were noteworthy, as this confirmed the degree of precision and care of the indications given by the General Council. Thus, the syndics first presented themselves before the monarch or his or her representative and then, once they had accredited themselves, they presented themselves before the Royal Estate. They were also indicated the exact place where they should sit—in the case of the representatives from Lleida, to the right-hand side of the Barcelona syndics—which caused more than one conflict between the cities that attended the assemblies, as it was a feature of protocol and an honour, as well as being the tradition, to occupy a given seat and not just anyone.³³

3.2 Taking the oath over the Gospels

Another interesting feature with respect to the control over the representatives of the city in the *Corts* by the General Council was the act of taking an oath that had to be completed before heading off towards the assembly. Although it was basically a solemn event, following the lines of the customs of the period, it was also the way to ratify the public commitment of the syndics to defend the interests of the city. There are several examples in the case of Lleida:

*Ítem encomitent, davant los dits honorables senyors e pahers, prohòmens e advocats, comparegueren los dits honorables [...] síndichs a corts e procuradors qui demunt prestaren lo sacrament e homenatge segons les instruccions a ells donadores demunt contengudes [...], lo qual sacrament e homenatge prestaren en poder del dit honorable Bernat Graylla, paher.*³⁴

31. AML. reg. 328, f. 51v.

32. AML. reg. 328, ff. 49v-49r.

33. *Ítem après se presentarà en les corts, ço és al braç real, informant-se tantost com sie en la sglésia de Framenós, hon se tenen les corts, en quin apartament se ajuste lo braç real, e presentant-se als qui allí seran justats en lo dit braç real donarà la letra que se'n porte de Ciutat, sient- se allí entre ells, al costat dels síndichs de Barçelona, e allà mà dreta, segons que ells mateix li daran son loch* ("He will present himself in the *Corts*, that is to say in the Royal Estate, and he will inform when he arrives in the Church where the *Corts* take place, where the Royal Estate meets. Then he will present himself to its members and the letter that will be taken from Lleida will be given, sitting among them, to the right of those from Barcelona, as they themselves will indicate"). AML. reg. 742, f. 100 v-r.

34. "In front of the *paers*, counsellors and lawyers appeared the honourable procurators in the *Corts*, giving sacrament and honour, as stated in the instructions that had been given, before the honourable Bernat Gralla, *paer*". AML. reg. 742, ff. 76r-77v.



On other occasions, the documentation provides even more information about the type of sworn oath that the syndics had to make at the Corts. Jaume Navarra, as was usual, swore on the Gospels saying: *Yo jur que no vendré contra l'erbatge, ordinacions, ne privilegis de la Ciutat, e tot ço que-ls altres síndichs han jurat*.³⁵ This oath was usually made in the presence of all or most of the General Council and the *paers*,³⁶ and they also promised to respect the instructions received to go to the Corts.³⁷

Once the oath had been taken, the syndics could go to the assembly, taking their memorial to remind them at all times of what they had to defend in their own estate, but also before other political establishments, as well as before the monarchy. In fact, the importance of taking an oath on the Gospels was considerable, not only as a symbolic act, but also as a guarantee, and if the syndics left quickly and did not have time to take their oath, a person who was trusted by the General Council was sent to where they were so they could do so:

[...] que en nom de Déu sie tramés als dits misagés lo discret n'Arnau de la Pardina, notari, lo qual s'enport lo dit sindicat e greuges. Emperò que lo sindicat no-ls sie liurat fins haie los dits misagés jurat als Sants IIII Evangelis que bé e lealment se hauran en corts los affés qui-s faran li-s trametran en les dites corts. E axí mateix que no procehiran en neguns affés en les dites corts preposados ulta los fets que dats los són o seran en memorial, sens consultació e consentiment de la Ciutat, lo qual sacrament present e haien a prestar en poder del dit Arnau de la Pardina, notari desús dit, rebent aquell en nom dels dits pahers e Ciutat.

It was also mentioned that: *E per ço com los dits misagés no prestaren lo sacrament damunt dit abans que sench partiren, axí com deuen que als dits misagés no-ls hi aie corregut lo salari fins haie prestat lo dit sacrament*.³⁸

35. "I swear I will not ignore the ordinations, privileges and taxes of the city and other provisions that the other procurators have sworn". AML. reg. 416, ff. 7v-10r.

36. AML. reg. 742, f. 61r.

37. Bartolomeu Maull and Joan Riambau, before setting off for the Corts of Perpignan in 1449: *[p]restaren lo sacrament e homenatge segons les instruccions a ells donadores demunt contengudes volen e attés segons que es acostumat, lo qual sacrament e homenatge prestaren en poder del dit honorable Bernat Graylla, paier* ("They gave sacrament and honour, as set out in the instructions they had received, and as is the tradition, before the honourable Bernat Gralla, *paier*"). AML. reg. 742, ff. 76r-77v. Also in 1544, other municipal procurators took the oath before leaving for the Corts of Barcelona: *Lo dit honorable en Pere Cardona, síndich desús dit, presta sacrament e homenatge en presència del honorable en Bernat Navarra, paier en cap, present lo dit honorable mossen Johan Quintana, paier, en virtut dels quals promés haver sabre clarament en la dita misatgeria e regir en aquella segons les instruccions a ell donades e desús inscrites, e altres instruccions aconsellat per los altres síndichs* ("Pere Cardona, procurator, provides sacrament and honour before the honourable Bernat Navarra, *paier*, and in the presence of the honourable Monsignor Johan Quintana, senior adviser, and promises to govern said procuration according to the instructions he has been given, as well as seek advice from other procurators"). AML. reg. 742, f. 137r.

38. "Send to these procurators Arnau de la Padina, notary, and he must bring said syndic and the grievances. Do not deliver this syndic to the procurators until they have sworn upon the IV Gospels that they will follow up with conscience and loyalty the aspects to be addressed in the Corts. Likewise they will swear that they will not address other aspects proposed in the Corts beyond those mentioned in the memorial, without consultation and with approval from the city to deal with these aspects. They will give sacrament before Arnau de la Pardina, on behalf of the *paers* of the city"; "And as the procurators before



3.3 The epistolary control over the procurators

The control of Lleida's urban government over its representatives in the *Corts* is also clear, going beyond the memorials, in the virtually constant epistolary exchange. This can be seen, in a letter that the *paers* of Lleida sent to their procurators in the *Corts* of Tortosa in 1443, encouraging them to write continuously, informing them about everything that took place in the assemblies, because this was the only way that it was possible to assess them and advise them correctly, alleging that this was the custom applied in all the cities.³⁹ That same year, the *paers* of Lleida wrote to their representatives at the popular assembly answering a letter from them which explained some problems of division in the Royal Estate. In this missive, the *paers* urged their syndics to explain what was happening in the *Corts*, telling them—they said—how it was normal that the representatives of Barcelona did so in their city, and they were also informed that the General Council had created a group of distinguished men to assess them.⁴⁰

Thanks to this virtually continuous epistolary contact, the urban government managed to discuss and come to a conclusion about what happened in the *Corts* and be able to give instructions to their procurators about how to act in certain cases:

*Molt honorables e savis senyors, dues letres vostres havem rebudes [...] al pres dinar havem fet justar los prohòmens destinats als Actes de corts, als quals primerament per nosaltres e ells e los scrivans de la casa, prestat sacrament de tenir secrets aquests actes, són estades legides e publicades les dues letres. Als molt honorables e savis senyors los síndichs e misatgers de la Ciutat de Leyda, residents en les corts qui huy se celebren en la vila de Perpinyà. Los pahers e prohòmens de la Ciutat de Leyda appellats a vostra honor e plaer.*⁴¹

The documents allow us to see how in cases of nonadherence to the rules by the procurators with respect to their obligation to have the city periodically informed, the *paers* of Lleida immediately called them to order. This happened, for example, in 1421, when the *paers* reprimanded Jaume Navarra, procurator in the *Corts* de

his departure did not give the said sacrament, no salary will be given until they make the sacrament". AML. reg. 412, ff. 32v-33r.

39. [...] *Més avant senyors vos preguam que de açí avant vos plàcie continuadament avisar hi scriurens de tots los proceyments hi manteniment de la Cort de aquelles coses que us seran hoides scrivir, [...] com los de Barchinona, hi de les Ciutats axí ho facen [...] car per consellar a vosaltres en tots los actes faedors en la dita Cort per maior descàrrech vist lo consell general prop celebrat Via/ diputades e assignades algunes notables persones ab tant poder com ha lo \diti/ consell* ("[...] We ask you from now on that you have the habit of warning and writing about all aspects dealt with in the *Corts*, as is done by the representatives of Barcelona and other cities [...]. Additionally, to be able to advise you better, the General Council has chosen some notable people that hold the same power as the Council"). AML. reg. 742, ff. 51v-51r.

40. AML. reg. 742, ff. 5v-51r.

41. "Very honourable and wise gentlemen, we have received two letters from you [...], and after eating we met with the outstanding men for the acts of the *Corts*, who have made an oath to keep these acts in secret, and only after we have read the two letters. To the honourable and wise procurators of Lleida, residents in the *Corts* held in the municipality of Perpignan, *paers* and outstanding men of the city of Lleida". AML. reg. 742, ff. 78v- 78r.

Tortosa, for not having written or informed them about everything that happened in the assembly.⁴²

3.4 The commissions as instruments to control the procurator

Once the city received the call to a representative assembly from the sovereign, the General Council and the *paers* often created a commission. This would be given various names, judging by the documents consulted, depending on the city or the number of members. In Lleida, it was frequently known as the *Prohoms de les Corts*.

All these commissions had the common function of assessing the General Council and, above all, the procurators in the *Corts* about the matters dealt with or to be dealt with at these meetings and about other themes related to them. However, did these commissions only serve to simply assess or did their decision-making capacity or influence go further, being able to limit or directly condition the decision-making capacity of the procurator in the *Corts*?

The importance of these commissions can also be deduced from the kind of people of whom they were made up: most of them had notable experience in managing the municipality, as they had held or continued to hold various relevant positions. The notable number in the *Consell de Prohoms de les Corts* of the procurators of the city in the popular assemblies should not be forgotten as they added an extra measure of experience and also legal training—which explains the presence of many jurists—and of contacts with the rest of the estate, with the other estates and representatives of the sovereign.⁴³

Thus, many of the members of these commissions had been or were procurators in the *Corts*, or belonged to a family that had held this important position. With respect to the city of Lleida, during the period analysed, only three procurators of the *Corts* had not been part of this kind of advisory board. The others appeared on them with greater or lesser assiduity.⁴⁴

In the same way, we see that most of the people that made up these commissions belonged to families in the urban oligarchy, with a large number belonging to the

42. *Ítem nos maravellam molt e tant que no podem pus com tant vos és en embalbira la mà de no scriurens dels fets de les corts o almenys de dar recapte en les coses que.us són informades [...] sens gran dan a la ciutat [...] e moltes altres coses a vós donades en memorial [...] com per letres nostres, per que.us plàcie provehir e servir [...]. E així plàcieus [...] treballar-hi mills que ço sus ara no és fet* ("We are very amazed, because we believe that must have paralysed your hand due to not writing about what happens in the *Corts*, or at least explain things of which we have informed [...], because all of this creates great damage to the city [...], not respecting all that was pointed out in the memorial [...], and other letters we have sent you [...]. Therefore we invite you to work better than what has been done until now"). AML. reg. 844, f. 10v-r.

43. For a general view of these commissions, see: Martí, Esther. "Procuradores y consejos asesores de las ciudades reales en las Cortes catalanas y en los parlamentos sardos del siglo XV", *¿Órganos técnicos o instrumentos políticos? Las comisiones de trabajo de las instituciones parlamentarias y representativas*, Maria Betlem Castellà, Esther Martí, eds. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche-Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2014: 53-85.

44. Martí, Esther. "Procuradores y consejos...": 76-77.



mà major (a powerful, upper social class) although one should not underestimate the apparently increasing role of the *mà mitjana* (a social class consisting of traders and liberal professionals). The main function of these commissions was that of advising—and thereby controlling—the procurators of the city in the Corts. These procurators, as previously mentioned, had to regularly inform their city about everything that took place in the assemblies and had to consult any decision that was to be made and that was not contemplated in the comprehensive memorials which, in the form of instructions, their city gave them before they set out to the place of the meeting.⁴⁵ This is where these commissions were so important, when the General Council and the *paers* created them—or called on them if they were already operational—to deal with or deliberate on a specific aspect explained in the letters that the procurators sent from the Corts.⁴⁶

Without a doubt, another arduous task was that of putting together the instructions or memorials that the General Council had to provide to the syndics sent to the Corts. Very often, the *paers* benefitted from the experience and legal knowledge of many of the members of the *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts*, who acted as a group that was highly familiar, and with sufficient experience, in the grievances that the city had to deal with in the Corts.⁴⁷ Thus, in 1434,

*[...] acorda lo present conseyl general que les coses damunt [...] pahers preposades sien remeses [...] als pahers e ses prohòmens per els elegidós, los quals amb la major part de aquells tracten, enanten e acordaren sobre la manera dels dits affers [...]. Així emperò que çò que parlar e tractar hauran tornen al conseyl general per o que lavós lo dit conseyl general hi pux deliberar.*⁴⁸

Other times, these commissions could last between one session of the Corts and the following ones, to continue dealing with matters derived from them.⁴⁹

45. AML. reg. 412, ff. 32r-33r.

46. *Dimecres XVIII de Agost any demunt dit, los honorables misser Jachme Riquer e en Gabriell Peyró, paers, manaren an Matheu Coral e an Pere Jugo, missatgers de la Paheria, que facen venir los prohòmens de les corts en comitent, com ells per los feyts de les corts los hagen mester* ("Wednesday, XVIII of August, the honourable Jachme Riquer and Gabriell Peyró, paers, sent to Matheu Coral and Pere Jugo, messengers from the city, who meet with the outstanding men of the Corts, since they are required for some aspects to be dealt with in the Corts"). AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

47. In 1436, the General Council granted the *paers* the ability to control the representatives of the city and to give them a number of distinguished men, to be decided by them, to be able to advise them. AML. reg. 412, ff. 43r-45r.

48. "[...] This General Council agrees that the things [...] proposed by *paers* and are forwarded [...] to the *paers* and the outstanding men that they have chosen, and that the majority of these deal with and decide how to deal with each argument [...]. Once a decision is taken, it will be forwarded to the General Council for it to be deliberated". AML. reg. 411, f. 6r.

49. In 1435, the councillors of Barcelona wrote to those of Lleida about matters regarding the King's policy. And the *Consell General* of the city: [...] *acorda [...] que los senyors de pahers ab algune prohòmens per els elegidós e ab conseyl dels advocats de la Ciutat facen sa bona resposta als dits honorables conseylers, e no resmenys a conseyl dels prohòmens desús scrits o de la major part de aquells facen tots quelle bones provisions als dits affers [...] romant lo present conseyl general als dits prohòmens [...] tot plen poder* ("[...] agrees [...] that the *paers*

Therefore, the members of the *Consell de Prohoms* were usually members of the General Council and enjoyed the full power granted by this board, although their decisions, in the end, had to be confirmed with the *paers*.⁵⁰ They met when they were called by them to deliberate on a specific matter of the Corts, in particular when there was news from the syndics.⁵¹ To this end, in another documentary reference, we find:

*Item fonch proposat per los dits honorables pahers que saben com la ciutat té los honorables en Jachme Navara e n'Anthoni Cardona per síndichs e misagés, a les corts qui-s celebren vuy en Barchinona e demés, que moltes vegades los dits misatgés scriuen a ells dels actes de les dites corts, per los quals los han a fer ses respostes e satisfer a açó que-ls fan saber, e serie cosa que cada vega que-ls agesen a sciure per los dits actes hagesen ha ajustar conseyl, dels quals los dits pahers haien a procehir en tots los actes qui los dits misatgés los faran saber. E axí matex ells hauran a sciure a ells.*⁵²

All this shows the important role of this kind of commission in handling matters dealt with in the parliaments, as well as the family or clientele relationships of their members with the procurators in the Corts, which does not exclude contacts with the other representatives of the Royal Estate in these assemblies and with the other classes—something which often involved interferences between the various powers inside and outside the city and with people with a certain decision-making power in the other two classes—.

Because of all this, we believe that we can talk about a marked, programmed desire by the citizens belonging to the oligarchy to control the political and economic power also through these commissions, that were transformed, beyond their technical function, into a complicated power control mechanism. In fact, beyond the family and clientele relationships of their members with other circles of power inside and outside the city, as we have mentioned, we should not dismiss the role that these commissions played in managing the information that arrived at and left the assemblies of Corts, as an effective way of controlling the power in the city itself and outside it.

and some outstanding men of their own choosing, and with the advice of lawyers in the city, meet the honourable counsellors, and proceed as best as can be to deal with the issues [...], with the General Council giving these outstanding men [...] complete power"). AML. reg. 411, ff. 43v-45v.

50. [...] *Acorda lo conseyl general e elegí per a les coses desús proposades per los dits honorables misatgés los prohoms dehesen damunt dits ab conseyl dels quals, o dels sis de aquells, los dits pahers, prohesquen en tots los actes que hauran a ffer a les dites Corts [...] donant los tot plen poder* (" [...] To address the issues proposed by the procurators the General Council chooses various outstanding men, giving them full power, and establishing that the *paers* should proceed after having in mind their opinion, or at least six of them) AML. reg. 413, f. 10v-10r.

51. AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

52. "It was proposed by the honourable *paers* who, like the honourable Jachme Navara and Anthoni Cardona, procurators of the city to the courts of Barcelona, to write very often asking how to proceed in the acts of said *Corts*, that every time they should respond to the procurators a council must convene to deliberate on these acts, in order to respond to these procurators". AML. reg. 413, f. 10v-r.



4. Conclusions

What the urban government of Lleida had at stake in the *Corts* of the period of Alfonso the Magnanimous was too important and complex to be left in the hands of just a few chosen people. Therefore, the conditioners of the power granted to the urban procurators were different. Among them, we would particularly mention the memorials, of different kinds, ranging from those which were very long and highly detailed through to those that were much more schematic and showed the haste of the General Council for them to reach the syndics. Another control system was, without a doubt, the epistolary exchange to which the *paers* and the General Council subjected their representatives in the *Corts*, so that they could keep the city informed about what happened in the assemblies. In this area, we should also contemplate the solemn oath that the Lleida procurators were urged to make in the *Corts* before leaving, and the *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* in the municipality.

In fact, these commissions, specially created to assess and advise the syndics in the *Corts* as well as the municipal government about the arguments concerning the popular assemblies, were extremely important. This enables us to state that they were not just mere technical bodies for managing things, but genuine power control instruments. This statement is also confirmed by the notable experience of most of the members of these *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts*. Therefore, the political, economic and social importance of many of the members, or of their families—with a very active participation in the municipal government, in other commissions and boards and holding prominent municipal positions, or, in certain cases in other political bodies further afield than the municipal ones—leads us undoubtedly to talk about a desire to control the political and economic power and to manage information, perfectly studied by the urban oligarchies, which, to a great degree, reflects the network of contacts within the Royal Estate and in the *Corts* in general, of the municipalities from their interior.⁵³

On the other hand, the professional, family and personal contacts of the procurator (some of whom were even highly appreciated by the Crown) could counteract the opinion and the strength of the *Consell de Prohoms de les Corts*, although it should not be forgotten that many of the members of these commissions had been syndics or belonged to one of their families.

All this shows the great capacity of the Lleida procurators and of the various members of the *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* to create bonds and to weave relationships both within the *General Council* of the city as well as in other circles

53. One example is the network of personal, family and political relations of one of the syndics in the *Corts* held in Lleida in 1440, Gispert Mateu, a lawyer, who also worked as a procurator of the city in the following *Corts* of 1442-1443. He is found in a large number of the *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* between 1435 and 1453. AML. reg. 411, ff. 43r-45r; reg. 412, ff. 23r-24r; reg. 415, ff. 46r-47r, 76v-77r, 77v-78r, 97v-98r, 110v-111v; reg. 366, ff. 4r-5r. We also know that he was a cousin of the Montsuars, a family which, as is well known, enjoyed great prestige in and outside the city. Gispert Mateu was also related to another of the main magnates of the *Consell General* of Lleida, Nadal Botella. Lladonosa, Josep. "La casa Montsuar de Lleida", *La nissaga dels Montsuar*, Jeannine Cossé, Josep Lladonosa, eds. Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1982: 82.

of power of the Principality of Catalonia, achieving a decisive importance for their families in municipal decisions and, by extension, of the Royal Estate, which, on occasions, conditioned the timing and the decisions of the representative assemblies.⁵⁴

Therefore, in the analysis of the commissions of the Lleidan *Prohoms de les Corts* and of the procurator in the *Corts*, it should be taken into account that it was frequently found that one family had different members, either simultaneously or successively, in these commissions or in the high circles of the municipality, thereby perpetuating the family power and increasing the prestige of the lineage and its economic power.

In addition, it should be taken into consideration that some families that played a notable role in the procuration in the *Corts* also had notable members in the Ecclesiastic Estate.⁵⁵ Being granted a title of nobility was one of the family strategies to get a better position in the urban government and that of the Crown, an open path towards the participation in the Military Estate in the assemblies and a way of obtaining a greater degree of influence and power as a lineage.⁵⁶ This also permitted the urban oligarchies to create a solid network of clients and contacts that brought together all the relevant sectors of society and which, in some cases, even connected different kingdoms of the Crown.

54. Therefore, for example the syndic of the city of Lleida, Bartomeu Maull, an expert in law, was called on various occasions by Magnanimous' lieutenant, Queen Mary, to be advised on matters of a personal nature. AML. reg. 742, ff. 106r-107v. In the same way, Simó Sunyer, a well-known jurist from Lleida, procurator in the *Corts* on various occasions, acted as the *proveïdor de greuges* ("civil servant") of the Royal Estate in the *Corts* of 1431, along with the Barcelona syndic, Vicent Padriça. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XVII, 83. Years before, in 1410, he acted as messenger for the city before the king, along with other very well-known people from the city, such as Bernat d'Olzinelles, Francesc de Sant Climent and Samsó de Navés. AML. reg. 405 Bis, ff. 11v-13r. In the same way, Jaume Navarra, *ciutadà honrat* ("oligarch") and procurator from Lleida at the *Corts* on various occasions, held the position of *proveïdor del Braç Reial* (speaker of the Royal Estate) in the *Corts* of 1419-20. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XVI, 58-59. His sons held various positions in different boards of the urban government. His son Jaume was *veguer*, and having been appointed a knight, participated in the *Corts* of 1493 as part of the Military Estate, while his brother Vicenç represented Lleida in the *Corts* of 1473-1479. Pere Cardona, a syndic from Lleida in the controversial *Corts* of 1454, was *oïdor de comptes* of the *Diputació del General* (accounts reviewer of the General Provincial Council), while his son Miquel was a key holder of the *Estudi General* of the city and appeared among the deputies of the Military Estate between 1473 and 1479. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 112-113, 118-119.

55. For example the Cardona and the Maull families, among others.

56. See, for example the previously mentioned Navarra family, or the Bosch or the Gralla families. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 106-130.



ÁLVARO DE LUNA AS TYRANT. PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN 15TH CENTURY CASTILE

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ABSTRACT

The continued portrayal of Juan II of Castile's *privado* and royal favourite, Álvaro de Luna, as a tyrant, the record of the social expansion of this portrayal throughout his time in office and the fact that the main reason for his execution refers precisely to this argument are historic circumstances that offer the chance to explore the shaping of public opinion, its chronological development, social scope and political usefulness, within the possibilities and limitations of the resources available.¹

KEYWORDS

Castile, Juan II, Álvaro de Luna, Tyranny, Political Conflict.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Castella, Iohannes II, Alvarus de Luna, Tyrannis, Conflictus politicus.

1. Introduction

Interest in the various communication practices related to contexts of political conflict has become more and more evident, particularly in the last decade and a half.² This has resulted in the growing historiographic prominence of a field of analysis that has been receiving an increasing amount of attention from historians, without neglecting the conceptual problems involved in any attempt to address the different issues associated with this line of work.³ The outcome of this has been the notable expansion of the scope for analysing communication phenomena,⁴ with a particular emphasis on the above in terms of symbolic communication,⁵ as well as the consideration of an increasingly broader range of sources related to the analysis of its various manifestations.⁶

The consequence of such a historiographic approach has been to highlight, within the study of the medieval era, how historic frameworks were shaped in 14th and 15th century societies in which an appreciation of the processes of information and misinformation are topics that must be studied in any attempt to clarify the processes of political conflict.⁷

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2. For an extensive bibliography on this subject see: Mostart, Marco. *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

3. For two clarifying summaries of these conceptual problems see: Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "Sociabilidad y comunicación política a fines de la Edad Media. Algunas reflexiones previas", *Convivir en la Edad Media*, Juan Carlos Martín, ed. Burgos: Dosssoles, 2010: 213-231; Dumolyn, Jan. "Political Communication and Political Power in the Middle Ages: A Conceptual Journey". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012): 33-55.

4. Dutour, Thierry. "L'élaboration, la publication et la diffusion de l'information à la fin du Moyen Âge (Bourgogne ducal et France royale)", *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, Nicolas Offenstadt, Didier Lett, dirs. Paris: Publications de La Sorbonne, 2003: 141-155; Lemonde, Anne; Taddei, Ilaria, eds. *Circulation des idées et des pratiques politiques. France et Italie (XIII-XVI siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2013; Gamberini, Andrea; Genet, Jean-Philippe; Zorzi, Andrea, eds. *The Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*. Rome: Viella, 2011; Hattori, Yoshihisa. *Political Order and Forms of Communication in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Rome: Viella, 2014.

5. On the conceptual aspects of symbolic communication see the monographic: Reinhardt, Nicole; Monnet, Pierre; Klesmann, Bernd; Bruhns, Hinnerk, dirs. "Culture politique et communication symbolique". *Trivium*, 2 (2008). Online version: Reinhardt, Nicole; Monnet, Pierre; Klesmann, Bernd; Bruhns, Hinnerk, dirs. "Culture politique et communication symbolique". *Trivium*. October 2008. 13 February 2016 <<https://trivium.revues.org/793>>.

6. Genet, Jean-Philippe. "Image, représentation et communication politique", *Power and Persuasion. Essays on the Art of State Building in Honour of W.P. Blockmans*, Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Antheun Janse, Robert Stein, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 275-290.

7. Verdon, Jean. *Information et désinformation au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Perrin, 2010; Billoré, Maïté; Soria, Myriam. *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge. Du mépris à la manipulation, V^e-XV^e siècle*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011.



Within this growing interest in the various expressions related to communication activities, including even before this line of research started to show the first signs of expansion in the early 21st century, everything connected with the concept of public opinion took on an important role as the subject of analysis.⁸ Although this concept of public opinion was the subject of controversy for its supposed unsuitability for the medieval era or, to the contrary, for its crucial importance in the analysis of particular conflicts,⁹ it has certainly not been absent from recent historiography in connection with late medieval contexts.¹⁰ Likewise, discussion of the political role of public opinion has demanded particular consideration of rumour as a useful fighting tool in conflictive situations.¹¹

The reference to the idea of the tyrant and tyranny is present in intellectual debate during the entire medieval era as a consequence of the interest shown by many medieval political writers in the reception of and comments made on this issue in the work of Aristotle, Cicero and Saint Gregory, amongst others.¹² There are some important accounts dating back to the Visigoth era,¹³ in which the thoughts of Saint Isidore had a significant influence on medieval development in relation to this topic. There is strong evidence of this interest in Castile during the early middle

8. Guenée, Bernard. *L'opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après la "Chronique de Charles VI" du Religieux de Saint-Denis*. Paris: Perrin, 2002; Gauvard, Claude. "Le roi de France et l'opinion publique à l'époque de Charles VI", *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'état moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1985: 353-366; Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: École des chartes, 2013. About Castile: Val Valdivieso, María Isabel del. "La opinión pública en los núcleos urbanos de la Castilla de fines de la Edad Media: posibilidades de estudio", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 173-191.

9. Laborie, Pierre. "Opinion publique", *Historiographies, II: Concepts et débats*, Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick Garcia, Nicolas Offenstadt, dirs. Paris: Gallimard, 2010: 802-813.

10. Gauvard, Claude. "Qu'est-ce que l'opinion publique avant l'invention de l'imprimerie?", *L'Opinion. Information, rumeur, propagande. Le Rendez-vous de l'histoire*, Claude Gauvard, Alain Corbin, Christian Delporte, Jean-François Sirinelli, eds. Nantes: Éditions Pleins, 2008: 21-59.

11. De Craecker-Dussart, Christiane. "La rumeur: une source d'informations que l'histoire ne peut négliger. À propos d'un recueil récent". *Le Moyen Âge*, 118 (2012): 169-176; Billoré, Maïté; Soria, Myriam. *La rumeur au Moyen Âge...*; About Castile: Carrasco, Ana Isabel. "El rumor político. Apuntes sobre la opinión pública en la Castilla del siglo XV". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 80 (2006): 65-90. With particular reference to the chronicles in the Castilian case, see: Carrasco, Ana Isabel. "'Vana' o 'divina' vox populi. La recreación de la opinión pública en Fernando del Pulgar", *Gobernar en tiempos de crisis. Las quiebras dinásticas en el ámbito hispano (1250-1808)*, José Manuel Nieto, María Victoria López-Cordón, eds. Madrid: Sílex: 287-305; Carmona, María Antonia. "La documentación cronística castellana y la opinión pública en Castilla: posibilidades y límites", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 211-227.

12. Peters, Edward. *The Shadow King. Rex inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1970; Turchetti, Mario. *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001; Bjaï, Denis. *Figures du tyran antique au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Caligula, Néron et les autres*. Paris: Klincksieck, 2009; Boulégue, Laurence, ed. *Le tyran et sa postérité dans la littérature latine de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

13. Guiance, Ariel. "'Rex perditionis': la caracterización de la tiranía en la España visigoda". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 77 (2001-2002): 29-39.



ages.¹⁴ However, apart from the debate between intellectuals, what may be more interesting about the reference to tyranny in the context of certain political conflicts is that between the late 14th and late 15th centuries, allusion to this context had reached beyond the sphere of intellectual debate, meaning that, outside this space, and in the space reserved for particular politicians from various standpoints, it was assumed that there could be a no more categorical and emphatic form of discrediting a government action than to call it tyranny. Similarly, in terms of debates in the Late Middle Ages, nothing justifies better the resistance to a power than to term it tyrannical,¹⁵ thereby affirming the basis for the right to resistance.¹⁶

In the specific Castilian case, the triumph of the House of Trastámara over Pedro I, even greater following the initial setback of the battle of Nájera,¹⁷ undoubtedly owed much to the early identification it prompted of the monarch with the figure of the tyrant, solemnised in the courts of Burgos in 1367¹⁸ and establishing from then onwards an extremely powerful mobilising referent in the immediate outbreak of the civil war.¹⁹ This fact takes us beyond the merely academic and intellectual debate of the concepts of tyrant and tyranny, enabling them to be present in contexts of specific political confrontation in which the reference to tyranny was the consequence of their connection with precise government decisions and actions.

14. Nieto, José Manuel. "Rex Inutilis y tiranía en el debate político de la Castilla bajomedieval", *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Age? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale. Colloque international (25-27 novembre 2002)*, François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genêt, José Manuel Nieto, dirs. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005: 73-92, Nieto, José Manuel. "La gestación bajomedieval del derecho de resistencia en Castilla. Modelos interpretativos". *Cahiers d'Etudes Hispaniques Médiévales*, 34 (2011): 13-29; Nieto, José Manuel. "La comunidad política amenazada: debates en torno a la tiranía en el Occidente medieval (siglos XII al XV)", *L'Espai del mal. Reunió científica. IX Curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004)*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès, 2005: 187-204; Foronda, François. "Le prince, le palais et la ville: Ségovie ou le visage du tyran dans la Castille du XVe siècle". *Revue Historique*, 305/3 (2003): 521-541.

15. For a recent example of the central value that the discussion on tyranny was steadily acquiring in late medieval debate, see: Boucheron, Patrick. *Conjurer la peur: Sienne 1338. Essai sur la force politique des images*. Paris: Seuil, 2013.

16. Carvajal, Patricio. "Derecho de resistencia, derecho a la revolución, desobediencia civil. Una perspectiva histórica de interpretación. La formación del derecho público y de la ciencia política en la temprana Edad Moderna". *Revista de Estudios Políticos (nueva época)*, 76 (1992): 63-101.

17. Castillo, Fernando. "Análisis de una batalla: Nájera (1367)". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 73 (1991): 105-146; Lerena, Tomás. "La batalla de Nájera (1367)", *La guerra en la Edad Media. XVII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*, Blas Casado, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007: 345-378.

18. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1863: II, 145, 147 (petition 1 and 4 respectively).

19. Valdeón, Julio. "La propaganda política, arma de combate de Enrique de Trastámara". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 19 (1992): 459-467; Rábade, María del Pilar. "Simbología y propaganda política en los formularios cancillerescos de Enrique II de Castilla". *En la España Medieval*, 18 (1995): 223-239; Estepa, Carlos. "Rebelión y rey legítimo en las luchas entre Pedro I y Enrique II", *Lucha política. Condena y legitimación en la España Medieval*, María Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, eds. Lyon: Éditions de l'École normale supérieure de Lyon, 2004: 43-61 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16); Valdalisio, Covadonga. *Historiografía y legitimación dinástica. Análisis de la Crónica de Pedro I de Castilla*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010.



This offers historians the chance to tackle these issues from the perspective of the processes of opinion formation and the application of a communication strategy.

Based on the above, the continued and increasingly tangible portrayal of Juan II of Castile's *privado* or privy councillor, Álvaro de Luna, as a tyrant —beginning at a specific point in time that this paper will attempt to pinpoint—, the record of the social expansion of this portrayal throughout his time in office and the fact that the main reason for his execution was precisely linked to this argument are historic circumstances offering the chance to explore the shaping of public opinion, its chronological development, social repercussions and political usefulness, as will be addressed in the following pages, within the boundaries and possibilities of the resources available.

2. Historic normality of the royal favourite and the exceptional nature of one royal favourite

Álvaro de Luna's status as the king's *privado* and favourite, unlike what has sometimes been said,²⁰ did not necessarily have a negative meaning.²¹ On the contrary, the presence of this figure had started to seem quite natural as a consequence of the establishment, based on long experience, of a political position in the king's shadow held by one or more prominent members of the court who had the king's support

20. *Le 'privado' ne serait alors qu'un avatar du conseiller, rendu possible par la béance du pouvoir royal mais aussi la comblant, se substituant en quelque sorte à ce pouvoir, clef de voûte de l'équilibre politique, afin d'en assurer la pérennité. Mais il s'agit d'une figure qui, en cette première moitié du XV^e siècle, ne s'inscrit pas (ou pas encore) dans les pratiques de pouvoir ; elle n'en est qu'une forme monstrueuse car elle est vécue et donc combattue comme contraire aux normes du bon gouvernement et à la raison* ("The 'favourite' would then be no more than an avatar of the councillor, made possible by the breach in royal power, covering it up, in some way replacing this power, the keystone of political harmony, in order to ensure perpetuity. But this is a figure who, in this first half of the 15th century, is not yet part of the practices of power; such a figure is nothing more than a monstrous form, as it is perceived and, therefore, combated as contrary to the norms of good government and to reason"). Fournès, Ghislaine. "Du concept de 'privanza' à la notion de conseil dans la 'Crónica de Álvaro de Luna' (XV^e siècle)". Diciembre 2005. *e-Spania*, 12. 16 Enero 2016. <<http://e-spania.revues.org/20620>>. Although, in fact, the practice of royal favouritism was the subject of frequent criticism in low medieval literature, it was motivated by the excesses that could be caused by the use of favouritism rather than by the existence of an attitude whose usefulness was backed by the continued use of the practice from the late 13th century.

21. Foronda, François. "La 'privanza' dans la Castille du bas Moyen Âge. Cadres conceptuels et stratégies de légitimation d'un lien de proximité", María Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, eds. Lyon: Éditions de l'École normale supérieure de Lyon, 2004: 153-197, in particular, 176-197 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16); Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime de la faveur. Autorité monarchique et puissance aristocratique en Castille (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2003; Foronda, François. "La privanza, entre monarquía y nobleza", *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa (c. 1230-1504)*, José Manuel Nieto, ed. Madrid: Sílex, 2006: 73-132; Foronda, François. "S'emparer du roi. Un rituel d'intégration politique dans la Castille trastamare", *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale. Colloque international (25-27 novembre 2002)*, François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genêt, José Manuel Nieto, dirs. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005: 213-329.



and stood out for their special access to the monarch. The documentary accounts of the position, as has been highlighted by François Foronda,²² go much further back and over a long period of time. This development, according to the abovementioned author, and as stated by other sources, can be traced back to the reign of Sancho IV, to the early years when the abbot of Valladolid, Gómez García, was appointed to the role. He later fell from grace and ended up exiled from the court. In fact, the chronicle of the reign makes reference to the monarch's reaction on receiving news of his death on 29 July 1286, stating that *plugole mucho*.²³ This was an early sign of what was to happen repeatedly in the history of royal favourites, namely the frequent compatibility between the scope of influence and power wielded in the king's shadow and the cruel demise of many of these characters once they fell out of royal favour. This meant that the political promotion, to the extent of becoming a sort of monarch's alter ego, and the consequent falls from grace of these figures, are recorded as historical events time and time again. These events were seen particularly in 15th century Castile.²⁴

If we can talk about political normality up to this point, given the reiteration and long history of this type of event, the case of king's councillor Álvaro de Luna undoubtedly offers certain exceptional features within this prolonged form of governing practice, arising as a result of the contrast between the scope of his power and his subsequent fall from grace. This contrast acquires the greatest significance when it takes the form of a public square execution as the outcome of the king's very direct involvement in taking the decision, personally insisting on trying to give legal standing to what is clearly a royal determination to definitively punish the *privado*, as will be described below. This exceptional circumstance is even more apparent in the case of Álvaro de Luna, who held power fairly continuously for about three decades, an unusually long period, making him, as highlighted by Nicholas Round,²⁵ and using the chronicler's expression,²⁶ the greatest uncrowned man of his time to inhabit Castile, until we see him in the image of a head on a pike in the company of a praying Franciscan friar in the main square of Valladolid.

Nothing better justified the execution that ended the life of the *privado* than the proclamation with which the king's justice was announced while he was being taken to the block. The content of the proclamation had been discussed at length by the Royal Council so it expressed exactly and precisely in few words the most decisive reason for the sentence. The accusation proclaimed was summed up in that

22. Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime...*

23. "It pleased him greatly". Nieto, José Antonio. *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*. Gijón: Trea, 2015: 75-78.

24. Carceller, Pilar. "Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco y Beltrán de la Cueva: un estudio comparativo del privado regio a fines de la Edad Media". *En la España Medieval*, 32 (2009): 85-112.

25. Round, Nicholas. *The Greatest Man Uncrowned. A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna*. London: Tamesis Book, 1986

26. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla y Maestre de Santiago*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940: 428



the *privado* had behaved like a tyrant and he had taken control over the person of the king, whose freedom must be urgently secured.²⁷

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, in his chronicle of the reign, and Fernán Gómez de Cibdarreal, in one of his epistles, both offer a similar version to the proclamation of execution that read: *esta es la justicia que manda hacer el Rey nuestro Señor á este cruel tirano e usurpador de la corona real: en pena de sus maldades, mándale degollar por ello*.²⁸ As a result of an inquiry held years after these events, the various witnesses interrogated and who were present on the day of the execution, coincided in confirming the accusation of tyranny as being the one mainly set out in the royal proclamation, which was shouted repeatedly as the gentleman was led to his execution.²⁹

In this way, the essential summary of Álvaro de Luna's political significance was enshrined in the idea of the transformation of the *privado*, the advisor who throughout the entire history of royal favourites in Castile during the lower middle ages had accumulated the greatest power, influence and riches under the protection of his rank, into a tyrant, maybe also the greatest uncrowned tyrant ever to grow in the shadow of the Castilian monarchy. In addition to this, the emergence of this image of tyranny did have its share of originality, as it was projected onto people who did not possess the maximum expression of political power, which in itself gave the *privado* an extraordinarily unique profile in accordance with the image that would be artistically captured three decades later on his cenotaph in the chapel of Santiago de Toledo,³⁰ which sought to rehabilitate his memory under the description of *buen gobernante, hombre de armas y hombre de letras haciendo olvidar su muerte sin honor*.³¹

But that image of the tyrant advisor did have its history, its milestones and its specific meanings, and was susceptible to being inserted into practices of symbolic communication. We will be focusing all our attention on its process of construction and development, considering the possibility that such a matter had a lot to do with what could perhaps be regarded as an especially characteristic expression of the political role that the shaping of public opinion could have in the late medieval period against a backdrop of a varied set of political tensions.

27. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 431.

28. "This is the justice ordered by the King our lord for this cruel tyrant and usurper of the royal crown: as punishment for his wickedness he orders his throat to be cut". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. "Crónica de Juan II", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, 683; Gómez de Cibdarreal, Fernán. *Centón epistolario*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1945: XIII, 34; *Epistolario español: colección de cartas de españoles ilustres, antiguos y modernos*, ed. Eugenio Ochoa. Madrid: Atlas, 1945: 34.

29. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna según testimonios inéditos de la época*. Valladolid: Editorial Viuda de Montero, 1915.

30. Pérez Monzón, Olga. "La imagen del poder nobiliario en Castilla". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37/2 (2007): 926-935.

31. "good governor, man of arms and man of letters forgetting his death without honour". Pérez Monzón, Olga. "La imagen del poder nobiliario...": 935.



3. From royal favourite to tyrant: the intervention of Alfonso V of Aragon (1425)

As has been highlighted,³² the beginning of the identification of Álvaro de Luna with tyranny can be pinpointed to June of 1425, in the letter that Alfonso V of Aragon wrote to Pedro Núñez de Herrera, lord of Pedraza,³³ remarking that the king of Castile had fallen completely under the control of his advisor and expressing his wish to go to Castile with troops to rescue the monarch from this situation, encouraging the nobleman to join his forces once they had entered Castile.³⁴ The consideration of tyrant was expressed both in terms of the advisor's personal attitude and in the overall way he was described as dealing with the king's matters, proving that there was a conscious will and full awareness of acting under typically tyrannical procedures. However, the letter does not hint at a discrediting of the royal favourite as an instrument of government, with its complaint confined to the specific use that Álvaro de Luna was making of his rank and office, with special consideration of the damage being done to the political position of the Aragonese monarch's siblings, the *Infantes* of Aragon.³⁵

The portrayal of the tyrannical condition, as described in the king of Aragon's letter, presents its main feature as the tyrant's complete control over the court space, involving a process of selective emptying of the court, with the departure of *grandees* and knights, enabling the favourite to absorb the royal environment completely. At the same time, acting as both motive and consequence of this circumstance, an atmosphere of fear and dread would be imposed, as well as the absence of freedom and the impossibility of providing the monarch with advice within the court space, which would generate a feeling of insecurity in those who remained and prompt many of the natural occupants of the court to flee. This would lead to the inhabitants of the court being reduced to the tyrant's supporters.

32. Foronda, François. "La privanza, entre monarquía y nobleza...": 116-117.

33. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla*. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, 1835-1913: II, 1-5.

34. *É por tal manera ejerció su tiranía, que los grandes, notables varones é ricos-homes é fijos-dalgo, é otras gentes notables, daquesos regnos, se apartaban é apartaron de continuar en la corte del dicho Rey, nuestro primo, no pudiendo sufrir ser subyugados de tal tirano: é encara los que eran presentes huían con grand terror del, mayormente como en caso que á la corte quesiesen ir, ó estar en ella, non les era, nin es dada libertad de hablar, aconsejar ó servir el dicho Rey nuestro primo, á cada uno segund pertenesce á su grado, antes entendió por maneras esquisitas, en desechar é apartar á los grandes é nobles fijos-dalgo, é otras gentes industriosas, é sabias de la casa, é corte, é crianza del dicho Rey, nuestro primo, non dejando continuar en ella, salvo aquellos que fuesen á él pacientes: é puso cerca de la persona del Rey personas los demas de baja mano é condicion, los quales fuesen é sean con toda vigilancia favorecientes á él en su tiranía* ("And he exercised his tyranny in such a way that *grandees*, peers, barons, wealthy men and noblemen and other people in those kingdoms left the court of this king, our cousin, as they could not tolerate being subjugated by such a tyrant. And those who stayed at court fled in great terror. Moreover, those who wanted to go to the court or remain there were not given freedom to talk or to advise or serve the aforementioned king, as befitted the status of each one of them. On the contrary, like a soothsayer he sought to expel and remove the *grandees*, peers, noblemen and other hard-working and wise people in the court and in the circle of the king our cousin, not allowing anyone to remain except for his allies, and he placed people close to the king who were incompetent and of lowly rank in order to foster the interests of his tyranny"). *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla*...: II, 2.

35. Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime de la faveur*...: 296.



Alfonso V's text is an extremely detailed portrayal of the specific tyrannical behaviour attributed to Álvaro de Luna, whose tyranny is described based on twelve main features:

1. Álvaro governs the king and his kingdoms, occupying, as he states, *la gobernanza de la persona del dicho rey e de sus regnos*.³⁶ With this, he is defining the most characteristic feature of what was traditionally said to be the tyrant *propter defectum tituli*, which, as we shall see, responds to a tyrannical type that had specific implications in the sense of facilitating the reaction in the face of this type of tyrant.
2. He restricts and limits the king's closeness to his people.
3. He promotes hatred between the king and his intimate circle.
4. He uses deceit and infamy.
5. He incites violation of the insurances granted by the king.
6. He makes prisoners of good men, referring in particular to Infante Enrique of Aragon.
7. He does not fulfil his services to the king or to the public good of the kingdom.
8. His actions cause grandees and noble people to flee from the court, leaving the monarch unprotected.
9. He incites the imposition of a regime of terror amongst those who remain at court.
10. He infringes freedoms.
11. He imposes manifestly unfair levies.
12. He appropriates the royal heritage for himself.

Although there was no lack of interest in Aragon society for political reflection on the tyrant, an important example of which is put forward by Frances Eiximenis,³⁷ it is interesting to observe how the letter states that the Aragonese king began to be concerned about Álvaro's initiatives while he was still in his Italian domains. This seems to favour the hypothesis that the portrayal of this tyrannical image of Álvaro de Luna is due to the major theoretical creativity that this issue had sparked in Italian society, being a topic that was very much in vogue at the time.³⁸

In fact, Alfonso V stayed on the Italian peninsula until 1423. By that time, the debate on tyranny had become a high-profile and important topic on which the Aragonese monarch was no doubt well informed, enabling him to engage in a

36. "control over the very person of the aforementioned king and of his kingdoms". *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 2.

37. Cortés, Carmen. "El tirano y la tiranía en el pensamiento político pactista de Francesc Eiximenis", *El pensamiento político en la Edad Media*, Pedro Roche, ed. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, 2010: 379-390.

38. A sign of this interest in Italian cities can be found in the expression *séduction de la tyrannie* in: Boucheron, Patrick. *Conjurer la peur...*: 119-136. On in this same issue of the development of the reflection on tyranny amongst Italian intellectuals and in connection with specific political events between the 14th and 15th centuries, see also: Turchetti, Mario. *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité...*: 291-332.



critical appraisal of his political rival by applying what he knew from the debate. Although Salutati's contribution to the discussion on the portrayal of the tyrant was very recent,³⁹ the arguments put forward by Bártolo de Sassoferrato were more widespread.⁴⁰

From the perspective of criticism for Álvaro de Luna's government interpreted as a form of *regimen malorum*, that is, of tyranny in the most complete sense of the word, the work *De Tyranno* by the abovementioned Bártolo de Sassoferrato offered extraordinary possibilities for justification.

Compared to the traditional approach that referred the tyrannical condition to those who wielded sovereign power, kings or emperors, Bartolo also discussed the exercise of tyranny within inferior or delegated political offices, making specific allusion to the tyranny of certain magnates, asking himself what kind of attitude should be adopted by the higher power from which they had received their rank: *si aliquis dux, marchio, comes vel baro, qui habet iustum titulum probatur tyrannus exercitio, quid debet facere superior? Respondeo: debet eum deponere*.⁴¹ In light of this reflection, although it was true that with his complaint Alfonso V had provided solid ground for the portrayal of Álvaro de Luna as a tyrant, freeing the king from blame,⁴² the latter would have to take a certain amount of responsibility in the event that the decision was taken not to remove him from office. The defining features of the exercise of tyranny, in the form of Decalogue, as they appear described in his work, are mostly compatible with the dozen bad practices of the *privado* listed earlier, according to the text of the letter from the Aragonese king, all of which are summed up, according to Bartolo's work, by the idea that *opera eius non tendunt ad bonum commune, sed proprium ipsius tyranni*,⁴³ which ties in with the principal argument put forward by Alfonso V when he underlines the advisor's obsession with his own interests in detriment to the common good of the kingdom.

One of Bartolo's main concerns is the identification of the tyrant as *ex defectu tituli* who exercises the functions of the king without being the king.⁴⁴ It was this type of tyranny that, compared to the kind described in terms of *ex parte exercitii*, presented more objective features, giving grounds for a strong and fully justified reaction against tyranny. Bartolo's reflections could not find a better fit with the Castilian case when he described how one of the most feared expressions of tyranny, within the aforementioned type, was that which referred to the person who in their office acquired so much power that they controlled the entire government, doing what

39. Salutati, Coluccio. *Il trattato "De tyranno" e lettere suelte*, ed. Francesco Ercole. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore: 1942.

40. Quagliioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento italiano. Il "De Tyranno" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314-1357)*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983.

41. "If any duke, marquis, count or baron holding such a title by right is shown to exercise tyranny, what should their superior do? I reply: they should depose them". Quagliioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 202.

42. Foronda, *La privanza ou le régime de la faveur...*: 297.

43. Quagliioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 196.

44. Quagliioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 21, 41-43.



they liked with no hindrance or limit whatsoever.⁴⁵ This approach fitted the Castilian case perfectly. With this confirmation of Álvaro's occupation of the regimen and governance of the person of the king and of his kingdoms, which was symbolised by the appropriation of the court space and the subsequent expulsion from it of those close to the monarch plus the imposition there of a regime of terror, there was no possible way in which the tyrant *ex defectu tituli* could not be present. With this, there was more than enough justification for the strongest and most radical action leading to the tyrant being expelled. In this way, the armed action announced by the Aragonese monarch found full grounds in Bartolian argumentative logic.

As a result, with his letter, perfectly inserted in the innovations provided by Italian thinking in relation to the problem of tyranny, Alfonso V provided a solid basis for shaping an opinion on the figure of the *privado* as a tyrant, an opinion that would pursue him to the gallows, and provided very convenient arguments to his detractors.

4. The shaping of a noble opinion

On December 7, 1438 king Juan II issued a document in which he rejected accusations that *algunas personas maliçiosamente movidos con grand invidia e mal querença* had launched against Álvaro de Luna, accusing him of not serving the king well and acting only in his own interests. On the contrary, the monarch vindicated his favourite, telling him that *con toda lealtad e animosidad sienpre me avedes servido e servides muy bien, sufriendo de cada dia por mi serviçio e onor e ensalçamiento de la corona rreal de mis rregnos muchos trabajos poniendo vos por ello a muchos peligros*.⁴⁶ This royal view was contradicted by other witness accounts.

Although a precise date cannot be established, but certainly later than 1433 and seemingly closely connected with the anti-Luna movements that spread through the Castilian court from 1439 onwards, there is one work that is hardly used by historians interested in this era,⁴⁷ known as *Libro de Gracián, Tratado y semblanza de Gracián* or *Novela moral de Gracián*,⁴⁸ which sets out extensive arguments for the construction of Álvaro de Luna's image of tyranny, in relation to the aspects that were linked to the abusive hoarding of wealth that would later turn into a real form of plunder, both of the king's personal assets and those of the kingdom. The work,

45. Quagliioni, Diego. *Política e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 54.

46. "some people with bad intentions act with envy and hatred"; "you with all loyalty and good nature have always served me and you still serve me well, enduring much work for my service, my honour and the prestige of the royal crown of my kingdoms, leading you to face many dangers". Calderón, José Manuel. *Alvaro de Luna (1419-1453). Colección diplomática*. Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos-Dykinson, 1999: 179.

47. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Los efectos del mal gobierno en la Andalucía de Juan II según la 'Novela Moral de Gracián'". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 213 (2016): 109-149.

48. Study and edition in: Satorre, José J. "La novela moral de Gracián. Un texto inédito del siglo XV". *Estudios Lulianos*, 24 (1980): 165-210; 25 (1981-1983): 83-165; 26 (1986): 165-251.



by an unknown author, has been linked with Diego Anaya y Maldonado (died in 1437), who was bishop of Salamanca and Cuenca and archbishop of Seville, both for codicological reasons, being included in a volume held in the library belonging to him at the University of Salamanca, and because of the biographical history of this figure.⁴⁹ His confrontation with Álvaro de Luna dated back to the beginning of the latter's position of *privado*, when Anaya y Maldonado was bishop of Salamanca and stood out in support for the *Infantes* of Aragon.⁵⁰ The animosity between *privado* and prelate would end up by taking its toll on the latter when Álvaro succeeded in obtaining a papal order to remove him from office as archbishop of Seville, accused of conspiracy. This resulted in the loss of his position as archbishop of Seville by his own decision; in fear of his life from the *privado's* persecution he took refuge in the Hieronymites Monastery of San Bartolomé de Lupiana. This conflictive relationship would be inherited by his son Juan Gómez de Anaya, archdeacon of Salamanca, who would go on to play a leading role in anti-Luna movements.⁵¹

The work narrates the adventures of the young Gracián, partly resembling a travel book as well as a doctrinal work and a moral and political reflection. The fate of its main character, who, disillusioned with the immoralities of the world, finds solace in the contemplative life, makes it easy to connect it with the prelate's life. Organised into twelve chapters, it is especially interesting in terms of our topic because of the content of chapter four, devoted to how princes should behave. In the chapter, along with the kind of advice that would be expected from a discussion on how princes should behave as they go about their duties, there is also a great deal of attention given to the portrayal of those who are repeatedly referred to as false or bad favourites. Seemingly avoiding express criticism, as though from fear of giving specific names, it gives the impression, as Fernando Gómez Redondo observes, that the image of this reprehensible favourite is inspired by the deeds of Álvaro de Luna.⁵²

These false favourites, as the book describes, would corrupt all virtues, keeping the income of princes who they advised poorly, introducing new and cruel taxes; they would include their relatives and friends on the books of their princes, granting them huge incomes; they would unreservedly grab what was not theirs, they would lease out tax collecting on a whim and manipulate the bidding, they would be involved in an abundance of bribery and slander against everyone, and especially the poorest; in the prince's shadow they would keep many villages for themselves, without any right to do so whatsoever; they would behave like greedy flatterers, disproportionately deceiving and robbing their princes, obtaining large sums of

49. Monsalvo, José María. "Diego de Anaya y su tiempo: aristócrata, obispo, diplomático y humanista", *La universidad de Salamanca y el pontificado en la Edad Media*, Miguel Anxo Pena, Luis Enrique Rodríguez, eds. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2014: 217-254.

50. González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1982: 34-35.

51. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946: 310.

52. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. Tomo III: Los orígenes del humanismo. El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2002: 377-401.



money and *dizen que la voluntad del príncipe se cunpla aunque el pueblo se pierda*.⁵³ They would fill the prince with false fears, fostering enmity with his knights, as well as with other princes, against those who urge him to war.

Without any mention at all of the word tyrant, the argument could not find a better fit with the document containing accusation of tyranny sent to the king by some grandees in 1440, to which reference will be made below.⁵⁴ In fact, Fernando Gómez Redondo noted the presence of some common references with the letter attributed to Diego de Valera denouncing Álvaro's tyranny, leading him to state, and I believe with good reason, that

*esta es la sección del tratado que mejor conecta con las circunstancias que llevan de la concordia de Castronuño (1439) al golpe de Rámaga (1443). Es más, parece que aprovecha –si no es que los proporciona– los argumentos de la oposición a don Álvaro, pues este mismo tejido de razones asoma en la carta⁵⁵ con la que se daba expresión a la posición del bando del rey de Navarra, del infante don Enrique y de los grandes que los apoyaban que envía a Juan II para que recupere la libertad frente a su privado.*⁵⁶

The letter contains striking textual coincidences with the book mentioned earlier, *Libro de Gracián*, favouring the hypothesis of the contextualisation of this work in the debates taking place at the time, but it can also be regarded as a simplified forewarning of what would be the dispatch of grievances that the group would present to the monarch that same year, as described in the *Crónica del Halconero*.⁵⁷

The extensive accusations made against the *privado* in the chapters of this dispatch could not hide the effort made to show their perfect fit with the second of the *Siete Partidas* describing the typical behaviour of tyrannical government, although the legislative text referred to the actions of emperors and kings, based on the following eight criteria, which provided the foundation for the image of this behaviour.⁵⁸

53. "they say the prince's will must be done even though the people are prejudiced". Satorre, José J. "La novela moral de Gracián...": 115.

54. An interpretation that connects the work with the Rimado de Palacio del Pero López de Ayala in: Vázquez Janeiro, Isaac. "Los estudios franciscanos medievales en España", *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera* (Nájera, 31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1999, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Angel García de Cortázar, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 43-64, en especial, 60-64; Vázquez Janeiro, Isaac. "'Gracián', un 'Félix' castigliano del seculo XV. Una ricerca sull'innominato autore". *Annali dell'istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Romenza*, 34/1 (1992): 295-337.

55. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. "Crónica de Juan II...": II, 560-562.

56. "this is the section of the treaty that best connects with the circumstances that led from the concord of Castronuño (1439) to the coup of Rámaga (1443). Moreover, it seems to take advantage of—even provide—the arguments of the opposition to Álvaro de Luna, as this same fabric of arguments appears in the letter expressing the position of the side of the king of Navarre, of the Infante Enrique and of the grandees who supported them and sent to Juan II so that he can "regain his freedom" from his constable". Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa medieval...*: 389.

57. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero...*: 320-334.

58. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso El Sabio. Cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo II: Partida Segunda y Tercera*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807: 11 (título I, ley X: "Qué quiere decir tirano, et cómo usa de su poder en el regno después que es apoderado él").



1. Morally demean the subjects.
2. Encourage internal division.
3. Lead the kingdom into poverty.
4. Weaken the powerful.
5. Annihilate the wise.
6. Prevent forms of association and brotherhood.
7. Monitor and control opinions.
8. Trust foreigners at the expense of natives.

So, in the case of Álvaro de Luna, there was an extraordinarily lengthy and detailed list of what were described as typical tyrannical practices, all intended to seek out personal benefit, and including particularly serious ones such as drawing up unfair laws, hoarding unlimited wealth, to the extent that the treasures accumulated in the kingdom were not enough for him, prompting him to hide some of the riches outside its borders, such as in Genoa or in Venice; the imposition of abusive taxes for his own gain, spreading general suspicion; the persecution and destruction of *grandees*, plus employing spies and informants.

But perhaps the most important contribution of this long list of complaints was not in its length and extremely detailed description, but in that it presented the *privado* as someone who was acting fully like a king, with barely any restrictions on his scope of action, using the words *fazerse monarca en vuestros reynos*.⁵⁹ If there was any reason left to think that the accusation of tyranny could be seen more as rhetoric rather than a full political reality, the *privado* now reached the peak of his tyrannical behaviour by taking on the entire set of functions assigned to the monarch and executing them under the form of tyrannical exercise, showing himself to have all the traits of the tyrant as *propter defectum tituli*, by unlawfully appropriating the royal function which was also used *ex defectu exercitii*, thereby displaying the maximum expression of the tyrannical condition.

This absorption of the royal ministry, as described in the document, would cover the entirety of its contents, which was expressed in the reference to how the *privado* used *entera e largamente de todo vuestro rreal poder, así avsoluto como ordinario*.⁶⁰ With this it was possibly pointing out how the *privado* could be seen as the author of the expansion process of an *absolute royal power*, increasingly obvious as a documentary clause in royal orders and also as an exceptional governing practice, but administered by the *privado* as he saw fit, as denounced in the memo. The affirmation of this political principal in the courts of Olmedo in 1445,⁶¹ developed under the auspices

59. "turn himself into the monarch of your kingdoms". Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero*....: 320.

60. "the 'privado' used all kinds of manifestations of your regal power, both absolute and normal". Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero*....: 320.

61. González Alonso, Benjamín. "De Briviesca a Olmedo (algunas reflexiones sobre el ejercicio de la poestestad legislativa en la Castilla bajomedieval)", *El Dret Comú i Catalunya. Actes del IV Simposi Internacional. Homenatge al professor Josep M. Gay Escoda. Barcelona, 27-28 de maig de 1994*, Aquilino Iglesia, ed. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1995: 43-74.



of Álvaro de Luna and with his full backing of absolute practices, confirmed the link between the favourite's personal interests and the expansion of the absolutist content of royal power administered by him.⁶² At the same time, it was also evidence of the drift towards absolutism of the concept of monarchy in Castile.⁶³

As a result, it was fully justified that the document should be structured, following the accusatory preamble, with a descriptive list of the functions expected of the ideal prince, going on to describe those that corresponded to the tyrannical prince and ending with all those attributable to the *privado*, which provided a complete example of these tyrannical practices. This meant that, from then onwards, the peak of Álvaro de Luna's tyrannical behaviour had a solid testimony providing a very strong basis for what his detractors pointed to as the core of the opinion with which they aimed to undermine the *privado* and which they sought to spread as far across the kingdom as they could.

5. Towards the popularization of an opinion

It has been said, completely correctly, that from the coup of Záfraga, which occurred on 11 May 1448, the use of the term 'tyranny' was in widespread use throughout the kingdom to refer to the government of Álvaro de Luna.⁶⁴ This circumstance enabled this portrayal of the *privado* as a tyrant to be identified as a certain kind of public opinion that appeared to prevail in terms of his image. Probably, the best demonstration of this phenomenon of generalisation can be seen from the time when his presence became apparent in urban movements, thereby going beyond the inner circles of the kingdom's grandees.

The best proof of this process of spreading out from the space of the nobility and the court can be found in the 'memorial' from the graduate Marcos García de Mora, published at the time of the anti-*converso* riots that broke out across the city of Toledo in 1449,⁶⁵ headed by Juan II's lord high butler, who saw in the document a justifying argument for his demands that *conversos* be removed from public office, to which they had acceded, in his view, as a result of Álvaro de Luna's tyrannical strategy and would prove to be the main cause of the political crisis that the kingdom was currently undergoing.⁶⁶

62. Nieto, José Manuel. "El 'poderío real absoluto' de Olmedo (1445) a Ocaña (1469): la monarquía como conflicto". *En la España Medieval*, 21 (1998): 159-228.

63. Dios, Salustiano de. "Sobre la génesis y los caracteres del Estado absolutista en Castilla". *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 5 (1985): 36-37.

64. Olivera, César. *Las Cortes de Castilla y León y la crisis del reino (1445-1474). El registro de Cortes*. Burgos: Cortes de Castilla y León, 1986: 39.

65. López Gómez, Oscar. "El impacto de las revuelta urbanas en el siglo XV. A propósito de la rebelión de 1449 en Toledo". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 15 (2014): 175-191.

66. The text in: Benito, Eloy. *Los orígenes del problema converso*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1976: 104-132.



The reference to the expression of tyrant or tyranny to describe Álvaro de Luna occurs up to a total of 39 times. The main cause of the reasons for the discontent expressed in the 'memorial' centres on the initiative of a certain Álvaro de Luna, who is repeatedly identified as *malo tirano* ("bad tyrant"). The origins of this behaviour are identified as being four years previous to the document, which places it in the year of the battle of Olmedo, after which the author noticed that the *privado* took over full and total control of the monarch's power. This establishes a chronology that is different to previously considered texts tracing the origin and development of the *privado*'s tyrannical attitudes. As a particularly serious accusation, he is said to act *so color del nombre del dicho señor rey*,⁶⁷ which would coincide with the idea of the *privado* stealing the king's identity. With this portrayal as an example of the tyrant who acts systematically against the interests of the kingdom, the document makes a perfectly articulated call to mobilisation against the decisions taken by the king under his *privado*'s control with the following consequences:⁶⁸

- The rules set by the monarch, or by whoever acts in his name, that are considered to be contrary to the common good and to law, cease to be valid.
- When the king is unjust by action or omission there is what is called *defecto de jurisdicción* ("absence of jurisdictional power"), a situation that justifies the right to resistance and defence against the king.
- When the king lapses into tyranny, either by his own initiative or as a result of a process of theft of his functions, there must be a demand for power to be handed to his successor or to the towns of the kingdom so they can act as guarantors of the common good in the monarch's absence.
- Natives of the kingdom would not only have the right but also the duty to resist and oppose the decisions arising from tyrannical acts.

Consequently, with this line of argument, a justification is established for portraying the *privado* as a tyrant and a reason is provided for taking specific action against the monarch himself. In other words, the consolidation and generalisation of a public opinion that saw the exemplification of tyranny in the *privado* was no longer limiting the field of action against him, as had been the case in previous years, while the matter had been discussed on the battlefield of the court. Now, his presence outside court was starting to be regarded as sufficient reason for promoting change in ownership of the throne.

It can be said that the line of argument developed in the Toledo 'memorial' was a precursor of what was to follow in the accusation justifying the *privado*'s execution four years later. The latter, however, would reconsider the position of the monarch, exonerating him from any kind of responsibility and interpreting Álvaro de Luna's execution as an instrument at the service of the liberation of royal power from the tyrannical power that prevented it from exercising its functions.

67. "using the name of this lord King". Benito, Eloy. *Los orígenes...*: 105.

68. Gutiérrez Nieto, Juan Ignacio. "Semántica del término 'comunidad' antes de 1520. Las asociaciones juramentadas de defensa". *Hispania*, 136 (1977): 346.



6. The tyrant brought to justice

In the same way, as mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, the presence of favourites alongside the king was neither exceptional nor an anomaly during most of the Castilian low middle ages, the end of that favourite by public execution ordered by the king apparently as a result of a judicial process is exceptional enough to befit the scale of favouritism secured by the person in question.

From the events that led to Álvaro de Luna's definitive fall, including the decisive importance of the murder on his initiative of chief bookkeeper Alonso Pérez de Vivero, Juan II would become particularly keen on promoting a thorough procedure to give a legal appearance to what was a political decision:⁶⁹ putting an end to the *privado's* power, which inevitably involved putting an end to his life, given how far things had gone and his ability to somehow recover from setbacks.

In fact, reviewing the documentation on the matter, it is impossible to ignore the account of the subterfuge the monarch tried to use to give some semblance of legality to what was essentially a personal political decision. Thus, the scenario is devised in which the monarch wanted to give the impression of a tough duty of justice that was impersonal, objective and, to a certain extent, consensual within the framework of court legal proceedings, rather than being a merely vindictive royal rage.

In order to achieve this impression, the beginning of the action against the *privado* is carried out as an institutional initiative that is designed to seem removed from the monarch *por quel mi procurador fiscal é promotor de la mi justicia me denunció é fiso cierta denunciacion contra el dicho Maestre don Alvaro de Luna (...) é me fue suplicado no solamente por el dicho procurador fiscal*.⁷⁰ This complaint referred to the death of the aforementioned Alonso Pérez de Vivero. If a document from after the reign of Juan II⁷¹ is to be believed, the monarch met with learned men from the Royal Council in order to establish a position on what should be done with Álvaro de Luna, with the first to speak up being court *Relator* Fernando Díaz de Toledo, the monarch's direct and loyal servant. The royal *Relator* answered *que le parecia segund derecho que era dino de muerte por justicia e de perder los bienes para la cámara e fisco de su alteza*.⁷²

In any case, the document hints that the learned men acted under some pressure from the monarch's wishes, as the king showed his satisfaction at the *Relator's* opinion, *é desde los otros letrados vieron la voluntad del Rey, siguieron todos el consejo del dicho Relator*. This was giving the format of technical advice to a decision that in reality was the unequivocal expression of 'the King's wish'.

69. The irregularities of the process were already remarked on: Pastor, Isabel. *Grandeza y tragedia de un valido. La muerte de Don Álvaro de Luna*. Madrid: Caja de Madrid, 1992: I, 251-254.

70. "the prosecutor of royal justice presented me with a complaint against the aforementioned gentleman Álvaro de Luna (...) and it was not only requested by the aforementioned prosecutor". *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 43.

71. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 74-77.

72. "that he thought, according to law, that he deserved to be sentenced to death and forfeit his assets to the king's chamber and treasury". *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 75-76.



In an attempt to give legal form to the instrument of publication of the decision on the sentence to be applied, the king ordered a meeting of the learned men on the Council: *e así juntados ovo grande altercación entre ellos: é finalmente fue acordado que la dicha ejecución se fiesse por mandamiento, é no por sentencia é así se fiso*.⁷³ This meant that the resistance of some of the learned men would prevent what might have been the monarch's will in terms of seeking a formula like the sentence, which gave a greater impression of a legal proceedings than a simple order, which revealed the monarch's personal involvement and his own political interests in the matter.

This tension between political and legal procedure would be prolonged up to the very moment of the favourite's execution, if we take a while to analyse the way it was published, which, according to the procedures of the period, was a function that corresponded to the practice of proclamation.⁷⁴

In fact, the proclamation given for the execution of Álvaro de Luna, in Valladolid in 1453, has a particular complexity in that the contemporaries who refer to him do not coincide in terms of its specific content. Plus, there are some opinions on events that were put about by people at the time in terms of valuing the importance given to the proclamation to give greater legitimacy to an execution that raised certain suspicions even in people close to the king. In this sense, we cannot ignore the presence of a diverse set of positions amongst individuals close to the king at court on whether it was advisable to have the *privado* executed.⁷⁵

The chronicle that attempts to defend the *privado's* memory, mention is made of the *mentiroso pregón* ("lying herald") as a way of undermining the royal decision to send the *privado* to the gallows. The content of the proclamation would have been considered at length by the Royal Council to ensure it clearly expressed the main reason for the sentence. The accusation in the proclamation can be summed up as *que estaba apoderado de la persona del Rey*.⁷⁶

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, in his chronicle of the reign, and Fernán Gómez de Cídarreal, in one of his epistles, both offer a similar version to the proclamation of execution that read: *esta es la justicia que manda hacer el Rey nuestro Señor á este cruel tirano e usurpador de la corona real: en pena de sus maldades, mándale degollar por ello*.⁷⁷

Alonso de Cartagena, in his brief addition to the chronicle of Juan II by Pérez de Guzmán includes a remarkable comment on the proclamation when he says that

73. "and when the other learned men saw what the King's will was, they all heeded the royal secretary's advice"; "and thus gathered together there was much debate between them: finally it was agreed that the aforementioned execution would be carried out by mandate and not by sentence, and it was done". *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 76.

74. Nieto, José Manuel. "El pregón real en la vida política de la Castilla trastámara". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012): 77-102.

75. Clues to the concern among royal councillors on the proper formality and adherence to the procedure of the sentence against the constable can be found in: *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 43, 74-77.

76. "that he had taken complete control over the king". *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 431.

77. "This is the justice ordered by the King our lord for this cruel tyrant and usurper of the royal crown: as punishment for his wickedness he orders his throat to be cut". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. "Crónica de Juan II...": II, 683; Gómez de Cídarreal, Fernán. *Centón epistolario...*: XIII, 34; *Epistolario español...*: 34.



it was *guardada forma de justicia, con voz de pregonero*. With this he seems to be saying that the proclamation of the execution contributed to give an appearance of legal normality within the normal procedure of royal justice to a sentence that aroused a number of reservations regarding procedure.⁷⁸

We also have the very direct testimony of someone who was a prisoner at the same time as the *privado* and who was forced to act along with nine others as a herald. The proclamation he states he was forced to deliver said the following: *esta es la justicia que manda hazer nuestro señor el rrey a este cruel tirano, soberano sobre la corona rreal, mándanle degollar por ello, quien tal haze que tal pague*.⁷⁹

From the account of another eye witness at the execution, our knowledge is significantly enriched on how the execution was justified through the use of proclamations. Francisco Rodríguez de Santamaría was the scribe of Burgos when the execution took place, and he wrote a book of memoirs in which he copied the full proclamation that was used to communicate the reason for the sentence. According to this testimony, there seems to have been an *in extenso* main proclamation at the beginning of the prisoner's transfer to the gallows, as well as other proclamations that, in the form of brief messages, were shouted out in various places and at various times during the journey. To do this they must have used other prisoners, at least in some cases, as in the case mentioned above. According to this testimony, the full text of the long proclamation was as follows:

Esta es la justicia que manda hacer nuestro señor el rrei a este cruel tirano por quanto él con gran orgullo y soberbia e loca osadía e injuria de la rreal magestad, la qual tiene lugar de Dios en la tierra, se apoderó de la casa e palacio e corte de el rrei nuestro señor, usurpando e ocupando el lugar que no hera suyo ni le pertenecía, e hizo e cometió en deservicio de Dios e del dicho señor rrei y en menguamiento e a baxamiento de su persona e dignidad y estado de la su corona Real e de sus rreinos, y en gran daño e deservicio del patrimonio rreal e perturbación e menguamiento de la justicia, muchos e diversos crimines y escesos e delitos y maleficios y tiranías e coechos, en pena de lo qual le mandan degollar porque la justicia de Dios e del Rei sea en él executada y a otros sea exenplo, porque no se atrevan a hacer e cometer tales e semejantes cosas, y quien tal hizo que tal padezca.⁸⁰

78. "applying the judicial procedure and via announcement by the herald". *Rubrica additio ex summa Episcopi Burgensis*. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. "Crónica de Juan II...": II, 693.

79. "this is the justice ordered by the King our lord for this cruel tyrant, who has taken power over the royal crown, his throat is to be cut, he must pay for having done this". Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna*....: 92.

80. "This is the justice ordered by our lord the king on this cruel tyrant because he, with great pride and arrogance and mad audacity and with insult of the royal majesty, who stands in God's place on the earth, took control of the household and the palace and the court of our lord the king, usurping and occupying the place that was neither his nor belonged to him. And he did and committed damage to God and to our lord the king and to the person and dignity and state of the royal crown and of its kingdoms and with great harm and damage to royal assets and to justice, provoking many and diverse crimes, abuses, offences, misfortunes, tyrannies and bribes. For all this, he is to have his throat cut, because God's and the king's justice must be executed in him and should serve as example to others so they do not dare to do and commit suchlike deeds, and the person who did this will be punished for it". Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna*....: 93-94.



According to the testimony of another eye witness, the *privado* rejected the accusation of tyrant, as described in the proclamation, stating: *tirano mientes, que como cavallero lo hazía, como otros cavalleros lo hazen*.⁸¹

In this way, the public square in its new function of place for executing the king's justice⁸² takes on, with this execution, its full meaning as a privileged space for the transmission of news and for the dissemination and shaping of a public opinion that in this case points to the complete absorption of the career and the memory of the favourite executed for being a tyrant, in the fullest sense of the term, that of usurping the king's place and misusing his functions against the common good. This image of the tyrant becomes the maximum expression of evil situated at the centre of political life.

In a context of the doubtful legitimacy of a suspicious legal procedure with an inevitably political reading,⁸³ there are more than sufficient reasons for considering that the proclamation of the execution was not a secondary event. On the contrary, it could provide a significant contribution towards producing an effect of justifying the sentence and legitimising the procedure followed. This forced a clear and explicit description to be made of wrongdoings that place the *privado* under the most severe political accusation that could be made, that of tyrant. At the same time, the reason for the *privado's* guilt being proclaimed had to connect with a public opinion that from the royal court must have been perceived as widespread in relation to the favourite's portrayal as a consummate example of tyranny. As a result, the fact that the core of the accusation proclaimed to the crowd described the crime of tyranny hints at the presence of an evident consensus with respect to the popular identification of the *privado* with this image. The proclamation became the expression of a certain form of consensus between king and kingdom upon which a change of political regime could be based that demanded the disappearance of the royal alter ego, producing a liberating effect that had to be applicable to both king and kingdom.

Once the execution had been carried out on 3 June, on 16 June the king issued an official notification, again placing the core of guilt on the *privado's* tyrannical practices, alluding to *grandes e enormes e detestables tiranías e malos fechos tocantes al dicho Álvaro de Luna*, and *a la opresión della como al apoderamiento tirano con que el qual*

81. "tyrant you lie, I did as a knight what other knights are doing". Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 95.

82. Martín, Juan Carlos. "Las funciones sociales de la 'plaza pública' en la Castilla del siglo XV", *Sociedades urbanas y culturas políticas en la Baja Edad Media castellana*, José María Monsalvo, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2013:155-157.

83. Attention has been drawn recently to the effect on the process leading to the fall of the great favourite of a certain form of bureaucratic and administrative conspiracy against Don Álvaro within the court: Cañas, Francisco de Paula. "Una conspiración en la Corte de Castilla: la trama burocrático-administrativa en la caída del condestable Álvaro de Luna (1453)", *La part de l'ombre. Artisans du pouvoir et arbitres des rapports sociaux (VIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Jacques Pericard, dir. Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2014: 266-287.



*usurpó e tobo usurpado gran tiempo mi palacio e casa e corte e el regimiento e gobernación de mis regnos.*⁸⁴

In view of the circumstances described above in relation to the *privado*'s execution and the decisive role they played in the accusation of tyranny, it is possible that prior to 1449 the image of tyranny that had been constructed around the favourite protected the king's position, acting as a kind of fire-break that meant the monarch was seen more as a victim than as a something that was necessary. This changed from the expansion of the discussions that took place during the Toledo revolt, which began to demand royal action that would formally get rid of the *privado* under the accusation of tyranny. Having overcome the image of tyranny, the circle of nobility and courtiers for whom the accusation against the *privado* might be useful for exonerating the king, the emergence of that same image in a broader sense became a direct accusation against the monarch who, had he not acted, could have found his fate joined with that of his favourite.

Once he had been executed, Álvaro de Luna's tyrannical memory would be the object of repeated reflections by well-meaning authors, who tended to extract an exemplary message whose usefulness seemed to be destined for future *privados* and the reigning monarch alike.⁸⁵

Lope de Barrientos offered an image of a *privado* who would eventually completely absorb the king's will and authority, leading to a regime of terror that would not allow anything to escape Álvaro's control: *tenía sojuzgado el rregno, e tan gran temor le auían grandes e pequeños que ninguno osaua bolleçer, que luego era castigado.*⁸⁶ That same image was noted by Alonso de Palencia when he portrayed Álvaro as *tirannico pronus suspicioni*, that is, a tyrant prone to suspicion.⁸⁷ Likewise, for Diego de Valera it was a recurring interpretation of the *privado*'s trajectory to frame most of his actions in the behaviour of someone who sets out to impose a regime of tyranny.⁸⁸ There was also a reference to tyranny, although alluding to an interposed character, in the *Doctrinal de Privados*, destined by the Marquis of Santillana to leave a negative memory of

84. "great and enormous and detestable tyrannies and evil events referring to this Álvaro de Luna, and oppression and tyrannical power with which he usurped and kept usurped for a long time my palace and my house and court and the regiment and governing of my kingdoms". Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 32-33.

85. For some literary expressions on the memory of the constable, see: López, César G. "La caída y muerte del Gran Condestable de Castilla en el contexto de la literatura de su época". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 17 (1992): 243-267.

86. "he had the kingdom subjugated, and both old and young were so afraid of him that nobody dared stand up to him as they would then be punished". Barrientos, Lope de. *Refundición de la crónica del Halconero*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946: 166.

87. Palencia, Alonso de. *Gesta Hispaniensia ex annalibus suorum dierum collecta*, ed. Robert B. Tate, Jeremy Lawrance. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: I, 65.

88. Moya, Cristina. "Un ejemplo de heterodoxia política en el siglo XV castellano: el gobierno de Álvaro de Luna visto por Diego de Valera". *eHumanista/IVTTRA*, 18 (2011): 156-179 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/18>>), especially, 157.



the *privado's* life when he alludes to the *tiranidad* of Haman, *el mal priuado*⁸⁹ as an instrument to criticise the by then dead *privado*.

In view of such opinions, there seems little point in contradicting what the *privado's* apologist, Chacón, says in the chronicle devoted to him when he puts forward as irreproachable justifications for all the his actions the honour of the royal crown, the pre-eminence of his king and the common good of his kingdoms.⁹⁰

7. Conclusions

From the above discussion we can observe the process of expansion of a growing public opinion taking shape over nearly three decades in which Álvaro de Luna was identified as an uncrowned tyrant, a quintessential symbol of a bad politician, which enabled the exoneration, although not freeing him from all guilt, of the main responsibility of a monarch who had allowed himself to be subjected to his *privado's* wishes, as Fernán Pérez de Guzmán noted, describing the monarch as 'remiss and negligent'. By taking this attitude he would certainly have facilitated the *privado's* excesses, but in any case, the accusations against Juan II are very minor when compared to those levelled at Álvaro, insisting on his role as the guilty party and limiting the monarch's role as merely one of letting things take their course.⁹¹

With all this, the most obvious outcome was the exercise of a form of tyranny by someone who did not hold sovereign power. But the explanation really lies in the interaction of a series of circumstances that favoured the success of this opinion until it became a very distinctive feature of the person himself and a legal basis for justifying his fall and execution.

Along with political relations in which the need to pact was almost an everyday demand, both in the horizontal and in the vertical sense,⁹² the increasing expansion of a series of expressions referred to the exercise of a *poderío real absoluto* ("absolute royal power") which, while to some extent subject to these pacts, could also lead at any time to their disturbance or rupture.⁹³ The possibilities for true guardianship of this attribute by the royal favourite opened up an enormously important space

89. Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza. *Poesías completas*. Madrid: Castalia, 1980: II, 186.

90. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 451.

91. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, ed. Jesús Domínguez Bordona. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979: 146.

92. Nieto, José Manuel; Villarroel, Óscar, eds. *Pacto y consenso en la cultura política península*. Madrid: Sílex, 2013.

93. Nieto, José Manuel. "La nobleza y el 'poderío real absoluto' en la Castilla del siglo XV". *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques medievales*, 25 (2002): 237-254; Nieto, José Manuel. "De la ira regia al poderío real absoluto: monarquía y miedo político en la corona castellano-leonesa", *Por política, terror social*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès, 2013: 245-264.



for the people who, as members of the inner royal circle, stood to gain the most from it.

The experience of a dynastic origin rooted in a seizure of the throne, in which the effort of creating opinion and mobilising propaganda that proved to be effective, turned these practices into a front of action whose influence would only become greater and more established as the 15th century progressed. In this sense, if the image of tyranny had turned out to be hugely successful in the mobilisation against a monarch, a similar effect could be expected in relation to a *privado* of the king, fostering the expansion of this descriptive feature into a new sphere of application.

The set of factors was affected by the individual profile of a royal favourite who showed exceptional skill in putting all the resources of political influence acquired over the monarch to the service of his own practically unlimited personal ambition. Aware of the importance of securing widespread patronage, he managed to obtain incredibly powerful means of mobilisation, information and the ability to induce fear and support for himself.⁹⁴ Establishing an extensive network of patrons became a decisive factor for political survival in the most adverse circumstances, while also provoking reactions against his interests that spread and gained in importance, including the highly significant construction of the image of tyranny.

Together with patronage, Álvaro de Luna's accumulation of material wealth was no less important for maintaining his high profile role.⁹⁵ But this accumulation of wealth would also contribute to the view that there was a need for an effective reaction against this increasingly unlimited favouritism. Faced with this, the *privado* showed an unprecedented creativity, as recent research with enormously far-reaching effects for historiography has shown. He promoted what was known as the *arrendamiento en masa*⁹⁶ of royal taxes, as had first been done in 1429, which involved placing the majority of the taxes collected by the monarchy in the hands of a few hired tax collectors working directly under the *privado*'s supervision. He was thus able to take direct and full control of the royal tax collecting system during the 1430s and 1440s,⁹⁷ to the extent that leasing operations were sometimes carried out in the presence of the *privado* himself.⁹⁸

All this occurred against a backdrop of intellectual context and political reflection, but also of a widely accepted public opinion, in which the highest exponent of the bad politician had found a concept and an expression, tyranny, which identified

94. Foronda, François. "Patronazgo, relación de clientela y estructura clientelar. El testimonio del epílogo de la 'Historia de don Álvaro de Luna'". *Hispania*, 235 (2010): 431-460.

95. Calderón, José Manuel. *Álvaro de Luna: riqueza y poder en la Castilla del siglo XV*. Madrid: Dykinson, 1998: 141-322.

96. *Arrendamiento en masa* is a form of tax collecting for the entirety of a kingdom that uses private tax collectors who bid for the right to do the collecting job on behalf of the king. See: Calderón, José Manuel. *Álvaro de Luna: riqueza y poder...*

97. Ortego, Pablo. *Poder financiero y gestión tributaria en Castilla: los agentes fiscales en Toledo y su reino (1429-1504)*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 2015: 46-56, 579.

98. Ortego, Pablo. *Poder financiero y gestión tributaria...*: 57.



him clearly and unreservedly. It was a concept that became increasingly better identified and whose content was continually enriched, gathering a number of intellectual influences in the 15th century, as has been discussed. Its application, in this case, to the attitude and political career of a royal *privado* turned what had up to then been an instrument of government with wide-ranging historical experience into something that took on new characteristics of concern and threat for the king's immediate political circle, as well as for the whole of political society.

In 15th century Castile, as was the case in other western kingdoms, there was an increasingly marked evidence of a certain two-way nature of political communication⁹⁹ which, although it maintained a powerful top to bottom flow, making use of the numerous resources available, including institutional, informal, textual, oral and symbolic, was also starting to show signs of another flow, from bottom to top, especially apparent in institutions and representative practices, such as the outbreaks of conflict in which there was a precise statement of the objectives demanded and the reasons justifying them. In this sense, it is possible that the portrayal of the royal favourite as a tyrant can be considered an example of this two-way process, according to the chronology described. Based on the image induced by the Aragonese court, it entered court circles, reaching the lower levels of the nobility, until it became explicit against the backdrop of the Toledo conflict in 1449. From then onwards, we might ask, although not based on solid evidence, if this last event could have been a decisive push for an opinion that had been in decline to start an upward turn, contributing to the monarch having to make apparent his conviction that he shared this view of the *privado*, and then acting in consequence.

From now on, the exercise of royal favouritism would have to be seen as the possibility for new tyrannies,¹⁰⁰ which certainly, following Álvaro de Luna's death, led to the role being seen as an instrument of government with limitations and the tendency for its absence to be seen as a positive move.¹⁰¹ It is also important not

99. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael; Challet, Vincent; Dumolyn, Jan; Carmona, María Antonia, "La comunidad medieval como esfera pública: algunas reflexiones", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 12-13.

100. Having personally lived through the favouritism of Álvaro de Luna, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, referring to the regency of Catherine of Lancaster, remarks how the existence of favourites is something that in most cases leads to vices in governmental practice: *Fue muy onesta e guardada en su persona e fama, liberal e manífica, pero muy sometida a priuados, e muy regida dellos, lo qual, por la mayor parte, es biçio comun de los reyes* ("She was very honest, taking great care of her person and her reputation, being generous and kind, but very subjected to councillors, letting herself be ruled by them, which is, commonly, a bad habit often found in kings and Queens"). Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y Semblanzas*...: 19.

101. This is the reflection in relation to the view expressed by Fernando del Pulgar on the Catholic King and Queen of Spain, praising them for not having favourites, with the king acting as the queen's favourite and the queen acting as the king's favourite: *Damos gracias a Dios que tenemos un rey y una reina que no queráis saber dellos sino que ambos ni cada uno por sí no tiene priuado, que es la cosa y aun la causa de la desobediencia y escándalos en los reinos. El priuado del rey sabed que es la reina, y el priuado de la reina sabed que es el rey* ("Let us give thanks to God because neither our king nor our queen has a favourite, which is usually the cause of disobedience and scandals in the kingdoms. Know that the king's favourite is the

to forget, as has been observed,¹⁰² the growing influence of the royal bureaucratic and administrative environment as a factor that also favoured the restriction of the powers available to future *privados*.

The portrayal of Álvaro de Luna as a tyrant provided a practical example of the theory put forward by Bartolo de Sassoferatto when he argued the invalidity of acts resulting from the excess of power, of the re-routing of attributions and of functional incompetence, criteria which would go on to form an essential basis for modern administrative law.¹⁰³

queen and the queen's favourite is the King"). Pulgar, Fernando. *Letras. Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, ed. Jesús Domínguez Bordona. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958: 57.

102. Cañas, Francisco de Paula. "Una conspiración en la Corte de Castilla...": 283.

103. For Bartolo de Sassoferatto's assessment of work related to this legal principle, see: Calasso, Francesco. *Gli ordinamenti giuridici del Rinascimento medievale*. Milan: Giuffré, 1965: 263; Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 55.



THE INITIATION POWER OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IN *TIRANT LO BLANCH* AS A MATTER FOR NEW SOURCES FROM CLASSICAL HISTORIANS TO EXPLAIN FACTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

Tirant lo Blanch is a novel with multiple sides. In particular, the Mediterranean Sea becomes especially important. We pay attention to two episodes which can become examples of the strategic relevance that corresponds to the Mediterranean Sea in *Tirant lo Blanch* as a 'romance' tale as well as a work written after the classic historiography: the *History of the love between Leander and Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella; and we identify for the first time a 'new' source for *Tirant lo Blanch* after the important Roman historian Dion Cassius. The present study additionally suggests a (most) probable evidence of the influential activity carried out by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia.¹

KEYWORDS

Tirant lo Blanch, Mediterranean Studies, Historiography, Classical Tradition, Humanism.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Tirant lo Blanch, Studia Mediterranea, Historiographia, Traditio Classica, Humanismus.

1. Introduction

Tirant lo Blanch,² written by the Valencian knight Joanot Martorell (who died in 1464) is, according to Miguel de Cervantes (the author of *El Quijote*), the best book in the world. One of the most outstanding merits of this novel actually lies in its realism, manifested by the absence of any magical or marvelous elements as action-driving agents. It is a novel which shows an unusual (realistic) psychological complexity and coherence in its characters where the sea turns out to be a decisive element within that coherence.

2. The sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*: initiation itineraries and a continent of maturity

Without a doubt, the sea is extremely important in the development of this long novel. It would suffice to look at the multiple travels carried out by the protagonist which can be graphically seen below (illustration 1). Note that the four major travel routes (or lines) that appear in *Tirant* evolve following the development of the novel, that is, in accordance with the succession of the four main parts (or blocks) of its plot. Additionally, each of these routes represents one of the four major stages in the protagonist's life evolution and personal maturation:

1. 'The Journey to England': necessarily with a significant maritime route, going around Brittany and crossing the English Channel. Tirant has still not become a knight. He leaves from his native Brittany towards London in order to become

1. This paper is part of the tasks carried out by the *Institut Superior d'Investigació Cooperativa- Institut Virtual Internacional de Traducció -ISIC-IVITRA-* (funded by *Generalitat Valenciana* throughout "Programa ISIC per a la Constitució i Acreditació d'Instituts Superiors d'Investigació Cooperativa" -ISIC/2012/022-) and of the research projects *Estudi, edició, traducció i digitalització de corpus documentals i literaris referits a la història de la Corona de Aragó medieval (amb especial referència al Regne de València). Aplicacions TIC i educatives [DIGICOTRACAM]* (funded throughout the 'Prometheus' Program of the *Generalitat Valenciana* for Research and Development Excellence Research Groups, co-funded by the European Union's European Regional Development Fund -PROMETEOII/2014/018-); *Continuación de la Gramática del Catalán Moderno (1601-1833)* (funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Government of Spain, throughout "Programa Estatal de Investigación Científica y Técnica de Excelencia" -FFI2015-69694-p-); *Constitució d'un Corpus Textual per a una Gramàtica del Català Modern* (funded by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* -IVITRA-IEC/PT2012-S04-MARTINES01 [2012-2015], IEC2-16X [2016-2018]-). It is also part of the tasks developed at the *Centre Internacional d'Estudis Avançats d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó* (funded throughout the University of Alicante -USI-UA-45-); *Grup d'Investigació en Traducció de Clàssics valencians a llengües europees: estudis literaris, lingüístics i traductològics comparats* (funded by the University of Alicante -VIGROB-125-); *Grup d'Investigació en Tecnologia Educativa sobre Diacronia lingüística, Traducció i Història de la Cultura* (funded by the University of Alicante -GITE-09009-UA-).

2. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. Albert Hauf. Valencia: Editorial Tirant lo Blanc, 2004. Although we mention other editions, the quotations about this book will be always from this edition.



a knight. It is then that he meets the old hermit, Guillem de Varoic, as a direct reflection of Llull's *Llibre de l'Orde de Caballeria*.³

2. 'The Journey to Sicily and Rhodes': an essentially maritime —and Mediterranean— journey, without any further references to the Atlantic context. It represents three quarters of the novel, the richest ones from a literary point of view and with regard to its main character's psychological complexity. It is in this part where Martorell's work acquires and shows the characteristics that make it become 'the best book in the world.' This journey to Sicily and Rhodes expresses the entry into maturity of Tirant, already a knight, but still not an expert, neither in the command of troops nor in real fight (he had been the champion in singular jousts and fights, according to a strict ritual, in England) and neither was he an expert in the Court's subtleties regarding government matters. During his stay in England, he had mostly taken care of his own training and had focused on his own personal interest; in Rhodes and Sicily, though, he will be concerned and will concentrate his efforts on the general interest:
3. Breaking the Turkish-Genovese siege of Rhodes, as explained above, going through Cyprus, Beirut, Holy Land (without leaving aside the emblem *par excellence*: Jerusalem) and the freeing of Christians reduced to slavery in Alexandria... This precisely allows Tirant to travel through a substantial part of the destinations of the (ultimately failed) crusades which took place between the 11th and 13th centuries.
4. Making it possible for the French Prince Philip, who had very few or hardly any social skills, to marry the beautiful *Infanta* Ricomana of Sicily, in a marriage of great and mutual interest for both crowns. In fact, Tirant will be doing this as a way to prepare strategic bases and the operations theatre to launch (at an advanced stage of the novel) a large-scale attack on the North African Maghreb coast from Tunisia. This was exactly the target of another great military crusade, the one led by Saint Louis of France, which proved unsuccessful; and it was also the object of desire in the 'crusade of thinking' proposed by Ramon Llull, who even preached in some of those places, with the result of suffering serious danger for his physical integrity and being imprisoned and, on the last occasion, he was apparently hit with a stone on the forehead which caused him a deep cut and left him badly injured, although it must have been practically healed when, on his return to Majorca and just before arriving at the port, he passed away.
5. 'The Journey to the Greek Empire': it is the fundamental part of this work. It means Tirant's access to the fully mature life of a knight who has just proved to be able not only to earn a good reputation, fame and wealth for himself but also to settle 'regional crises' —as the episodes of Rhodes and Sicily might have been

3. See: Llull, Ramon. *The Book of the Order of Chivalry / Llibre de l'Orde de Cavalleria / Libro de la Orden de Caballería*, ed. Antonio Cortijo. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015; Llull, Ramon. *Vita coetanea / A Contemporary Life / Vida coetánea / Vida coetània*, ed. Antonio Cortijo. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016.



described in the words of a strategic analyst. Now he is in a position to show that he can resolve the great global strategic crisis of the time: the Ottoman threat to the Second Rome and, consequently, to the whole Christendom. He not only had to victoriously settle the conflict *ante portas* of Constantinople, in Rumelia (Adrianopolis), Illyria (Troy) and other places of the then already reduced Byzantine Empire—in fact, when Martorell started to write this work, 1460, Constantinople had already fallen into Ottoman hands 7 years before...

6. 'From Constantinople, Tirant leaves for the conquest of Northern Africa' as a consequence of his need to disappear from the court for a sensible length of time after the homicide which, pushed by the anger of jealousy, he had perpetrated on the unfortunate figure of the black slave Lauseta. Because of the deceit hatched by the *Viuda Reposada* who, out of spite towards Tirant, hinders his relationship with Carmesina, Tirant made the huge mistake of believing that his beloved had an affair with this slave. In order to expiate that murder, Tirant assumes the leadership of the great expedition (in fact, a crusade) that had to snatch the North of Africa from the infidels. In strategic terms, this would permit to alleviate the pressure that the Great Turk was exerting on the Greek Empire despite Tirant's irremissible victories; and the outcomes of the latter could be ensured. Tirant's venture in Northern Africa was thus more than coherently devised and displayed, precisely in an essential proportion of Tirant's stay, along with his life experiences and feats, in the Greek Empire. North Africa, and more specifically the Maghreb, had belonged to the Byzantine Empire, although it was lost after the irruption of Islam and its rapid expansion. This section of the novel has a successful culmination to—a literary catharsis—the (military and thinking) crusades of Saint Louis of France and of Ramon Llull,⁴ whose strategic support foundations had already been established by Tirant during his Sicilian negotiations in the 2nd part of the novel.
7. 'Tirant's return to the Greek Empire from North Africa can be situated in fifth place'.

See the following map (illustration 1) of the journey of Tirant lo Blanch:

4. See: Ensenyat, Gabriel. "Pacifismo y cruzada en Ramon Llull". *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 9 (2008): 354-360; Berlin, Henry, coord. "Arts of Finding Truth: Approaching Ramon Llull, 700 Years Later". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 8 (2015): 1-159; Compagna, Anna Maria; Puigdevall, Núria, coord. "Llull: filosofia, filologia, pedagogia, storia. Napoli all'epoca di Llull. Antepima". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 10 (2016): 1-57; 11 (2017): 1-220.



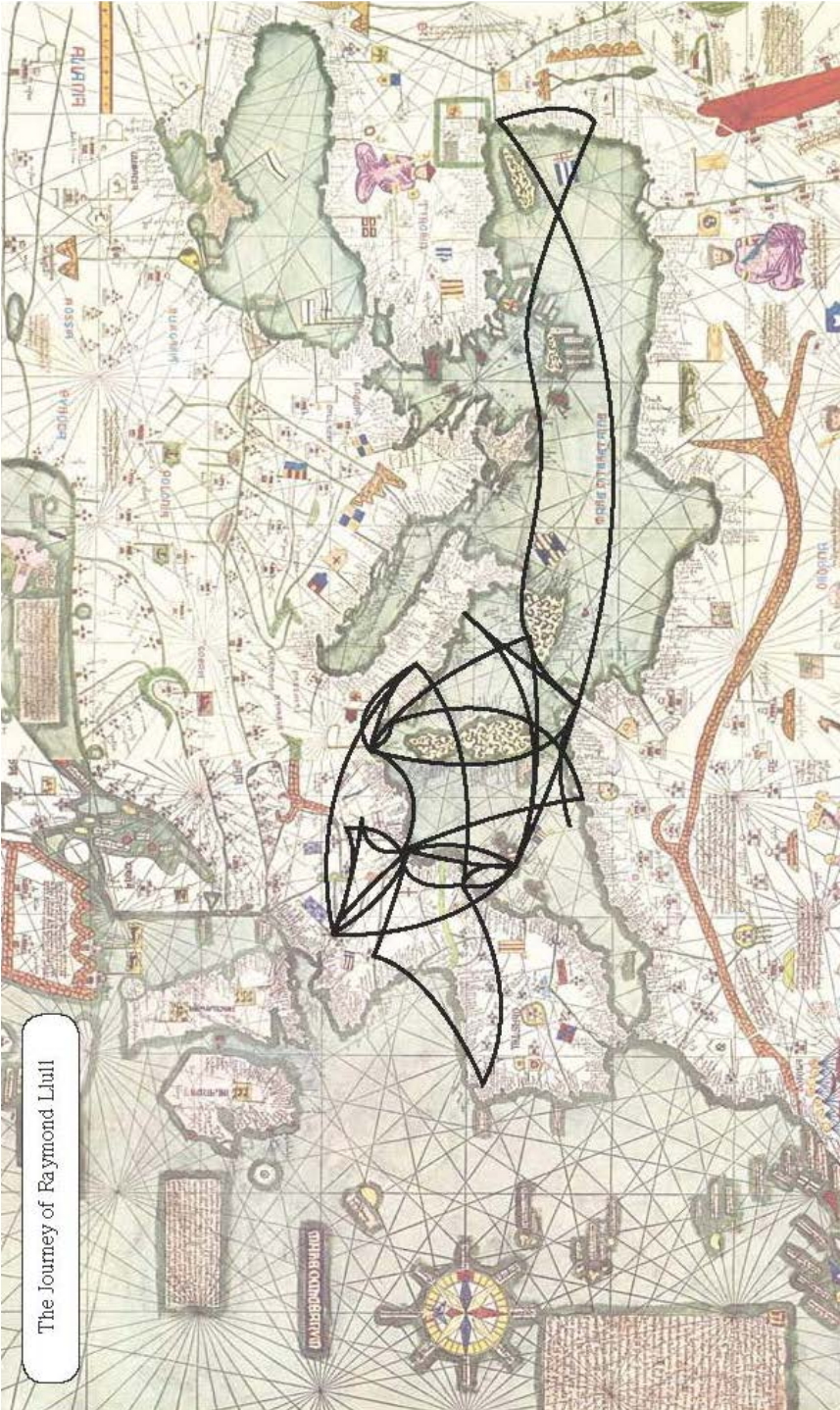


ILLUSTRATION 2. MAP OF THE JOURNEY OF ANOTHER 'GIANT' OF UNIVERSAL LITERATURE, ALSO BORN IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON, RAMON LLULL. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *Expositions*. 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *The Cresques Project*. 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.

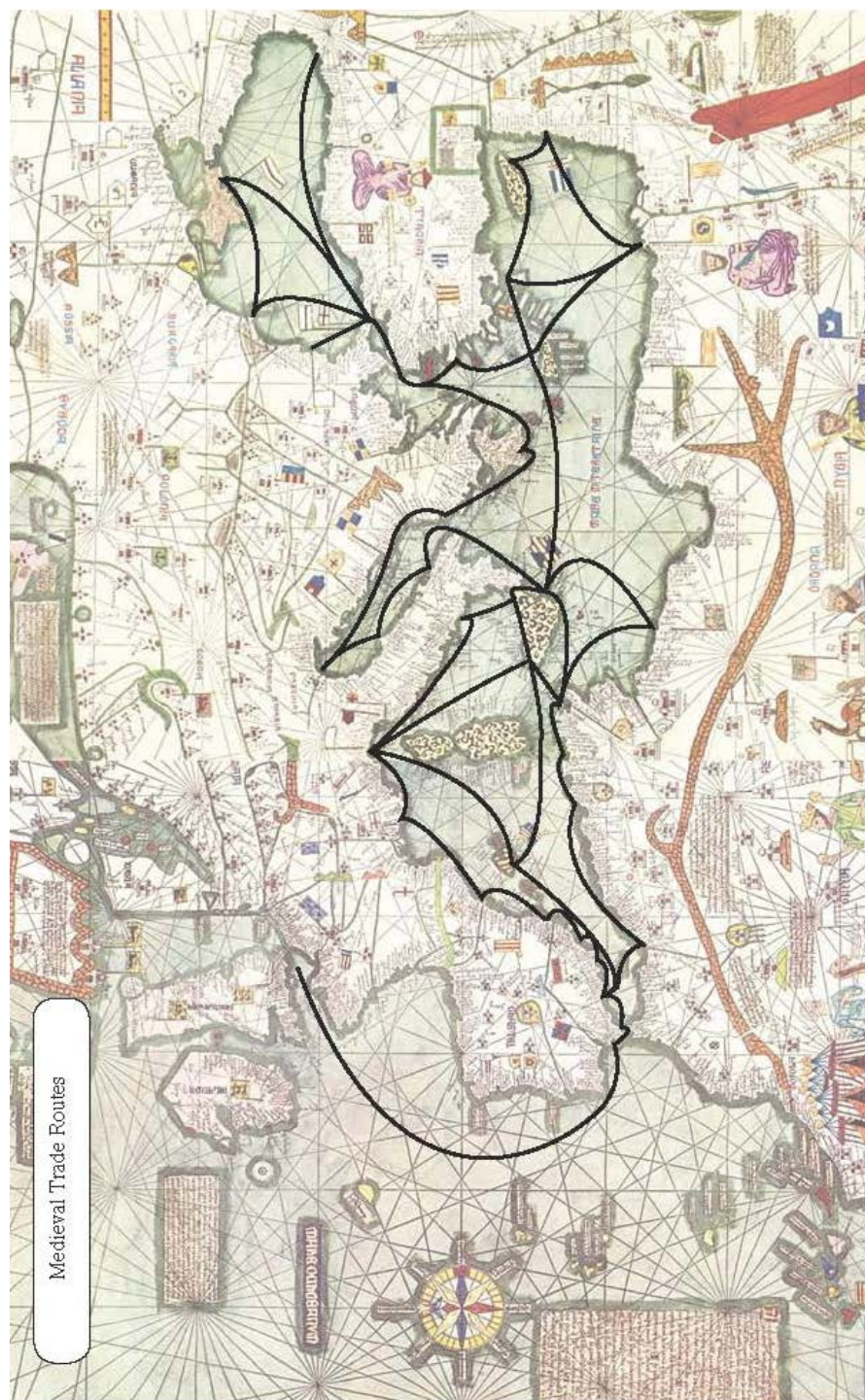


ILLUSTRATION 3. MAP OF THE (MAIN) MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, "LE ATLAS CATALAN". EXPOSITIONS. 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT, "HOME". *THE CRESQUES PROJECT*. 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.



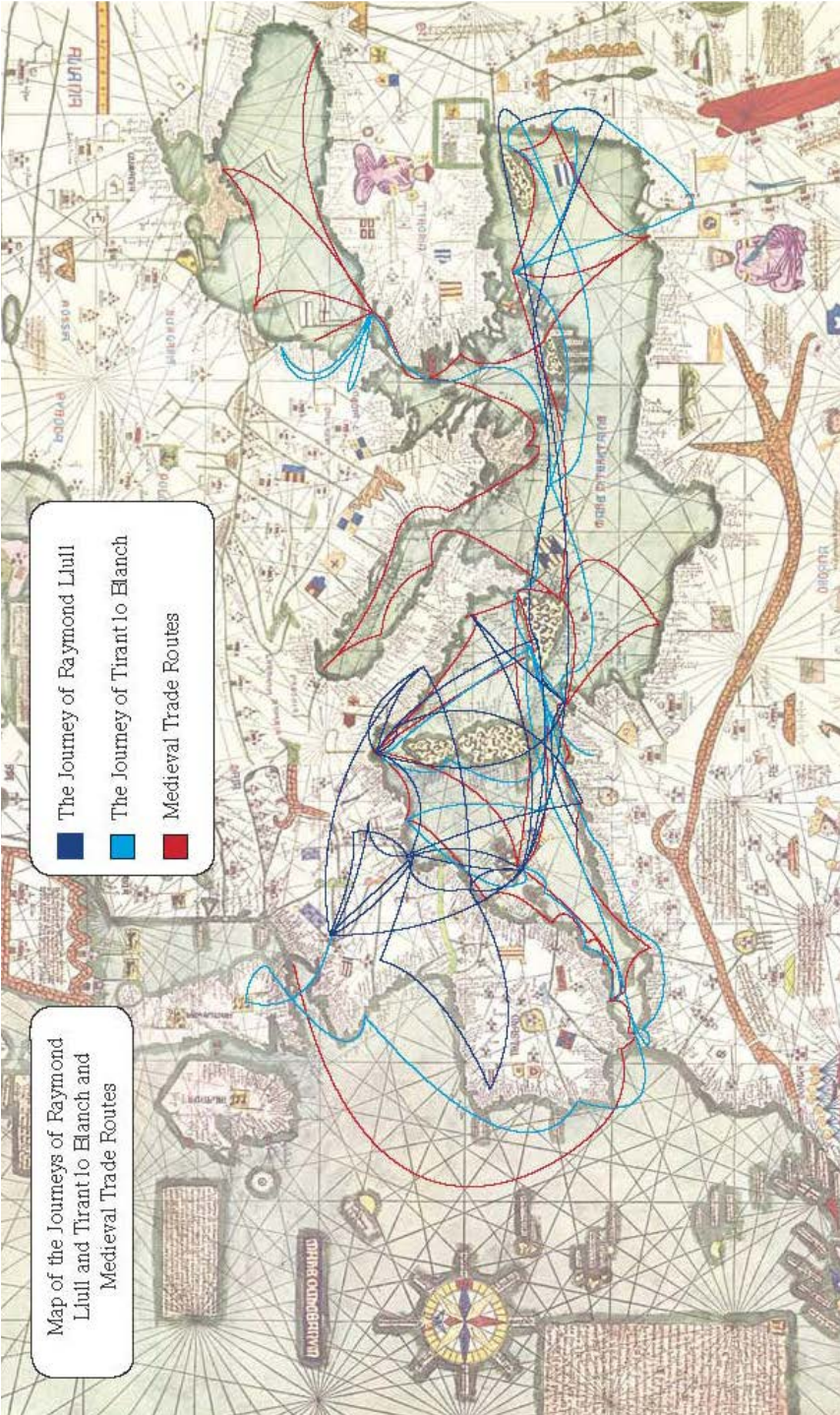


ILLUSTRATION 4. MAP OF ALL-IN-ONE. JOURNEYS OF RAMON LLULL AND TIRANT LO BLANCH, ALONG WITH THE (MAIN) MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES. INFOGRAPHICS BY JORDI ANTOLÍ, BASED UPON AN IDEA OF VICENT MARTINES, CREATED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY. ORIGINAL SOURCES: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. "LE ATLAS CATALAN". *EXPOSITIONS*, 5 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://EXPOSITIONS.BNF.FR/CIEL/CATALAN/INDEX.HTM](http://expositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/index.htm)>; THE CRESQUES PROJECT. "HOME". *THE CRESQUES PROJECT*, 20 MARCH 2015 <[HTTP://WWW.CRESQUESPROJECT.NET/](http://www.cresquesproject.net/)>.

The well-known map drawn by Cresques (1375) portrayed the knowledge of the world throughout the 14th century, and it remained valid until the late 15th century, when Columbus arrived in America. This map represents the world as it was known and explored by the high-level 14th- and 15th-century intellectuals and authorities who are mentioned by us in the present study and who, somehow or other, had an influence not only on Joanot Martorell's novel: Ramon Llull and the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Juan Fernández de Heredia. The latter is coeval with the humanist Bernat Metge, the maximum authority in the Crown of Aragon's Royal Chancery, and with the also humanist Coluccio Salutati, who held an equivalent post in Florence.

In our view, it would not suffice to relate this map of the journey of *Tirant lo Blanch* to the maps shown below (illustrations 2, 3 and 4), where the absolutely central and crucial position of the Mediterranean as well as the coincidence with Tirant's sea routes becomes evident. At the same time, so few terrestrial routes are followed by Tirant, fewer than those existing at the time —although the number of land routes was smaller than that of sea routes.⁵ An aspect which has still not been highlighted amongst those which confer upon it the status of a 'total novel' is the fact that *Tirant lo Blanch* presents a hero traveling throughout the Mediterranean axis, from West to East, from North to South. He travels across its latitude and its longitude. *Tirant lo Blanch* became totally Mediterranean as a literary work, in the same way as the *Odyssey* made the context of the Helade become 'total' —since Ulysses travels through practically every region of the Greek world of his time— and the sea was much more than a mere accumulation of salt water. It took a life of its own and, beyond the whims, outrages and moves of Poseidon, who felt hostility towards Ulysses after his intervention in Troy's destruction, the sea becomes a key part in the evolution of this novel, both as an initiation element in each one of the tests that the protagonist had to overcome and as a catalyst of his evolution. This is what the sea represents in *Tirant lo Blanch*: much more than an initiation element.⁶

This meaning which confers a generic notion of the Helade, and perhaps even more for its nature as an epic, can also be found in the other great Homeric work, the *Iliad*, insofar as the Achaeans, in their first 'foreign' venture, travel to defeat Troy from everywhere in Greece, from the powerful Mycenae and Sparta to the

5. We would get further information on the sea (relationship between routes, trade and literary works) about Joanot Martorell and his brother in law, the great poet Ausiàs March. See: Gisbert, Josep A. "La mar de March", *El gust d'Ausiàs March*, Josep A. Gisbert, ed. Gandia: Ajuntament de Gandia-Centre d'Estudis i Investigacions Comarcals Alfons el Vell, 1999: 135-148; Garcia-Oliver, Ferran. *Ausiàs Marc*. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2009; Alchalabi, Frédéric. "Des reflets changeants. La mer et la traduction littéraire des concepts de vie et de mort. L'exemple de 'Tirant lo Blanc et d'Amadís de Gaula'", *Pour une histoire comparée des traductions*, Dominique de Courcelles, Vicent Martines, eds. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2012: 137-145; March, Ausiàs. *Dictats*, ed. Robert Archer and trans. Marion Coderch, José María Micó. Madrid: Cátedra, 2017.

6. See about Don Pero Niño: Beltrán, Rafael. "El caballero en el mar: don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna, entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico". *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 3 (2013): 71-102; and about Sir John Mandeville, at: Morales, Susana; Fernández Hoyos, Sonia. "El Mediterráneo a través de la ficción el extraño caso de Sir John Mandeville". *Anuario de estudios medievales*. 36, 1 (2006): 335-354. To travel was/is more than just moving: Iglesia, José Ignacio de la, ed. *Viajar en la Edad Media. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 2008*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2009.



comparatively insignificant Ithaca... And Troy, despite not being Greek, does form part of the Helade for its culture and beliefs.

Tirant lo Blanch uses the sea to shape a unitary idea of the Mediterranean, and it all in a waning and autumnal moment of the Middle Ages.⁷ Similarly, an overall idea of what is generically Hellenic can be identified at an equally later period of the Classical Greek world, since it incorporates contexts which did not originally belong to it in works such as *The Argonautica*, for instance. The successive versions of this work gradually modify the scope and field of action where the Argonauts carry out their feats on the return way, after having achieved the main aim of their (outward) journey: the Golden Fleece...⁸

3. With a smaller number of words, the sea is much more than an 'initiation force' in *Tirant lo Blanch*. The help provided by Corpus Linguistics (the *Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis* -CIMTAC- MetaCorpus)

The sea has no friends.⁹ Ulysses already experienced it. It bolts down entire navies; it was then believed to be inhabited by beings that instilled terror. Curial was shipwrecked —close to Tunisia—¹⁰ and Tirant also suffers the doings of the sea's evil, since the latter allies itself with the streams and/or the winds. So it is said by Tirant himself: —*la Majestat vostra deu saber que tot lo meu mal és de mar, car los vents de aquesta terra són més prims*.¹¹

Something similar happens in other narrations with a chivalric theme and inspiration which had such huge importance —and a more than respectable length

7. Original version: Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. London: Penguin, 1924. Online version: Huizinga, Johan. "The Waning of the Middle Ages". *Archive.org*. 12 December 2016 <<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.100122>>.

8. Rhodius, Apollonius. "Argonautica". *Theoi Greek Mythology*. 12 December 2016 <<http://www.theoi.com/Text/ApolloniusRhodius1.html>>; and the maps in the different versions of *The Argonautica*: Jason and the Argonauts through the ages. "Places. Maps and routes". 12 December 2015 <<http://www.argonauts-book.com/maps.html>>.

9. Garcia-Oliver, Ferran. *Ausias Marc...*: 113-120.

10. *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Antoni Ferrando. Toulouse: Éditions Anacharsis, 2007; *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. and trans. Jean-Marie Barberà, Antoni Ferrando. Toulouse: Éditions Anacharsis, 2007; *Curial e Guelfa, traduzione alla lingua italiana*, ed. and trans. Cesáreo Calvo, Anna Giordano, Antoni Ferrando. Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2014; *Curial e Guelfa*, ed. and trans. Ricardo Da Costa, Armando Dos Santos, Antoni Ferrando. Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista-University of California-California University Press, 2012; *Curial and Guelfa: a Classic of the Crown of Aragon*, ed. and trans. Max Wheeler, Antoni Ferrando. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012; Soler, Abel. "Enyego d'Àvalos, autor de 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Estudis Romànics*, 42 (2017): 137-165; Soler, Abel. "L'entorn valencià d'Enyego d'Àvalos i l'autoria de 'Curial e Güelfa'". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 11 (2017): 401-430.

11. "Your Majesty must know that all my troubles are caused by the sea, since the winds of this land are milder". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch...*: 484 (line 12) (Hauf's edition, quoted at note 2).



too— as the *Matière* of Bretagne, in general. This is how the sea appears in *Queste du Saint Graal* —of which a complete translation to Catalan had been finished in 1386—¹² and in *Tristany* too. The sea acquires a meaning similar to that of the Terre Gaste and the forest in these works. The sea is certainly a strange place where dangers and characters unaware of the court successively appear. Despite the fact that the sea does not actually represent a central element in these works, it is worth highlighting that, from its Celtic roots, the sea appears as a constituting element of these works as well. The sea in such works was an element—an environment and a continent, not only a passing element, but also a determining actant— which brought the Afterlife and reality together. Similarly to the Terre Gaste and the forest, the sea in *Queste du Saint Graal* also becomes a space for the adventures and tests of the chosen knights, on board the vessels in which they sail, in the islands and rocky islets where they arrive.¹³

It is particularly striking to check that only a quantitatively low number of occurrences of the word *mar* (“sea”) can be found in such a long novel, where the sea simultaneously plays such an objectively important role—even if it is only for the large number of long and short voyages, journeys and trips that it contains and which become clearly visible in the map shown above, and even by the number of naval combats and battles. This can be quantified through CIMTAC:¹⁴ only 179 throughout—it must be stressed once again— such a lengthy novel. In short, the sea does not act as a friend in *Tirant lo Blanch*; it can be: *amarga mar* (“bitter sea”),¹⁵

12. Martines, Vicent. “La versió catalana de la *Queste del Saint Graal* i l’original francès”, *Medioevo y literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (Granada, 1993), Juan Paredes, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995: 241-252; Martines, Vicent. “Tiempo y espacio en la versión catalana de la ‘Queste del Saint Graal’”. *Hispanic Review*, 43/3 (1996): 373-390.

13. Martines, Vicent. *Els Cavallers Literaris. Assaig sobre Literatura Cavalleresca Catalana Medieval*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1995. This book merited an award: *Premio de Ensayo de Catalán, Gallego y Vasco 1993 de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia y la Fundación Ortega y Gasset y La Caixa*.

14. See, as an example, the usefulness of CIMTAC in Diachronic/Corpus Linguistics based Literary and Philological Studies in: Antolí, Jordi Manuel. “Canvi semàntic i gramaticalització en el sorgiment de marcadors evidencials. Evolució semàntica de PARERE i derivats en el llatí tardà i en el català antic (s. III- XVI)”. *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 2 (2012): 41-84 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/2>>); Antolí, Jordi Manuel. “Recursos léxicos en la expresión de la evidencialidad: el verbo catalán ‘veure’ en los ‘Col·loquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa’”. *Revista Internacional d’Humanitats*, 31 (2014): 7-32 (<<http://hottopos.com/rih31/index.htm>>); Ferrando, Antoni, ed. *Linguistic and Cultural Studies on “Curial e Güelfa”, a 15th Century Anonymous Chivalric Romance in Catalan*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012; Martines, Josep, coord. “Monographic Issue: Aspectes de diacronia de la llengua catalana (en el context romànic)”. *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 2 (2012): 1-270 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/2>>); Martines, Josep. “L’expressió de l’abstracció i l’estudi de les traduccions. Les Poesies d’Ausiàs Marc i la traducció espanyola de Baltasar de Romani”. *Estudis Romànics*, 31 (2009): 105-139; Martines, Vicent; Sánchez, Elena. “L’ISIC-IVITRA i el metacòrpus CIMTAC. Noves aportacions a la lingüística de corpus”. *Estudis Romànics*, 36 (2014): 423-436; Sánchez, Elena. *Estudi de la llengua d’Ausiàs March a través de les col·lacions. Una aproximació semiautomàtica*. Boston-Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013; Sánchez, Elena; Jordi Manuel Antolí. “L’exonímia en el Corpus Informatitzat Multilingüe de Textos Antics i Contemporanis (CIMTAC)”, *Topònims entre dos llengües. L’exonímia, una manifestació de la globalitat*, Emili Casanova, Emili Payá, eds. Valencia: Denes, 2012: 157-165.

15. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 728 (line 14).



tempestuosa mar d'adversitats ("stormy sea of adversities"),¹⁶ *mar tenebrosa* ("gloomy sea"),¹⁷ *brava* ("rough sea"),¹⁸ *cruel mar* ("cruel sea"),¹⁹ *espantosa mar que causa gran mal* ("horrifying sea that causes great damage"),²⁰ and changeable like the wheel of Fortune (*Naveguem aquesta pròspera mar fins que la tempestuosa aygua aumente*).²¹

Let us draw a brief comparison between three fundamental classical works which are coeval with Martorell and *Tirant lo Blanch*, in terms of 'cultural genome' and ideals of their authors, and situated in the same synchronic state of language: together with *Tirant lo Blanch*, *Curial e Güelfa* and Ausiàs March's *Poesies*. This comparison is based on the number of occurrences of *mar* and of other words which have an essential connection when it comes to characterizing these works: *mar*, *guerra* ("war"), *amor* ("love") and *amar* ("to love"). Our references stem from the results provided by the CIMTAC MetaCorpus and the software equally developed inside ISIC-IVITRA for their management:

Table 1. Love, war, sea in words

Sample words	<i>Tirant lo Blanch</i> , Joanot Martorell	<i>Curial e Güelfa</i> , Anonymous	<i>Poesies</i> , Ausiàs March
Total graphic forms	16,922	10,461	7,110
<i>amar</i> ['to love'] (lemmatization)	329	74	357
<i>amor</i> ['love'] (occurrences)	700	73	793
<i>guerra</i> ['war'] (occurrences)	146	9	10
<i>mar</i> ['sea'] (occurrences=lemmatization)	179	26	19

Even though it seems logical to find more cases of *amor* and *amar* in March's *Poesies* than in *Curial* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, this brief comparison reveals that *Tirant lo Blanch* is proportionally the one within these group of three works where the occurrences of *mar* (and of *guerra*) are by far the most frequent. It is also worthy of mention that *amor* and *amar* accumulate the highest number of cases/occurrences in

16. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 806 (line 11).

17. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 806 (line 16).

18. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1088 (line 24).

19. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1088 (line 36).

20. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1094 (line 29).

21. "We sail through this prosperous sea until the stormy water grows". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 1381 (line 13).



this novel. Consequently, it cannot be denied that a high amorous and sentimental component prevails throughout this great novel where the main role is played by a knight and army commander whose primary aim consists in defeating the Turks... It equally deserves to be highlighted that the occurrences of *mar* outnumber those of *guerra*... Therefore, it does not seem unreasonable to think that a special link exists between the highly frequent cases of *amor/amar* and *mar* in *Tirant lo Blanch*; and also that, despite the high number of (land and sea) battle events described in the novel, the higher number of references to *mar* suggest that the sea is an initiation context which plays a catalyzing and necessary role that becomes essential for the development of what gives *Tirant lo Blanch* more specificity than the mere battle events, the complexity of a love feeling and its expression.

Our paper will now focus²² on an emblematic case when it comes to the utilization of the sea as a topic of endless immensity referred to the love that Tirant feels for his beloved Carmesina which additionally helps to weigh up the high degree of extreme development reached through the expression of the amorous feeling in this outstanding work. All of this is in keeping with the reference and intertextuality regarding *La Història dels amors de Leànder i Hero* as we can see in the elegant expression through which Diaphebus, Tirant's loyal friend, explains to Carmesina the texture and the intense love that Tirant feels for her: —*Si la mar se tornava tinta e la arena paper, jo pens no bastaria d'escriure l'amor, la voluntat, les infinides recomendacions que aquell pròsper e virtuós Tirant tramet la majestat vostra.*²³

4. Two examples from *Tirant lo Blanch* where the sea becomes a stage of amazing events, in love and in war. The sea which refers to classical tradition

Despite the significantly small number of occurrences of the word *mar* in the body of Joanot Martorell's novel, the quality and importance generally assigned to the role played by the sea, as well as the classical referents to which many of the episodes where the presence of the sea is strongly felt refer us back, shows the huge relevance of the sea motif.

Let us now pay attention to two episodes which can prove illustrative in this respect. They become more valid insofar as they provide examples of the strategic importance which corresponds to the sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*:

22. Although it will not be examined in depth here. For further information about this case, see: Pedroa, José Manuel. "Memoria folclórica, recreación literaria y transculturalismo (siglos II al XX)". *Artes da fala. Colóquio de Portel*, Jorge Freitas Branco, Paulo Lima, eds. Oeiras: Celta Editora, 1997: 87-1997.

23. "If the sea became ink and the sand (became) paper, I think that would not suffice to write about the love, the will, the endless recommendations which the prosperous and virtuous Tirant feels towards your majesty". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 728 (lines 14-16).



4.1 *The sea refers to classical tradition in the expression of love through 'La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero', by Joan Roís de Corella. A possible new source for Corella, which passes on to 'Tirant lo Blanch'*

The sea turns out to be essential as proof of true love within a key work in the constitution of the amorous sentimental element as a narrative motif for the psychological complexity of fiction: *La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella, the end of which was incorporated (actually grafted) into the narration climax of *Tirant lo Blanch*, in Carmesina's pathetic death on Tirant's dead body, moved by an irresistible outburst of pain.²⁴

La història dels amors de Leànder i Hero has come to us, firstly through Latin sources (as Ovid, *Heroides*²⁵ or Virgil, *Georgics*,²⁶ a brief mention) and, especially, through the work of the Byzantine Musaeus, who refers much more extensively to it.²⁷ It has been established that the presence of influences from this work confers an undoubtedly humanistic and Renaissance character upon it. Corella is the first to deal with this topic in the whole Iberian context, thus exerting an influence on Martorell and, during the Spanish Golden Age, on Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega—the theme of Leander and Hero, though not through the Iberian branch, was also cultivated by the Elizabethan Britons Marlowe and Shakespeare.

It has also been established that Ovid (43 BC-17 AD), who had already dealt with these passionate and tragic kind of love in his *Heroides*, was the source for Corella and, therefore, that it was Ovid who influenced Martorell and the other authors mentioned above. In epistles 18 (from *Leander to Hero*)²⁸ and 19 (from *Hero*

24. Martines, Vicent. "Els elements plàstics en l'obra de Joan Roís de Corella. Pintar amb paraules els amors de Leànder i Hero". *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 76 (2013): 661-686. See also: Cortijo, Antonio. "From Corella to Musaeus. Motif of Hero and Leander", *The Story of Leander and Hero, by Joan Roís de Corella. A multilingual edition of a classic from the Crown of Aragon*, Antonio Cortijo, Josep-Lluís Martos, eds. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016: 1-17.

25. Ovid. *Heroides. Amores*. ed. Grant Showerman, George P. Goold. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1986 (2nd edition); Knox, Peter E. *A Companion to Ovid*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2009. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Heroides". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "The Epistles of Ovid". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0085>>.

26. P. Vergili Maronis opera, *Georgicon libri IV*, ed. Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. Online versions: (in the original language) Publius Vergili Maronis. "Georgicon libri IV". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Vergilius/ver_ge00.html>; (translation into English) Publius Vergilius Maronis. "Georgicon". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0059%3Abook%3D1%3Acard%3D1>>.

27. See: Oxford Bodleian Libraries. Manuscripts Barocci, Ms. 50, f. 322r. Online version: Musaeus. "Hero and Leander". *The European Library*. 10 March 2015 <<http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~33010~122700>>.

28. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Leander Heroni". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html#18>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "Leander to Hero". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March



to Lender),²⁹ the lover lets Hero know that, because of the bad weather, he will not go to sea—in other words, that he was not going to swim in the already dangerous waters of the Hellespont. In the following letter, she lets him know that she is feeling an irresistible need to see him. He dives into the sea—as he usually did—to swim across the mile which separates Sestos from Abydos to meet her beloved. This time the outcome is tragic, though.

This work was highly celebrated in Western Europe through Ovid. Nevertheless, critics have so far not paid attention to the fact that, in Roís de Corella's version, it is not Hero's epistolary request—but Fortune's iniquity—that makes Leander jump into the sea on that occasion and ultimately drown. This is the kind of evidence which leads us to think that Ovid might not have been Corella's (only) source.

Our next step will consist in highlighting the 'coincidence' of the wording found in Corella's work and *Tirant lo Blanch* (authorship and the first two editions) with two important works:

the preparation of an important manuscript of *L'Epistre d'Othea*, by Christine de Pizan, which shows the prestige and influence both of the author and of the work itself.³⁰ It is possible for us to thoroughly enjoy the extremely careful polychromatic making of its overelaborate illuminations. This manuscript was commissioned by the great bibliophile Antoine de Bourgogne (1421-1504). The manuscript is contemporary—actually simultaneous—with the writing of *Tirant lo Blanch* (illustration 5).

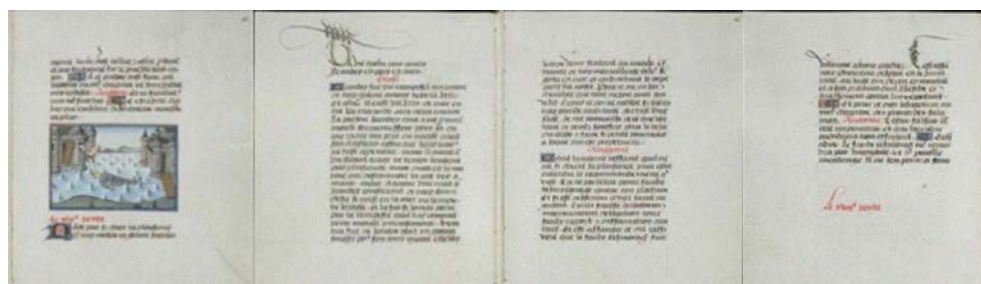


ILLUSTRATION 5. "LEANDER AND HERO" AFTER *L'ÉPISTRE D'OTHEA*, BY CHRISTINE DE PIZAN. ORIGINAL SOURCE: CHRISTINE DE PIZAN. "*L'ÉPISTRE D'OTHEA* (CA. 1460)". *FONDATION MARTIN BODMER. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ET MUSÉE*. 10 FEBRUARY 2015 <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/doubleview/fmb/cb-0049/7r>>.

2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0085%3Apoem%3D18>>.

29. Online versions: (in the original language) Ovid. "Hero Leandro". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 10 March 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_hero.html#19>; (translation into English) Publius Ovidius Naso. "Hero to Leander". *Perseus Digital Library*. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0085%3Apoem%3D19>>.

30. Christine de Pizan. "*L'Épistre d'Othea* ('ca.' 1460)". *Fondation Martin Bodmer. Bibliothèque et Musée*. 10 February 2015 <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/doubleview/fmb/cb-0049/7r>>. Original source (quoted on the website): Vielliard, Françoise. *Manuscripts Français du Moyen Âge*. Cologne-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1975: 146-149 (Codex Bodmer 49, 65r-67v).



Below can be seen two engravings from the incunabular edition of *De Herone et Leandro* (illustration 6), carried out by the great printer and already editor Aldo Manuzio.³¹ This edition is bilingual, like those which Manuzio published, bilingual with the original version in Greek (Musaeus' text) and its translation into Latin. This subtle Latin edition is in turn simultaneous with the *editio princeps* of *Tirant lo Blanch*³² and with the second edition.³³

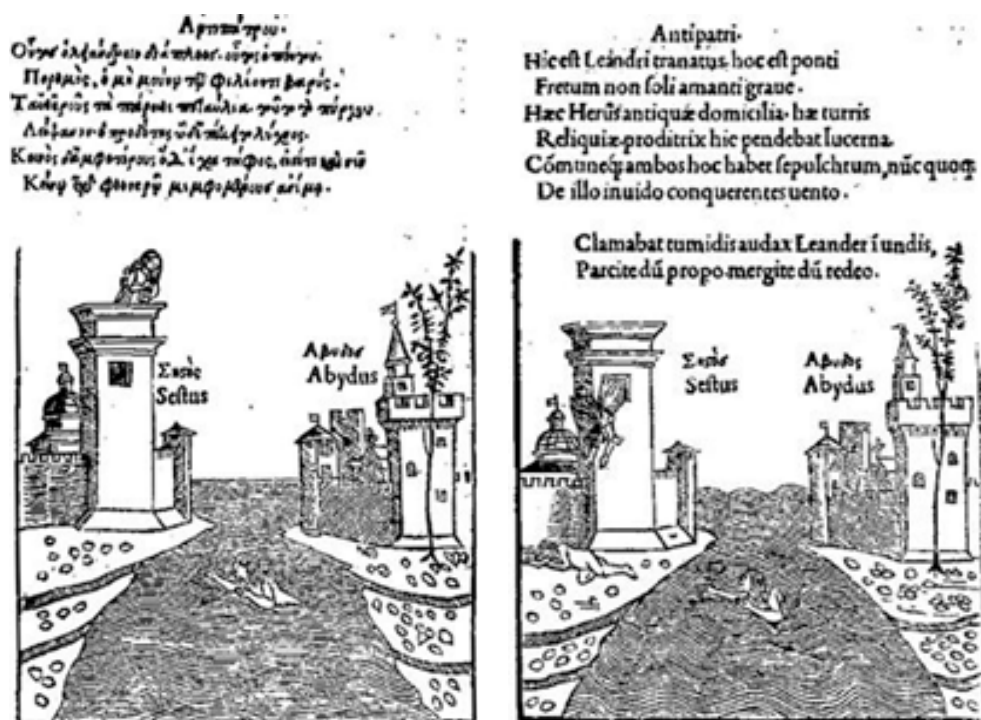


ILLUSTRATION 6. *DE HERONE ET LEANDRO*, BY ALDO MANUZIO, CIRCA 1495-¿1497? ORIGINAL SOURCE: MANUZIO ALDO. "DE HERONE ET LEANDRO". BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA. 20 FEBRUARY 2015 <http://www.bne.es/es/AREAPrensa/MATERIALGRAFICO/EXPOSICIONES/HISTORICO/2015/ALDO_MANUZIO/>.

31. Manuzio Aldo. "De Herone et Leandro". *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 20 February 2015 <http://www.bne.es/es/areaprensa/materialgrafico/exposiciones/historico/2015/aldo_manuzio/> (the original document dates from Venice, circa 1495-1497?)

32. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*. Valencia: Nicolás Spindeler, 1490 (Edition Princeps).

33. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*. Barcelona: Pere Miquel i Diego Gumiel, 1497 (2nd Edition).

4.2 The sea refers to classical tradition in the narration of an amazing battle event (θαύματος) in 'Tirant lo Blanch': 'Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, qui fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla [Rhodes]'.³⁴ Report about a historical referent not observed so far.

This episode shows the crucial role played by the sea as a war stage. It is obviously an essential theme in *Tirant lo Blanch*, though not so much for his Herculean qualities as for his intelligent shrewdness of a strategist capable of adapting to the circumstances so that Tirant could defeat more powerful enemies; exactly the same as the role played by Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. This episode which is going to be analyzed next takes us back to a historical referent which has hitherto not been mentioned, and which does nothing but stress the high quality of the classical culture roots in *Tirant lo Blanch* and accordingly places this work even more clearly within the *mainstream* of Humanism and Renaissance in the mid-15th century. The episode in question can be found in chapter 106 of the novel, when Tirant manages to break the blockade which had been imposed on the port of Rhodes by the ships of the Genovese, who were the Ottomans' allies. Chapter 106 of the novel (—*Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, quin fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla* [Rhodes]) narrates an episode which is generally well-known.³⁵ A sailor suggests a ruse to Tirant for them to destroy the fleet that is blocking the port. In short, the sailor swims and dives to pass a rope-end through the ring of the Genovese captain's ship rudder —the one anchored nearer to the land amongst the fleet that is blocking the port. Once the rope-end has been passed, the troops of Tirant will pull from it from land to make an incendiary barge (*brulotte*) reach the captain's ship. In this way, it would be impossible for the captain's ship to escape while simultaneously nobody would be able to stop the barge. The result was a disaster for the attacking fleet which had to lift its siege.

Nevertheless, none of our precedents has mentioned what could be the historical fact from which the tactic explained in this episode originated —and which has been highlighted as an excellent piece of evidence to show the realism of this work. Based on the historical referent (and its classical written materialization) which has been identified by us and will now be explained, this chapter once again draws our attention towards the core of *Tirant lo Blanch*'s references in the actual Byzantium, the ultimate target sought with the great strategy of opposition to the undeniable Ottoman danger which is dealt with in Martorell's work.

This episode in chapter 106 tells us how —*Com Tirant féu cremar la nau del capità dels genovesos, qui fon causa que tots los moros se n'anaren de ylla*. According to *Obsidionis Rhodie*, which dates back to 1481: —*A nostris arte cognita, nauta quidam rerum*

34. "How Tirant ordered to burn the Genovese captain's ship, which made all the Moors flee from it [Rhodes]". Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 410-414 (chapter 106).

35. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista desconeguda de la 'Obsidionis Rhodie de Guillaume Caoursin'". *Caplletra*, 15 (1993): 89-126; Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme tècnic i del no-detallisme al 'Tirant lo Blanc'". *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik*, 10 (1997): 7-38.



*maritimarum non ignarus, noctu undis se obruit, anchoram soluit, fune cautibus remissius alligato, qui parua vi dissolauator.*³⁶ See illustrations 7 and 8:



ILLUSTRATION 7. IMAGE WHICH SHOWS THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RUSE CARRIED OUT BY THE SWIMMER, WHO SUCCEEDED IN DESTROYING THE BRIDGE OF BOATS WHICH CLOSED THE PORT OF RHODES. THE IMAGE BELOW IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE *TIRANT LO BLANCH* EDITED BY ALBERT HAUF. SOURCE: BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MANUSCRIT LATIN, MS. LAT, 6067 (GUILLAUME DE CAOURSIN. "OBSIDIONIS RHODIE DESCRIPTIO, 1481". BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, 20 FEBRUARY 2015 <[HTTP://GALLICA.BNF.FR/ARK:/12148/BTV1b9076643x/F110](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/BTV1b9076643x/F110). IMAGE>).³⁷

36. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista...": 111.

37. See also: Connaissance des Arts. (2011, January 10). *Le siège de Rhodes de Guillaume Caoursin* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjSGGiJS_iM&t=8s>.

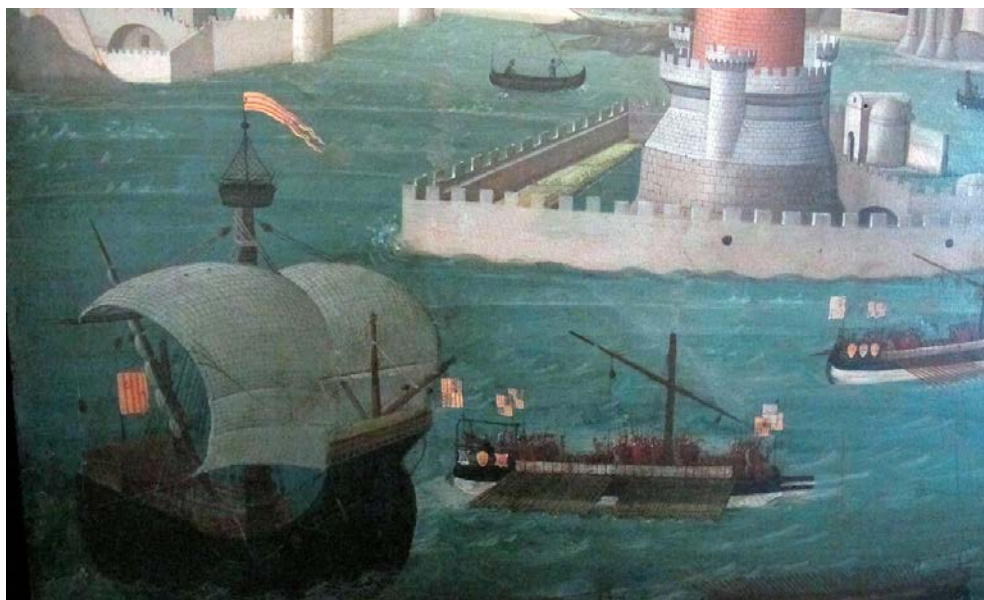


ILLUSTRATION 8. TAVOLA STROZZI, DETAIL (CIRCA 1472, MUSEO NAZIONALE DI NAPOLI), WITH A FLEET OF THE CROWN OF ARAGON ARRIVING AT THE PORT OF NAPLES. THE SAME KIND OF SHIPS CAN BE 'SEEN' IN *TIRANT LO BLANCH*, IN AN IMAGE THAT IS ACTUALLY COEVAL. THE SAME KIND OF SHIP APPEARS AT THE ILLUMINATION OF *OBSIDIONIS RHODIE DESCRIPTIO*, 1481. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

It needs to be highlighted that the critics who have most deeply studied this chapter 106³⁸ suggest the possibility of a certain textual connection between *Obsidionis Rhodie* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, despite the chronological determinants which would more than evidently hinder it. As a matter of fact, the 26 years elapsed between the moment when the writing of *Tirant lo Blanch* came to an end and its *édition princeps* might have been a long time period, long enough to allow interventions alien to the author who had already passed away in 1465:

- *Tirant lo Blanch*, was written between 1460 and 1464,
- siege of Rhodes by Sultan Mehmed II, referent of *Obsidionis Rhodie*, 1480,
- writing of that work, 1481.

It is Stegmann that most clearly denies the textual influence of Caoursin's work on that of Martorell:

–Veiem que estem davant d'un grapat d'elements barrejats i variants segons les necessitats del moment narratiu que de cap manera ens forcen a suposar influències directes de Caoursin en el *Tirant de 1490*, ni viceversa, és clar.³⁹

38. Hauf, Albert. "Una versió valenciana quatrecentista...": 95-96; Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme...": 27.

39. "We can see that there are a lot of elements in front of us which are mixed and varied according to the needs of the narrative moment and which by no means force us to assume direct influences



From our point of view, it should be taken into account that interventions could indeed have occurred subsequently to the author's death (1465) and prior to the *edition princeps*,⁴⁰ but they could hardly have had so much importance and intensity as to interpolate entire and lengthy passages—and at the same time as significant as this one. Furthermore, before Martorell's novel was written, and due to its extremely important strategic location, Rhodes suffered numerous sieges by the Muslims; it was taken by the latter and reconquered by the Byzantines, fell into Genovese hands and into those of the Order of Saint John, until it resisted the siege by Mehmed II in 1480 which is narrated in *Obsidionis Rhodie*, and until it fell into Ottoman hands under the sultanate of Suleyman the Magnificent in the first third of the 16th century.⁴¹

Our research allowed us to find—as a hypothesis that could be likely—the narration of a historical event which took place *ante portas* of Byzantium as well. This strategic city was still not called Constantinople, since it owes this name to its 'refoundation' by Constantine—who assumed the post as sole emperor in 324 AD—that made the city revive—especially between 324 and 330 AD—after the long years during which it had been reduced to little more than a mere village after the destruction inflicted on it by emperor Septimius Severus (in office from 193 to 211) after culminating the terrible siege that he imposed on Byzantium because this city had sided with his opponent for the post as Caesar, Caius Pescennius Niger. This happened within the context of the civil war which devastated the Roman Empire after the murder of Caesar Commodus (192).

of Caoursin on the Tirant of 1490 neither the other way round, of course". Stegmann, Tilbert Dídac. "Aspectes del realisme...": 27.

40. Ferrando, Antoni. "Del 'Tiran' de 1460-64 al 'Tirant' de 1490", *Actes del Nové Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Alacant/Elx, 1991)*, Rafael Alemany, Antoni Ferrando, Lluís Meseguer, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: 1993, III, 25-68.

41. Rhodes was taken in 654 by the Umayyad caliph Muawiyah I, who ordered to collect the remains of the mythic Colossus of Rhodes. The island was captured once again by the Muslims in 673 as part of the first Muslim attack on Constantinople, which was resisted *ante portas* by the Byzantine fleet and its Greek fire—it was the first time this secret weapon was used in a battle—and then by strong storms which ended up destroying the Muslim fleet. Nonetheless, the island was evacuated in 679-680 by virtue of the Byzantine-Umayyad treaty. In 715, a Byzantine fleet recaptured the island, which had rebelled against the Muslims; this permitted the consolidation of Theodosius III as the Basileus or Byzantine emperor. In 1090, it was snatched again from the Byzantines by the Muslims, as one of the consequences of Byzantium's decisive defeat to Selyucid Turks at the battle of Mazinkert. It was recovered once more by Byzantium, under the Basileus Alexius I Comnenus during the First Crusade. In 1248-1250, it was occupied by the Genovese, as a result of the weakening suffered by Byzantine power following the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, during the unfortunate Fourth Crusade. The island then became a province of the Empire of Nicaea and then (1261) of the restored Byzantine Empire. In 1305, it was delivered to the Genovese Andrea Morisco, who was at the service of Byzantium. In 1309, the island was occupied by the Order of Saint John of the Hospital. It resisted the siege which was imposed on it by the sultan of Egypt in 1444, and also resisted the new siege of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1480. Only in 1522, it will not be able to resist the massive siege imposed by Suleyman the Magnificent. See: Vatin, Nicolas. *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*. Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1994; Buttigieg, Emanuel; Phillips, Simon, eds. *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2013; Vraire, Jean-Bernard de; Vissière, Laurent. *Tous les Deables d'enfer. Relations du siège de Rhodes par les Ottomans en 1480*. Paris: Éditions Droz, 2014.



Dion Cassius, one of the key ‘intellectuals’ and politicians in those turbulent years which culminated with the murder of Commodus and the civil wars until 193—including the so-called ‘year of the 4 Caesars’—is a privileged witness. With a senatorial family background, Dion Cassius was a proconsul in several provinces, senator under Commodus, praetor under Pertinax (the ephemeral Caesar who only ruled for 86 days, precisely in the dangerous times that followed the murder of Commodus and the resolution of the civil war in 193), consul *suffectus* (‘substitute’ or ‘deputy’) under Septimius Severus (*circa* 204), imperial *curator* of important centers in the Eastern regions of the Empire (Pergamon and Smyrna), provincial proconsul in the important province of Africa (today’s Maghreb, approximately), *legatus* in Dalmatia and in Upper Pannonia, consul under the Caesar Alexander Severus, *legatus* in Asia Minor... until he retreated from public life in 235, in Nicaea, to devote himself exclusively to his writings.

Dion Cassius composed his *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία* (“Roman History”) in Greek. Although it starts from the actual foundation of Rome (and reaches up to the period of Gordian Caesars), this is a key work of –Roman, though expressed in Greek—classical historiography for:

- historical memory;
- for the treatment of the standpoint precisely about some convulsed decades;
- for the government of the ‘world’ of the time, about which his treatment is far from servile with regard to what could be understood as the ‘official version’ or the one which was totally obliging with the Caesar’s option.

Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία contains the thrilling report of the blockade that Septimius Severus imposed on Byzantium and the heroic way in which the Byzantines resisted it; the hardships that they suffered, the hunger, the deprivations of all kinds (they even ate reheated leather, wove dresses with women’s hair, drank putrid water...) before surrendering. Finally, the city surrendered by hunger, not by the force of Septimius’ army. A battle event is highlighted by Dion Cassius to stress how amazing (*θαύματος*)—hence our inclusion of the expression ‘amazing event’ in the title of this section—the behavior of those besieged was: they captured several of Septimius Severus ships which exerted—sorry about the pun—a ‘severe’ naval blockade on Byzantium. The capture was made through swimmers who, diving and putting their lives in great danger, passed rope-ends through the rings of the lower part of the hulls. From inside the walls, other soldiers pulled strongly and—with no oarsmen or pilots guiding them—managed to make the ships reach the shore, where their equipment was rendered useless and the vessels themselves were captured.

We would like to bring attention on swimmers as main action agents in attention at the top risk they engaged. Also, swimmers become the common factor between the *Obsidionis Rhodie* (swimmer and *brulotte*) and our hypothesis regarding Dion Cassius (just swimmers). This feat of heroism by swimmers according to Dion Cassius’ report, which can be regarded as one of the first naval special operations ever in history, did not ultimately serve to save Byzantium. However, it did represent a landmark in the unequivocal willingness to resist of a human group who did by



no means want to be captured —something which is not new in the context of Roman Empire history. At the same time, and above all, it acquires a nuance of realism and wit —precisely like in Martorell’s novel— exactly in the city which is the focus of attention in *Tirant lo Blanch*, right at the nerve center of the sea stretch that connects East and West, from the Bosphorus to the Dardanelles, going through the Hellespont, an obstacle and at the same time a link for the amorous passion of Leander and Hero, who also acted as referents in Martorell’s novel.

Let us see the fragment in question, in its translation/s:

**Table 2. Divers of Byzantium according Dion Cassius,
Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία (“Roman History”)**

Dion Cassius, <i>Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία</i> From: Perseus Digital Library ⁴²	Translation into English ⁴³
12 [1] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔδρασαν καὶ ἔπαθον οἱ Βυζάντιοι, ἅτε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὥς εἰπεῖν στόλοις ἐπὶ ὅλον τριετὴ χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι: λελέζεται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενά τινος θαύματος. ἦρουν μὲν γάρ καὶ πλοῖά τινα παραπλέοντα εὐκαίρως ἐπιτιθέμενοι, ἦρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις τῶν [2] ἐν τῷ ὄρμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀγκύρας αὐτῶν ὑφύδροις κολυμβηταῖς ὑποτέμνοντες, καὶ ἥλους 1 ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς σφον, καλωδίοις ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐκδεδεμένους, ἐμπηγνόντες, ἐπεσπῶντο, ὥστ’ αὐτὰς ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν αὐτομάτας προσπλευούσας ὀρᾶσθαι, μὴτ’ ἐρέτου μὴτ’ ἀνέμου μηδενὸς ἐπισπέρχοντος	12 [1] Many, now, were the exploits and the experiences for the Byzantines, since for the entire space of three years they were besieged by the armaments of practically the whole world. I shall relate a few of the incidents that were in any way marvellous. They used to capture not only ships that were sailing past, by making opportune attacks, but also triremes that were in their opponents’ roadstead. [2] They accomplished this by causing divers to cut their anchors under water and drive in the ships’ sides nails that were attached by ropes to the friendly shore; then they would draw the ships towards them, so that these appeared to be sailing up all by themselves, of their own accord, with neither oarsman nor wind to urge them forward.

42. Online version: Cary, Earnest; Foster, Herbert B. (critical editors). “Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae Romanae*”. Perseus Digital Library. 3 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593%3Abook%3D75%3Achapter%3D12%3Asection%3D1>> (section 1); <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593%3Abook%3D75%3Achapter%3D12%3Asection%3D2>> (section 2) (Based on the edition: Cassius Dio Cocceianus. *Dio’s Roman History*, ed. and trans. Earnest Cary, Herbert Baldwin Foste. London-New York: Macmillan-W. Heinemann, 1914-1927).

43. Online version: Cary, Earnest (critical editor). “Cassius Dio. “Roman History”. *University of Chicago*. 10 March 2015 <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/75*.html> (Based on the edition: Cassius Dio. *Roman History*, ed. and trans. Earnest Cary. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1927 [2nd edition]).



In fact, Dion Cassius' reference served as the basis for us to be able to situate and date the idea, and to contextualize it in a consistent and significant way with regard to the novel *Tirant lo Blanch*: Byzantium/Constantinople. This was not done by the critics who preceded us, who, instead, did highlight as a precedent⁴⁴—apart from the afore mentioned *Obsidionis Rhodie*—chapter 334 of *Dotzè* by Eiximenis⁴⁵ and the frustrated plan of attack that Giacomo Coco, Venetian defender of Constantinople, proposed for the night of April 24th 1453. The possible antecedent for Eiximenis suggests the general technique of using rope-ends —*ab corde*— to take a galley rowing in the middle of a fight with more powerful galleys; meanwhile, Coco's trick, despite being located *ante portas* of Constantinople, did not include any references either to swimmers or to divers tying or passing rope-ends through the rings of the Turkish ship hulls so that incendiary barges (*brulottes*) could be fastened to them. To this must be added that Coco's plan could not be put into practice due to the Genovese soldiers' refusal to participate when they knew about it. In fact, the Genovese had not been informed because of the distrust that they raised among the Venetians, the Byzantines and the other defenders, because of the Ligurians' deceitfulness in favor of the Turks—as was recorded in the proceedings of the council held on April 23rd during which Coco presented his plan.⁴⁶

Hence why the textual connection from Dion Cassius' report would follow a sequence that paves our way towards another connection which has not been taken into account by critics so far: Dion Cassius is the main source for Roman history (until the early 3rd Century) of the great Byzantine historian John Zonaras, in his *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* (*Epitome Historiarum*). Zonaras, a true man of the court who, under Alexius I Comnenus, eventually became the great 'Drungary' (commander of the Emperor's personal guard) and *Πρωτοασκηκρητίς* (*protoasecretis* or "first private secretary of the Emperor"), and after the Emperor's death, retired to the monastery in Mount Athos until the end of his longevous life —*circa* 88 years.⁴⁷

44. Martorell, Joanot. *Tirant lo Blanch*...: 414 (note 13).

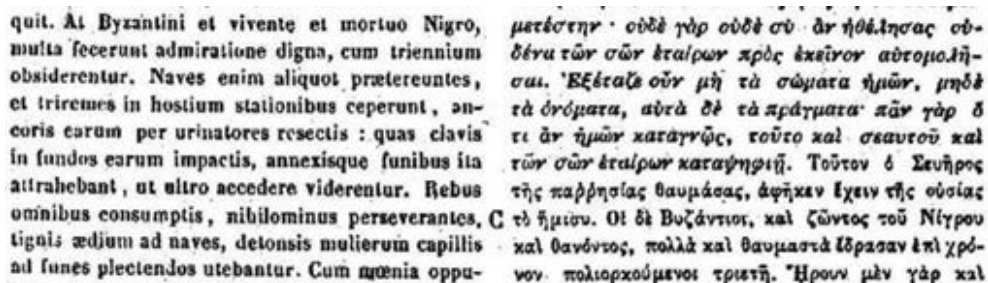
45. Eiximenis, Francesc. *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*. Valencia: Lambert Palmart, 1484: without pages (chapter 334). Online version: Eiximenis, Francesc. "Dotzè llibre del Crestià. Chapter CCCXXXIV". *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 5 March 2015 <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-1603994>>.

46. Kenneth M. Setton. *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). II: The Fifteenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978; Motos, Encarnación; Morfakidis, Moschos, eds. *Constantinopla. 550 años de de su caída. Κωνσταντινούπολις. 550 χρόνια από την άλωση*. Granada: Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas-Universidad de Granada, 2006.

47. Ioannis Zonarae. *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XIII-XVIII*, ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst. Bonn: Impensis Editor Weberi, 1897. Online version: Ioannis Zonarae. "Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν". *Bibliotheca Augustana*. 2 February 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/Chronologia/S_post12/Zonaras/zon_kass.html>.



Zonaras was an influential author throughout the Middle Ages and his work stood out as one of the references for Catholic texts. It was incorporated into Migne's work and into the set of *Documenta Catholica Omnia*.⁴⁸ Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* (*Epitome Historiarum*), which includes the fragment about the ruse for the capture of Septimius Severus' ships by the Byzantines:



quit. At Byzantini et vivente et mortuo Nigro, multa fecerunt admiratione digna, cum triennium obsiderentur. Naves enim aliquot pretereuntes, et triremes in hostium stationibus ceperunt, ancoris earum per urinatores resectis : quas clavis in fundos earum impactis, annexisque funibus ita attrahebant, ut ultro accedere viderentur. Rebus omnibus consumptis, nihilominus perseverantes, C tignis ædijum ad naves, detonsis mulierum capillis ad funes plectendos utebantur. Cum ætænia oppu- ματέστην· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σὺ· ἂν ἠθέλησας σὺ- δέναι τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς ἐκείνον αὐτομολή- σαι. Ἐξέταξε οὖν μὴ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, μηδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰ πράγματα· πάν γὰρ δ τι ἂν ἡμῶν καταγνώσκει, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων καταψηφίη. Τοῦτον δὲ Σευήρος τῆς παρόρησις θαυμάσας, ἀφῆκεν ἔχειν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ ἡμῶν. Οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι, καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ Νίτρου καὶ θανόντος, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστά ἔδρασαν ἐπὶ χρό- νον· πολιορκούμενοι τριετῇ. Ἦρουν μὲν γὰρ καὶ

ILLUSTRATION 9. THE RUSE FOR THE CAPTURE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS' SHIPS BY THE BYZANTINES DIVERS ACCORDING TO ZONARAS' *ἘΠΙΤΟΜΗ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ* (*EPITOME HISTORIARUM*). SOURCE: IOANNIS ZONARAE. "ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ". *BIBLIOTHECA AUGUSTANA*. 2 FEBRUARY 2015 <http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/chronologia/S_post12/Zonaras/ZON_KASS.HTML>.

Zonaras is one of the authors whose work has come to us in a direct translation from Greek due to the enormous activity driven and encouraged by the Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia that was essential for the flourishing of Humanism in the Crown of Aragon, and in Western Europe as a whole.⁴⁹ More specifically, amongst the numerous classical and Byzantine Greek works that Fernández de Heredia ordered to translate was a large part of this important work by Zonaras that materialized in the resulting translation into the Aragonese language, in the form of the *Crónica o Libro de los Emperadores* ("Chronicle or Book of the Emperors")⁵⁰ (illustration 10).

48. Joannis Zonarae. "Annales", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Paris : Jacques Paul Migne editorem, 1864. col. 39-1414.

49. Cacho, Juan Manuel. *El gran maestro Juan Fernández de Heredia*. Saragossa: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1997; Butinyà, Júlia; Cortijo, Antonio, eds. *L'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó (en el context hispànic i europeu)*. Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 2011.

50. Zonaras, Juan. *Libro de los Emperadores (Versión aragonesa del Compendio de Historia Universal, patrocinada por Juan Fernández de Heredia)*, ed. Adelino Álvarez Rodríguez, Francisco Martín García. Saragossa-Huesca: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza-Institución Fernando el Católico-Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses-Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de Aragón, 2006.



ILLUSTRATION 10. *LIBRO DE LOS EMPERADORES*, WITH THE IMAGE REPRESENTING THE GRAND MASTER OF THE HOSPITAL, JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE HEREDIA. SOURCE: FERNÁNDEZ DE HEREDIA, JUAN. "EL LIBRO DE LOS EMPERADORES; EL LIBRO DE LOS FECHOS ET CONQUISTAS DEL PRINCIPADO DE MOREA". *BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA*. 20 MARCH 2015 <<http://www.bne.es/es/Micrositios/Exposiciones/BNE300/Exposicion/Seccion3/sub1/OBRA10.html?origen=GALERIA>> (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA. MANUSCRITOS 10131, F. 1R.).⁵¹



The widespread knowledge that existed about Fernández de Heredia's activity is clearly evidenced by the interest with which the great Coluccio Salutati, the unquestioned representative of Florentine Humanism during the late 14th century and the early 15th century, asked the Grand Master of the Hospital to send a copy of the translation into the Aragonese language of the *Cronica de Conquiridores* ("Chronicle of the Conquerors", also known as *Plutarco*),⁵² from Plutarch's *Vidas paralelas* ("Parallel lives") —Salutati explicitly composed the Italian version of the latter.⁵³

On the other hand, it is worth highlighting that another of the sources which makes an easily perceivable contribution to Martorell's novel, a work by the Franciscan doctor in Theology John of Wales (Worcester, early 13th century- Paris, circa 1285, contemporary of Ramon Llull, and a source for Martorell too), also appears amongst those translated within the framework of the initiative undertaken by the Grand Master of the Hospital, even though a translation of it already existed into Catalan at the end of the 14th century: the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum*, which materializes through Fernandez de Heredia's activity as the *Libro de Actoridades* or *Rams de Flores* —circa 1385-1393—⁵⁴ which was already translated into Catalan. Another of the works by John of Wales translated into Catalan in the 15th century XV was the *Breviloquium de virtutibus* or *Lo breu parlament dels antichs*. Expressed differently, he was a well-known author within the Crown of Aragon context whose works amounted to an unusual number of hand-written copies throughout Europe

51. This image is lacked in the digital version of "almost" the whole codex, which begins at f. 1v and "forgets" f. 1r. Available at: Fernández de Heredia, Juan. "El libro de los emperadores; el libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de Morea". *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica. Biblioteca Nacional de España*. 20 March 2015 <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000008326&page=1>>.

52. Álvarez Rodríguez, Adelino. 'Plutarco'. *Vidas Semblantes: versión aragonesa de las 'Vidas paralelas', patrocinada por Juan Fernández de Heredia*. Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza-Gobierno de Aragón-Instituto de Estudios Alto-aragoneses-Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2009: I, II.

53. Coluccio Salutati describes at his "Proemio" of the *Cronica di Plutarco* (Salutati, Coluccio. *Cronica di Plutarco*. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, phil. 26, sin, 7) the line of translations: from the *gramatica greca* (ancient Greek) into Byzantine (*vulgar greco*), and from this into aragones, after the *comandamento* by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia: *cronica di Plutarco, famoso ystorial greco, la quale fù trans-/latata di gramatica greca in/ vulgar greco in rodi per uno/ philosopho greco chiamato [...] et di greco fù trans-/latata in aragones per un fray-/ re [...] per comandamento del molto/ reverente in Yesuschristus reverendo padre / e signore dom Ffrayre Giovanni/ Ffernandez di Heredia, per la gratia/ di Dio Maestro dell'Ordine dell'O-/ spedale di San Giovanni di Gerusa-/ lem* ("chronicle of Plutarco, famous Greek historian, which was translated from the Greek grammar to vulgar Greek in Rhode by a Greek philosopher called [...] and from the Greek translated to Aragonese by a friar [...] under the order of the Reverent in Jesus Christ Master Father and Lord Dom John Fernandez de Heredia, Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem by the Mercy of God"). Martines, Vicent. "Famoso ystorial greco'... Les lliçons dels clàssics, les traduccions i l'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó entre la fi del segle XIV i el XV", *L'Humanisme a la Corona d'Aragó (en el context hispànic i europeu)*, Júlia Butinyà, Antonio Cortijo, eds. Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 2011: 575-408.

54. Cacho, Juan Manuel. "La reconstrucción del 'Rams de flores' de Juan Fernández de Heredia. A propósito de una nueva edición". *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, 56, 200 (2000): 247-264; Guardiola, Conrado. *Rams de flores o Libro de actoridades. Obra compilada bajo la protección de Juan Fernández de Heredia, Maestre de la Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén (edición del ms. De la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Z-I-2)*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1998.



and over the centuries —between 150 and 200 manuscripts of his works have been preserved, although some scholars increase the count up to 453.⁵⁵

It can thus be seen that Dion Cassius' influence converges directly onto the Crown of Aragon through the Master of the Hospital —whose Mother House was in Rhodes— and through the translation of Zonaras' work, for which Dion Cassius represents one of the main sources. Furthermore, the Master of the Hospital also appears amongst the authors who provide sources for Martorell's work, John of Wales. In this case, the fact that Wales also appears on the list of translated works confirms that Fernández de Heredia's efforts were properly contextualized with regard to the works and authors of his time who will be subsequently regarded as components of the humanists' genome.

5. Conclusions

Tirant lo Blanch is a novel with multiple sides, amongst which also stands out that of hoarding a variety of elements, and especially important ones even as continents or determinants, themselves, of crucial parts in the plot. In particular, the sea becomes especially important in a work like this one, so widespread throughout Europe and the Mediterranean: the action moves from Brittany to London and, from here, to Rhodes, Sicily, Byzantium, North Africa, and once again Byzantium... This is not only a mere geographical space: in addition to being the route through which the protagonist travels, *el mar* (or *la mar*) —in the masculine or in the feminine— appears as an initiation environment for the main character, a context which defines his progressive successes and his personal maturity..., as if it were the same sea of Ulysses' life experiences in the *Odyssey*, or the one that Jason sailed across together with his Argonauts, or that in which Leander swam (and drowned) to visit his beloved Hero... These are just a few of the *Matière Ancienne* references which nourish this novel, especially that of *Leander and Hero* —from another great author who lived in the Crown of Aragon too, Joan Roís de Corella— which combine in a particularly complex way in this work that, despite being chronologically medieval, is actually 'modern' in its conception.

In any case, it has been possible for us to prove —using Corpus Linguistics techniques and applications and also by means of the CIMTAC MetaCorpus— that the crucial importance of *mar* in the novel is unmatched with a large number of lexical occurrences or forms. A (brief) comparison has been drawn with another two classics which were contemporary with *Tirant lo Blanch* —Curial e Güelfa, attributed to Enyego d'Àvalos, and Ausiàs March's Dictats— from which can be inferred that the forms referred to *amar* and *amor*... outnumber those related

55. Ramon, Lluís. "Descripció codicològica de la traducció catalana del 'Communiloquium' de Joan de Gal·les". *Saitabi*, 45 (1995): 371-392; Nighman, Chris L. *The Electronic Manipulus florum Project*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2001-2015. Online version: Nighman, Chris L. "Auxiliary Resources. Home". *Wilfrid Laurier University*. 2 February 2015 <<http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/page12.html>>.



to *guerra*. And along with the amorous words, those referring to the sea are more numerous than war-related ones. It has been established that a particular connection exists between the high number of cases of *amor/amar* and *mar* in *Tirant lo Blanch*; and also that, despite the high number of (land and sea) battle events which appear in the novel, the greater number of references to *mar* clearly suggests that this is an initiation context, which plays a catalyzing and necessary role that becomes essential for the development of what gives *Tirant lo Blanch* more specificity than the mere battle events, the complexity of a love feeling and its expression.

Despite the significantly small number of occurrences of the word *mar* in the text body of Joanot Martorell's novel, the quality and importance of the role played by the sea in general and by the classical referents to which many of the episodes where the presence of the sea can be strongly felt, refer us back shows the huge importance that the sea has as a motif.

Our attention is now going to focus on two episodes which can prove highly valid in this respect because they represent examples of the strategic relevance that corresponds to the sea in *Tirant lo Blanch*:

- On the one hand because, through the influence of the *History of the love between Leander and Hero*, by Joan Roís de Corella —coeval, as well as a friend and neighbour of Joanot Martorell's— on *Tirant lo Blanch*, the sea refers to classical tradition in what regards the expression of a love feeling. Furthermore, a new possible source has been proposed for Corella's work, which passes on to Martorell's novel and gets further enriched.
- On the other hand, chapter 106 has been analyzed here as a hypothesis of a referent for the roots of classical tradition that become visible in an amazing battle event, and information has been supplied about a historical war stratagem never before observed in relation to Martorell's novel, despite having been thoroughly studied by critics. The sea continues to be the main character in this historical ruse, totally consistent with the references in the novel (Byzantium, situation of siege and naval blockade imposed by an invading force, attack diving as a tactic...), as it was attested in writing by the *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία* (*Historia romana*) ("Roman History") of the important Roman historian Dion Cassius. The present study additionally suggests a probable way of textual connection between the work of this author and the Crown of Aragon through Zonaras' *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* (*Epitome Historiarum*) as an evidence of the influential direct translation activity focused on classical Greek works and carried out by the Grand Master of the Hospital, Juan Fernández de Heredia. And evidence has also been provided for the confirmation of the proximity that this entails with regard to Martorell's novel, insofar as Fernández de Heredia saw to it that another work which also influenced *Tirant lo Blanch* —though in other aspects- was translated, namely: the *Communiloquium* by John of Wales.

In short, all the love experiences, negotiations, battle events, stratagems and progression (in the *Curriculum Vitae*) of *Tirant* have something in common: the sea is much more than a means of communication needed in this so strongly



Mediterranean novel. At the time, when 28 years still had to elapse before America was discovered, the Mediterranean and ‘Mediterraneity’ represented the cornerstone of the known world onto which North and South —East and West— converged.

To conclude, it deserves to be stressed that the sea does not have the same symbolic meaning in *Tirant lo Blanch* as in Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (circa 430-circa 355) (Perseus Digital Library; Bibliotheca Augustana-Xenophon), where the ten thousand Greeks’ march inland across the Persian Empire, from Sardes to Cunaxa, in the heart of Mesopotamia, and then as far as Trabzon, looking for an exit to the sea, like a destination, a target or a goal. When they finally get to see the sea, after so many hardships, Xenophon describes the moment deeply moved: ⁵⁶⁵⁷

Table 3. Xenophon, *Κύρου Ανάβασις* / *Anabasis*

Xenophon, <i>Κύρου Ανάβασις</i> ⁵⁶	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i> (translated into English) ⁵⁷
[4.7.23] ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας καὶ πολλῶι μείζων ἐγίνετο ἡ βοή ὅσῳι δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο, [4.7.24] ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ’ ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν «θάλαττα θάλαττα» καὶ παρεγγυώντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἡλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.	[23] But as the shout kept getting louder and nearer, as the successive ranks that came up all began to run at full speed toward the ranks ahead that were one after another joining in the shout, and as the shout kept growing far louder as the number of men grew steadily greater, it became quite clear to Xenophon that here was something of unusual importance [24] so he mounted a horse, took with him Lycius and the cavalry, and pushed ahead to lend aid; and in a moment they heard the soldiers shouting, —The Sea! The Sea!! and passing the word along. Then all the troops of the rearguard likewise broke into a run, and the pack animals began racing ahead and the horses.

56.Xenophon. “Κύρου Ανάβασις”. *Bibliotheca Augusta*. 10 March 2015 <https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/graeca/Chronologia/S_ante04/Xenophon/xen_ana0.html> (Based on the edition: Xenophon. *Xenophontis opera omnia*. Tomus III: *Expediitō Cyri*, ed. Edgar Cardew Marchant. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1904).

57.Brownson, Carleton L. (critical editor). “Xenophon, *Anabasis*”. *Perseus Digital Library*. 15 March 2015 <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0202%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D7%3Asection%3D23>> (book 4, chapter 7, section 23-24) (Based on the edition: Xenophon. *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, ed. Carleton L. Brownson. Cambridge (Mass.)-London: Harvard University Press-William Heinemann Ltd., 1922).



The sea is a goal for those long-suffering ten thousand; first the Black Sea that will take them home, the most desired end to their expedition: Byzantium —the future Constantinople.

Tirant also sails across the seas, all his efforts and interests being concentrated on Constantinople; in his case, to save it from the Ottoman danger. He will eventually become a Caesar of the Greek Empire and is truly in love with the crown Princess, Carmesina. Constantinople will be about to become 'his' home. In *Tirant lo Blanch* and for its main character, the sea is an initiation element, the means and the purpose, the environment and the whole.



BEATAS, BEATERIOS AND CONVENTS: THE ORIGIN OF THE BASQUE FEMALE CONVENTUAL LIFE

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the beaterios as expressions of feminine religiosity during the Middle Ages preceding the regular convents founded during the Modern Age. This is confirmed through both the role of the beaterios leading the birth of conventual female Basque life and its features within the contemporary Basque society.

KEYWORDS

Lay sisters, Convents, Religious, Basque Country, Beguinage.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Sorores laicae, Coenobia, Religiosi, Vasconia, Beguinagium.

1. Introduction

One of the most significant social phenomena of Early Modern Spain was the spread of regular clergy which in turn led to a proliferation of convents, with an increase in foundations which intensified during the second half of the 16th century and into the 17th century.¹ This vigorous expansion of conventual foundations was undoubtedly a post-tridentine phenomenon.² The Basque Country experienced a similar movement reflected in the intense establishment of female convents although with some nuances when compared with the Spanish phenomenon. This difference in the intensity of conventual foundations has its origin in the Medieval Ages.³

The increased number of foundations in the last third of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries⁴ has its origins throughout the Middle Ages. By the 4th century, female monastic life was already shaped as an urban phenomenon⁵ and it was seen as parallel to the masculine monastic life, which, essentially, was an antisocial escape to the desert.⁶ Additionally, in the 6th century, Saint Caesarius of Arles wrote *Regula sanctorum virginum*, the first western rule written exclusively for women⁷. During Early and High Middle Ages more religious Orders entered in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Benedictines or the Cistercians. Besides, from the 13th century on, it is possible to speak about female urban conventualism.⁸ For instance, in Navarre, we can underline: the Benedictines of Estella which were founded in the 10th century; the Cistercians nuns of Tudela, created in 1157; the Poor Clares of Santa Engracia, a convent in Pamplona from the year 1228; the Benedictines of Estella which were founded in 1232; the Augustines of San Miguel in Barañain, created in 1244; the Cistercians of Santa María de Salas in Estella from the year 1260; the Poor Clares

1. Atienza, Ángela. "Nobleza, poder señorial y conventos en la España moderna. La dimensión política de las fundaciones nobiliarias", *Estudios sobre señorío y feudalismo: homenaje a Julio Valdeón*, Esteban Sarasa, Eliseo Serrano, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2010: 235.

2. Atienza, Ángela. "La expansión del clero regular en Aragón durante la Edad Moderna. El proceso fundacional". *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 21 (2003): 18.

3. This article focuses on the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country located in Northern Spain, that is, the provinces of Biscay, Guipuzcoa and Alava. Navarre and the Basque territories located in Southern France are not taken into account.

4. Catalán, Elena. "El clero ante la crisis del siglo XVII. Conflictos y estrategias". *Tiempos modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 20 (2010): 20.

5. Reder, Marion. "Las voces silenciosas de los claustros de la clausura". *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 25 (2000): 282.

6. Linage, Antonio. "La mujer y el monacato", *I Congreso Internacional del Monacato femenino en España, Portugal y América (1492-1992)*, María Isabel Viforcós, Jesús Paniagua, eds. Leon: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1993: 16.

7. Vogüé, Adalbert de. "Cesareo de Arlés y los orígenes de la clausura de monjas", *XX Semana de estudios Monásticos: 'Mujeres del absoluto. El monacato femenino. Historia, instituciones, actualidad' (Abadía de Silos)*, Clemente de la Serna, ed. Burgos: Abadía de Silos, 1986: 183.

8. Rucquoi, Adeline. "Los franciscanos en el Reino de Castilla", *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera (31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Ángel García de Cortázar, coords. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 66.



of Tudela, founded in 1261 and the convent of Poor Clares in Estella which dates back to the second half of the 13th century. For its part, in Galicia we can stress: the Benedictines in San Breixo de Donas from the 9th century; the nuns of San Benito de San Xoán in Cova, founded in the 10th century; the Benedictines of San Salvador in Sobrado which date back to 1287; the Poor Clares of the convent of Santa Clara in Allariz since 1289 and the convents of Poor Clares in Santiago de Compostela and Pontevedra rose during the 13th and 14th centuries respectively. More examples of Medieval foundations can be found in Saragossa where in 1234 the convent of Santa Catalina was founded, so the monastery of the Resurrection in 1276. It is a generalized line throughout the Late Middle Ages: the Iberian Peninsula witnessed a very important dynamic of female conventual foundations.

2. Situation and evolution in the Basque Country

Regarding the Basque female conventual foundations, there was a different rhythm which lets appreciate the differences not only among the three Basque provinces but also between them and the rest of the Christian Iberian Peninsula. Thus, it was in the province of Alava where the first foundations took place; besides, this province promoted the largest number of Basque female convents during the Middle Ages. In the first place, in Vitoria it was founded a Poor Clares convent whose foundation date remains unknown but, thanks to some documents, it is possible to know that by 1247 it already existed.⁹ By this time, it was also founded the Cistercian convent of Santa María in the village of Barria, although its foundation date is unknown, it is dated during the 12th century.¹⁰

Salinas de Añana held a convent related to the female branch of the Knights Hospitaller. Once again, the foundation date is unknown, but given that its first written mention is dated from 1302, its foundation could be placed at the beginning of the 14th century.¹¹ Finally, in 1378 the Dominican convent of San Juan Bautista was founded in the village of Quejana. This convent was closely linked to the Ayala lineage,¹² because the marriage formed by Fernán Pérez de Ayala and Elvira de Zaballos wanted to found a convent. In this way, next to their palace, a church and a convent were built.

9. Prada, María Fernanda. *Ocho siglos de Historia de las clarisas en España*. Murcia: Publicaciones Instituto Teológico de Murcia, 2013: 30.

10. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa de Euskal Herria", *Historia de los Religiosos en el País Vasco y Navarra*, Joseba Intxausti, ed. Oñate: Editorial franciscana Arantzazu, 2002: 843.

11. Jimeno, Roldán. "Clero secular y regular en la Historia de Vasconia". *Iura Vasconiae: revista de derecho histórico y autonómico de Vasconia*, 3 (2006): 133.

12. García Fernández, Ernesto. "Dominicos y Franciscanos en el País Vasco (siglos XIII-XV)", *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera (31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Angel García de Cortázar, coords. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 218.



On the other hand, in the other two Basque provinces there were only two more female convents: in San Sebastian there was the Augustinian convent of San Bartolomé since 1250,¹³ while in Lequeitio, a town located in Biscay, a Dominican convent was founded in 1368. This convent had, precisely, its origin in a *beaterio*.¹⁴

It is clear that we are in front of a devastating framework: in total, there were only six female convents which had been founded since the 12th century, and four of them were situated in the same province. This was the religious reality until the 16th century, when gradually more female convents were founded, a process that finalized in the 18th century. Clearly, it can be noticed that these foundations, with the exception of the province of Alava, took place with some delay in relation to the European and Castilian foundations.¹⁵ There is not a unique answer to explain the causes of the situation, though the existence of other type of female religious, such as the *beatas* or *seroras* helps to clarify the issue.

The *seroras*, also known as *freilas*, were a religious institution which, thanks to the approval of the bishops, took care of some local churches, chapels and objects of cult.¹⁶ In other words, women acting as *seroras* were an extension of the 'ladies of the house' because they acted as a minister of the religious domestic cult.¹⁷ In that period, the churches and the chapels were crowded,¹⁸ a fact that explains the great extension of the *seroras*, a female religious phenomenon that was especially important in the province of Guipuzcoa. Therefore, when a woman felt religious concern, she could embrace the *seroras*. In spite of all this, there was not a direct link between the *seroras* or its houses (*seroratos*) and the nuns and their convents, because the former preceded but they were not the origin of the convent's religious life.

The *beaterio* has to be seen as a Medieval female community of semi-religious women who lived spiritually under an exemplary behavior, apart from a convent.¹⁹ That is to say, *beatas* were lay women who may be linked to Catholic Orders and congregations, but who had not taken any kind of vows. It is necessary to state that not all *beaterios* were consecrated to the contemplative life, because some of them were focused on helping the ill and taking care of children's religious education, as well as being a refuge for dowryless young women.²⁰ Regardless of their orientation,

13. Murugarren, Luis. "Presencia religiosa-agustiniana en Guipúzcoa". *Revista agustiniana*, 35/196 (1994): 77.

14. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 843.

15. Arizaga, Beatriz; Martínez Martínez, Sergio. *Atlas de las villas medievales de Vasconia*. Bilbao: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2006: 96.

16. Azpiazu, José Antonio. "Las seroras en Gipuzkoa (1550-1630)". *Cuadernos de Sección, Antropología-Etnografía*, 13 (1995): 45.

17. Frank, Rosilyn M. "En torno al papel de la serora en Euskal Herria: documentos y archivos". *Academia*. 12 October 2015 <http://www.academia.edu/3664984/La_serora_vasca_documentos_y_archivos>.

18. Arriet, Arantxa. *Las seroras en Euskal Herria*. San Sebastian: Instituto Superior Ciencias Religiosas Pio XII, 2011: 49.

19. Beldad, Juliana. *Monjas y Conventos en Castilla La Nueva: un modelo de vida religiosa rural en los siglos XV-XVII*. Ciudad Real: Almad, Ediciones de Castilla la Mancha, 2010: 24.

20. Atienza, Ángela. "De beaterios a conventos: nuevas perspectivas sobre el mundo de las beatas en la España moderna". *Historia social*, 57 (2007): 168.



living without any kind of enclosure was a characteristic shared by the whole *beaterios*.

It has already been pointed out that by the 4th century female religiosity was still shaped and that in the 6th century Saint Caesarius of Arles wrote the first western rule for women. Besides, it is known that in the Cistercian Order religious women existed from the very first moment of its religious path,²¹ situation shared by other religious Orders, such as the Premonstratensians or the Augustinians.²² In addition, in the 13th century, the Poor Clares started their course, leading to the birth of more female communities. That means that an answer to female religiosity already existed. So, why did arise a new type of female religiosity in the mid of the Medieval Ages?

At the beginning of the 13th century, there was an imbalance in the European population due to different reasons. In the first place, the birth rate was very high and the families could not afford to pay the dowries of all women. For that reason, *beaterios* were seen as a suitable place for women.²³ On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that the female life expectancy has always been higher.²⁴ Besides, there were more biological aspects which involved a marked distinction between both genders. For example, in that period there was a religious fervour which made some men embrace monastic life, and at the same time continuous wars caused different damages over male gender.

As a direct consequence of these circumstances, there was a percentage of single women.²⁵ Excluding recent decades, throughout History female spinsterhood has not been considered correct,²⁶ that is, the society did not accept that women could remain single since the mentality of that period forced to have women in the marital institution. Finally, although it is true that women had a place in the religious Orders, as a result of the importance given to the convents, the figure of the nun was reserved to a small select group of the most influential families,²⁷ which prevented the rest of women to be ordained. Besides, when a woman joined a convent it was compulsory that she brought a dowry. The dowry required in the marriages was much higher than the one demanded in the convents; in this way, noble families sent their female members to the convents because these religious places were

21. Berman, Constance H. "Were there Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?". *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 68/4 (1999): 825.

22. Simons, Walter. *Cities of Ladies. Beguine communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002: 109.

23. Engen, John van. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008: 133.

24. Leonard, Amy. *Nails in the wall. Catholic nuns in Reformation Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005: 15.

25. Lewis, Gertrud Jaron. *By women, for women, about women*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996: 3.

26. Poutrin, Isabelle. "Les religieuses espagnoles au siècle d'or. Entre dépendance sociale et autonomie spirituelle". *Cahiers du Centre de recherches historiques*, 40 (2007): 4.

27. Makowski, Elizabeth. *Canon Law and Cloistered women. Periculoso and its Commentators. 1298-1545*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997: 11.



seen as a way to maintain their wealth.²⁸ However, the religious dowry was still an expenditure that not all the families could afford it.²⁹ Therefore, this economic factor together with the social negative attitude towards the female spinsterhood and the incapacity shown by the existing convents to accept more candidates, contributed to the birth and spreading of the *beatas*.³⁰ This phenomenon of the *beatas* spread out all over Western Europe. These semi-religious women were known with different names, such as *pinzocchere* in Italy or *beguines* in the Netherlands and in France.³¹

Thanks to the surviving documents, it can be stated that there were not any important Basque towns without *beaterios*.³² In most of the cases, the foundation date remains unknown, being the Dominican *beaterio* of Bilbao one exception since it is known that it was founded in 1499.³³ Thus, as the origin of the most of the female convents was a pre-existing *beaterio*, the difficulties for knowing the foundation dates concerns both the *beaterios* and the convents.³⁴ Usually, *beaterios* were born as a natural process, without any specific foundation date. The most of the female convents founded in the Early Modern Ages had its roots in the Medieval times, a time of *beaterios* in the Basque provinces. Some of them reached the papal favour: in 1296 Pope Boniface VIII gave a papal bull to the *beatas* of Orduña, in Biscay.³⁵

Although the scarcity of document is the main problem, when it comes to enumerate the *beaterios* before the 16th century, its number was high. María José Arana, an expert in this topic, states that there could be around eighty *beaterios*.³⁶

28. Evangelisti, Silvia. *Nuns. A history of convent life, 1450-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: 5.

29. Rapley, Elizabeth. *A social history of the Cloister. Daily life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009: 35.

30. Lewis, Gertrud Jaron. *By women...: 3*.

31. Green, Dennis H. *Women readers in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge (UK): University of Cambridge, 2010: 156.

32. Lizarralde, José Adriano de. "Orígenes de la vida claustral en el País Vasco", *I Congreso de Eusko Ikaskuntza*. Oñate: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1918: 592.

33. Rodríguez Condado, Eugenio. *Monasterio de la Encarnación y el convento de Santo Domingo de la villa de Bilbao*. Bilbao: Gráficas Alustiza, 2000: 15.

34. Atienza, Ángela. *Tiempo de conventos: una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2008: 39.

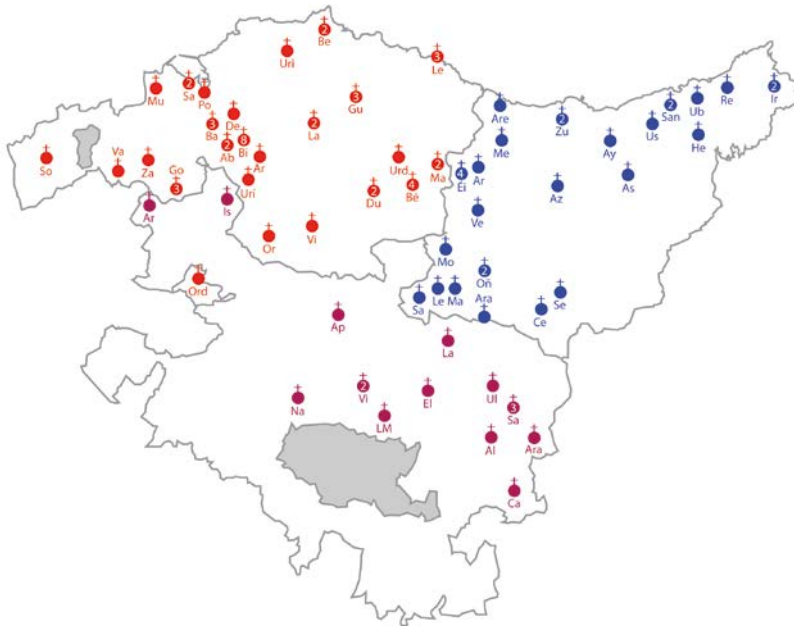
35. Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, 619/24.

36. Some original documents mix up the terms *beaterios* and *seroratos*, the place where the *seroras* lived.



Table 1. *Beaterios* in the Basque Country before the 16th century

Province	<i>Beaterios</i>
Alava	Isasti, Arceniega, Nanclares de Oca, Apodaca, Elburgo, Larrea, Agurain-Salvatierra (3), Santa Cruz de Campezo, Vitoria (2), La Magdalena, Ula and Arana
Guipuzcoa	San Sebastian (2), Irun (2), Renteria, Uba, Hernani, Mendaro, Aya, Usurbil, Eibar (4), Oñate (2), Aranzazu, Cegama, Bergara, Salinas de Leniz, Lete, Segura, Mondragon (2), Azpeitia, and Zumaia (2)
Biscay	Santurce (2), Portugalete, Muskiz, Balmaseda, Soscaños, Zalla, Gordejuela, Barakaldo (3), Bilbao (8), Deusto (1), Uribe, Bermeo (2), Guernica (3), Uribarri, Marquina (2), Lequeitio (3), Berriz (4), Urdayaga, Durango (2), Villaro, Orozco, Arrigorriaga, and Orduña



MAP 1. BEATERIOS IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY BEFORE THE 16TH CENTURY. MAP MADE BY AITOR CASTAÑEDA ZUMETA.



As it can be seen, both in the table (table 1) and in the map (map 1), *beaterios* had an essential presence in the Basque Country, especially in the coastal provinces. Nevertheless, not all the *beaterios* have survived and the most of them ended in becoming convents.³⁷ In this way, although in the Middle Ages *beaterios* were distinguished by not having any link to a religious Order, in the 16th century this tendency changed: the *beaterios* disappeared or embraced a religious Order, specially the Franciscans.³⁸ Likewise, during the 16th century more *beaterios* were founded.

The majority of the *beaterios* adopted the Order of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, an early member of the Third Order of Saint Francis, canonized and declared the patron saint of this Third Order of Saint Francis. For this reason, the *beatas* who embraced this Order were known as *isabelinas* or tertiaries. The high number of Franciscan tertiaries explains why the Poor Clares convents were the preferent destiny of the *beatas*. On the other hand, there were also Augustinian, Mercedarian and Dominican *beaterios*.



MAP 2. TERTIARIES *BEATERIOS* IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY DURING THE 16TH CENTURY. MAP MADE BY AITOR CASTEÑADA ZUMETA.

37. Atienza, Ángela. "De beaterios a conventos...": 148.

38. Ozaeta, Emiliano. "Las órdenes Monasteriales y mendicantes en el País Vasco entre 1491 y 1521", *El Pueblo Vasco en el Renacimiento (1491-1521)*, *Actas del Simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Deusto (San Sebastián) con motivo del V Centenario del Nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola (1-5 Octubre de 1990)*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1994: 526.

It has to be pointed out that in Biscay there was a high percentage of *beaterios*. Moreover, from all the convents that existed in Biscay during the Early Modern Age, only two of them did not have their origin in a *beaterio*. In particular, the Dominican convent of Santa Margarita in Ermua³⁹ that was founded by Mariana Ruiz de Lobiano in the 16th century and the convent of Poor Clares in Balmaseda which was founded in the 17th century by Juan de la Piedra Verástegui. The rest of the nineteen convents⁴⁰ had their origin in a *beaterio*. In total, during the Early Modern Ages, there were twenty two female convents in Biscay, a fact that reflects that the *beaterios* faded out. In the Franciscan family we can mention the convents of Santa Clara in Abando,⁴¹ the Conception in Abando, Santa Cruz in Bilbao, San Antonio in Durango, Santa Isabel in Gordejuela, Santa Clara in Guernica, Santa Clara in Orduña, Santa Clara in Portugalete and Santa Isabel in Villaro. The *beaterios* of Santa Isabel in Bilbao and the ones located in Larrabezua, Muskiz, Urdagaiga-Berriz and Zalla disappeared when the *beatas* moved out to other *beaterios*. Some Mercedarian *beaterios*, such as the ones situated in Arrancudiaga, Deusto, Larrabezua and Muguica, also dissolved when the *beatas* moved out to other *beaterios*. However, the Augustian and Dominican *beaterios* did not disappear.

Throughout the 16th century some *beaterios* started to embrace religious enclosure, but the process stretched on until 1741, when the Mercedarians of Berriz were the last *beatas* to take enclosure. Besides, two noteworthy cases must be mentioned, the Augustians *beatas* of Marquina and the Mercedarians of Santurce due to both communities reached the 19th century without having embraced religious enclosure.⁴²

It has been said that during the Medieval Ages the province of Guipuzcoa only had a convent, but in the Early Modern Ages this province witnessed a conventual foundation boom. A high number of local lineages that had a position at the Court, like Juan López de Lazárraga, Alonso de Idiáquez, Miguel Antonio de Oquendo or Martín López de Isasi, founded convents in Oñate, San Sebastian, Lasarte and Eibar.⁴³ Regarding the *beaterios* of this province, in the 16th century they also approached to a religious Order, which facilitates to know with precision their existence. Thus, in the Franciscan family, the *beaterio* Purísima Concepción in Azpeitia was held on in 1497, the *beatas* of Santa Ana in Oñate in 1503, the *beatas* of Purísima Concepción in Mondragon after 1509, the *beaterio* Santa Trinidad in Bergara in 1513, and in

39. In 1700, this community moved out to Elorrio, where they still exist. The community is known as the Convent of Santa Ana.

40. The Poor Clares in Abando, Bilbao, Durango, Guernica, Orduña, Portugalete; the Isabelines in Gordejuela and Villaro; the Concepcionists of Abando; the Augustines of Durango and two convents in Bilbao; the Dominicans in Bilbao and Lequeitio; and the Mercedarians of Berriz, Bilbao, Guernica, Marquina and Orozco.

41. The *elizate* of Abando, Begoña and Deusto were annexed to the city of Bilbao in the 19th and 20th centuries.

42. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "Beatas y beaterios vizcaínos: desde el nacimiento medieval hasta la extinción en el siglo XIX", *Actas de la XIV Reunión de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna (Zaragoza, 1 a 3 de junio de 2016)*, forthcoming.

43. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "Convents: the image of the Basque patronage network power", *Monastic Europe: Landscape & Settlement Conference, Ennis, 2015*, forthcoming.



Segura the *beaterio* Purísima Concepción in 1513. The Augustians were represented by the *beatas* of Mondragon since 1511, there were *beatas* in Rentería since 1543, in 1561 the *beaterio* of Mendaro appeared, and in 1570 the *beaterio* of Santa Catalina in Motrico. In Hernani there was a *beaterio* that in 1541 embraced the enclosure.⁴⁴ In Lete-Escoriaza the *beatas* of Santa Ana approached to the Mercedarians, while the *beaterio* of Azcoitia was transformed into a convent of the Brigittine Order.⁴⁵ Besides, there are evidences that some *beaterios* just disappeared, such as the one located in Cegama.⁴⁶

In Alava, the majority of the *beaterios* embraced the Franciscan family. In this way, the *beatas* of Salvatierra did it in 1552 and the ones living in Alegria in 1581. It is known that the *beaterios* of Nanclares de Oca and Santa Cruz de Campero also approached to the Franciscans, but the exact date remains unknown. On the opposite site, the *beatas* of Vitoria embraced the Dominican family in 1510 and the community became a convent in 1530.⁴⁷ Likewise, it is also known that some *beaterios*, like the one in Apodaca, just disappeared.⁴⁸ During the Early Modern Age, this province witnessed the foundation of different convents, such as the Augustinian convent of Arceniega in 1606 and the Bridgettines of Vitoria.

Although we do not know why before the 16th century some *beaterios* disappeared, the ones that did it in that century were influenced by the Papal Church. Like the papal bull *Periculoso* of Pope Boniface VIII, issued in 1298, shows, since the Middle Ages the Church had insisted on the female religious enclosure. In the Council of Trent, this policy continued, although in both cases the Church legislation only affected nuns, not *beatas*.⁴⁹ Nuns support their rejection on two bases: the enclosure was a danger for their lifestyle and the enclosure implied stricter conditions.⁵⁰ Thus, a high number of nuns stood against Tridentine legislation and, for example, the defiance of some convents of Zamora extended until the 30s of the 17th century and the resistance of the tertiaries of Biscay lasted 47 years. There were also more examples of affronts and opposition in convents located in Salamanca, Caceres, Coria, Trujillo, Cazalla de la Sierra, Astorga, Plasencia, Valladolid, Barcelona, or Galicia.⁵¹

Pope Pius V answered all the controversy in 1566 through his bull *Circa Pastoralis*. This document established a compulsory enclosure for all the female religious, both

44. Arocena, Fausto. "Notas para un historial del Monasterio de San Agustín de Hernani". *Boletín de Estudios Históricos sobre San Sebastián*, 19 (1985): 11.

45. *Breve noticia de la Religión de Santa Brígida y de este convento de Santa Cruz. Recopilada por una religiosa del mismo convento*. Bilbao: without Publisher, 1891: 45.

46. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 852.

47. Tabor, Fernando. *Convento de Santa Cruz de Vitoria-Gasteiz. Su patrimonio artístico-mueble (catálogo de la exposición)*. Leioa: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2007: 9.

48. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 852-853.

49. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 854.

50. Evangelisti, Silvia. *Nuns. A history of convent life...*: 6.

51. Atienza, Ángela. "Las grietas de la clausura tridentina. Polémicas y limitaciones de las políticas de encerramiento de las monjas... Todavía con Felipe IV". *Hispania*, 74/248 (2014): 813.



nuns and *beatas*. Besides, if a convent did not embrace the enclosure, the community would be forbidden to receive novices, that is, it was destined to extinguish.⁵² In addition, the male hierarchy of the Church had the duty to watch and implement the observance of this Papal decision.

On the other hand, in January 1570 the papal bull *Decori et honestati* was issued listing the reasons why nuns could abandon both temporally and permanently the religious community. Pope Gregory XIII, who was also influenced by Charles Borromeo, continued with Pius V's policies. Given that the economic reasons motivated the most of the nuns' opposition, the papal bull *Deo sacris virginibus* issued in 1572 had the objective of answering to that objection. This document promoted different measures to solve the economic difficulties, such as the generosity and help of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the monastic Orders, the public institutions, or the family and friends.

As a consequence of the legislation and a draconian chase, the Basque *beaterios* gradually embraced religious enclosure. Although it is not known if the *beaterios* from Alava and Guipuzcoa asked for any kind of help to the public institutions,⁵³ the *beaterios* from Biscay were supported by the institutions of the province when they refused to embrace religious enclosure. The Franciscan *beaterios* of Bilbao stood out in their fight both resorting to the Real Council of Castile and pleading in the court of the Nuncio in Spain. Thanks to this, in 8th August 1584 the Metropolitan Bishop of Burgos, Cristobal de Vela, in behalf of the Nuncio sentenced in favour of the *beatas*.⁵⁴

The *Juntas Generales* of Biscay⁵⁵ wrote a document denouncing the disadvantages of the enclosure because the *beatas* were poor and were in charge of teaching young people. This report's main ideas were the following: a) ancestral existence of the *beaterios* in Biscay without the enclosure; b) *beatas* had an inspiring life in which they follow religious practices; c) *beatas* helped not only in the religious education of children and young people but also in teaching households; d) the difficulty to replace them in those tasks; e) the importance of handmade work for the sustenance of the *beatas*; f) finally, the *beatas* were the best opportunity to join religion without the austerity of the enclosure lifestyle.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, *beatas* ended up giving in and embracing religious enclosure. This process started in the second half of the 16th century and finalized in the 18th century. Given that the economic links between *beaterios* and their neighbouring region were essential for their survival, the confinement broke the economic viability of the communities, which did not arouse any change in the Papal policy.

52. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "La rebelión de las clarisas vizcaínas frente al Concilio de Trento", *Líneas recientes de investigación en Historia Moderna*, Félix Labrador, ed. Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 2015: 96.

53. Archivo del Convento de Santa Clara de Portugalete, manuscript *Historia del Convento de Santa Clara de Portugalete*.

54. Rodríguez Condado, Eugenio. *El monasterio de la Santa Cruz. Bilbao-Begoña-Lujua. Historia*. Bilbao: without Publisher, 1994: 16.

55. It was the legislative, executive and judicial organ of Biscay. Nowadays it still exists, though with slightly different liabilities.

56. Uribe, Ángel. *La Provincia franciscana de Cantabria*. Oñati: Editorial Franciscana Aránzazu, 1996: II, 351.



3. Epilogue

The existence of *beaterios* in the Basque Country is undeniable from the Middle Ages in the three provinces. Besides, it is clear that there was a close link between *beaterios* and convents, relating a high number of the former and a lower presence of the latter. In this way, in Alava there were convents and *beaterios*, while in Guipuzcoa and Biscay the amount of *beaterios* was greater and there were only two convents in total.

Diverse reasons can explain the differences among the provinces. First, the physical features of the territory: the coastal provinces of Biscay and Guipuzcoa were an isolated, mountainous and wooded region, in front of Alava that was a flat region, which included both a different weather and an easy contact with the neighbour kingdoms. This environment could have influenced on the reception of religious ideas with more or less intensity, which conditioned the building of the convents. Thus, the convents in the coastal provinces were located in San Sebastian and in Lequitió, towns strongly linked abroad through commerce.

Secondly, the particular traits of Basque people's religiosity. A topical expression stated that Basque people were very religious, but the historical confrontation does not validate it;⁵⁷ therefore, the delay in the conventual implantation could be linked to the few weight of Christianity among Basques. It is true that the Basque Episcopal structure was definitely established along the 11th and 12th centuries,⁵⁸ but that does not mean that Christianity had penetrated deeply into Basque population. The witchcraft processes in 16th century in Biscay and Guipuzcoa as well in Navarre and the French Basque Labourd, at least shows the distrust of the Church regarding the popular religion in these regions.⁵⁹ Besides, the bilingualism of the territory can not be forgotten: Biscay and Guipuzcoa were Basque monolingual territories while in Alava Castilian had a bigger presence. This situation could have influenced the late reception of Christian faith, as well as female monastic Orders.

On the other hand, until the 16th century the Bishop of Calahorra, to whom Biscay depended on, could not enter into the province due to a prohibition dated from the 14th century.⁶⁰ Besides, the lineages so-called *Parientes Mayores*, (The Elders)⁶¹ had some rights over the parishes, as the collection of tithes, and did not accept the

57. Bilbao, Luis Mari. "El clero y el régimen patronal de las Iglesias del País Vasco en 1616 ante el juicio de su Obispo. Glosa de un documento inédito". *Scriptorium victoriense*, 29/1 (1982): 107.

58. Bazán, Iñaki. "La caracterización de la civilización vasca medieval (siglos XII-XV)", *Historia del País Vasco. Edad Media (siglos V-XV)*, Pedro Barruso, José Ángel Lema, eds. San Sebastian: Hiria, 2004: 444.

59. Madariaga, Juan. "Sociedad, mentalidades y cultura en Euskal Herria en los tiempos modernos", *Nosotros Los Vascos. Historia de Euskal Herria*, Joseba Agirreazkuenaga ed. Bilbao: Lur Argitaletxea, 2004: III, 186.

60. Val Valdevieso, María Isabel del. "Vizcaya frente al Obispo de Calahorra a fines de la Edad Media", *Símpoio Nacional sobre ciudades episcopales*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1987: 82.

61. The Elders or *Parientes Mayores*, were a nobility oligarchy whose power emanated from controlling, among others, the tithes of the parishes. A characteristic of this oligarchy was the approach to the commerce, thus during the Early Modern Ages, they played an important role both on the commerce and on the politics of the Basque towns. Curiel, Iosu. *La parroquia en el País Vasco cantábrico durante la Baja Edad Media (1350-1530)*. Leioa: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2009: 71.



authority of the Bishop over the parishes that they considered theirs.⁶² It has been said that the *beaterios* did not belong to any religious Order, a situation that lasted until the 16th century when the *beatas* sided with the Orders. This change coincided with the negotiations to allow the entrance of the Bishop in Biscay. Besides, in the Council of Trent it was issued that the bishops would be in charge of controlling the embrace of religious enclosure. Thus, all the controversy around the Bishop could explain not only why the *beaterios* in Biscay were so prominent but also the delay on embracing enclosure and, consequently, conventual foundation.

In addition, as it has been said, the *beaterios* were not only religious places because *beatas* could carry out social works. That is, the *beatas* made tasks that were beyond religion, which can explain the strong popularity of the *beaterios*, which were seen not only as religious places like the convents but also as something else. Likewise, even though there were *beaterios* that got extinguished, a great part of them were the origin of convents, hence the importance that they have as the origin of female conventual life in the Basque Country.

It has to be emphasised that *beatas* and *beaterios* were not only a Basque phenomenon because they also existed in other European countries. Nevertheless, it is necessary to underline the important role they played in the birth of convents. Finally, despite we can not know the exact number of *beaterios*, we can conclude that the origin of the Basque female conventual life is closely connected to the *beatas* and *beaterios*.

62. Curiel, Iosu. *La parroquia en el País Vasco...*: 71.



III PART

THE PAST EXPLAINED AND RECREATED



THE REFORM OF SAMOS ABBEY BETWEEN 1491 AND 1637: UNCOVERING THE LOGIC OF THE ARCHITECTURAL CHANGES

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ABSTRACT

Based on several archival sources and new graphic approaches, this article seeks to examine the first major changes that were made on the medieval architecture of Samos Abbey (Lugo-Spain) during the period that ranged from the beginning of the religious orders' reform, in the late 15th century, to the 1630s. On the one hand, the detailed analysis of some historical documentary sources let us understand the reasons for the spatial changes. On the other hand, we are able to know if the new rules that were established to reform the spiritual life also caused some transformations on the existing monastic complex in order to shape a new one.¹

KEYWORDS

Monasticism, Religious Architecture, Reform, Archival Sources, Graphic Recreation.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Monachismus, Architectura Religiosa, Reformatio, Fontes Archivorum, Recreatio Graphica.

1. Introduction

The apogee lived by the Galician Benedictine monasticism in the Early Middle Ages began to show signs of certain deterioration from the mid-14th century onwards. These signs persisted and increased until the end of the following century, when they achieved an unsustainable level that made evident the need of a reform in the religious life.

The scholars who studied this period agree that three factors were the main ones that led to a situation they describe as confused, anarchic, critical, and decayed in the last stage.² The first factor was the unstable social environment that, in general, prevailed over the course of this historical period. It lasted a long time and it was one of the effects of the Black Death (1348-1349), the war and some revolts. That tense social environment had a significant influence on the life of the religious communities. The number of monks decreased, even more than it was by that time, as a result of the Black Death and the anarchic, violent atmosphere that many different conflicts caused.³

The rise of the invasions committed by Galician nobles inside the monastic possessions was the second factor.⁴ The hegemony achieved by monasteries as great landowners, placed them under the eye of the secular nobility. This group began to be aware of the fact that they could only grow if they took over the monastic possessions.⁵ As a result, many Galician nobles started to invade the property that belonged to the monks. They occupied their pieces of land, little towns and villages. At the same time, they took the vassals who lived there and they stripped them of the money, their houses and the products of their land as if they were the real owners. This was a common problem in the majority of the Galician monasteries since the mid-14th century. It caused serious losses, because not only were the monastic farmland and buildings seized, but also the economic and material profits that the monastic orders used to achieve from the stolen possessions were lost.

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2. Among the main studies about the religious Spanish reform in the 15th century we want to highlight the ones published by: Colombás, Garsías de Cisneros María (Benet). *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. García Jiménez de Cisneros. *Abad de Montserrat*. Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1955: 3-6, 18-29, 73-76; Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma del episcopado español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1960; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969: 17-62.

3. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 20-21, 45-49.

4. Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma...*: 45; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 45-47.

5. García Oro, José. *Galicia en los siglos XIV y XV*. A Coruña: Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos-Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1987: I, 118-121.



Consequently, chaos descended on monasteries little by little, because they were not able to resist the invaders.

Thirdly, the Church itself, the institutions and its members were in a deep crisis all around Europe, because of the Western Schism (1378-1429) and the appearance of some revolutionary individuals, among other reasons.⁶ That crisis affected the different estates of clergy, from the high one, which was formed by a decayed papacy, to the lower layers, where there were some examples of abbots with perpetual positions who lived surrounded by luxury while they wasted the Church resources. Moreover, there also were some monks who lived without following the strict observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict and they were steep in immorality.

The author García Oro points out that although *la vida religiosa se mantenía en lo sustancial (...) las transgresiones y los escándalos aparecían con relativa frecuencia* and, despite the fact that *estos ejemplos no fueran los más ordinarios, su carácter excepcional los hizo llamativos*.⁷ Something similar is emphasized by Colombás, who calls this situation as *la última escena de disgregación de la Edad Media*,⁸ but he also recognizes that during this epoch *entre las tinieblas (...) no faltaron oasis de luz*,⁹ because the first voices in favour of the reform were heard within this unstable environment.

With the last aim of bringing to an end the spiritual and material declining period that most monasteries were suffering, Catholic Kings promoted a reform of the religious orders in the Crown of Castile since the mid-15th century. Taking as an example the Galician case of Samos Abbey, and as chronological limits the years 1491 —when the Castilian reform began in Samos— and 1637 —when the abbot Mauro de Vega ended his mandate—; in this work we will examine what steps were taken to make possible the reform, what factors caused the changes and, above all, what consequences they produced on the medieval spaces. With this approach, we seek to determine to what extent the new rules that were established to reform the spiritual life, had also an influence on the transformation and definition of a new monastic architectural complex from the existing one.

2. Towards the reform of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid

Some steps had been already taken to cope with the reform of the religious orders in the territory of the Castile Crown before the beginning of the Catholic Kings' reign in 1479. Particularly, with that goal King John I founded the monastery

6. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 4.

7. "these examples were not the most ordinary ones; they became noteworthy because of their exceptional nature". García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 21.

8. "the last disintegration scene of the Middle Ages". Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 3-4.

9. "there was some oasis of light (...) in the darkness". Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 6.



of San Benito de Valladolid in 1390. Its community was known because of following an exemplary lifestyle. It was based on a strict observance of the Rule of Saint Benedict.¹⁰ They caught the attention of other monasteries that joined them soon due to the appealing, deep reform these Castilian monks proposed.¹¹

The decay of the Galician monastic life came to kings' attention. They travelled to this area of their kingdom in 1486 so as to see in first person what the real situation was. After confirming the bad conditions of most monasteries, they decided to write to the Holy See in order to ask for their authorisation to begin the reform.¹² Initially, the Pope was reluctant to undertake any change when these pieces of news arrived in Rome. However, he finally allowed the beginning of some advance towards the reform after the insistence of Catholic Kings.

In this sense, firstly we have to highlight the bull *Quanta in Dei Ecclesia* granted in 1487,¹³ when the prior of San Benito de Valladolid was the brother Juan de Soria.¹⁴ In this document, Pope Innocent III explained the urgent need of the reform in the Galician territory. In addition to this, he gave authority to four Castilian prelates to introduce the reform in the Benedict, Cistercian and Regular Canons of Saint Augustine orders. The chosen prelates were allowed to suppress or join monasteries, they could correct and punish the abbots and the monks who had an improper behaviour, they could establish new rules, they were able to recover the possessions that belonged to the monasteries as well as introducing the strict observance of the Rule inside them.¹⁵

The visit and reform of the Galician monasteries was delegated to Alfonso Carrillo, who was the bishop of Catania.¹⁶ We know that he was in Samos in 1491, where he left some reformed monks from Castile and he appointed the brother Juan de Estella the new head of the community, who was formed in the monastery of San Juan de Burgos.¹⁷

However, the former abbot and the few monks who lived in Samos at that time, refused the brother Juan de Estella as the new superior of the community. This fact forced Alonso Carrillo to ask the Galician Governor for help. There is evidence of this event through the title of a document that was written in 1491 and transcribed by Arias:

10. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...: 19-20.*

11. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...: 19-20*; Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito en la Galicia de la Época Moderna: La reforma de la Congregación de Castilla y las visitas generales", *Opus Monasticorum. Patrimonio, arte, historia y orden*, José Manuel López Vázquez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2005: 23-26.

12. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...: 49.*

13. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...: 78*; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...: 49-51.*

14. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Abadologio del monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid (1390-1835)". *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea*, 23 (2003): 211.

15. Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito...": 26.

16. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...: 50.*

17. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Samos*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta, Librería y Encuadernación Seminario Conciliar, 1950: 171.



*Provisión de D. Alfonso Carrilo de Albornoz, Juez apostólico diputado para la Reforma de S. Benito de Valladolid, en que da comisión al Virrey de Galicia para que obligue a los Monjes de Samos admitan a Fr. Juan de Estella nombrado por el Presidente de este Monasterio, al cual no querían admitir los monjes, por cuyo motivo dio auto de prisión contra ellos obligándolos por la fuerza.*¹⁸

The difficulties to introduce the reform in the monastery of Samos are also gathered in another document that dates from 1497. It was written by the new head of the community, the brother Juan de Estella, where he explained that *quitaronse unos ençensarios que don Carlos tenya enpeñados por XU que le debíamos de su salario, que cuando él por vos me metyó en este monasterio a manu armata con más de XL de a caballo syn los peones.*¹⁹

When the reforming monks arrived, the abbot of Samos was the brother Fernando de Castelo. In 1498, the prior of San Benito de Valladolid, who was the brother Rodrigo de Valencia, charged him with rebellion, disobedience and immorality, among others offences, and the court finally found him guilty in 1499. As a result, the former abbot of Samos was expelled from the monastery and, in this way, the path for the final introduction of the strict observance was opened.²⁰

Bringing reforming monks from Castile and leaving them in Samos had the purpose of charging them the responsibility of training the monks who lived at the abbey. The new head was the guide of all the community; that is the brother Juan de Estella. Among his duties, all the following were included: the establishment and consolidation of the strict observance, the economic restructuring of the monastic resources, and the creation of a group of monks with a proper training so as to strengthen the development of a monastic lifestyle according to the model that was previously established in Valladolid.

After reaching the consolidation of the reformed monastic life, a request to the Holy See was done to join Samos Abbey to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid. This fact took place when Pope Julius II issued the bull called *Cathedram praeminentiae pastoralis* on 27th May 1505.²¹ The brother Juan de Estella was appointed the new triennial abbot on 29th November 1505; that is some months later.²²

18. "The order of Alfonso Carrillo de Albornoz, who is the apostolic judge in charge of the reform of San Benito de Valladolid, where he gave commission to the viceroy of Galicia to force the monks of Samos to accept the brother Juan de Estella, who was named by him as the new head of the community, but the monks did not want to admit him. Consequently, he granted an order of committal to custody against them as well as compelling them by force". Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 169-170.

19. "Some censers that Mr. Charles pawned for XU we owed him from his salary were removed, when this man on behalf of you help me to come into this monastery during an armed action with more than XL men on horseback without taking into account the foot soldiers". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)". *Diversarum Rerum*, 5 (2010): 67.

20. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Proceso de reforma contra el abad de Samos y Monforte (1498-1499)". *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 16 (2000): 421-465.

21. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio de San Julián de Samos*. Samos: Monasterio de Samos-Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1992: 191.

22. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192.



3. The medieval architecture of Samos: an approaching to a former physical reality

In the previous sections we have set the starting point of the religious reform as well as the reasons that led to it. The next question to be solved is to know how the monastic complex of Samos was in the late 15th century; that is how the monastic plan or sacred topography²³ was just before the beginning of this particular case of spiritual and physical reform we analyze here. We tackle this aspect because our main, last goal is to understand the consequences that the ecclesiastical renewal caused in the monastic buildings there were in Samos at that time, the ones that had been built over the course of the previous centuries. Therefore, in this new section we make a written and graphic approach to the appearance of a group of medieval buildings, which are almost completely disappeared at the present, before we cope with the study of the transformation undergone by them. In addition to this, we also aim to know which rules have an influence on the definition of that architecture if there were any.

The Chapel of the Cypress or the Chapel of San Salvador is the most ancient, extant building from the primitive abbey. It was built at the end of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century.²⁴ It is located roughly one hundred meters from the present monastery. This architectural remain shows that there was a former monastery in Samos before the building of the Romanesque one. Although its original function is still unknown, the nearness of this building to the present monastery is the key to deduce that the early medieval complex was placed around it. The monastic location changed at a certain point in time due to the need of a bigger area, the limit of the nearby river, or the initial double condition of the monastery. Consequently, the monastic space was extended towards the south area, where some Romanesque remains are extant at present.

In addition to the Chapel of the Cypress, some historical documents let us know that a Romanesque church was built in Samos between the late 12th century and

23. Sacred topography or planned topography are terms used by Carrero to refer to the exterior and interior organization of the medieval religious complexes, as well as the rooms and different buildings of the monasteries and cathedrals. Carrero, Eduardo. "Observaciones sobre la topografía sacra y cementerial de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, en Burgos, y su materialización arquitectónica", *La clausura femenina en España: actas del simposium*, Francisco Javier Campos, ed. San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2004: 695-716; Carrero, Eduardo. "La arquitectura medieval al servicio de las necesidades litúrgicas. Los conjuntos de iglesias". *Anales de Historia del Arte*, Volumen extra 1 (2009): 61-97.

24. Different studies carried out the analysis of the Chapel of the Cypress, see: Villaamil, José. "La capillita monacal de Samos y la de San Miguel de Celanova y la iglesia de Santa Comba de Bande". *Galicia Histórica*, 11 (1903): 697-719; Gómez Moreno, Manuel. *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919: 93-96; Núñez, Manuel. *Arquitectura prerrománica*. Santiago de Compostela: Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 1978: 227-236; Portilla, Pedro de la. "La capilla del Salvador o del Ciprés, templo mozárabe de Samos", *Monasticum*. Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Lápicos, 2006: 83-107; Casal, Carolina. "O século X en Samos: a capela do Salvador, un programa ideolóxico singular", *Rudesindus: A cultura europea do século X*, Carla Fernández-Refoxo, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2007: 249-261.



the early 13th century.²⁵ Although the demolition of this religious building took place in 1746 to finish the construction of the present monastic church,²⁶ some remains are extant today. Despite the fact that they are not numerous, they allow us to recreate the original appearance of that former Romanesque church.²⁷ We also suppose that there was a cloister joined together with the church through a simple, extant Romanesque portal, like it happened in other monasteries. The cloister was formed by different rooms where a religious community of forty members lived.²⁸ Nevertheless, no remains from the cloister are extant at present, unlike in the case of the church.

The cloister was probably located on the south side of the church, where the extant Romanesque portal is at present. As usual, it could be a quadrilateral enclosure surrounded by four covered passages that were opened to the central cloister courtyard, as we can see in many examples of the same typology and period we preserved nowadays or have been studied. In addition to the Romanesque portal, the best evidence for the existence of a medieval cloister in Samos in the late Middle Ages is the fire that the monastic rooms suffered some years later, in the early 16th century.²⁹

Besides the Chapel of the Cypress, the Romanesque church and the attached cloister, through some archival documents we also know that at least another medieval building belonged to the monastic complex at that time.³⁰ It was an independent construction and it was allocated to the guest quarters. The date of its erection is unknown, but we do know that it existed as early as the 11th century,

25. In a document of 1167 that belongs to the Tumbo de Samos the intention of building a church by the community is mentioned. This is the document number 51, which was transcribed by: Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII). Estudio introductorio. Edición diplomática. Apéndices e índices*. Santiago de Compostela: Publicaciones de la obra social Caixa Galicia, 1986: 149-152. Some years later, in 1228, another document contains more data in regard to the new church. In this new case, an express mention to the building works is done, so we can deduce that it was close the end of the construction, see: Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/82 (1912): 114-115; Portilla, Pedro de la. *El Monasterio de Samos*. Leon: Ediciones Leonesas, 1984: 19; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 160; Yzquierdo, Ramón. "El arte medieval en el arciprestazgo de Samos", *Miscelánea samonense: homenaje al P. Maximino Arias O.S.B.* Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo-Servicio de Publicaciones, 2001: 59.

26. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/83 (1912): 137-140.

27. López Salas, Estefanía. "Propuesta metodológica para la restitución de la planimetría de una arquitectura medieval desaparecida: la iglesia románica del monasterio de San Julián de Samos (Lugo)". *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 10 (2013): 1-19.

28. This is the number of the community members according to the document of 1167 in which the intention of building a new church was mentioned. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 142.

29. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 118; Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 174.

30. Besides the guest quarters, other independent buildings could form part of the medieval monastery of Samos. We point out this fact because in a document written by the generals who came from Valladolid to visit the monastery in December 1563, not only did they refer to the guest quarters but also to an infirmary, although its location and the date of its construction are unknown. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 111.



because it appears in a document of the Tumbo de Samos from that period.³¹ Moreover, another document of 1815, where a text of 1619 was copied, inform us that the medieval guest quarters burned around 1419, but they were rebuilt later in the same way as the former ones.³² Regarding the situation, we can confirm that this building for the guests was located on the east side of the complex, next to the river, because it was demolished when the construction of the present Big Cloister, also known as the Brother Feijoo's Cloister, began through the building of the southeast covered passage, which is right beside the river, in the late 17th century.

Following this brief approach to the different places of the medieval monastery of Samos (Illustration 1), we will intend to understand what needs this sacred topography met, because as Carrero rightly points out *aunque parezca una obviedad, (...) el principal ascendente a la hora de interpretar funcionalmente la arquitectura religiosa no es otro que el de la liturgia para la que fue construida*³³ and, in the case of a monastery, we also have to consider the Rule that regulated the community's life we study here.

The first, written reference to the fact that the monks of Samos followed the Rule of Saint Benedict was found in a document dated from 960.³⁴ That is a really early time within the introduction of this way of monastic life in the Iberian Peninsula. The expansion and acceptance of these new precepts by the peninsular monasteries implied to give up the former rules of living communally and, as a result, the process was slow.³⁵ In fact, in the case of Samos, we do not find another document in which the Rule of Saint Benedict was mentioned until 1070. However, the references to these monastic precepts³⁶ are constant in the archival sources from the late 12th century onwards.

31. This is the document number 15 of the Tumbo de Samos in which the following is said: *ut deserviat ipsa villa hic in Samanos in locum predictum ibi in hospitalarium ad hospitibus et peregrinis et servis Dei advenientium pro remedium anime mee*. Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián...*: 90-93.

32. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6490, f. 95 ("Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2". Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR-REGULAR, L. 6490". *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=4&txt_accion_origen=2&txt_id_desc_ud=3526106>.

33. "although it might seem obvious, (...) the main factor to interpret the religious architecture in a functional sense is taking into account the liturgy to which it was built". Carrero, Eduardo. "La arquitectura medieval...": 89.

34. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 75.

35. Among all the works devoted to the spread of the Rule of Saint Benedict, see, for example: Linage, Antonio. *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Patronato José María Quadrado, 1973: I, II, III; Linage, Antonio. "Orixe e primeiros pasos do monacato galego", *Monacato galego. Sexquimilenario de San Bieito. Actas do primeiro coloquio Ourense 1981*. Ourense: Museo Arqueolóxico Provincial, 1986: 27-51; Andrade, José Miguel. *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia Medieval (siglos X al XIII)*. A Coruña: Seminario de Estudos Galegos-Edicións do Castro, 1997: 28, 29, 37, 46.

36. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 118.



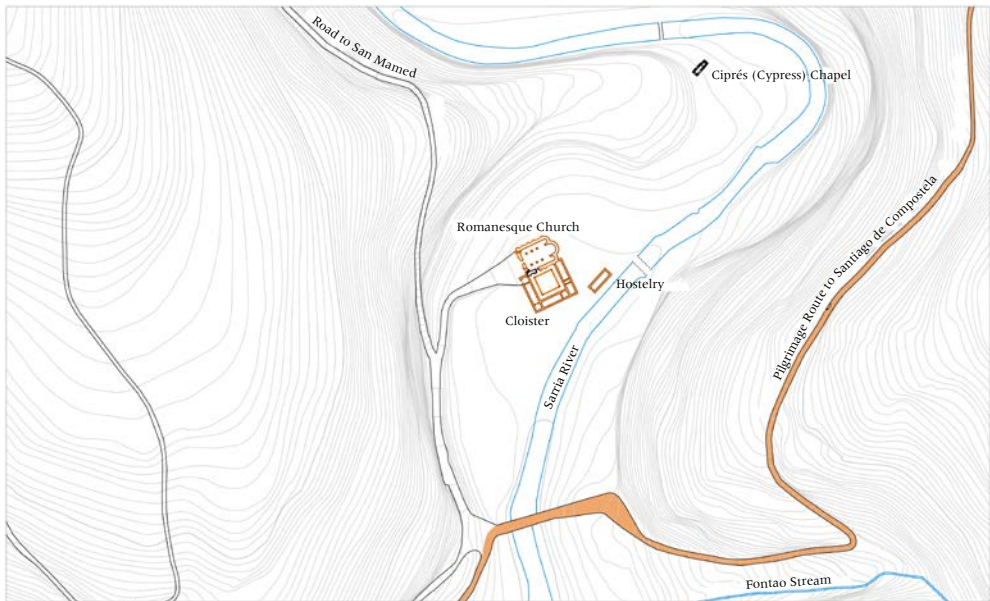


ILLUSTRATION 1. MAP OF THE MEDIEVAL MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY, JUST BEFORE THE REFORM OF THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



ILLUSTRATION 2. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF THE MEDIEVAL MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY, JUST BEFORE THE REFORM OF THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



The Rule of Saint Benedict is not very specific in regard to how the architecture of a monastery must be. As a matter of fact, it only refers to this issue in a very few cases. Nevertheless, as Sicart points out, the analysis of these scarce allusions is important, because when the Rule describes in detail the monks' lifestyle, in some sense it also establishes what spaces are necessary and how they should be organized.³⁷

The first indirect reference to architecture in the Rule of Saint Benedict is in chapter XXII, where it is explained how the monks are to sleep, as follows: *Todos dormirán (si fuere posible) en una pieza: y si la multitud no lo permitiere; dormirán a diez, o a veinte con sus ancianos, que tengan cuidado de ellos.*³⁸ Therefore, in the case of the earlier monasteries, the monastic bedrooms were communal.

According to the Rule of Saint Benedict, another mention to a needed place inside the monastery is written in chapter XXXV, as the next excerpt shows: *Sírvanse unos a otros los monjes, de manera, que ninguno se escape de servir en la cocina, sino por enfermedad o por estar ocupado en cosas de importancia.*³⁹ In addition to the kitchen, the monastery should have a place for the refectory, where the monks ate together, while one of them read. That fact is pointed out in chapter XXXVIII:

*Mientras comen los monjes a la mesa, no debe faltar lectura (...) Haya mientras se come, un silencio tan exacto, que no se perciba allí voz, ni susurro, sino de solo el que lee. Ministren los servidores mutuamente a los que están comiendo, y bebiendo, cuanto sea necesario, con tal diligencia, que nadie necesite pedir cosa.*⁴⁰

When the Rule deals with the issue of those who offend in lighter matters, in chapter XLVI, it also refers to other places with a function that is connected to the kitchen and the refectory, as follows:

Si alguno trabajando en cualquiera labor, en la cocina, en la despensa, en su ministerio, en la panadería, en la huerta, o en otra obra, si en cualquier lugar, sea donde fuere, delinque,

37. Sicart, Ángel. "Los siglos de aprendizaje. Imaginar arte y arquitectura monástica", *Opus Monasticorum VII. De nombres y otras*, Carme López Calderón, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira Editora, 2014: 193-195.

38. "If it be possible, let them all sleep in one place; but if the number do not allow of this, let them repose by tens or twenties in one place with their seniors who have care of them". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profession en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mecolaeta*. Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1751: 45. Available at: Mecolaeta, Diego. "Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profession en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mecolaeta". *Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León*. 1 July 2016 <<http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=6374>>.

39. "The brethren are so to serve each other, that no one be excused from the office of the kitchen, unless he be hindered by sickness or other business of more profit". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 56-57.

40. "Reading ought not to cease while the brethren eat at table (...) The greatest silence shall be kept at table, so that no muttering, or voice, shall be heard there, except the voice of the reader". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 60.



*quiebra, o excede en algo, y quanto antes no se presenta al Abad, y convento a confesar voluntariamente su culpa (...) désele más grave castigo.*⁴¹

Moreover, in chapter XXXVI is showed the following precept in regard to the sick brethren: *Haya para los monjes enfermos un aposento separado, y un enfermero timorato, diligente, y solícito, and Siempre que convenga, se ofrecerán baños a los enfermos: pero concédanse rara vez a los sanos, y en especial si son mozos.*⁴² In other words, this precept leads to the need of an independent building to allocate the infirmary or a place inside the cloister for that purpose, but properly isolated from the other monastic rooms.

The indirect mentions to other necessary places regarding the proper development of a certain monastic lifestyle also appear in chapters XLVIII, LIII and LVII. In chapter XLVIII the need of a library is indicated when the Rule points that *Al principio de Cuaresma se ha de dar a cada uno de los monjes un libro de la librería común, el cual leerá seguida, y enteramente de principio a fin.*⁴³

In chapter LIII another precept indicates the following: *Sean recibidos cuantos huéspedes llegaren al monasterio (...) Haya cocina separada para el Abad, y huéspedes: para que si llegaren a deshora, pues nunca suelen faltar en los conventos, no incomoden a los religiosos*⁴⁴ Regarding how guests are to be received, the Rule also orders them to do the next: *Encárguese a un religioso timorato el cuidado de la hospedería, en que estén las camas con decencia, para que la casa de Dios sea sabiamente administrada.*⁴⁵ A similar allusion is done in chapter LVI, when it is pointed that:

*La mesa del Abad esté siempre con huéspedes, y peregrinos. Cuando no hubiere huéspedes, tendrá arbitrio de llamar los que quisiere de sus monjes. Pero procure que siempre quede uno, o dos ancianos en la mesa común, atendiendo a la disciplina regular.*⁴⁶

41. "If any one, while engaged in labour, either in the kitchen or the cellar, or in the service of others, in the bakehouse, the garden, or in any other occupation, shall do anything amiss, or break or lose anything, or offend in any other way, and do not come presently before the abbot or community, and of his own accord confess and make satisfaction of his offence (...) he shall be more severely punished". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 70.

42. "Let a separate cell be set apart for their use and an attendant that is God-fearing, diligent, and careful"; "As often as it shall be expedient, let the use of baths be allowed the sick; but to such as are in health, and especially to the young, let it be seldom granted". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 59.

43. "In these days of lent, each one shall take a book from the library, and read it all through in order. The books must be given at the beginning of lent". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 73.

44. "Let all guests who come to the monastery be entertained like Christ Himself, (...) Let the kitchen for the abbot and the guests stand apart, in order that the latter, who are never wanting in a monastery, may not disquiet the brethren by their untimely arrivals". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 77-79.

45. "Let the care of the guest-room be entrusted to a brother, whose soul the fear of God possesses. Let there be a sufficient number of beds there, and let the house of God be by wise men discreetly governed". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 79.

46. "The abbot shall always take his meals with the guests and strangers. But as often as there are few guests, it shall be in his power to invite any of the brethren he may choose. Let him take care, however,



In order to obey all these matters, it was necessary to build an independent construction for the guests, poor, and strangers, which is known as the guest-room or guest quarters, as well as a second kitchen and refectory for the use of the abbot and the guests. These second kitchen and refectory must be apart from the main communal rooms that were used by all the monks.

Another indirect influence of the Rule of Saint Benedict on the way that a monastery was designed appears in chapter LXVI. This chapter is about the porter of the monastery and it is explained that *Debe tener el Portero celda cerca de la portería, para que los que llegan de fuera hallen siempre presente quien responda*. It is also indicated that:

*Debe fundarse el monasterio, si fuere posible, de modo, que dentro de él haya todo lo necesario: esto es, agua, molino, huerta, panadería, y otras artes, y manufacturas, para que los monjes no tengan necesidad de salir de sus cercas, por ser totalmente dañoso a sus almas.*⁴⁷

Perhaps, this last point is the most specific concerning the relation between the Rule and the resulting architecture, because it clearly shows that the construction must have all the needed rooms to develop a certain monastic life and the place where the monastery is located must offer natural resources enough, water and pieces of land to be farmed so as to allow the monks to be self-sustaining.

Although the Rule is not about how a monastery must be constructed, it clearly sets the monks' lifestyle as well as the spiritual and physical duties. Therefore, the Rule indirectly demands a certain organization of the places inside the monastery as well as a suitable planning of the architecture in order to allow the monks to develop all their duties. All in all, the master who designed the monastery must meet the needs that the Rule establishes. It did not design the architecture at random. On the contrary, it must follow a set of precepts to create a functional space with a series of places that must also be organized in accordance with the physical features of the area where the monastery is located. That means taking into account the available materials for the construction, the special topographic features of the place, and so on, as well as the needs that come from a communal life and the requirements of the liturgical rites.

All the previous data let us imagine how the monastery of Samos was planned before the reform that Catholic Kings began in the late 15th century. That is, before a deep transformation of the existing medieval buildings took place (Illustration 2).

that one or two seniors be always left with the brethren, for the sake of discipline". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 83.

47. "He ought to have his cell close to the gate so that those who come may always find someone there from whom they can get an answer"; "The monastery ought to be so organized, if it can possibly be done, that all necessities, that is, water, a mill-house, a garden and various crafts may be forthcoming within the monastery, so that there may be no necessity for the monks to go beyond the gates, because that is by no means expedient for their souls". Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 100.



4. The first changes in the medieval monastic architecture as a consequence of the Castilian reform

A new golden age began in Samos Abbey when the Castilian reform was introduced. This also made way for a new process of renewal, not only in the spiritual sphere, but also in the physical one, that was consolidated during Charles V's reign. One of the key issues of the reform was the economic restructuring of the monastic resources, because if they assured their incomes, which mainly came from leasing their possessions, they also achieved the necessary solvency to undertake the renewal, the repair, the reconstruction or the extension of the existing medieval monastery.⁴⁸

Moreover, the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid recognized that the monastic buildings were the main part of the religious estate. However, they also remarked that the majority of their incomes were allocated to their maintenance. For that reason, the constitutions forbade the beginning of any building work if the monastic community had debts and they put a restriction on the amount of money they could spend even when they achieved the needed solvency to face new works.

The Pope Julius II's bull in which Samos was joined to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid informed about the fact that the monastic buildings in Samos were in a ruinous state⁴⁹ and the community was too small because it was formed only by six members.⁵⁰ On the other hand, in the above-mentioned bull it was pointed that the changes made as a consequence of the reform had caused their first results in the period that ranged from the arrival of the reforming monks in 1491 and the union to Valladolid in 1505. That is, during a period of fourteen years the community grew to twelve or fifteen members and the

48. Regarding the reform undergone in Samos after it was joined to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, see: Goy, Ana E. "Los claustros benedictinos tras la reforma de los reyes católicos: noticias sobre su construcción y sus programas decorativos", *Humanitas: Estudios en homenaje ó Prof. Carlos Alonso del Real*, Antón A. Rodríguez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1996: II, 877-897; Goy, Ana E. "A formulación da arquitectura benedictina logo da incorporación á Congregación. O mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos", *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*, María del Carmen Folgar, Ana E. Goy, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: 129-148.

49. This is pointed by Pope Julius II in the bull issued on 27th May 1505, where he referred to the condition of Samos Abbey at the moment of the introduction of the Castilian reform in 1491. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. Another document that was granted on 5th June 1505 also mentioned the state of destruction and ruin of Samos Abbey. This second document is about the final request made to Pope Julius II to allow the union of Samos to San Benito de Valladolid. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 70-72.

50. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. Six monks are mentioned in a deed of *foro* granted on 24th October 1491. Two of them leased the property and the other four ones played as witnesses. However, only three or four monks are mentioned in Pope Julius II's bull. Perhaps, as Maximino Arias said, they were the only ones who stayed at Samos after the introduction of the reform.



monastic buildings were reformed or rebuilt.⁵¹ Both facts were consequences of the introduction of the religious reform.

The extant pieces of news concerning the building works that were developed during that period are scarce. In fact, besides the Pope Julius II's bull and another previous document regarding how Samos joined the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid,⁵² only another archival document is preserved in which more detailed data were gathered in regard to the reform or rebuilding of the existing monastic complex. However, this information is only related to the first years of the period between 1491 and 1505. I refer to the document entitled *Relación de cuentas de los monasterios de Samos y Santa Cristina entre 1491 y 1497 dadas por el presidente observante de estos dos monasterios, fray Juan de Estella, en 1497*.⁵³

Through the reading of this document we know that a part of the monastic incomes were invested in *muchas obras e buenas, las quales fueron un syngular dormitorio hecho de los çimientos e refectorio e capítulo e sacristya e reparar toda la iglesia e la enluzir e cantar*.⁵⁴ Therefore, firstly, the monks focused their work on improving three places of the cloister: the bedroom, which was built new again; the refectory and the chapter room; as well as reforming the church through the building of a new sacristy and different works of maintenance.

The next works were carried out in 1494. The brother Juan de Estella points that in this year *se fizieron dos paños de sobre-claustra e se acabaron los corredores que dejó començados del dormitorio e se encalaron e tanbién se fiso e encaleó la cosyna del refytorio, que vale tanto como una enfermerya*.⁵⁵ However, this was not the last stage of the building works. In 1495, *se fiso otra parte de sobreclaustra e se cubrió la sacristía de buena madera çerrada. E se fisieron unos buenos órganos. E se fizo suprymir de la iglesia toda de fojas pintadas*.⁵⁶

51. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 191-192.

52. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 70-72.

53. "The list of expenses and incomes of the monasteries of Samos and Santa Cristina between 1491 and 1497, which was made by the abbot of these monasteries, who was the brother Juan de Estella, in 1497". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 66-70.

54. "a lot of good works, that were a unique bedroom, of which the foundation was made firstly, as well as a refectory, a chapter room and a sacristy, and they repaired, plastered and edged all the church". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 66.

55. "two sides of the first floor of the cloister were built, the walkways of the bedroom that I have previously begun were finished and plastered, and we also built and whitewashed the kitchen of the refectory, which is as valuable as an infirmary". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 67.

56. "another part of the first floor of the cloister was built and we roofed the sacristy with good wood. Some worthy organs were made. All the interior painting of the church was removed". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68.



When the reform of the cloister ended, the monks undertook the improvement of the church, especially the interior space. In this way, in 1496:

...se traxeron panes de oro e colores e tomó pintores e entabladores e se comenzó el retablo mayor e se fysieron çinco cortynas pintadas e historiadas de la vocación de cada capilla de las çinco. E se fysieron çinco frontales para cada altar el suyo, e se trajeron CLXXX carros de cal e arena e varro e se fisieron sin los fundamentos e nibelados en toda la iglesia e claustros e entradas del monasterio.⁵⁷

The last piece of news that was gathered in this document was concerning the works carried out in 1497, when they went on the improvement of the interior space of the Romanesque church and they made three fountains:

...se han traydo otros muchos panes de oro e colores, e tengo comenzadas las tallas de los retablos muy syngulares. E tomé otros pintores muy mejores que los primeros que pintarán el coro de la manera que es dicha a vuestra paternidad. En los retablos han pintado e pintan ni los puedo despedir fasta tanto que los acaben. E ansymesmo de lo de la cosecha deste año de XCVII se asen tres las fuentes, que están ya sentados con los demás florines destas cobranças. E se han de asentar los otros más de en quinientos florines. E tampoco puedo despedir los maestros e costas de las dichas fuentes, lo cual todo o lo más dello se despidyrá e acabará con la cosecha deste año de XCVII...⁵⁸

The previous excerpts let us know that the new abbot focus his first efforts on rebuilding a group of monastic places inside the cloister, such as the bedroom, the chapter room, the refectory and the kitchen. All of them were deeply dilapidated as the Pope Julius II's bull and the descriptions made by the previous document pointed. That fact led the monks to build these places again (Illustration 3). Moreover, we know that the medieval cloister of Samos had not only a ground floor, but also a first one. The previous existence of this first floor is unknown, but we can confirm that it existed at the end of the 15th century, because three sides of it were built.⁵⁹ Unlike the cloister,

57. "...some gold leaves and colour leaves were brought as well as painters and carpenters to begin the main altarpiece. Five painted curtains were made to tell the history to what each altarpiece is dedicated. We also made five alpendiums for each and everyone altar and we brought one hundred and eighty carts with lime, sand and clay to level the floor around the church, cloister and entrances to the monastery". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68.

58. "...we brought more gold leaves and colour leaves and I have already begun the unique sculptures of the altarpieces. I hired other painters who were better than the first ones and they will paint the choir as you consider. They have painted and they are painting the altarpieces so I cannot dismiss them until they finish. Besides, we are building three fountains, which are already laid down, with the profits from the harvest of this year, which is 1497. And we will spend more than five hundred florins in their building. I cannot also dismiss the master builders of these fountains, but I will do it when the harvest of this year, which is 1497, ends...". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...": 68-69.

59. The existence of a first floor in the cloister of Samos in the 15th and 16th centuries is also mentioned in a letter of attorney that belongs to the document entitled *Apeos Viejos* of 1537. This letter of attorney was written on 19th March 1537 and the following excerpt comes from it: *todos monjes profesos de dichos monasterio estando juntos en nuestro capítulo por son de campana tañida en la sobre claustro del dicho monasterio*



the Romanesque church was not built again. It was only repaired in the interior and exterior space and it also was built a sacristy, which was probably a new building.

To sum up, we can say that the first stage of the reform on the existing monastic complex was carried out from the arrival of the reforming monks until the union of Samos to Valladolid and it went on during the first decades of the 16th century; although no documents are extant, concerning the works that the monks developed from 1497 onwards. Above all, this renewal process was possible because of an improvement of the monastic economy of which we know that was stable when the brother Juan de Estella died in 1525.⁶⁰

The end of this first stage took place in 1534 as a consequence of an unexpected event, which was a raging fire that *redujo a cenizas casi todo el archivo y la mayor parte de la casa*.⁶¹ Firstly, the abbot, who was the brother Lope de la Barrera, decided to repair the buildings that were damaged in order to have a place where the twelve members of the community could live (Illustration 4).⁶²

That works can be considered the second stage of the renewal process carried out by the monks since its union to Valladolid. They probably restored the most necessary rooms little by little according to the resources they had. Therefore, this second stage aimed to meet an urgent need. That is, it was an essential work to allow the monks to go on their monastic life.⁶³

The third stage of the reform began in the 1560s, when the religious community was financially stable, as we pointed out previously, and it also had the needed resources

según lo habemos de uso y de costumbre... ("all the monks of this monastery are together in the chapter room, which is in the first floor of the referred monastery, as they usually do..."). Through this reference we know that the first floor of the cloister still existed after the fire of 1534 and the chapter room was placed in it. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6509, f. 1r ("Apeos viejos"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Apeos viejos. Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR_REGULAR, L. 6509". Portal de Archivos Españoles. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3525860>.

60. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 201.

61. "destroyed the archive and a great part of the religious house". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 118.

62. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 175.

63. The building of a new entrance or gate-house in 1541 is the only reference we could find in archival documentation to all the works that were carried out in this second stage. On the top of this new entrance or gate-house it was placed a stone known as *Regium Coenobium* in which the following text was written: *Este Real Monasterio de San Julián y compañeros mártires lo fundó el rey Fruela I, dotándolo espléndidamente, lo cual confirmó después Alfonso el Casto. Encontrándolo destruido, lo erigió de nuevo y amplió el rey Ordoño II el año 922. Por fin, los Reyes Católicos Don Fernando V y Doña Isabel, patronos nuestros, lo reformaron introduciendo en él la observancia regular el día 28 de Septiembre de 1491, siendo el primer abad el P. Fray Juan de Estella, que descansó en el Señor el 24 de Enero de 1525, y esto lo construyó el abad Fr. Lope de la Barrera en el año 1541* ("This Royal Monastery of San Julián de Samos and companions in martyrdom was founded by King Fruela I, who generously supply it. Then, King Alfonso el Casto confirmed that fact. King Ordoño II found it destroyed and he built and extended it again in 922. Finally, Catholic Kings, that is Fernando V and Isabel, who are our protectors, reformed it through the introduction of the regular observance on 28th September 1491. At that moment the abbot was the brother Juan de Estella, who died on 24th January 1525. This was built by the abbot Lope de la Barrera in 1541"). Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía de San Julián de Samos: estudio histórico-arqueológico*. Madrid: without publisher, 1947: 29.



to build a new cloister, which is the one called the Gothic Cloister⁶⁴ or the Cloister of the Nereids at present (Illustration 5). The author Durán says that the abbot Lope de la Barrera *a pesar de los cuantiosos gastos que tuvo que hacer para recobrar la hacienda, procuró reparar la casa dando principio a la fábrica de los Claustros Viejos, que dejó bastante adelantada, obra muy costosa para aquellos tiempos*.⁶⁵ The works started in 1562, as it is written in one of the keystones of the ribbed vaults that are located in front of the door to enter the refectory. However, the significance and the high cost of the project caused halts and restarts in several occasions.⁶⁶

The final boost to the building of this new cloister took place during the visit made by the monks Hernando de Medina and Juan de Corcuera, who were generals of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, in December 1563 (Illustration 6). In regard to this visit they wrote a report that was sent to Madrid afterwards. The generals referred to the building works that the community of Samos was doing at that moment, as follows:

*...vieron el estado de el monasterio y cotejáronle con el que se avía llevado a Madrid y se a visto en el ayuntamiento, el qual se halló cierto, y tras esto hizieron proveer algunas cosas de la manera que las constituciones lo mandan y disponen, así en la iglesia y sacristía como en la enfermería i ospedería. Y lo que hubo lugar de proveerse de presente se proveyó y lo que avía menester más tiempo o no se podía hazer por no aver posibilidad lo dexaron mandado dando el término y tiempo para hazerlo que les pareció ser neçesario conbenible y el que se podía sufrir, conforme a la facultad que la casa tenía por entonçes. Házese la casa de nuevo y aplicaron y señalaron para la obra della lo que se determinó en Madrid, quedando lo demás de la renta de la cassa para la substentación de 19 monges que de presente tenía...*⁶⁷

64. It is called with this name because of the ribbed vaults that cover the ground floor of the passages that are opened to the interior courtyard. However, this name is not a consequence of a classification according to a certain style in art or art movement.

65. “despite the fact that he spent a big amount of money in recovering the monastic possessions, he also tried to repair the monastery through the beginning of the construction of the Old Cloisters. This work was far along when his mandate ended, although it was a really expensive project at that time”. Durán quoted a former chronicler of the monastery, that is the one who probably wrote *Relación sucinta de los sucesos principales...* (“The brief list of the main events that...”). Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

66. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 118.

67. “...they saw the state of the monastery, they compared it with the one that had been previously sent to Madrid and they considered it right. Then they ordered the monks to do some things according to the rules and regulations of the constitutions in the church and the sacristy, as well as in the infirmary and the guest quarters. Those things that could be supplied at that moment, were supplied. On the contrary, those ones they could not supply at that moment, because there was no time and possibility enough, were not supplied and they set a deadline to supply them according to what they thought it was necessary to achieve them and the main goal that the community had at that time; that is, they were building their house again. They also set the amount of money that could be invested in these works according to the total sum that had been set in Madrid. The rest of the money that came from the incomes of the monastery was allocated to the sustenance of the nineteen monks that the community had at that moment...”. A similar excerpt of this report was published by Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 207-208. The whole report that was written by the generals who visited the Galician monasteries was transcribed by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)”. *Studia Monastica*, 43/1 (2001): 154-160.



As a result of the previous visit, another document was written on 29th June 1564 to inform the General Inquisitor about the Galician monasteries. It contains some more information about the works that the monks were doing in Samos in the mid of December 1563:

*En Samos nos recibieron con toda voluntad (...) En Samos ay edificio porque de nuevo se hazen claustros y dormitorio y otras pieçaz y aposentos anexos a esto, y hallamos buen conçierto así en la obra como en lo demás espiritual y temporal. Aplicóse para la obra lo que antes estava, que es conforme a lo que se determinó en Madrid en el estado de Samos (...) Y hecho todo esto, salimos de allí a los 21 de enero...*⁶⁸

Through these two excerpts we confirm that the building of the Gothic Cloister had already begun. Besides, we know that it lasted until 1582, as we can see in one of the keystones of the ribbed vaults that are placed next to the last position of the southwest side, in which is written the following: *Acabose el año 1582* ("It was finished in 1582") (Illustration 7).

5. The reasons and the rules for the architectural renewal through the constitutions of the order

The monastic community that lived in Samos grew from 1491, when it hardly had six monks, to the beginning of the Gothic Cloister, when nineteen monks lived in the monastery. However, it was not a numerous community and the lack of space inside the existing medieval buildings cannot be considered a significant reason to extend the monastery. In this sense, it is enough to point out that in 1167, that is only a few years before the beginning of the Romanesque church, the number of monks was forty, which was a higher figure. The monastic medieval rooms that still stood in the second half of the 16th century were designed to host them. Therefore, the lack of space inside the monastery due to the growth of the community cannot be considered a major reason to undertake these new works.

We also believe that the inadequate state of conservation of the old medieval cloister could not be a reason to support that decision either, because the buildings were already repaired or rebuilt in the late 15th century and, again, they were restored after the fire of the 1530s. Therefore, all these previous works allowed the continuation of the monastic life as well as the suitable maintenance and conservation of the monastery. Thus, what was the main reason to undertake that ambitious project?

68. "In Samos we were welcomed (...) In Samos there is a building because they are erecting the cloister, bedroom and other annexed places and rooms again. We saw harmony in these works as well as coherence in the spiritual sphere. We repeated the orders that were previously given in Madrid in regard to that works (...) Then, we departed from here on 21st January...". This document was completely transcribed by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)...": 146-149.





ILLUSTRATION 3. THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CASTILIAN REFORM ON THE EXISTING ARCHITECTURE: THE REBUILDING OF THE CLOISTER OF SAMOS. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

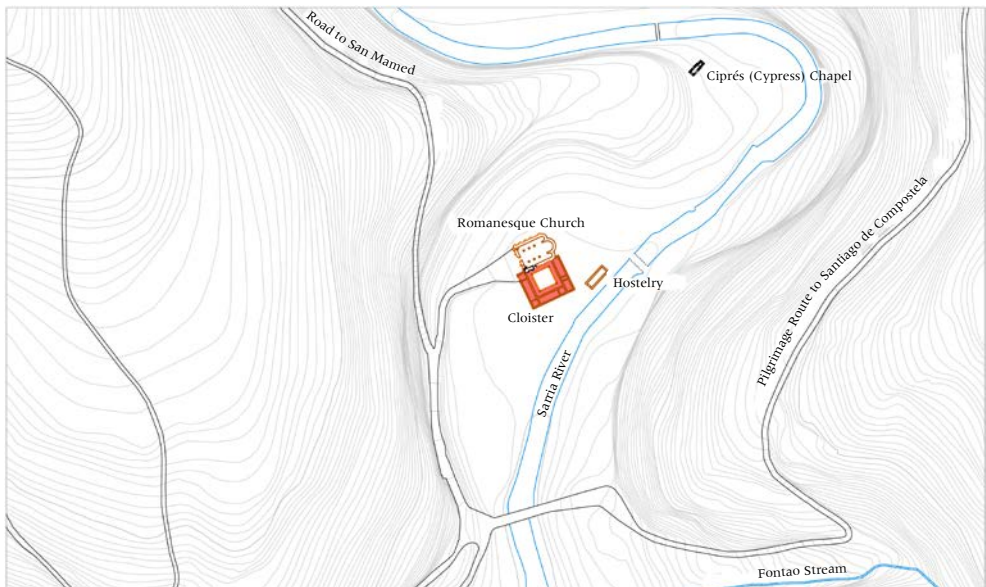


ILLUSTRATION 4. THE FIRE OF THE CLOISTER IN 1534 AND THE AREA THAT WAS RESTORED AFTERWARDS: THE SECOND STAGE OF THE REFORM AFTER THE UNION TO THE CONGREGATION OF SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



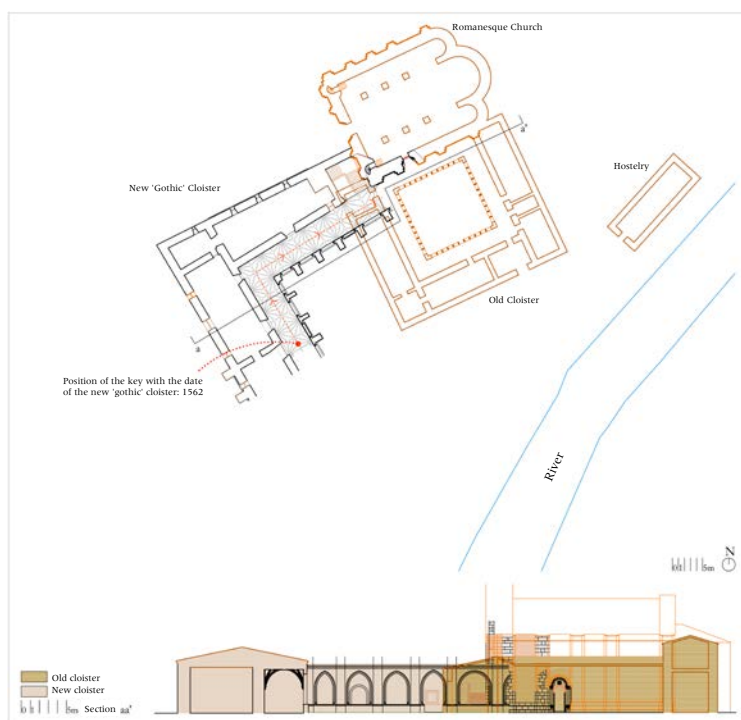


ILLUSTRATION 5. THE BEGINNING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF A NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

The decision aimed to meet the need of compliance with some pre-established rules. Since Samos joined the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid, it was forced to submit the decisions reached in the general chapters,⁶⁹ the suggestions that were given by the generals of the congregation during the visits to the monastery⁷⁰ and, above all, the monks were forced to submit the rules imposed by the constitution of

69. The minutes of the general chapters that were held by the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid in the 16th century were published by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I. 1503-1538". *Studia Monastica*, 47/1 (2005): 81-156; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II. (1541-1552)". *Studia Monastica*, 47/2 (2005): 291-366; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III. 1553- 1565". *Studia Monastica*, 48/1 (2006): 165-258; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV. 1568-1587". *Studia Monastica*, 48/2 (2006): 325-427; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V. 1589-1598". *Studia Monastica*, 49/1 (2007): 107-201.

70. Unlike the minutes of the general chapters and the books of the congregation constitutions, the amount of extant reports or minutes concerning the visits made by the Castilian generals to Samos Abbey during the 16th century are really scarce. In fact, only the one that was developed on December 1563 is extant. We have previously referred to it.

order,⁷¹ in matters of economic administration, the election of the abbot, the system of visits, the monks' lifestyle and so on.

When we read the books of the constitutions we find what we undoubtedly consider the major reason to justify the building of a new cloister in Samos. In particular, the fourth book of constitutions that was written in 1525 ordered the communities to build cells for their monks inside each monastery of the congregation in chapter 45, as the next excerpt shows:

*Por el reposo de los monjes: y porque más fácilmente puedan vacar a lección, meditación, oración, mandamos: que en cualquier monasterio de nuestra congregación en que sin gran daño se pudiere hacer: se hagan cellas para los monjes: con tal que todos juntos duerman en dormitorio (como manda la Regla) Salvo si por ventura en el monasterio no hubiere lugar de tener dormitorio común. Que ninguno pueda entrar en celda de otro: aunque esté por huésped en aquel monasterio sin licencia del prelado: y así lo mandamos en virtud de santa obediencia.*⁷²

As we pointed out before, the Rule of Saint Benedict established that bedrooms for the monks should be communal. However, the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid imposed as a new rule the building of individual cells in order to make more comfortable the monastic life. Nevertheless, this new order directly affected the interior organization of the monastery. The replacement of the communal bedrooms, which were typical from the medieval period, by individual cells led to the need of a bigger place to host his function and it forced the monks to modify the former architecture. This change could not be done inside the old medieval rooms where the community still lived. Therefore, the compliance of this new rule became into a mandatory bootstrap to build a new cloister in accordance with the new monastic lifestyle that was established.

The constitutions that regulated the congregation were modified many times over the course of the 16th century so as to include all the changes that were approved in the general chapters of the order. The first regulation in regard to the way of building the monasteries is in the minutes of the general chapter that took place

71. A brief study of the different constitutions that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid published was carried out by: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Las constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (1500-1835)". *Studium Ovetense*, 33-34 (2005-2006): 339-358.

72. "For the rest of the monks and in order to make their study, meditation and prayer easier, we order them to build cells for the monks in any monastery of our congregation if it could be done without so much damage. All of the monks must sleep together in a dormitory, as it is ordered in the Rule, but an exception could be made for those monasteries where a communal bedroom cannot exist. Nobody can come into cell of another without the permission of the prelate, even if it is a guest in the monastery. And we order this in accordance to the holy obedience". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525 inclusive: por la dicha Congregación celebrados 1525*. Barcelona: Maestre Joan Rosembach, 1528, f. 46r. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525 inclusive: por la dicha Congregación celebrados 1525". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=8&forma=ficha&id=877>.



in 1518. At that moment, *mandaron que las casas que están adeudadas no hagan tantas obras y paguen las deudas, y provean al Convento de las cosas necesarias*.⁷³ In the general chapter of 1532, they were a bit more specific concerning this issue, because they gave the next order:

Que en las obras de ymportancia que en los monasterios de nuestra congregación se hubieren de hacer, no se hagan sin dar parte dellas a nuestro muy Rdo. Padre, porque su Reverenda Paternidad vaya o embie las personas que le pareciere para que las vean, tracen e ygualen, y se hagan al modo de nuestra Congregación y cómo convenga.⁷⁴

All these matters about the way of undertaking a construction that appeared in the general chapters became into a real set of rules when the constitutions were written along the following years. This way, when the community of Samos began the building of the Gothic Cloister in 1562, the fifth and sixth constitutions had been already published in 1546 and 1563, respectively, and some wider, stricter regulations were gathered in them. Thus, these were the constitutions that regulated the construction of the new cloister.

The duty of building individual cells for the monks in all the monasteries of the congregation appeared in chapter 47 of the constitutions written in 1546, as it was previously reflected in 1525. In that later case, it was added that *las obras que se hicieren en nuestra congregación se hagan más conformes a nuestra manera de vivir: y más a provecho de los monasterios*.⁷⁵ It was also compulsory to apply for the permission of the general abbot, *para que antes que se comience: vaya o envíe personas: que sepan dar orden en cómo se acierte la obra que se quiere hacer: y no se gasten dineros en balde*.⁷⁶

Moreover, the constitutions of 1546 laid down criteria for the procedure to be followed when a community wanted to construct a new building. Taking into account their former experience, they realized that big amounts of money were invested in building works. In some cases, these works did not benefit the community. In other

73. "they ordered the monastic communities not to undertake so many constructions if they are in debt and, in those cases, they also ordered them to pay its debts as well as providing the monastery with the needed things". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...": 104.

74. "When it was necessary to undertake an important construction in a monastery of the congregation, they must advise the general abbot before its beginning. This way, the general abbot can go or he can send the suitable people to be onsite, design and check the work progress. Everything must be done in accordance with the lifestyle of our congregation and the most advisable solution for us". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...": 146.

75. "the building works in our congregation must be done in accordance with our lifestyle and in order to be useful for the monasteries". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546*. Salamanca: Juan de Junta, 1546, f. 58v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=6 &forma=ficha&id=877>.

76. "before the beginning, so he can go or he can send some people to give the right orders in regard to the way of doing the construction they want to do as well as avoiding an unnecessary waste of money". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546*...: f. 58v.



cases, the outcome building was not suitable due to the way they used to build in the past, through different pieces that followed the opinion of successive abbots. That fact caused a lack of assembly between the different sections. Each prelate tried to build its favourite design, even if that fact implied that the newest buildings have to be demolished.

As a result of these reasons, they established a new rule for those abbots that needed to build an important construction in their monasteries, before the beginning of the work:

...hagan traza o modelo de todo lo que se ha de labrar en aquella casa: y sin la dicha traza o modelo hecho por buenos oficiales y visto por el Padre Abad de la congregación (como dicho es) no comiencen la dicha obra so pena de excomuni6n. Y so lo misma pena mandamos: que ning6n prelado que sucediere en cualquiera de las dichas casas: pueda salir de la dicha traza sin expresa licencia del padre Abad de la congregaci6n. Y mandamos: que la dicha traza est6 siempre en el dep6sito: o en otra parte a buen recaudo: donde se vea siempre lo que se hace: y lo que falta por hacer en la obra.⁷⁷

Some similar concerns were expressed in the general chapter that took place in 1550.⁷⁸ They recognized the need of building new cloisters in the monasteries of the order and they established more rules to follow when the works were in progress. Among them, the most important one in regard to the procedure was the following:

Se defini6 que para que mexor se hagan las obras, se haga modelo para cada casa que se huviere de edificar consultando primero maestros y por traza dellos y con parecer de monges que tengan bien entendido lo que se requiere en un monasterio cumplido para nuestra manera de vivir. Y los sepan dar a entender a los maestros de arquitectura. Y los modelos sean todos de una forma, diferenci6ndolos seg6n m6s o menos en la cantidad de la magnitud que unos monasterios han menester m6s que otros.⁷⁹

In other words, not only did they remember the duty to ask good master builders for the design of the project before the beginning of the construction,

77. "...they must design a project or model for everything that is going to be done in that monastery. The building works cannot begin without this project or model, which must be drawn by good master builders and it must be seen by the abbot of the congregation, as we said before. On the contrary, they could be excommunicated. We also ordered any prelate that succeeds another not to be able to change the project without the permission of the general abbot. The same penalty will be for the offenders. Besides, we order them to save the project in the archive or inside another safe place where it can be checked what work is in progress and what work is still pending". *Constituciones de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546...* f. 59r.

78. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los cap6tulos generales de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 321-357.

79. "In order to achieve better results in the new buildings, we order the monks to design a project for each new cloister. In this project they must take into account the opinion and design of the master builders as well as the assessment of the monks that deeply know what is necessary in a monastery to satisfy our lifestyle. And they must explain their assessment to the master builders. All the projects must follow the same architectural model and they will be only some differences as a consequence of the bigger size that some monasteries require in comparison to others". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los cap6tulos generales de la Congregaci6n de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 349.



as it was ordered in the constitutions of 1546; but they also highlighted the need to design a building that meet the requirements of their monastic lifestyle. They also pointed out the importance of following the same plan or building model to solve the design of the different monasteries. Both matters will have a significance influence on the future constructions of this religious order.

A new book of constitutions was published in the early years of the construction of the Gothic Cloister in Samos. I refer to the regulations of 1563 that replaced the previous ones. They went deeply into the definition of the rules concerning the buildings works, the new cloisters and the master builders from page 49 to 50. They also maintained the duty to apply for the permission of the general abbot before the beginning of any work. Besides, they imposed the duty to continue with the works and design that were in progress by the abbot who succeeded a former one:

El abad que sucediere habiendo en el monasterio, posibilidad para lo proseguir sea obligado a continuar la tal obra so la dicha pena y que el Abad no pueda comenzar obra de diez a veinte o treinta ducados según la cualidad de la casa sin parecer de los padres del consejo y de allí arriba sin consentimiento de la mayor parte del convento, y que si lo comenzare incurra en pena de suspensión de su cargo por un mes, y el mayordomo ninguna obra pueda comenzar sin licencia de su prelado y el Abad en las dichas obras guarde el orden y traza que le está dada, o se le diere por el general guardando en esto de las obras lo que en materia de estados está tratado y ordenado.⁸⁰

Finally, there must be a monk, who also was a master builder, in charge of the works in each monastery where a major construction was being done, in order to control the expenses and watch the workers.⁸¹

The last constitutions that regulated the building of the new Gothic Cloister were published in 1575, that is six years before the end of the works. In this new document, they insisted that the religious communities must follow a set of rules

80. "The abbot who succeeds a former one in a monastery must go on the building that is in progress if it were possible. On the contrary, he will be punished. The abbot cannot begin a construction that costs between twenty and thirty ducats according to the condition of the monastery without the opinion of the brethren that belong to the board. If the construction costs a bigger amount of money, the abbot cannot begin it without the most monks' approval. If the abbot starts it, he will be punished by losing his position during a month. The religious administrator cannot begin any work without the permission of his prelate. The abbot must respect the design and plan he received or the one that the general of the congregation gives to him. He must obey all the previous orders in regard to this issue". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563*. Alcalá de Henares: Casa de Pedro de Robles y Francisco de Cormellas, 1563, f. 49v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563".. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=46&forma=ficha&id=877>.

81. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: ff. 49v-50r.



that were already gathered in the previous constitutions, although now they explained them deeply.

The study of the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid let us garner an understanding of why and how the monastery of Samos, and other abbeys of the order, began and developed the extension of their former cloisters in the period that ranged between 1550 and 1600. In addition to that, in the books of the constitutions written in 1563 and 1575 we even find specific pieces of news regarding the works we analyse here.

In the constitutions of 1563 it is said about Samos the following:

Que se reduzcan los monjes de los prioratos al monasterio, en el cual haya diecinueve monjes, y gaste, trescientos mil maravedíes cada año en obras como hasta aquí, las cuales acabadas sustente treinta y cinco monjes, y tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios, y que den cada año cien fanegas de pan en limosna más de las que dan, que son por todas trescientas distribuidas con el parecer de los ancianos del consejo, y en las partes y lugares donde la casa más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya, y entiendese que lo del estudio que aquí dice que ha de haber conventual, y en todas las otras casas donde habla de estudio fuera de los colegios ha de ser de artes y Theología sin que por esto dejen de seguir todos los actos conventuales, y oras del coro de noche, y de día.⁸²

The previous orders were completed in the Constitution of 1575, as follows:

Que en la casa de San Julián de Samos, haya y sustente treinta y cinco monjes, acabadas las obras, y por ahora entretanto que duran, sustente, 19, y gaste en las obras 300.000 maravedíes cada año.

Que en esta casa haya colegio formado como los de Irache San Esteban de Ribas de Sil excepto que eligen su prelado así por abad como por procurador para capítulo general.

Que en cada un año allende de la limosna que da de cien fanegas distribuidas con el parecer de los del consejo y en las partes y lugares donde más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya.

Que en esta casa haya siempre en el depósito y archivo de ella censuras graves para que los prelados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían con gran daño de ella.⁸³

82. "The monks who lived in the priories must come back to the monastery. In the monastery there must be nineteen monks and they can spend three hundred thousand old Spanish coins in building works as they have been doing up to now. The monastery must host thirty-five monks when they finish the building works and there must be a monastic college with two lessons per day to the youngsters and the priests who work in the monastic properties. They must also give one hundred bushels of wheat more than they currently do to charity. On the whole they give three hundred bushels of wheat that are distributed in accordance with the opinion of the elderly who belong to the board, especially in the places where the community has a bigger responsibility and the necessity is also higher. The above-referred college must be monastic and in the monasteries where the college is outside, this must be a college of arts and theology, but here they must also follow all the monastic ceremonies as well as the liturgy during the day and at night". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: f. 73r-v.

83. "In the monastery of San Julián de Samos, there must be thirty-five monks when they finish the building works. Meanwhile, there must host nineteen monks and they must spend 300,000 old Spanish coins in the building works per year. There must be a college as well as there is in Irache and Esteban



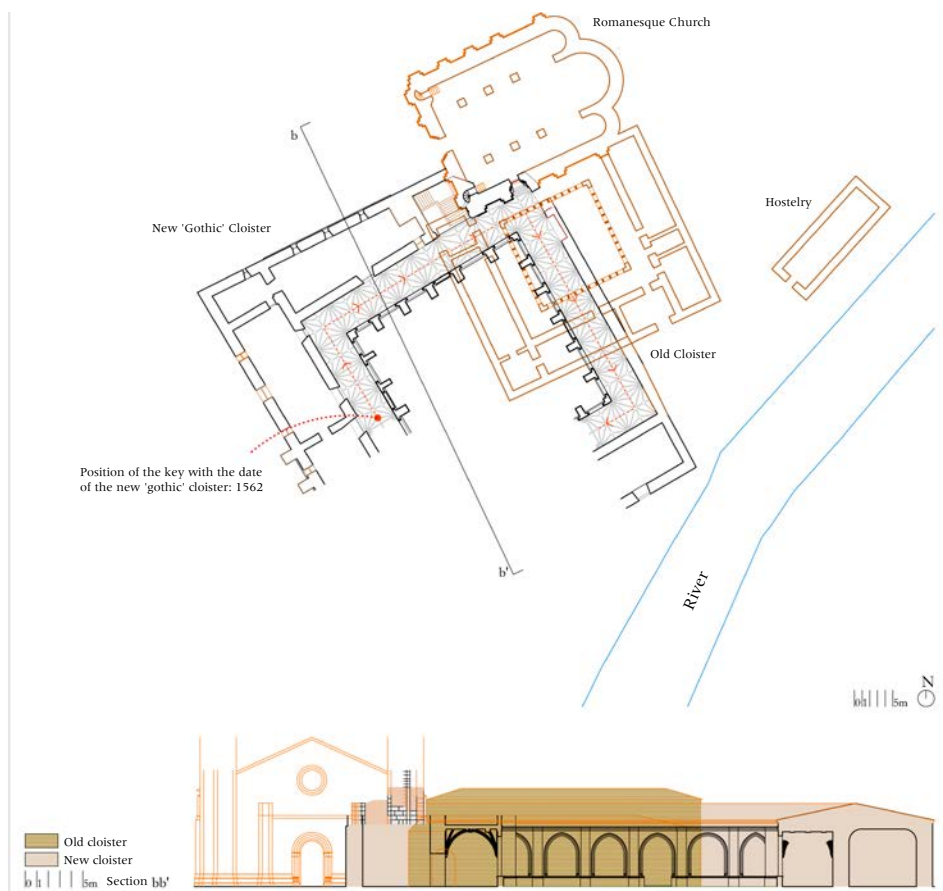


ILLUSTRATION 6. THE CONTINUATION OF THE WORKS OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

The two previous excerpts confirm the second main reason to build the new cloister; that is a prediction about the growth of the community. Although there were nineteen monks living in Samos during the building works, the new cloister was designed to have space for thirty-five monks (Illustration 8).

de Ribas de Sil, although not only the abbot but also the attorney choose their prelate for the general chapter. They must give one hundred bushels of wheat more than they actually give to the charity and this amount of money must be distributed in accordance with the elderly who belong to the board, especially in the places where the community has a bigger responsibility and the necessity is also higher. There must be a store and an archive in the monastery. Serious prohibitions for the prelates must be saved there in order not to let them lease some possessions that will cause a big damage to the monastery". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575*. Barcelona: Casa de Pedro Malo, 1575, f. 184r-v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=56&forma=fi&id=877>.

6. One lifestyle, one place, one architecture

We have just seen how the need to have individual cells instead of the former communal bedrooms was the major reason to begin the building of a new cloister. These cells were placed in the first and second floors of the Gothic Cloister that were built some years later the end of the ground floor. However, the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid also established other rules in regard to the other places there must be inside a monastery.

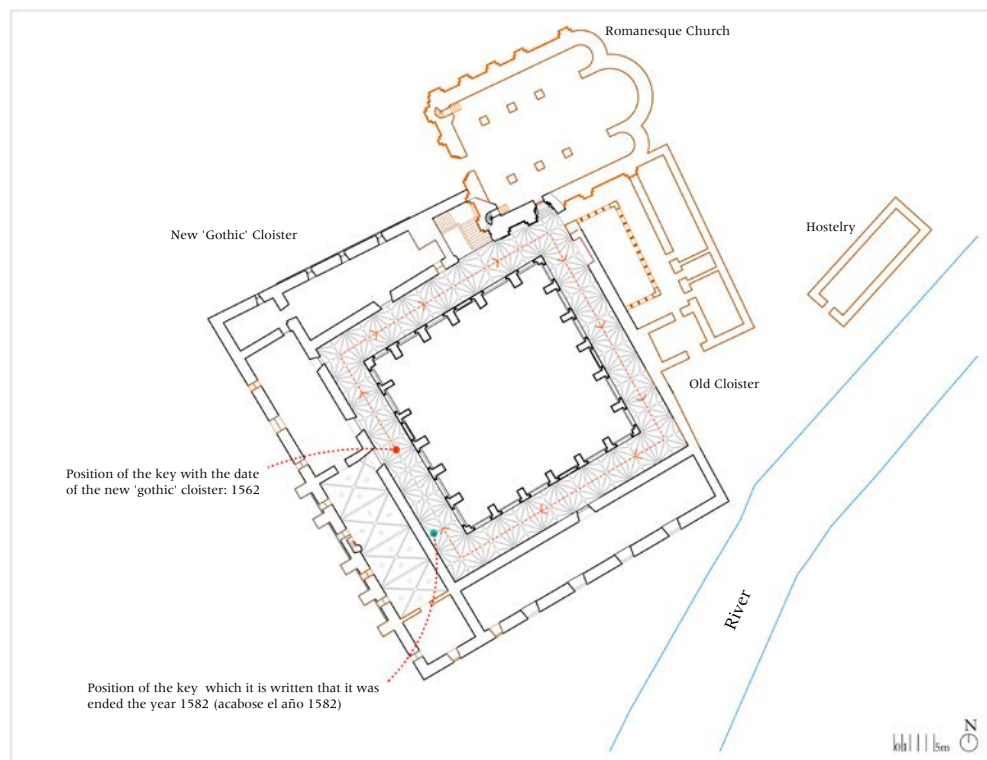


ILLUSTRATION 7. THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER IN 1582: THE END OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE REFORM. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

Firstly, the existence of a library was compulsory. In fact, in the general chapter of 1550 it was ordered the following:

...en todas las cassas de la Congregación se dé orden que de aquí adelante aya librería, assí de libros disputativos como de doctores graves puestos en sus vancos con sus cadenas, y



*donde no huviere tanta posibilidad aya a lo menos una celda con libros que vasten para un predicador.*⁸⁴

That issue was also mentioned in the constitution of 1563, as follows:

*en las casas de nuestra congregación donde no hubiere copia de libros se compren cada año 40 o 50 ducados de ellos hasta que haya cumplida librería y se dispute una pieza para ella, y si no se cumpliera así el general y visitadores castiguen a los prelados como culpa grave.*⁸⁵

In the case of Samos, the library was placed in the southeast side of the new cloister, that is the one that is on the bank of the river, and it is still there today.

Another needed place in the monks' life was the refectory, where they ate with the total prohibition of talking while one of them read in a pulpit. As a result of that fact, the refectory became into an important place of communal prayer and, thus, it must be designed with a large interior space which reflected its significance.

In the case of Samos, a new refectory was built in the southwest side of the cloister, where it is still at present, although the architecture suffered some changes afterwards, not only in the interior space but also in the exterior facades.

Other places in the monastery were the kitchen, which was probably connected to the refectory, as well as a cellar, a granary and some storerooms, which could be in the southwest side, right after the refectory and along the north side of the cloister.

As it happened in the medieval cloister, another needed place in the monastery of that period was the archive, where the community saved deeds and different types of documents. In the general chapter that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid held in 1568, they mentioned the archive of Samos, as follows: *se definió que en la casa de San Julián de Samos aya siempre en el depósito y archivo della censuras graves para que los perlados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían en gran daño della....*⁸⁶

The new cloister was attached to the south wall of the old church in order to achieve a direct connection with it through the Romanesque portal (Illustration

84. "...we order the monks to have a library inside all our monasteries from now on with books in bookshelves with chains. When this was not possible, at least there must be a room with books enough for a preacher". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...": 348.

85. "forty or fifty ducats must be spent in books per year in the monasteries where they do not copy books and they must have a place for the library. If this order is not obeyed, the general and the monks who visit the monastery will consider it as a serious offence and they will punish the prelates". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...* f. 40v.

86. "they ordered the monks of Samos to save the ecclesiastical punishments in the archive in order to avoid the leasing of certain monastic properties by the prelates. This fact will cause an important damage in the monastery...". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 338-339.



9). Besides, it occupied an important part of the area where the former cloister was placed. Because of this reason, the medieval monastic rooms located towards the southwest had to be demolished. On the contrary, we believe that the other half of the former cloister was preserved and it was probably used by the monks during the twenty years that the building of the new Gothic Cloister lasted. Nevertheless, not only were the size and location of the new cloister determined by the former cloister, but the Romanesque church also was a limit in the north and east sides. Moreover, the major physical boundary was the river, because it represented a clear border to a possible extension towards the southeast area at that moment and in the future.

When the building works ended, the monastic complex in Samos was formed by the Romanesque church, the new cloister and some remains of the former cloister which was rebuilt at the end of the 15th century and reformed after the fire of the early 16th century. Besides, there were some independent buildings such as the medieval quarters and the infirmary. We know that the guest quarters were placed at the north of the monastic complex nearby the river, because this building was demolished in the 17th century when the monks began the construction of a third cloister,⁸⁷ that is the Big Cloister, as we previously mentioned (Illustration 10).

Another place inside the monastery of the late 16th century was the monastic college. The constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid ordered the communities to have that college in all the monasteries that belonged to their religious order, *so los monjes aprendan a cantar. E donde sin mucho daño se puede hacer, sean enseñados en las ciencias primitivas o a lo menos en gramática.*⁸⁸

The first mention to the intention of opening a college of arts and theology in Samos appears in the constitutions written in 1563, when they order the monks *tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios.*⁸⁹ Zaragoza points out that the above-referred college was placed in Samos as a result of the fire that the monastery of San Esteban de Ribas de Sil suffered around 1562.⁹⁰ That fact was ordered in the general chapter that the congregation held that year:

87. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 222; Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

88. "the monks can learn to sign. Besides, science or, at least, grammar must be taught in the college if this can be built without so much damage for the monastery". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538*. Burgos: Casa de Juan de Junta, 1538, f. 33v. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 November 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=7&forma=ficha&id=877>.

89. "to have a monastic college where two lessons are taught per day for the youngsters and the priests who work in the monastic properties". *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: f. 73r-v.

90. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Los estudios y colegios monásticos españoles (siglos XV-XIX)". *Memoria ecclesiae*, 13 (1998): 389; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos de San Julián de Samos y San



...se definió que pues en el monasterio de San Estevan no puede al presente aver collegio por averse quemado muy gran parte de la casa, que los collegiales que en el dicho monasterio estaban se pasen al monasterio de Samos, vayan los quatro monges que en la dicha casa de San Estevan han de residir sin que embien otros monges al dicho monasterio de Samos más de los dichos collegiales.⁹¹

Regarding the type of college, the constitutions of 1575 mentioned that the college of Samos must be like the ones there were in Nuestra Señora la Real de Irache and San Esteban de Ribas de Sil; that is a college with twelve students. That fact objectified the order that was established in the general chapter of 1571.⁹² Zaragoza indicates that the college of Samos was closed in the general chapter of 1580;⁹³ however, another order established the opposite some years later and, as a result, the college was opened again in 1589.⁹⁴ That fact probably took place as a consequence of an order that was given in the general chapter of the same year. In the minutes of that general chapter it was gathered the regulation to found a new college of arts and the general prior was given the authority to choose the most suitable monastery for it, among the ones that belonged to the Castilian monks.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the presence of teachers and students in Samos led to some problems to develop their monastic life with complete calm. As a consequence,⁹⁶ the college of Samos was definitely closed through an order given by the general chapter of 1613,⁹⁷ although it continued opened until the beginning of Cristóbal de Aresti's mandate (1621-1625).⁹⁸ Finally, there is no information about the place where the college was located.

Esteban de Ribas de Sil (Siglos XVI-XIX)". *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 21 (2005): 772, 774.

91. "...due to the fact that, at present, there cannot be a college in the monastery of San Estevan because a fire destroyed a significant part of the building, we order the four students of San Estevan to go to the monastery of Samos. Only these students must go to Samos, but nobody else". Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III...": 231.

92. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 352.

93. In the general chapter that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid held in 1580, it was established that *no aya más de dos collegios de artes y que estos sean Hirache y S. Esteban de Ribas de Sil* ("there must not be more than two colleges of art and these colleges must be Hirache and S. Esteban de Ribas de Sil"). Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...": 381.

94. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...": 772.

95. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V...": 127.

96. Other reasons are pointed out by: Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...: 196-199.*

97. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...": 772.

98. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...: 214.*





ILLUSTRATION 8. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF SAMOS ABBEY IN THE LATE 16TH CENTURY, AFTER THE BUILDING OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.



ILLUSTRATION 9. THE SOUTHWEST SIDE OF THE GOTHIC CLOISTER, ALSO KNOWN AS THE CLOISTER OF THE NEREIDS, AT PRESENT. AT THE BACK OF THE PHOTOGRAPH, WE CAN SEE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH AND THE NEW CLOISTER. PHOTOGRAPHY BY THE AUTHOR.



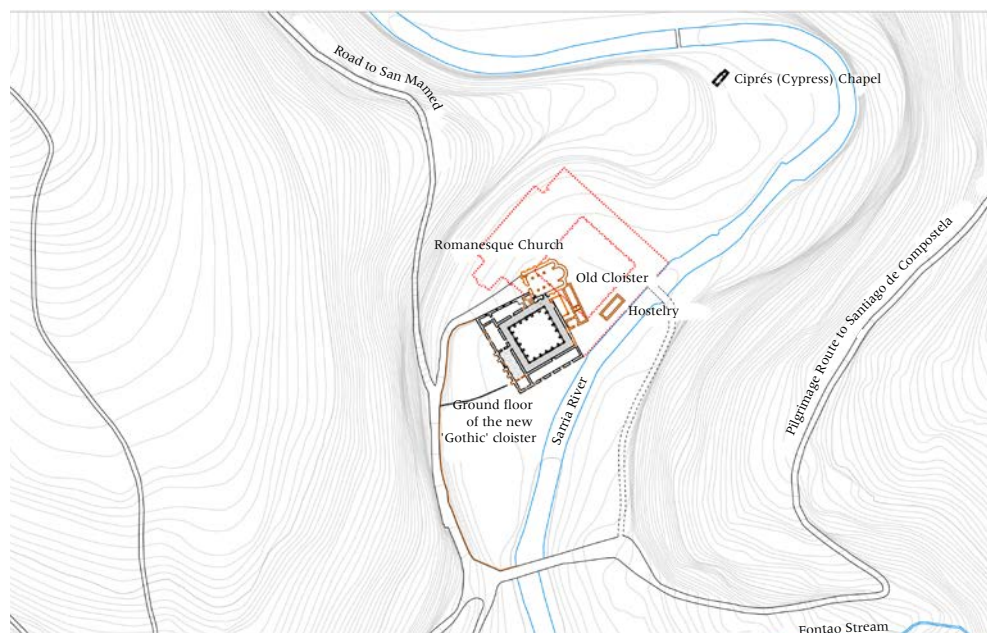


ILLUSTRATION 10. THE LIMITS THAT DEFINED THE MEASURE AND LOCATION OF THE NEW CLOISTER: THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH, THE FORMER CLOISTER AND THE RIVER. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

7. The reform of the Romanesque church

After the end of the ground floor of the new cloister, the next work of the monks was the reform of the monastic church. It can be considered the fourth stage of the renewal process we analyse here. The major reasons to undertake this work were two. The first one was the need to adapt the old church to the new rules that the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid followed concerning the liturgy. The second reason was the inadequate state of conservation that the old building showed after more than four centuries of life, especially in the most ancient area of the church, that was the east end. If we do not take into account the building of a new sacristy, the works that the monks developed at the end of the 15th century only implied the maintenance of the exterior facades and an improvement of the interior space.

The celebration of the Divine Office at night is one of the precepts that the Rule of Saint Benedict gathered. This precept was maintained in the constitutions of the Castilian monks and it implied that not only were the Brethren committed to go to the church during the day, but also at night along the year. The monks of Samos, like other monastic communities, decided to build a choir over the end of the central nave in order to make easier their night prayers. That way, they would

achieve a direct connection between the church and the cells of the monks when these last ones were built in the first floor of the Gothic Cloister some years later.

The date when the new choir was built is unknown, although we suppose it was at the late 16th century. In a document of 1588 it is said that Aymon Ponchelet, who was a Flemish sculptor, was doing the choir stalls for the new choir of Samos at that moment.⁹⁹ This fact implies that the choir already existed and it had been probably built over the last aisle of the central nave.¹⁰⁰ This was the reason to build the new choir stalls.

When the monks ended the improvement of the interior space of the church, the next step was the rebuilding of the main chapel. A bad state of conservation probably was the reason for that works and they also wanted to extend the original size of the chapel.¹⁰¹ With that aim, the abbot Claudio Tenorio (1601-1604) signed a contract with Juan González and Alonso Rodríguez, who were two master builders, on 25th September 1601. In this document, they promised to *azer la capilla mayor de la iglesia desta dicha cassa y conbento* for a sum of four thousand ducats and it must be 22 feet wide, 31 feet long, 5.5 feet thickness and 25 feet height.¹⁰²

However, this new main chapel was not begun until the mandate of the abbot Francisco del Castillo (1604-1607). We do not know why it was postponed, although a possible reason could be the lack of money. The abbot signed a new contract with the same master builders on 14th January 1606 to build the main chapel. We supposed that it was designed with a rectangular ground plan as it was usual at that moment, and *conforme a las dicha hescrituras y trazas por que el dicho convento les de y pague la cuantía de mil reales*. Despite the fact that the size of the new main chapel was previously set in the contract of 1601; in that second document *su voluntad hes que en altura y hueco y anchura de la ducha capilla mayor se ensanche, alargue y alze el arco de la dicha capilla corresponda con el arco del coro*.¹⁰³

The new chapel was probably as wide as the former one, because the space where it was built was surrounded by two lateral chapels, which were the Virgin's chapel

99. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 195; Pérez Costanti, Pablo. *Diccionario de artistas que florecieron en Galicia durante los siglos XVI y XVII*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta y Librería del Seminario Conciliar Central, 1930: 446-447.

100. Another interpretation is possible in regard to these works. They could make a high level in the existing choir instead of building a new one over the end of the central nave.

101. The reason can also make reference to the need for more space to establish a larger choir for the monks at ground level of the Romanesque church.

102. "they promised to build the main chapel of the monastic church". Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 220-221.

103. "in accordance with the deeds and the project that the monks will give to them, and the religious community will pay one thousand reals for these building works"; "they are willing to build a higher, wider chapel, in such a way that the arch of the chapel coincides with the arch of the choir". AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 3452, ff. 16-17 ("Contrato entre el monasterio de Samos y los canteros Juan González y Alonso Rodríguez para que construyan la capilla mayor de la iglesia abacial, por un importe que será determinado por el sistema de tasación ajena"). This document was published by: Folgar, María del Carmen; Goy, Ana E., eds. *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: Apéndice documental (CD-ROM).



and the Saint Benedict's chapel. On the contrary, in accordance with the contract of 1601, the height was bigger as well as the depth. Therefore, the new main chapel was 22 Carolingian feet or 7.08 meters wide,¹⁰⁴ like the former one. The height was increased until 28 Carolingian feet, which are equal to 9 meters, and it was 31 feet or 9.98 meters long.

The next important work was the building of a new sacristy due to the abbot Francisco del Castillo's wish. This event took place during his second mandate (1610-1613).¹⁰⁵ Based on a former chronicler of the monastery, the author Castro says that the sacristy the monks built at that moment was a *pieza admirable para aquellos tiempos*.¹⁰⁶ However, these main chapel and sacristy do not remain nowadays, because they were demolished when the Big Cloister or the Brother Feijoo's Cloister was finished at the mid-18th century.

The following concern of the monks who lived at Samos was to improve the interior of the Romanesque church. With that aim, the abbot Cristóbal de Aresti (1613-1617) entrusted Francisco de Moure, who was a Galician sculptor, a high altar for the new main chapel.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, they tried to complete and extend the furniture inside the sacristy through the end of a new altarpiece, a new cupboard made of walnut and new doors.¹⁰⁸ These works went on during the mandate of the abbot Miguel Sánchez (1617-1621). According to the author Castro, in that period *se hicieron los retablos colaterales de San Juan y Santa Catalina y los de Nuestra Señora y Nuestro Padre San Benito, diseñados por Francisco de Moure*.¹⁰⁹ At the present, only the Virgin's altarpiece and the Saint Benedict's altarpiece are completely extant, but with some later changes. They were moved from the Romanesque church to the new one that was built in the 18th century, where they are nowadays. The improvement of the interior space was completed during the second mandate of the abbot Cristóbal de Aresti (1621-1628), when they made *las rejas de la iglesia, los púlpitos y el órgano grande*.¹¹⁰

However, the reform of the church did not end then. The next step was developed on the facade. They made some changes in one of the original towers in 1621.¹¹¹ The end of the fourth stage of this long renewal process was undertaken by the abbot Mauro de Vega (1633-1637). He ordered the building of *la media naranja de la iglesia, una torre (...) y el órgano pequeño*.¹¹² The new dome was built over the central area of

104. One Carolingian feet equals 0.3219 meters as it is explained by: Merino, José Miguel. *Metrología y composición en las catedrales españolas*. Avila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa-Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2000: 53.

105. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 205.

106. "a remarkable piece in those days". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 116-117.

107. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 116-117.

108. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 209-210.

109. "Francisco de Moure made the lateral altarpieces of Saint John, Saint Catherine, the Virgin and Saint Benedict". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.

110. "the screen, the pulpits and the big organ". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.

111. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 223.

112. "a dome, a tower (...) and the little organ". Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio...": 117.



the transept. According to Portilla, it was built there because this part of the church was in danger of collapse.¹¹³ Moreover, the monks made some changes in the tower that had not been reformed in 1621. In this way, they completed the exterior and interior renewal process of the Romanesque church (Illustration 11).

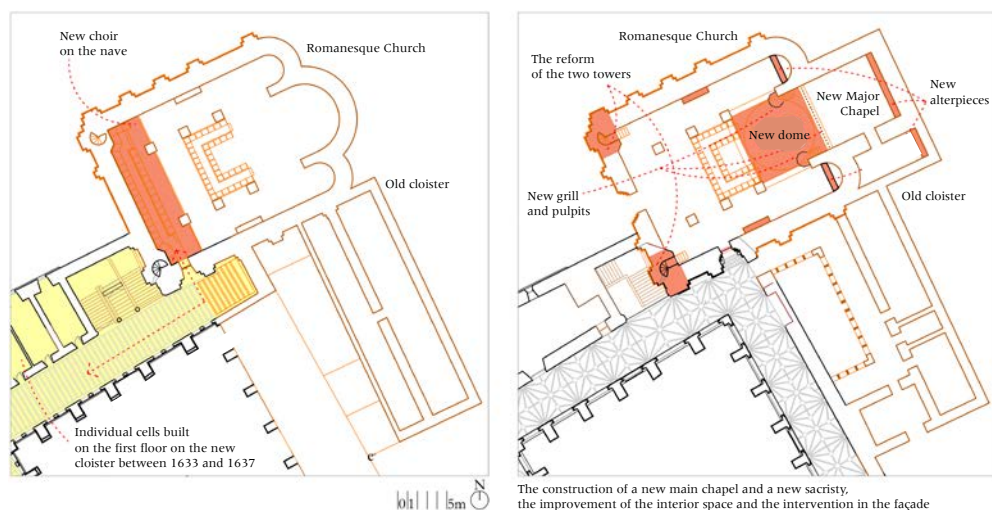


ILLUSTRATION 11. THE REFORM OF THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH BETWEEN 1580 AND 1637: THE FOURTH STAGE OF THE RENEWAL PROCESS. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

8. Going on the building of the new cloister

The monastic community of Samos began to build the first floor of the Gothic Cloister more than fifty years later the end of the ground floor. A certain number of cells for the monks were placed inside it. These works were developed during the mandate of the abbot Mauro de Vega (1633-1637), when the number of monks had not already grown. Therefore, building this first floor was not an urgent matter, but it really was necessary to provide the monastery with the cells that the constitutions of the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid ordered since the first books published a hundred years ago.

Arias mentions that the abbot Mauro de Vega built *dos lienzos del piso superior del claustro viejo*.¹¹⁴ The same fact is pointed out by Durán, who says that this abbot built

113. Portilla, Pedro de la. "San Julián de Samos", *Monasterios de España*. Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1988: 53.

114. "two walls of the high floor of the old cloister". Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 222.



dos paños del claustro alto viejo.¹¹⁵ Base on this information that both authors read in a document written by a former chronicler of the monastery, other scholars of Samos Abbey, such as Portilla¹¹⁶ and Arias,¹¹⁷ considered that the first and second floors of the Gothic Cloister were built at that moment. However, we believe that it was not like this. The author Folgar de la Calle¹¹⁸ recently suggested that the expressions *dos lienzos* ("two walls") and *dos paños* ("two wall sections") should be understood as the two sides of the first floor of the cloister and they should not be considered like the two high floors. In our opinion, the two sides of the first floor that were built in that period were the northwest and southwest ones, that is the sides that were directly connected to the only stairs there is inside this cloister. They probably began to build the stairs at the same time of the ground floor and they went on building this part in this new stage of the project (Illustration 12).

The construction of a part of the first floor involved making higher the buttresses of the ground floor with its different sizes. A stretch of wall was defined between every two buttresses and its length coincides with the one that the vaulted section has under it. Two linteled windows were built in each stretch of wall, in the upper part of a smooth window sill that was ended in a simple molding. This molding was extended along the buttresses to connect evenly the different elements of the facade. Moreover, some helical oculus were opened on top of each window like transom windows or skylights. This level of the facade was finished with a noticeable cornice that was extended along the walls like in the case of the above-referred molding. This way, it connects the stretches of walls with the buttresses and it breaks the marked vertical direction that the massive buttresses show in these interior facades (Illustration 13).

All the windows that were opened towards the interior courtyard of the cloister aim to light up the wide covered passages that define the common space to enter the individual cells. On the contrary, the new cells for the monks are oriented towards the exterior land that surround the abbey. The exterior walls of the cloister were solved with more simplicity and austerity than the interior ones. They are masonry walls in which two linteled windows with different sizes were opened per cell.

Regarding the stairs, the one that was built at that moment does not remain nowadays because it was destroyed by the fire of 1951. However, we know how it was through some historical photographs (Illustration 14). From the ground floor to the first one, the stairs of the Gothic Cloister had three flights which were solved with long granite steps as well as granite banisters. The stairs ended in the first floor under a semicircular arch, which was supported by two columns. Two more arches defined the space that the staircase occupied towards the nearby walls of the Romanesque church. This way, there was a series of three arches in the landing of

115. "two wall sections of the high, old cloister". Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

116. Portilla, Pedro de la. "San Julián...": 53.

117. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 223.

118. Folgar, María del Carmen. "A construción do gran mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos. Cen anos de transformacións arquitectónicas", *Arte beneditina nos camiños de Santiago*, Enrique Fernández Castiñeiras, Juan M. Monterroso, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2006: 212.



the first floor. The flights that go from the first floor to the second one would start from the central arch when they were built some years later.

The design of the first floor of the Gothic Cloister should be defined when the community began the ground floor in 1562. However, some changes could be done in the original project when it was finally built.

9. Conclusions

As a summary, we can say that following the orders the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid established—which specified the decisions that were previously made in the general chapters—, caused the need to begin a set of building works to reform, restore or rebuild the existing monastic complex. As a result, the medieval monastery suffered a significant transformation in order to adapt it to some new requirements. We can easily recognize this fact if we compare the appearance of the monastic complex in the late 15th century with the abbey of the early 17th century.

Moreover, the constitutions not only gathered a set of rules in regard to monks' lifestyle, but they also indicated what places there must be inside the monastery to the suitable development of their daily life; what features should have those places, how the monks must deal with the reform or renewal processes of the existing monastic buildings to achieve a proper adaptation, or which steps they must follow to face the construction of the new buildings, in those cases where the existing ones could not be maintained.

All in all, in the constitutions of this religious order we find the reasons that led to the changes. On the other hand, the written and graphic analysis we develop in this study allow us to garner a more thorough knowledge of the changes made on the existing medieval architecture. As a result, a deep process of transformation began and, in some cases, it was lost a significant part of the medieval monastery in order to define a new one which was like a palimpsest. That is, it was the consequence of the different works we have analysed up to now.

Nevertheless, the aim of providing the monastery of Samos with cells enough for thirty-five monks was not a reality even in the 1630s, where this study ends; despite the fact that it was one of the major reasons to build the new Gothic Cloister. We do not know why the two floors of the Gothic cloister were not built, because the need that the constitutions established will be met with them. It seems to be right the thought that the number of monks at Samos did not grow since the late 16th century and this matter could have an influence on that fact. If there were nineteen monks at Samos during the building of the ground floor of the Gothic Cloister; only two more monks belonged to the community in 1660.¹¹⁹ However, it is also true

119. Through a letter of attorney written in 1660, we know that the number of monks in Samos was twenty-one at that moment. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6513, f. 10v. ("Apeos de la feligresía de Samos"). Available at: Portal de Archivos Españoles. "Apeos de la feligresía de Samos". *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España.



that it was difficult to grow, if they did not have space enough to do so; that is more individual cells to host new members.

The wish of extending the monastery of Samos was not felt again by the Brethren until the 18th century, when they began the most ambitious project they had done since their union to the Congregation of San Benito de Valladolid. That project was the construction of a third cloister and a new church. That decision caused a new process of transformation on the existing architecture, which was based on more specific rules. Besides, it also led to new losses and changes in the extant, medieval architecture. The analysis of those works could be the goal of a future study.



ILLUSTRATION 12. VIRTUAL RECREATION OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN JULIÁN DE SAMOS IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY, WHERE WE CAN SEE THE PLAN OF TWO SIDES OF THE FIRST FLOOR AS WELL AS THE MEDIEVAL REMAINS IN RED. DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR.

9 November 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3525995>.



ILLUSTRATION 13. THE COURTYARD INSIDE THE NEW CLOISTER WHERE WE CAN SEE THE INTERIOR FACADE OF THE NORTHWEST SIDE, WHICH WAS BUILT BETWEEN 1633 AND 1637. PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR.



ILLUSTRATION 14. AN IMAGE OF THE STAIRS AT THE FIRST FLOOR OF THE NEW CLOISTER BEFORE THE FIRE OF 1951. ARCHIVO MONASTERIO SAMOS. MATERIAL FOTOGRÁFICO, SAMOS, 1951.

ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.



YOU ARE WHAT YOU ATE: CONSUMING THE PAST TO BENEFIT THE PRESENT

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ABSTRACT

You Are What You Ate was a British public engagement project funded by the Wellcome Trust between 2010 and 2014. It was a collaboration between the University of Leeds, the University of Bradford and Wakefield Council, especially its museums, schools and libraries, which aimed to use medieval food as a way to encourage reflection about modern food and lifestyle. The innovative project ran three exhibitions in Wakefield and Pontefract, a mobile exhibition, numerous schools and youth workshops, and a series of market stalls and osteology workshops for adults and children in the Yorkshire region. This article provides an overview of the project's aims, activities, outcomes, including an analysis of how to evaluate them, and its legacy.

KEYWORDS

Food, Nutrition, Health, Archaeology, Wakefield, Public Engagement.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Cibus, Nutrimentum, Salus, Archeologia, Wakefield, Compromissum publicum.

1. Introduction

“The class was interested in the fact that the idea of healthy eating was hundreds of years old”.¹

The *You Are What You Ate* project ran for four years between 2010 and 2014. Funded by a Wellcome Trust Engaging Science grant,² the project was a collaboration between the University of Leeds, the University of Bradford and Wakefield Council, two higher education institutions and the authority responsible for the district of Wakefield, all based in West Yorkshire in northern England.³ The project’s sub-title was ‘Food Lessons from the Past’. Its main aim was to engage the modern community in research on food and nutrition in order to encourage people to reflect on their own eating habits. The project team chose the period 1300-1700 to represent ‘the past’, but the innovative project was highly flexible, extending far beyond this period to reflect museum collections and community interests.⁴

The project team was made up of historians, museum officers, re-enactors, archaeologists and food scientists who worked together to plan and deliver three six-month exhibitions, a mobile exhibition, twenty osteology workshops for adults (handling real human bones) and children (handling plastic bones that had been given artificial pathologies), workshops at over fifty primary schools (child ages 7-11), numerous family and youth club sessions, twenty market stalls, two public conferences and evening talks. The project altogether involved nearly 150,000 engagements with a diverse cross-section of English society. Originally due to end in summer 2013, the Wellcome Trust granted a further year’s funding (total funding: £191,784). This essay will outline the project’s aims, project management, our methods of evaluation and the project’s reach and significance. Research on food proved to be a particularly effective way of presenting multiple pasts for present audiences.⁵

1. Teacher’s feedback on a questionnaire after one of our school workshops on November 16, 2011.

2. Grant no. 092293.

3. For the Wellcome Trust, see: Wellcome Trust. “Home”. *Wellcome Trust*. 10 June 2016 <<https://wellcome.ac.uk/>>.

4. See the still live project website for full details: University of Leeds; University of Bradford; Wakefield Council. “home”. *You are what you ate*. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/youarewhatyouate/>>.

5. The title of this essay is informed by Jerome de Groot (in: De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), and John Arnold, Kate Davies and Simon Ditchfield (in: Arnold, John; Davies, Kate; Ditchfield, Simon, eds. *History & Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture*. Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 1998).



2. Aims and Geographical Context

“The proposal is a well-meaning attempt to draw the public (children and adults) into areas of research that are of interest to food historians and bioarchaeologists”.⁶

The *You Are What You Ate* project was devised in response to a Wellcome Trust Society Award funding call on the theme of eating in 2009. Society Awards were large grants that aim to:

stimulate interest, excitement and debate about biomedical science and/or the history of medicine; support formal and informal learning; reach audiences of all ages and from all walks of life and inform, inspire and involve them; encourage high-quality interdisciplinary practice and collaborations; [and] investigate and test new methods of engagement, participation and education.⁷

The project emerged as an idea during the International Medieval Congress (IMC) in Leeds in July 2009, an annual event attended by all three of the present authors (who had not previously met).⁸ It was then planned in a series of workshops in Leeds and Wakefield during autumn 2009 and spring 2010 at which time several other key people became involved: Gary Williamson (food scientist, University of Leeds), Janet Cade (nutritional epidemiologist, University of Leeds), Maya Harrison (Senior Cultural Officer, Wakefield Council), Caroline Yeldham (independent historical cook) and Alan Ogden (Biological Anthropologist and former clinical lecturer in dentistry, University of Bradford). The expansion of the team allowed us to bring together four underpinning research strands for an ambitious proposal: history of food and medicine; food science and nutrition; bioarchaeology; and museums, heritage and re-enactment.

The aims of the project as outlined in the original application were as follows:

- To enable extensive public engagement with research in biomedical science, medical history, bioarchaeology (osteochondroarchaeology and palaeopathology).
- To bring together bioarchaeologists, cultural officers, historians and nutritional experts and deliver innovative workshops and exhibitions, creating opportunities for research impact and improving public participation in cultural activities.
- To bring dietary issues to a wide audience in Yorkshire, working with schools, going out onto the street at festivals and putting on exhibitions.
- To encourage public debate and personal reflection about eating habits through exploration of the dietary choices of the past.
- To disseminate new methods of knowledge transfer and share good practice in order to inspire further public engagement initiatives.

6. Anonymous reviewer of the Wellcome Trust, attachment in e-mail, March 17, 2010.

7. Wellcome Trust. “Wellcome Trust Society Awards”. *Wellcome Trust*. 19 November 2014 <<http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/Funding/Public-engagement/Funding-schemes/People-Awards-and-Society-Awards/index.htm>>.

8. The link with the IMC was maintained with sessions, round tables and a market stall in 2010-2013.



The project team learned that it had been successful in its grant application in May 2010. The first event (a market stall) took place at a medieval fair at Pontefract Castle on 24 July 2010. The last event (an evening talk by well-known food historian Ivan Day) took place at Castleford Forum Museum on 23 September 2014.⁹ This length of time is unusual, helping to explain our success.

The project team achieved its aims through a wide range of activities for adults and children, mainly in the Wakefield region. The development of a partnership between Wakefield Council and the two universities, well-known for their work in medieval studies (Leeds) and bioarchaeology (Bradford), was closely related to Wakefield's well-documented medieval past. The region has two medieval castles, Sandal and Pontefract, and twelve medieval churches. The Battle of Wakefield (1460) was one of the most decisive conflicts of the Wars of the Roses. The city is linked to an important medieval drama cycle.¹⁰ Some of the most continuous manorial records in England were produced by the Manor of Wakefield.¹¹ Changes in local government over the centuries, especially in the 1970s, brought together under the authority of Wakefield Council a number of neighbouring towns with a keen sense of ownership over local heritage (Wakefield, Castleford, Pontefract, Ossett, Featherstone, Normanton, Knottingley, Hemsworth), as well as some rural mining villages. The region is famous for its agricultural history: much of Britain's rhubarb comes from near Wakefield; Pontefract was known for liquorice.¹² The whole area was hard-hit by the collapse of the coal industry in the 1980s, and some of its communities are still identified by the government as relatively deprived based on levels of income, employment, health, education, crime, access to services and living environment.¹³ Nevertheless, the region is much recovered economically;

9. These events are described at: Wellcome Trust. "Guest post: You are what you ate". *Wellcome Trust*. 27 July 2016 <<http://blog.wellcome.ac.uk/2010/08/10/guest-post-you-are-what-you-ate/>>; University of Leeds; University of Bradford; Wakefield Council. "From possets to pies: alcohol and pastry-making through time". *You are what you ate*. 27 July 2016 <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/yawya/news/news-from%20possets%20to%20pies.html>>.

10. Mayes, Philip; Butler, Lawrence; Johnson, Shirley, eds. *Sandal Castle Excavations, 1964–1973: A Detailed Archaeological Report*. Wakefield: Wakefield Historical Society, 1983; Ian Roberts. *Pontefract Castle*. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, 1990; Churches Regional Commission for Yorkshire and Humber. "Sacred Places in Wakefield District". *Old.Wakefield.Anglican.Org*. 10 June 2016 <<https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/45010254/sacred-places-wakefield-district-diocese-of-wakefield>>; Meredith, Peter, ed. *The Towneley Cycle*. Leeds: School of English, 1990–1991 (2 volumes); Haigh, Philip. *The Battle of Wakefield 1460*. Stroud: Sutton, 1996.

11. The court rolls (1274–1925) belong to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society but are housed in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. For published rolls, see: *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 29, 36, 57, 78, 109 (1901–1945); for more information: Yorkshire Archaeological & Historical Society. "Wakefield Court Rolls". *The Wakefield Court Rolls Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological & Historical Society – YAHS*. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.wakecourtroll.yas.org.uk>>.

12. Foust, Clifford. *Rhubarb: the Wondrous Drug*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992: 237–238; Chartres, John. "A Special Crop and its Markets in the Eighteenth Century: the Case of Pontefract Liquorice", *People, Landscape and Alternative Agriculture: Essays for Joan Thirsk*, Richard Hoyle, ed. Exeter: Agricultural History Society, 2004: 114–132.

13. For maps of the region based on the 2010 Index of Multiple Deprivation, see: Yorkshire and Humber Public Health Observatory. "Maps of deprivation for Yorkshire and Humber districts". *Yorkshire*



thousands of people visit during Wakefield's Food, Drink and Rhubarb festival (February) and the Pontefract Liquorice Festival (July). Since the project began, Castleford has a new museum, Pontefract museum has been redesigned, Pontefract Castle has a new visitor centre and Wakefield itself has seen its main museum moved to a new purpose-built site and the opening of the Hepworth, a prestigious new art gallery. There is also continued support for the National Coal Mining Museum and the Yorkshire Sculpture Park, both located in the region.¹⁴ These sites demonstrate the commitment of Wakefield Council to heritage and culture as integral to regional development and help to explain the Council's support for *You Are What You Ate*.¹⁵ Although there have been closures due to the recent recession, with the especially sad loss of Clarke Hall Educational Museum, located in a 17th century house that had been a venue for our earlier workshops because of its period kitchen and visitor facilities, the district has retained an extensive network of libraries, schools and museums. From the perspective of the university academics involved in the project, working with the senior cultural officers of a district council provided unprecedented access to communities, which simply would not have been possible without the collaborative partnership.

3. The Project and its Management

"The applicants are to be commended for their enthusiasm and collegiality".¹⁶

The key to success of this project was the collegiate, face-to-face working practices established from the start. Associated with these practices was the early appointment of an administrator, Fiona Blair, who invested a great deal of energy, doing far more than the two days a week she was employed on the project. It is worth noting that the grant did not cover the time of any already salaried project member and was dependent on personal commitment. As many as possible of the core team members: the three authors (M^cCleery, Buckberry, Shearman), Maya Harrison, Gary Williamson and Fiona Blair, met at first fortnightly and then monthly as the project progressed in order to report on the various types of activities. Each type

and Humber Health Intelligence. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.yhpho.org.uk/default.aspx?RID=110329>>. We were pleased to be able to run events in some of the more deprived areas such as Castleford and Hemsworth.

14. See for details: Experience Wakefield. "Home". *Experience Wakefield*. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.experiencewakefield.co.uk/>>.

15. For Wakefield's core strategy, see: Wakefield Council. "Core Strategy". *Wakefield Council*. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.wakefield.gov.uk/residents/planning/policy/local-plan/core-strategy>>. For the role of 'resilient communities and supportive environments' in improving health and well-being, see: *Health 2020: A European Policy Framework and Strategy for the 21st Century*. Copenhagen: World Health Organization, 2013.

16. Anonymous reviewer of the Wellcome Trust, attachment in e-mail, March 17, 2010.



of activity was coordinated by one member of the core team: osteology workshops (Buckberry), schools and family/youth workshops (Shearman), exhibitions (Harrison), festivals/talks/website (M^cCleery). All the activities were inter-linked: talks and family activities related to exhibitions; market stalls promoted exhibitions; the osteology workshops varied content depending on the exhibition.

There is very little scholarship on partnership working between museums and universities, but one study identifies potential barriers to such partnerships as "different methodologies, terminologies and scholarly practices" and "different priorities and expectations".¹⁷ Some of these issues came up in our long, sociable meetings, but we generally found them to be productive and interesting differences rather than barriers. Communication was greatly aided by the fact that Vicky Shearman had previously been a research scientist in a higher education institution and has a keen personal and professional interest in medieval studies and living history. From a museum perspective, our project was always unusual, especially our exhibitions, because rather than deriving our themes from the museum collections themselves, we brought the themes ready-made to the collections and hoped to find sufficient appropriate artefacts. One result was that displays were rather text-heavy by comparison with best museum practice, although lighter than they might have been had only Buckberry and M^cCleery been involved; we learned a great deal from Shearman and her colleague Maya Harrison.¹⁸

Recently, a few historians have expressed some rather ambiguous attitudes towards museums. For example, Ludmilla Jordanova is very dismissive of the role of museums in an influential book, writing, in an unfortunate turn of phrase as far as our own project is concerned, that "museums work in insidious ways. The past they present is highly refined, in the manner of manufactured foods".¹⁹ The present authors completely reject this negative attitude. Other historians seem to

17. The editors' introduction to *Museums and Higher Education Working Together: Challenges and Opportunities* (Speight, Catherine; Boddington, Anne; Boys, Jos. "Introduction". *Museums and Higher Education Working Together: Challenges and Opportunities*, Anne Boddington, Jos Boys, Catherine Speight, eds. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013: 13-14). Also thoughtful is: Collins, Peter. "Museums: the Resilience Illusion". *LinkedIn*. 18 December 2015. 12 May 2016 <<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/museums-resilience-illusion-peter-collins?articleId=922023271599469290>>, especially the concept of the 'funder bubble' in which both museums and funders (and we would add funded academics) need partnerships but for very different reasons.

18. Pearce, Susan. *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992; Dean, David. *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 1994. As the project progressed, both M^cCleery and Buckberry changed their writing style, with fewer editing stages necessary for the later exhibitions. This process was an enlightening educational experience. On the planning of our third exhibition, see: M^cCleery, Iona. "Exhibition planning for beginners: from idea to execution". *Blog. Life from a Wellcome Trust perspective*. 27 July 2016 <<http://blog.wellcome.ac.uk/2013/04/30/exhibition-planning-for-beginners/>>.

19. Jordanova, Ludmilla. *History in Practice*. London: Hodder Arnold, 2006: 127; de Groot (De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History...*: 116-118, 236-247), is more positive, but focuses on the economic rather than educational roles of museums. Faye Sayer (Sayer, Faye. *Public History: A Practical Guide*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015: 22-45), seems to view museums mainly as places of employment for history graduates. For more positive approaches, see: Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory*. London: Verso, 1994-1997 (2 volumes); Keen, Hilda; Martin, Paul, eds. *The Public History Reader*. London: Routledge, 2013.



feel that they have lost ground to museums and the media, wishing to reclaim a perceived former central role in the public's reception of the past.²⁰ There has been very little effort to analyse critically the often very fruitful collaborations that academics have long had with non-Higher Education institutions. Some of these partnerships were developed more recently in order to demonstrate the impact of academic research for the Research Excellence Framework (REF 2014) imposed on British universities.²¹ That does not make them any less fruitful. *You Are What You Ate* originally arose independently in 2009-10, long before the impact agenda of REF 2014 was understood. However, it eventually became an 'impact case study' for the School of History at the University of Leeds, and part of the 'impact template' for the Department of Archaeological Sciences at the University of Bradford.²² Compared to historians, archaeologists appear to be more reflective about the relationships between universities and communities, social media, the commercial sector and museums.²³ The discipline of Museum Studies has, of course, long pondered relationships between museums, audiences, education and communities.²⁴ In the end, Buckberry and M'Cleery found museum approaches to be both sensible and

There has long been a debate about the uses and users of the past. See for example: Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1985.

20. Tosh, John. "Public History, Civic Engagement and the Historical Profession in Britain". *History*, 99/345 (2014): 191-212; Guldi, Jo; Armitage, David. *The History Manifesto*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2014; revised online version: Guldi, Jo; Armitage, David. "The History Manifesto". Cambridge University Press. 10 June 2016 <<http://historymanifesto.cambridge.org/>>; and the discussion in *American Historical Review*: Cohen, Deborah; Mandler, Peter; Armitage, David; Guldi, Jo. "Exchange: On The History Manifesto". *American Historical Review*, 120/2 (2015): 527-554.

21. Collini, Stefan. *What Are Universities For?* London: Penguin, 2012: 168-177; Sayer, Derek. *Rank Hypocrisies: the Insult of the REF*. London: Sage, 2015; King, Laura; Rivett, Gary. "Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus". *History Workshop Journal*, 80 (2015), 218-233. See also: Research Excellence Framework 2014. "Research Excellence Framework". REF2014. 6 August 2015 <<http://www.ref.ac.uk/>>.

22. REF2014 required us to disaggregate our collaborative project. See for Leeds: M'Cleery, Iona. "Impact case study (REF3b). Enhancing adults' and children's awareness of healthy eating today by using research into medieval ideas of healthy lifestyle and diet". REF2014. 10 June 2016 <<http://impact.ref.ac.uk/casestudies2/refservice.svc/GetCaseStudyPDF/6387>>. For Bradford: Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford. "Impact Template". REF2014. 6 August 2016 <<http://results.ref.ac.uk/DownloadFile/ImpactTemplate/pdf?subId=26>>.

23. Stone, Peter; Planel, Philippe, eds. *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education and the Public*. London-New York: Routledge-English Heritage, 1999; Waterton, Emma; Smith, Laurajane. *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London: Bloomsbury, 2009; Moshenska, Gabriel; Dhanjal, Sarah. *Community Archaeology: Themes, Methods and Practices*. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011; Meyers Emery, Katy; Killgrove, Kristina. "Bones, Bodies, and Blogs: Outreach and Engagement in Bioarchaeology". *Internet Archaeology*, 39 (2015): <<http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.39.5>> (10 June 2016).

24. Manfredi, Leanne; Reynolds, Rebecca. "Tales from the Coalface", *Museums and Higher Education Working Together: Challenges and Opportunities*, Anne Boddington, Jos Boys, Catherine Speight, eds. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013: 135-145; Watson, Sheila. *Museums and their Communities*. London: Routledge, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance*. London: Routledge, 2007; Anderson, David. *A Common Wealth: Museums and Learning in the United Kingdom*. London: Department of National Heritage, 1997. See also the resources of the *Group for Education in Museums* at: Group for Education in Museums (GEM). "Welcome to GEM". GEM. *The voice for heritage learning*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.gem.org.uk/index.php>>; and the Museum Association's education



innovative. In practice, what we all found to be the greatest barrier was time: we all had many other commitments. Timetabling was a major issue: the university timetable does not synchronise well with the rhythms of the school year. Museums are aligned with it, but the project's numerous in-school workshops—which greatly increased Wakefield's outreach provision in the long-term—required new working methods in order to reconcile teachers' needs and museum staff capacity.

It is not possible to analyse all our activities here and how they were planned. We will focus on the major milestones that were our three large exhibitions and our schools workshops.²⁵ The exhibitions ran in Wakefield Museum (*Sugar & Spice and All Things Nice*, 2011; *Food for All Seasons*, 2013) and Pontefract Museum (*The Dark Side of Eating*, 2012).²⁶ These exhibitions drew on different ranges of expertise. For example, global trade, science of taste, feasting and dental health were prominent in 2011; nutritional disease was the focus in 2012; medieval Wakefield and the history of food dominated in 2013. In accordance with museological research, as well as with the practical experience of Shearman and Harrison, we felt it was very important to respect the wishes of local people to see their museums' own collections in temporary exhibitions.²⁷

In order to combine these artefacts with our pre-conceived themes we had to be very flexible in our approach to the topic, borrowing imaginatively from other collections. In 2013 it was a great coup to bring some Wakefield Court Rolls back to Wakefield for the first time since the 1920s as well as Books of Hours donated to the University of Leeds by Lord Brotherton (died 1930), a former member of parliament for Wakefield.²⁸ Also that year we displayed agricultural implements and medieval pottery, items that are sometimes difficult for modern urban audiences to appreciate. In 2012 we brought past and present together by displaying an early 20th century weighing machine used at a 'seaside school' run by Wakefield Council on the Yorkshire coast for many years from the 1930s for poor, malnourished and sick children,²⁹ alongside medieval bones excavated from Pontefract, curated by

agenda at: Museum Association. "The education agenda". *Museum Association*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.museumassociation.org/campaigns/museums-and-the-education-agenda>>.

25. The osteology workshops are discussed in detail in: Buckberry, Jo; Ogden, Alan; Shearman, Vicky; M^cCleery, Iona. "You Are What You Ate: Using Bioarchaeology to Promote Healthy Eating", *Trends in Biological Anthropology*, Karina Gerdau-Radonić, Kathleen McSweeney, eds. Oxford: Oxbow, 2015: I, 100-111.

26. University of Leeds; University of Bradford; Wakefield Council. "Exhibitions". *You are what you ate*. 27 July 2016 <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/yawya/events/exhibitions/exhibitions.html>>.

27. For engagement with Wakefield collections, see: Johnstone, Christine. "Your Granny Had One of Those! How Visitors Use Museum Collections", *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture*, John Arnold, Kate Davies, Simon Ditchfield, eds. London: Donhead, 1998: 67-77. See also: Nielsen, Jane K. "The Relevant Museum: Defining Relevance in Museological Practices". *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 30 (2015), 364-378.

28. Donnelly, James. "Brotherton, Edward Allen, Baron Brotherton (1856-1930)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Colin Matthew, Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004: VII, 959-960.

29. McLeod, John. *Seaside School: 60 Years of the Wakefield School in Hornsea*. Castleford: Yorkshire Art Circus Ltd, 1999.



the University of Bradford. The bones were used to demonstrate the effects of rickets (Vitamin D deficiency) and scurvy (Vitamin C deficiency) on a child, and osteoarthritis of the knee (a condition common in obese individuals) on an adult. We displayed a video of these and similar diseased bones produced as part of Digitised Diseases, a separate research project at Bradford.³⁰

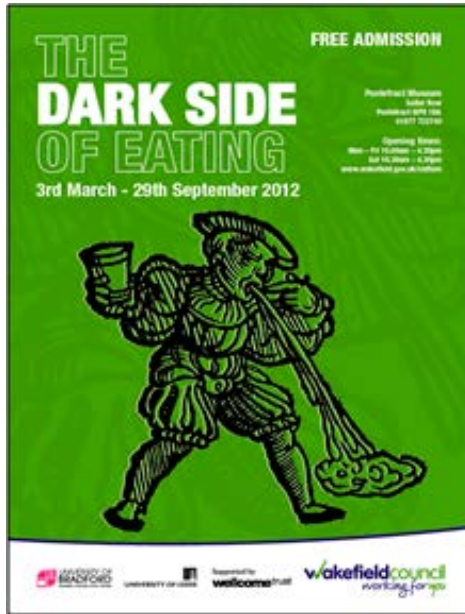


ILLUSTRATION 1. POSTER FOR *THE DARK SIDE OF EATING*, PONTEFRAC T MUSEUM 2012, INCORPORATING AN IMAGE FROM THE WELLCOME LIBRARY.



ILLUSTRATION 2. A CONTEXTUAL SHOT OF *FOOD FOR ALL SEASONS* (2013), INCORPORATING THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS, REPRODUCTION FOOD AND IMAGES FROM: LEEDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. BROTHERTON MANUSCRIPTS, MS. 1 AND 9. PICTURE BY IONA M^CCLEERY.

Due to the time constraints set by other responsibilities and the expertise required, we decided that many of our schools activities would be delivered by trained educators, both experienced freelancers and specialised museum outreach staff, with whom we worked closely at the design stage. This decision is the main reason why we were able to visit so many schools and clubs in the region, with often repeat visits to schools and the ability to adapt workshops over time. One of the advantages of a long-term, well-funded

30. 'Digitised Diseases' is an open access resource developed by the University of Bradford, the Museum of London Archaeology and the Royal College of Surgeons of England, supported by the JISC Content Programme: University of Bradford; Museum of London Archaeology; Royal College of Surgeons of England. "The project". *Digitised Diseases*. 7 August 2016 <<http://www.digitiseddiseases.org/alpha/>>.



project is that it was possible to try riskier activities that would not normally be cost-effective for a museum service. For example, we ran workshops for Key Stage 1 pupils (aged 4-6) and at Special Educational Needs schools, something not previously possible on this scale. Youth worker Jane Howroyd also engaged groups of young people about to be excluded from school and a hard-to-reach 'detached' group that meets in a park.³¹ Youth work of this kind was not originally part of the budget, but savings elsewhere allowed us to be flexible in accordance with perceived need.

We decided to increase our youth work largely as a result of the monitoring we did of all our activities, which made it apparent that we were not engaging the 13-19 age-group much at all. Young people of secondary-school age are much less likely than younger children or adults to attend a museum or family-oriented fair and they are more difficult to engage in evaluation exercises.³² It is harder for museums to access secondary schools due to curriculum and timetable constraints, although we did manage some activities with three schools in the 11-18 age range. In contrast, we engaged with sixty-one of Wakefield's primary schools (over 50%) either in-school, in the museum, or on the Bradford university campus (some schools did all three). Primary schools seem more attuned to the opportunities afforded by Wakefield's medieval heritage, especially through commemoration of the 550th anniversary of the Battle of Wakefield in 2010. This interest may be because the National Curriculum for primary school education in history at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11) requires a local history component.³³ We found that our free workshops reinforced or made a good introduction to other history topics (this was so much the case with the Tudors that in the final year we shifted from a Battle of Wakefield to a 16th century scenario).³⁴ We deliberately linked our project to the National Curriculum for Science and also for Personal, Social and Health education, as well as identifying problem-solving and team-working benefits. Teachers commented on these links when asked to evaluate the immediate impact of the workshop:

- "good support for our healthy schools week";
- "linked to our workshop on the Battle of Wakefield";
- "a nice opener to our class topic on healthy eating";
- "in school will link [to] environment/sustainability. It really challenged thinking/ deduction";

31. Shearman, Vicky. "Museum Practice: Engaging Teens with Healthy Eating". *Museum Association*. 12 December 2014. 22 July 2016 <<http://www.museumsassociation.org/museum-practice/teenagers/12122014-wakefield-museums>>.

32. Out of 335 children's questionnaires collected at markets and fairs in 2011-2014, only nineteen came from young people aged 12-15 (5.4%). Out of 244 adult questionnaires collected over the same period, only seven fell in the 16-19 age range (2.9%).

33. The curriculum changed in September 2014, but still includes a local study. The previous curriculum is archived at: Department of Education. "Primary National Curriculum Until 2014". *The National Archives*. 10 June 2016 <<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20131202172639/http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/teachingandlearning/curriculum/primary>>.

34. In 2011-2013 the scenario was that Joan or Bess (educators in costume) passed through the area seeking food for injured soldiers; the children were enlisted to help her budget the weekly menu in order to produce a balanced diet; they were encouraged to link exercise and dietary intake, invited to guess the identity of mystery cooking utensils, and asked to make a medieval green sauce. In 2013-2014, the scenario changed to Bess helping to feed villagers recovering from sweating sickness.



- “as we embark on a topic about Tudor exploration, we were given a lot of background information in a way that interested the children and captured their imagination”;
- “continued interest in medicine following work on Florence Nightingale”;
- “[the children’s] previous knowledge was shown as the content related to prior learning. They were very interested in the food aspect and were keen to do more practical things”;
- “excellent reinforcement of one of our earlier science topics”.³⁵



ILLUSTRATION 3. ‘JOAN’ (SALLYANN BURLEY) IN ACTION AT A SCHOOL IN MAY 2011. PICTURE BY TONY GLOSSOP.

35. Anonymous comments collected after workshops on June 22, 2011, July 8, 2011, September 28, 2011, June 18, 2012, November 15, 2012, November 16, 2012, June 21, 2013 and January 15, 2014.



When asked to comment on the immediate impact of the children's osteology workshops, which were run by a team of bioarchaeological staff and students and took place in a laboratory at the University of Bradford (free transport provided), teachers found them particularly aspirational for the children:

- "it was an opportunity to visit a university which will be thought provoking. It also encouraged discussion and co-operation";
- "[they acquired] a greater understanding of how diet effects our bones and teeth. Perhaps the children will think about their choices. This session has been inspiring, enlightening children to opportunities for further education";
- "fantastic to work in a university lab, inspired them to think about how science plays a large part in their daily lives".³⁶

Our experience of running these workshops suggests that their success was due to making links with more than one part of the curriculum; being flexible; providing practical new learning experiences that nevertheless reinforced the teachers' programme of activities and encouraged progression; and having dedicated trained individuals to deliver them. Some schools were engaged with two or three times in this one activity, suggesting that the teachers were keen to repeat the experience from one year to the next. Nevertheless, we are aware that our success was also closely linked to the fact that workshops were free. The project covered all running costs and provided transport where necessary, so this probably explained the greater participation of some schools in Wakefield's museum services during the project, particularly from the more deprived and distant areas in the south-east of the region. Although being free at the point of delivery is a key part of the Wellcome Trust's public engagement ethos, it does mean that sustainability becomes very difficult once the external funding ends.

As the project drew to a close, we thought very hard about the issue of sustainability. We had already realized that we could not offer the children's osteological workshops in Bradford at the same frequency as the in-school workshops because of the time pressures on staff and students in a busy professional laboratory. We therefore decided in the final year of our project to develop 'Skeleton Secrets', a museum-based osteological experience run by museum staff in Wakefield. This workshop was designed to be sustainable into the future but was a high-risk venture requiring investment that would not have been possible without the Wellcome Trust's support (sturdy plastic skeletons, expert adaptation of them by Alan Ogden at the University of Bradford, staff training). We took the risk of offering the workshop to schools without covering the cost of transport to the museum. The result was a lower take-up but not significantly so. There were twelve workshops for eleven schools –301 children– at the museum during spring/summer 2014 as opposed to sixteen Tudor food workshops run at nine schools –439 children– over the same period. Clearly more children can be engaged with in schools than out of them because of transport

36. Anonymous teachers' comments on questionnaires collected after sessions on May 22, 2012, June 19, 2013 and June 12, 2014 respectively. For more detailed evaluation of the osteology workshops, see: Buckberry, Jo; Ogden, Alan; Shearman, Vicky; M^cCleery, Iona. "You Are What You Ate...": 100-111.



costs. On the other hand, some schools engaged with the project for the first time at the museum. We are pleased to say that both ‘Skeleton Secrets’ and the Tudor workshops continued to be booked throughout 2015 and beyond. The latter has also inspired 19th century and 1940s versions. In the future, we would think carefully before making all activities entirely free as it can make sustainability difficult to achieve after the end of a project. The same issue applies with adult outreach; a small fee for talks and conferences may make them viable for longer.

4. Evaluation Methods

“Evaluation is a process of collecting evidence and reflection that will help you understand the dynamics and effect of your work, and help you with your next public engagement project”.³⁷

Evaluation is an essential part of any project. Some of the results of our evaluation have already been seen in relation to teachers’ responses and our perceived need for more youth work. Evaluation is often seen as something that has to be done just to fulfil funding and institutional requirements. However, projects do need to prove that money was well-spent, in order to secure further investment in the same or a future project. A more neglected aspect of evaluation is the crucial need for team members to evaluate their own activities throughout a project in order to assess the design of sessions and the effectiveness of team-working.³⁸ This is particularly important in a long-term project where activities are intended to be repeated multiple times: for example, our schools workshops and market stalls. They are unlikely to be got right the first time, but without evaluation it is difficult to interpret any problems that might arise. In addition, the confidence-boosting role of positive feedback should not be under-estimated especially where university staff and students are new to engaging with communities!

There are many different ways to evaluate the success of a project, but it can sometimes be challenging to capture the views and opinions of a diverse audience,

37. National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement. “Evaluating public engagement”. *National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement*. 21 July 2016 <<https://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/plan-it/evaluating-public-engagement>>.

38. For an overview of evaluation and other resources, see the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement website: National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement. “Home”. *National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement*. 21 July 2016 <<https://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/>>. For the Wellcome Trust’s guidelines, see: Wellcome Trust. “Public Engagement”. *Wellcome Trust*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/Funding/Publicengagement/Application-information/index.htm>>; and also: Turney, Jon, ed. *Engaging Science: Thoughts, Deeds, Analysis, Action*. London: The Wellcome Trust, 2006. Online version: Turney, Jon, ed. “Engaging Science: Thoughts, Deeds, Analysis, Action”. *Wellcome Trust*. 21 July 2016 <<https://issuu.com/wellcome-trust/docs/engagingscience>>.



particularly at a one-off event: how can we evaluate “powerful memories and infectious enthusiasm?”³⁹ Project evaluation must include reflection on evaluation methods. Not only can some forms of evaluation, e.g. questionnaires, alienate sectors of the community, who might feel that they have become research objects, but it may be inappropriate with some vulnerable groups and raises numerous ethical issues.⁴⁰ We found that there is a very fine line between evaluating the benefits of the dissemination of the findings of dietary research and the carrying out of actual dietary research (both of which ideally require the collection of personal information from participants on daily food intake, weight, income, age and ethnicity). Although done through an historical lens, the biomedical research that we shared focused on the constituents of a balanced diet, patterns of nutritional health and methods of improving health education.⁴¹ Although we did our best not to cross the fine line between research and evaluation –partly by not collecting most of the aforementioned personal information– it meant we had to focus on immediate and short-term outcomes because we could not do follow-up activities with the same group of people. In particular, we focused on our original aim of encouraging personal ‘reflection’ on diet, something that is possible to capture through immediate questioning. Nevertheless, throughout the project there was some tension between our dissemination aims and how the project was perceived: that is as a healthy eating campaign (a form of intervention specifically excluded from the Wellcome Trust’s funding call). As healthy diet was the focus of the underpinning research, both modern and medieval, we did not see this perception as a problem.

The evaluation methods used for this project were both quantitative and qualitative. We decided not to pay for external evaluation, although this is something that could suit smaller projects. Our methods included the following:

- Calculating engagement numbers/‘footfall’ at each event or activity;
- Gathering data on website usage: number of hits, key search words, patterns and spikes;⁴²
- Questionnaires tailored for different events and groups (e.g. adult or child participants; teachers, youth-workers; schools workshops, market stalls, talks or osteology workshops);

39. Stone, Peter; Planel, Philippe, eds. *The Constructed Past...*: 9 (“introduction”).

40. At the *External Engagement in the Arts and Humanities* conference held at the University of York on 19 May 2014, Professor Brendan Stone (University of Sheffield) explained how his attempt formally to evaluate what he felt had been a successful series of workshops run with residents of a high security mental health hospital was a self-confessed disaster because the participants resented the sudden shift in perspective when he asked them to fill in a questionnaire.

41. We drew in particular on the work of the Nutritional Epidemiology Group at the University of Leeds, run by project member Janet Cade. The group’s research includes improving the verifiability of relationships between diet and disease, especially more accurate gathering of data via questionnaires and other methods. See: University of Leeds. “Faculty of Mathematics and Physical Sciences. School of Food Science and Nutrition”. *University of Leeds*. 27 July 2016 <<http://www.food.leeds.ac.uk/research/sections/nutrition-and-public-health/nutritional-epidemiology.html>>.

42. Although the website cannot be analysed here, it had 40,690 unique visitors by December 2014.



- Participants were asked to complete comments cards or write in visitor books (exhibitions);
- Focus group/interviews (especially linked to exhibitions);
- Photographs;
- Analysis of children's artwork (produced often on the questionnaires);
- Collecting media references to events.⁴³

The university academics involved in the project were not previously familiar with evaluation methods, but since 2000 museums have used a system of evaluation known as Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs). The GLOs were part of a framework called *Inspiring Learning for All*, which was developed at the University of Leicester for the now defunct Museums, Libraries and Archives Association (MLA).⁴⁴ This framework has not gone uncontested as it is based on a constructivist approach that assumes learning is always beneficial (in a way that can be seen as paternalistic) and always bound to take place albeit in fluid, overlapping and subjective ways. The assumption is that all participants and museum visitors build on prior knowledge and individual perceptions. Eventual learning cannot be predicted especially as few visitors have a specific objective in mind when they participate in something; responses as a result are highly subjective and difficult to interpret. GLOs are hard to analyse because the enjoyment, skills and attitudes that they document are so closely related: learning a new activity can be fun, and indeed enjoyment is likely to deepen the learning, but it is hard to prove this without knowledge of prior learning and attitudes. GLOs work better for quantitative analysis where there are large numbers of participants whose responses have been coded, but they still yield rich insights at the level of individual response.⁴⁵ On the one hand, if specific learning outcomes cannot be identified, it remains difficult for cultural institutions objectively to prove their specific educational impact. On the other hand, GLOs have been described as "sympathetic, inclusive and open-minded" and better

43. For media references, see: University of Leeds; University of Bradford; Wakefield Council. "In the news: Media coverage of the project". *You are what you ate*. 27 July 2016 <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/yawya/news/In%20the%20news.html>>.

44. For background see a report commissioned by the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, University of Leicester: Graham, Jo. "Evidencing the Impact of the GLOs". *University of Leicester*. January 2013. Learning Unlimited. 21 July 2016 <<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/rcmg/projects/evidencing-the-impact-of-the-generic-learning-outcomes>>. A re-launched framework can now be found at: Arts Council of England. "Inspiring Learning for All". *Arts Council*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/advice-and-guidance/inspiring-learning-all-home-page>>.

45. Graham, Jo. "Evidencing the Impact..."; Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and Education...*: 44-62 (chapter 11: "Learning in the Post Museum"); Pontin, Kate. "Understanding Museum Evaluation", *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-First Century*, Caroline Lang, John Reeve, Vicky Woollard, ed. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006: 117-127; Brown, Stephen. "A Critique of Generic Learning Outcomes". *Journal of Learning Design*, 2/2 (2007): 22-30; Kling, Sofia. "Assessing Heritage Outcomes: How we do it and Why". *Relevant Museum.wordpress*. 21 July 2016 <<https://relevantmuseum.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/kling-sofia-assessing-heritage-learning-outcomes-how-do-we-do-it-e28093-and-why.pdf>> (Paper presented at: *Heritage, Regional Development and Social Cohesion conference*, Sweden, June 2010).



than other methods at "capture[ing] what actually goes on at cultural heritage institutions".⁴⁶ In fact, most methods of evaluating cultural activities are open to critique for the simple reason that events or visits are difficult to evaluate in a quantifiable and reportable way because of the subjective and ad hoc nature of the experience. François Matarasso's influential positive appraisal of the social impact of participation in the arts in several countries in 1997 met with similar critique.⁴⁷ The requirement of British university departments to demonstrate the impact of their research as part of REF 2014 also encountered difficulties with proving change in attitudes and public benefit.⁴⁸

Despite these problems and debates, the decision of some local councils, like Wakefield, to continue to maintain museums throughout the recession, despite cuts in central government and charitable funding in many areas, suggests that culture and heritage are widely accepted as both a means to and a sign of economic regeneration. Museums have therefore been able to persuade policy makers and stakeholders of their value, but evaluate what they do continually, focusing now much more on Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs), another part of the *Inspiring Learning for All* framework, which aim to strengthen communities and improve health and well-being.⁴⁹ These are even more difficult to identify and code but in recent years they have contributed to an explosion of health-related activities and exhibits across the country, a movement to which the *You Are What You Ate* obviously belongs.⁵⁰ The university-based academics working on the *You Are What You Ate* project felt that museum-developed methods of evaluation offered by far and away the best method of gathering and analysing data on our activities. Buckberry and M'Cleery have greatly appreciated being able to learn these skills from Shearman and her team.

We designed our questionnaires according to the five categories of GLOs: knowledge and understanding; skills; attitudes and values; enjoyment, inspiration, creativity; activity behaviour and progression, making sure to provide a mixture of quantitative and qualitative questions. For children's questionnaires

46. Kling, Sofia. "Assessing Heritage Outcomes...": 11, 12.

47. Matarasso, François. *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Art*. Stroud: Comedia, 1997; Merli, Paola. "Evaluating the Social Impact of Participation in Arts Activities". *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8 (2002): 107-118; Matarasso, François. "Smoke and Mirrors: a Response to Paola Merli's "Evaluating the Social Impact of Participation in Arts Activities". *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 9 (2003): 337-346; Belfiore, Eleanor; Bennett, Oliver. "Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts". *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13 (2007): 135-151.

48. This observation is based on M'Cleery's experience of writing a REF case study. See also: Sayer, Derek. *Rank Hypocrisies...*: 28-29; King, Laura; Rivett, Gary. "Engaging People in Making History...": 218-233.

49. Arts Council of England. "Generic Social Outcomes". *Arts Council*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/measuring-outcomes/generic-social-outcomes>>.

50. Chatterjee, Helen; Noble, Guy. *Museums, Health and Well-being*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013; Bodley, Alison. *History to Health: Research into Changing Health Agendas for the UK Medical Collections Group*. Leeds: Thackray Museum Leeds-UK Medical Collections Group-Arts Council England, 2012: 7-8, 18-22; online version: Bodley, Alison. "History to Health: Research into Changing Health Agendas for the UK Medical Collections Group". *Thackray Medical Museum*. 22 July 2016 <<https://www.thackraymedicalmuseum.co.uk/ThackrayMuseum/media/Attachments/historytohealth.pdf>>.



it is important to provide space for drawings as these can also be analysed using GLOs (see illustration 4). In youth work we used very simple grid systems to indicate likes and dislikes. We did our best to capture oral feedback through written dictation (which seemed less intrusive than recording and more effective in a crowd). Often the richest material was never written down by participants themselves and sometimes impossible to capture.

We ran a focus group towards the end of the project, the content of which was recorded. Although a focus group is a more sustained evaluation activity that can provide evidence of prior learning, it can have its own problems. For example, participants are likely to be affected by the experience of being in the focus group. One participant, when asked which activity had been most enjoyable or interesting, responded: “Well my favourite event, really, is the whole event today... the actual event where we’ve all come and spoken about it”, that is, the focus group itself.⁵¹ We found that the focus group prompted an interesting discussion about the relationship between food, poverty, life expectancy and health, partly prompted by the exhibition *Food for All Seasons*, but it was difficult to know what this meant for activity behaviour and progression. Some of the participants were much more interested in learning about *us* as researchers and how they could help or improve ‘our’ future activities. Through the GLOs and other methods it is possible to demonstrate the significance of “powerful memories and infectious enthusiasm”, but capturing feedback really should not take the place of the actual activity or affect the formation of those memories. At the same time, public engagement is a two-way process that affects the development and attitudes of all people and institutions involved, including academic researchers, students and museum staff. Unfortunately, the current perceptions of ‘impact’ in UK universities reinforce older paternalistic models of public benefit that do not allow much room for collaboration, partnership or multi-way attitudinal and behavioural change.

51. Blair, Fiona, Focus Group, September 2014 (unpublished transcript); Krueger, Richard; Casey, Mary Anne. *Focus Groups: a Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2015. We originally wanted to do more focus groups, but in practice they are extremely difficult to organize. We provided participants with travel expenses and refreshments.



PS
 Girl, 8 years old
 Date
 September 2013
GLO
 Knowledge and understanding
 Skills
 Attitudes and feelings
 Enjoyment, inspiration, creativity
 Activity, behaviour progression

Description
 Detailed drawing of Bess in costume, holding items from the workshop session. Her pouch is clearly shown, along with her basket. Items include dried fish, a mortar containing green sauce, herb stalks and other items linked to the workshop.

Summary
 This 8 year old girl tells us that what she will remember most is Bess and the various things she taught the class, including making the green sauce and facts about food and living in Tudor times (for example, dried fish, what people wore). She says earlier that what she learnt was 'that you can make sauces out of herbs and spices'. Her overall comment about her enjoyment about Bess's visit was 'I did like it and it was brilliant'. The girl was 'surprised that we did cooking in the classroom' and what made it different from normal lessons was 'well, we used different things than in normal cooking at school and home'. In terms of generic learning outcomes, the girl gained 'knowledge and understanding' of how people lived, ate and dressed in the past, she gained new 'skills' in making green sauce, her 'attitudes and feelings' are demonstrated through her opinions and attitudes towards Bess as a Tudor character; she thought the session was 'brilliant' and was surprised to learn that herbs and spices can be used in cooking and that cooking could be done in the classroom (enjoyment, inspiration, creativity) and, finally, her comments about how things can be done differently suggests the GLO of 'activity, behaviour, progression'.

YOU ARE WHAT YOU ATE

What surprised you about today?
 I was surprised that we did cooking in the classroom. We didn't do normal lessons.

How was it different from normal lessons?
 Well, we used different things than in normal cooking at school and home.

What I will remember most
 Write or draw it!



YOU ARE WHAT YOU ATE

wakefieldcouncil
 working together

ILLUSTRATION 4. AN EXAMPLE OF PICTURE ANALYSIS DONE BY FIONA BLAIR USING GLOs (QUESTIONNAIRE FROM A SCHOOL VISITED IN 2013). PICTURE PROVIDED BY THE AUTHORS.

5. Reach and Significance

"It was interesting to hear [the children's] answers which reflected their attitudes to food, and the shift from certain opinions once they had heard the facts or new ideas. [...] I learnt a lot too!"⁵²

In this final part of the essay we will share some of the findings of our evaluation, and some thoughts on what we think *You Are What You Ate* achieved. The full range and richness of the project cannot be captured in a single report and much of it is awaiting deeper investigation. Each type of event deserves individual analysis so only a few comments can be provided here. First of all, it is important to consider the 'reach' of the project: how many people did we encounter over the course of four years. We reported to the Wellcome Trust a total of 147,073 engagements (see Table 1), but it is important to explain how we came by this number and what it represents. We recorded a high

52. A teacher's feedback on a questionnaire after a school workshop on September 14, 2011.

number of individual engagements at different events, but some of these involved the same people coming to multiple activities. The numbers at each event were collected in different ways. Sometimes there was a head count (school workshops, evening talks). on other occasions we required prior registration (osteology workshops, public conferences). For exhibitions we relied mainly on electronic door entry data used by the museums. In all such cases our exhibition was directly visible in the entrance or main public area.

Table 1. Overall engagement numbers

Participants	Numbers engaged	Comments
Children aged 11 and under in school-based activities	6,929	Activities took place in school, in museum or on Bradford campus
Children aged 11 and under in family-based activities	677	Activities usually in school holidays in Wakefield's museums and castles
Children/young people at stalls	2,774	Ages estimated at 18 events
Young people aged 12–18	1,084	Activities mostly in schools
Young people in youth clubs	593	Mainly aged 12-18 but Included some children under 11 and some young people aged 18-25
Adults	10,947	Engaged with at talks, conferences and stalls
Teachers	641	In school or accompanying children elsewhere
Youth workers	121	Also included some carers
Museum exhibitions <i>Sugar & Spice</i> <i>Dark Side of Eating</i> <i>Food for all Seasons</i>	12,335 28,760 24,398	Wakefield Museum 2011 Pontefract Museum 2012 Wakefield Museum 2013
Mobile exhibition in libraries Airedale Library South Elmsall Library Featherstone Library Hemsworth Library	18,074 11,478 7,643 20,619	October 2013 to January 2014 January 2014 to April 2014 April 2014 to July 2014 July 2014 to October 2014 ⁵³
Total	147,073	

53. The exhibition then went to the busy Pontefract Library until May 2015, during which period there were more than 80, 000 library users; but this figure was not included in the final report.



For festival stalls we developed our own robust methods of counting engagement, having discovered quite early on that it was difficult to estimate numbers at events like the Liquorice Festival in Pontefract where there could be as many as forty thousand visitors.⁵⁴ We decided to count as engagements only those who stopped to talk to us or attentively watched us for a while. Also for the sake of consistency we usually ensured that the same person did the counting most of the time. When events were very busy we decided to count at fifteen-minute intervals only. As the examples in Table 2 and Table 3 show, we recorded the hour of the day and the perceived gender and adult/child status of each person. Anecdotally, we were able to notice the aforementioned lack of teenagers. We also observed a marked gender imbalance amongst both adults and children (see Graph 1). Men and boys were consistently much less likely to engage than women and girls. We had a category of person whom we called ‘floating dads’ –fathers present in the background who declined to participate. We also learned anecdotally that many participants were grandmothers responsible for amusing grandchildren during holidays and at weekends.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to make these kinds of observations at our largest events, the exhibitions, where we had to rely on pre-existing systems of counting that did not gather age and gender data. Exhibitions are much harder to evaluate effectively because they cannot be monitored constantly and most visitors choose not to write comments or fill in questionnaires. We could be more precise at children’s workshops, but here we did not note much of a gender imbalance; all children participated equally, especially when they were school-organized activities (not self- or family-selecting). One teacher commented on how well the osteology workshop engaged ‘both’ boys and girls.⁵⁵ This observation was also made repeatedly by the Bradford team, especially Alan Ogden.

Table 2. Engagement numbers for Castleford Market, December 15, 2012⁵⁶

Time	Women	Men	Boys	Girls	Total
10.00-11.00	20	18	4	12	54
11.00-12.00	25	19	6	8	58
12.00-13.00	20	19	9	13	61
13.00-14.00	15	6	2	3	26

54. Due to the lack of a system at the start, stall attendance between July 2010 and February 2011 was not included in the final total of engagements.

55. Buckberry, Jo; Ogden, Alan; Shearman, Vicky; McCleery, Iona. “You Are What You Ate...”: 109.

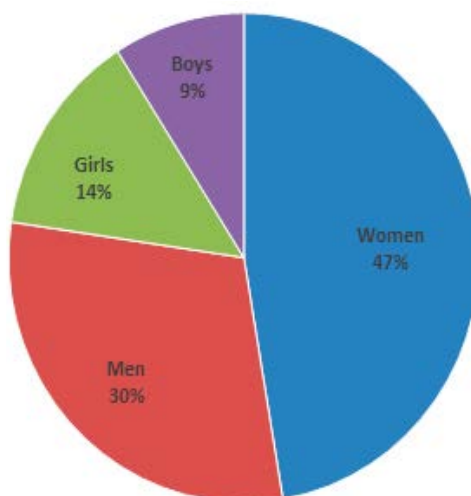
56. This was a stall at a weekly high-street market in a small former mining town. We were the only non-commercial activity present. The weather was foggy and cold; it was dark before we finished.



14.00-15.00	20	13	6	10	49
15.00-16.00	12	15	1	8	36
Total	112	90	28	54	284

**Table 3. Engagement numbers for Pontefract
Liquorice Festival, July 14, 2013⁵⁷**

Time	Women	Men	Boys	Girls	Total
10.00-11.00	179	124	52	65	420
11.00-12.00	246	139	50	80	515
12.00-13.00	131	78	34	64	307
13.00-14.00	102	58	29	51	240
14.00-15.00	78	45	33	50	206
15.00-16.00	84	41	20	19	164
Total	820	485	218	329	1852

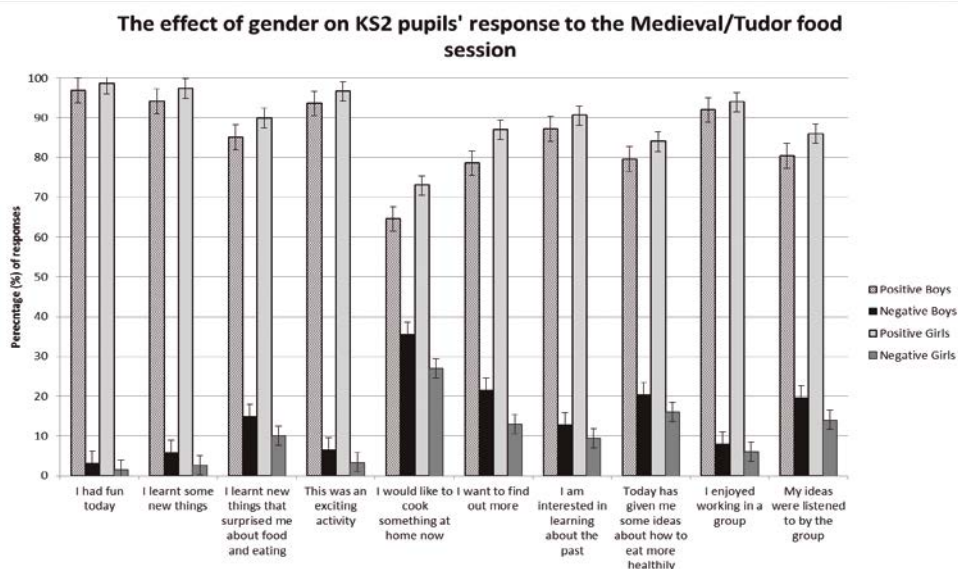


**GRAPH 1. PERCENTAGE BREAK DOWN OF STALL
ENGAGEMENT, JUNE 2011-JULY 2014 (N = 12, 237)**

57. This was a stall at a very large festival on the high street. There was a great variety of family-oriented activities available, both free and commercial. The weather was warm and sunny.



Some of the children's responses to specific questions about the in-school workshop they attended did indicate gender differences. Although over 80% of the children said they learned new things that surprised them about food and eating and agreed that they had been given new ideas about how to eat more healthily, only 70% wanted to cook more at home. However, girls were significantly more likely than boys to want to cook at home and find out more about food (see Graph 2). Younger children aged 7-8 were also more willing to cook than the 9-11 year olds. As our dataset consists of 3906 responses, it is a robust method of corroborating the findings of nutritional epidemiologists that on average boys eat fewer fruits and vegetables a day than girls, and that it is important to engage children as early as possible in healthy eating.⁵⁸ The nature of the project as a public engagement exercise rather than a research project meant that we were not able to explore and explain these gender differences any further.



GRAPH 2. ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S QUESTIONNAIRES FROM IN-SCHOOL WORKSHOPS AT KEY STAGE 2 (N=3909)

58. Christian, Meaghan; Evans, Charlotte; Nykjaer, Camilla; Hancock, Neil; Cade, Janet. "Evaluation of the Impact of a School Gardening Intervention on Children's Fruit and Vegetable Intake: a Randomised Controlled Trial". *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 11/99 (2014): <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s12966-014-0099-7>> (10 June 2016).

Numbers in themselves are not necessarily meaningful, as it is the depth of engagement that is important. We regard the youth-work carried out by Jane Howroyd in small sessions totalling 593 young people and 121 youth workers to be as valuable, if not more so, as the 65, 493 visits to our exhibitions.⁵⁹ Helping one young person at a youth club to learn that butter comes from a cow having just made her own butter was a major achievement in its own right. This point therefore brings us onto the 'significance' of our project, both in terms of the individual activities and in terms of the project as a whole, something that is much more complex to evaluate.

Our main method of evaluating individual activities is through analysis of the hundreds of questionnaires that we collected. Due to the limitations of space, only the eighteen festival stalls will be explored here in detail, although a substantial amount of feedback on our other activities has already been provided. The aim of the stall was two-fold: to promote exhibitions and other events, and to provide an opportunity for food tastings and food displays within communities. We tried to create a good 'flow' between the food tastings, the food displays, the information that we handed out, and a children's activity: pounding spices to make a pomander (see illustration 6), often using some of the same ingredients in the tastings.⁶⁰ We were keen to encourage fruit/vegetable identification and tastings since the research of food scientists and nutritional epidemiologists has suggested that familiarity with a wider range of tastes and foodstuffs is likely to lead to a more diverse and healthier diet.⁶¹ We observed that children whose parents/carers would not try something were much less likely themselves to eat what was offered to them. Out of 335 children's questionnaires, only 128 (38%) stated that they tried the foods. We also wanted to communicate some recent research on medieval (and early-modern) diet and eating behaviours and their relationship to health. Our questions therefore invited some more general statements about health and food in the past in keeping with the emphasis on social status and seasonality in our displays and recipes.

59. We were delighted to be able to continue an aspect of these youth clubs via a leaders' training weekend in Wakefield for the Young Archaeologists' Club in April 2016. See: Young Archaeologists' Club. "YAC Leaders' weekend.. what we did in Wakefield". *Young Archaeologists' Club*. 10 June 2016 <<http://www.yac-uk.org/news/yac-leaders-weekend-what-we-did-in-wakefield>>.

60. Caroline Yeldham and Iona McCleery mainly adapted recipes from: Hieatt, Constance; Hosington, Brenda; Butler, Sharon, eds. *Pleyn Delit: Medieval Cooking for Modern Cooks*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1996.

61. Remington, Anna; Añez, Elizabeth; Croker, Helen; Wardle, Jane; Cooke, Lucy. "Increasing Food Acceptance in the Home Setting: a Randomized Controlled Trial of Parent-administered Taste Exposure with Incentives". *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 95/1 (2012): 72-77; Wardle, Jane; Herrera, Maria; Cooke, Lucy; Gibson, E. Leigh. "Modifying Children's Food Preferences: the Effects of Exposure and Reward on Acceptance of an Unfamiliar Vegetable". *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 57/2 (2003): 341-348.





ILLUSTRATION 5. YOU ARE WHAT YOU ATE DISPLAY AT THE LAUNCH OF WAKEFIELD MUSEUM IN MARCH 2013.
PICTURE BY FIONA BLAIR.



ILLUSTRATION 6. CHILDREN POUNDING SPICES, PONTEFRAC T LIQUORICE FESTIVAL, JULY 2013.
PICTURE BY FIONA BLAIR.



ILLUSTRATION 7. PONTEFRAC T LIQUORICE FESTIVAL 2011. PICTURE BY FIONA BLAIR.

As can be seen in illustration 5, our stall included food baskets that displayed “food for the poor” (seasonal fruits and vegetables —sometimes dried— mixed grain bread, oats, eggs and some plastic bacon), “foods for the rich” (including white bread, red meat —as represented by plastic meat and toy animals— sugar and spices) and “New World foods”. This last category included potatoes as well as many of the brightly-coloured, tasty foods that children enjoy today (sweetcorn, tomato, peppers), triggering some interesting conversations about what it was like to live without chips and chocolate.⁶² Further analysis could establish whether there is any correlation between the comments, the time of year (were strawberries, fresh herbs and peas on display or was it a case of onions, dried apples and nuts?), and whether project cook Caroline Yeldham was cooking at the time (this was the case at most events between 2010 and 2013 as in illustration 7).

The design of our questionnaires evolved over time as we became more practised in developing questions. We tried to capture the extent of pre-awareness of our project and its other activities, prior knowledge of the subject and immediate reactions to what we were doing. The nature of the activity means that the engagement was short-term and anonymous, without much opportunity for follow-up, but we tried to capture immediate ‘reflection’ on diet and nutrition over time. It was only very rarely at stalls that we got anecdotal evidence of how the schools workshops had been represented at home by children. One set of parents at an event in Castleford was amazed to taste the green sauce that their child had talked about at length but not very coherently! We did have numerous repeat visits from people who deliberately sought us out at festivals, although this was not well-captured in the questionnaires as people rarely filled them in twice. Comments sent to us later are very valuable such as the following:

this is an historical resource that is interactive, and so seems so much more accessible than museum display. I think that’s what I find most inspiring about the whole thing, so getting to sample a few dishes, and discuss with yourself the various ingredients available and habits of the times was thoroughly interesting.⁶³

Reflection on an interactive outdoor activity can vary a great deal. Altogether 83% of adults felt that they learned something new at the stalls, but this percentage varied at individual events depending on whether we were at a food-related festival and speaking to chefs and dedicated ‘foodies’ or at an ordinary market. We felt that we made more of an impact on the ordinary high street or in a regular market

62. Useful introductions in English include: Adamson, Melitta Weiss. *Food in Medieval Times*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004; Arn, Mary-Jo, ed. *Medieval Food and Drink*. Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1995; Carlin, Martha; Rosenthal, Joel, eds. *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1998; Brears, Peter. *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England*. Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008; Woolgar, Christopher. *The Culture of Food in England, 1200–1500*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016; Montanari, Massimo. *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking and the Table*, ed. and trans. Beth Archer Brombert. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

63. E-mail correspondence, June 20, 2013.



because of the socially and culturally more diverse audience that we observed and the greater likelihood that what we were doing was less familiar. However, because we deliberately did not gather data on socio-economic background or ethnicity it is difficult to prove this. In contrast we do know that apples and carrots were the most mentioned favourite fruits and vegetables of 335 children. We also know that only 15% of 163 adults think that rickets (Vitamin D deficiency) is still a health problem in Britain today.⁶⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, some of the same people (63% of 158 polled adults) thought that medieval people were healthier than us. The reasons most commonly given were that medieval food was less processed or contained less sugar or fat (51 responses), or that it was home-grown, more 'natural' food (15 responses). A few people commented that health depended on social status and the season of the year; those who did not think that medieval people were healthier worried about lack of freshness and low protein levels for the poor. These comments show reflection on both modern and medieval diet as a direct consequence of the contrasts that we set up in our displays. Also a sign of reflective learning are comments such as the following in response to the question "did you learn something new?":

- "I didn't know sweetcorn, tomatoes and peppers weren't from England" (adult);
- "Had no idea tomatoes were American or that gingerbread was savoury" (adult);
- "The differences between rich and poor diets" (adult);
- "Potatoes weren't in England in the Middle Ages" (child);
- "Spices used to be very expensive. Spices come from a long way away" (child).⁶⁵

Even comments that sound slightly odd, such as: "Most vegetables come from America", can be interpreted as reflection on that child's own diet, which probably contains a lot of sweetcorn, tomatoes and potatoes.⁶⁶ Some adults were very pleased that the project engaged with children's tastes in such an educational way. One of them commented that it was "going back to basics about food —educating youngsters— just what is needed in this age of fast foods"; others said, "showing my daughter different types of food was educational for her", and "It's great for kids. Very hands on. Good ideas on nutrition without preaching".⁶⁷ This last point was certainly pleasing to hear, as we had hoped to be able to present a message about food past and present that was not 'preachy'.

64. This question was linked to our *Dark Side of Eating* exhibition in 2012 in order to encourage festival goers to visit Pontefract museum and learn more about rickets past and present: M^cCleery, Iona; Buckberry, Jo. "Research News: Rickets on the Increase?". *You are what you ate*. 21 July 2016 <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/youarewhatyouate/news/news-rickets.html>>; Pearce, Simon; Cheetham, Tim. "Diagnosis and Management of Vitamin D deficiency". *British Medical Journal*, 340 (2010): <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmj.b5664>> (21 July 2016).

65. Comments collected at the Pontefract Liquorice Festival on July 10, 2011 and July 14, 2013; Manor Lodge Sheffield on June 19, 2011; Eureka! Children's Museum, Halifax on August 19, 2012.

66. Comment collected at Eureka! Children's Museum in Halifax on August 19, 2012.

67. Comments collected on May 18, 2013 at Leeds Kirkgate Market and on February 22, 2014 at the Food, Drink and Rhubarb festival in Wakefield.



6. Conclusion

“It caught the imagination of participating children and young people in a novel way, [...] learning from this would lead to the development of future interventions in this area [of childhood obesity], which remains one of key strategic importance for the public health service”.⁶⁸

In 2011 the Director of Public Health for Wakefield Council, Dr Andrew Furber, visited our *Sugar and Spice* exhibition at Wakefield Museum and commented favourably on its potential for tackling childhood obesity. He also twice came to see *Food for all Seasons* in summer 2013, bringing with him Dr Kevin Fenton, Director of Health and Well-being at Public Health England. Fenton later wrote in response to the exhibition:

“...history can help uncover our country’s rich food heritage and may provide a sense of context for the current challenges of unhealthy habits we now see....an exhibition on how we got to where we are today and the continued evolution of our food and tastes would be interesting!”⁶⁹

This comment suggests not only would further historical exhibitions be welcomed by a health professional, but that it is the content of the exhibition or activity that informs the health agenda. Much of the recent research on the health benefits of visiting museums focuses on the role of group participation, community cohesion, the mental stimulation of handling objects, and the use of relaxing space, colour and design.⁷⁰ These are all very important components of physical and mental well-being, but few studies comment on the intellectual or narrative content of the museum displays as beneficial in themselves to health.

The *You Are What You Ate* project was a rare example of a collaboration that contributed to community well-being through both its wide range of activities appealing to all ages and through its archaeological, nutritional and historical content. We found that most of the people we engaged with, including young children, were aware of public health messages about how to improve nutritional health; for example, eating at least five fruits and vegetables a day. What was different about this project was our way of making these messages meaningful and engaging.⁷¹ We grounded them in children’s own classroom practices and shopping trips, making them think about their own teeth and skeletons, and getting them to think about the foods they themselves consume. A favourite piece of feedback from the osteology workshops in Bradford was a child who wrote: “If you don’t

68. Furber, A., telephone interview, September 5, 2012.

69. Fenton, K., e-mail correspondence, June 20, 2013.

70. Chatterjee, Helen; Noble, Guy. *Museums, Health and Well-being...*; Bodley, Alison. *History to Health...*

71. See: Bodley, Alison. *History to Health...*: 8; where she contrasts our project favourably to a well-known health campaign: “[it] does get people looking at the issues and perhaps in a more engaging way”.



eat your greens you will get holes in your brain".⁷² This was an eleven-year old's understanding of *cribra orbitalia*, linked by the Bradford research team to both Vitamin C and iron deficiencies in our sessions.⁷³ Children and adults who participated in the project had the opportunity to learn why not all people have had access to the same foods as us all year round. They also got a chance to try new foods for themselves and reflect on where they come from and why. Research into the history of medieval food has long taken place outside of the academy in museums, libraries, re-enactment groups and Living History centres; what we did was bring bioarchaeology into the mix and combine it with up-to-date nutritional research. We found that it was the combination of bioarchaeological, historical and nutritional research that made this project successful. Any one of these on its own might not have had the same impact.

Our aims in 2010 as stated above were to enable public engagement with multi-disciplinary research, to bring together a wide range of experts in museum education, bioarchaeology, history and nutrition in order to deliver innovative activities that encouraged public participation in cultural activities. We aimed to bring dietary issues to a wide audience in Yorkshire, working with schools, going out onto the street at festivals and putting on exhibitions in order to encourage public debate and personal reflection about eating habits through exploration of the dietary choices of the past. We also wanted to share and disseminate our methods and experiences in order to inspire further public engagement initiatives. We feel that we have managed to achieve all of these things, forging friendships and creating potential for further research-related activities. The museum professionals were able to access substantial resources and research for a wide variety of new ventures that facilitated engagement, especially with young people, in regions and contexts that are usually hard to reach. The project had the crucial effect of raising the profile of the museum service within Wakefield Council during a period of recession, thereby helping to safeguard cultural activities for the future. The university-based academics and their students learned how to put on exhibitions and workshops, and communicate more effectively with a wide cross-section of society. We learned that public engagement can be both fun and rewarding. Not being able to avoid a final food-related metaphor: this project fed back into research in so many ways, and ultimately provided so much food for thought that it will continue to have a legacy for a long time to come.

72. Comment collected on June 22, 2012.

73. *Cribra orbitalia* are holes in the bone that forms the roof of the eye sockets. The exact cause is debated, but hypotheses include anaemia (including iron deficiency), scurvy and possible rickets, as well as infection and non-specific physiological stress.



ORIGINALS OF THE TEXTS NOT SUBMITTED IN ENGLISH

UNA VISIÓ CARTALISTA DE LA NUMISMÀTICA (FONAMENTS I NECESSITATS DE LA DISCIPLINA 30 ANYS DESPRÉS DE L'OBRA DE PETER SPUFFORD: *MONEY AND ITS USE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE*)

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RESUM

Des d'un punt de partida cartalista, no monetarista, l'autor analitza conceptes fonamentals de la Numismàtica i la Història de la moneda, disciplines auxiliars de la història, centrant-se en l'època medieval i assenyalant les seves mancances a Catalunya i a Espanya.¹

1. Definicions i consideracions prèvies sobre la numismàtica i la moneda

1.1 La Numismàtica, una disciplina científica

La Numismàtica és la disciplina auxiliar de la Història encarregada d'estudiar els sistemes monetaris de compte, les monedes efectives i altres signes monetaris de curs oficial al llarg de la història. Secundàriament, la Numismàtica també estudia aquelles objectes que mantenen similituds morfològiques (medalles, getons) o funcionals (fitxes, vals, pellofes) amb les monedes.

A causa de la característica de ser una disciplina auxiliar, cal aproximar-se a la Numismàtica amb mètode científic. Les monedes efectives són documents històrics, que abans d'utilitzar-los per a la interpretació històrica cal estudiar i definir amb criteris científics. Em refereixo a que una determinada moneda es va fabricar tal any, va estar circulant fins tal altre, valia tant, la gent la pagava amb un sobrepreu que era tant, etc. Es tracta de dades que no són opinables. Poden ser certes o falses, però no opinables. L'historiador necessita, mitjançant la Numismàtica i el mètode científic, poder refutar percepcions equivocades i realitzar una correcta tasca heurística. L'historiador necessita forçosament que les disciplines auxiliars de la història que el nodreixen d'informació hagin estat establertes i farcides des del més estricte dels mètodes científics.

Durant tot el segle XX, la gran obra de referència per a la moneda europea medieval ha estat tradicionalment el voluminós manual d'Engel i Serrure, publicat en tres volums entre 1891 i 1905.² Es tracta d'un recull geogràfic i cronològic de les emissions monetàries europees medie-

1. Les cites contingudes en aquest article en un idioma diferent al català van ser traduïdes per l'equip de redacció de la revista.

2. Engel, Arthur; Serrure, Raymond. *Traité de numismatique du Moyen Age*. París: Ernest Leroux, 1891-1905 (3 volums) (reimprès: Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1964). A França, però, ha cedit protagonisme amb el manual d'Adrien Blanchet i Adolphe Dieudonné: Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française*. Vol. 1. *Monnaies frappées en Gaule depuis les origines jusqu'à Hughes Capet*. París: A. Picard, 1912; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française*. Vol. 2. *Monnaies royales françaises depuis Hughes Capet jusqu'à la révolution*. París: A. Picard,



vals. La informació d'aquest manual provenia dels catàlegs numismàtics nacionals de la segona meitat del segle XIX: Poey d'Avant (1862), Heiss (1869), etc.³ Per exemple, seguint el criteri de Poey d'Avant, Engel i Serrure van situar la numismàtica catalana dins l'entorn de França fins a l'època de Jaume I.⁴ Malgrat que el llibre fou publicat pels volts del 1900, continua essent un referent omnipresent en qualsevol article o treball, de caire universitari, que es publica avui en dia. I això no deixa de ser sorprenent perquè, al menys en el cas de les tres regions que més connect (Catalunya-Aragó, Castella-Lleó, i Occitània) el paradigma numismàtic entre el 1900 i avui en dia ha canviat a nivells inimaginables.⁵ La presentació formal d'Engel i Serrure fou adoptada i millorada a totes les obres de síntesi posteriors. En aquestes obres, fins i tot en les de més recent aparició, l'evolució de les emissions monetàries es presenta sempre dividida en etapes, que en Engel i Serrure eren només estrictament cronològiques, però que després van acabar essent protagonitzades per un determinat tipus monetari: l'etapa del diner,⁶ l'etapa del gros, l'etapa del florí, etc. En aquesta periodització queden inclosos sovint temes com l'accés als metalls preciosos, les relacions comercials intercontinentals, i també el grau de solidesa dels estaments polítics encunyadors de moneda. La continuïtat sintètica formal de l'obra d'Engel i Serrure contrasta amb el trencament que es produí, de manera paral·lela, en la recerca numismàtica. El trencament

1916; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française*. Vol. 3. *Medailles, jetons, mereaux*. París: A. Picard, 1930; Blanchet, Adrien; Dieudonné, Adolphe. *Manuel de numismatique française*. Vol. 4. *Monnaies féodales françaises*. París: A. Picard, 1936.

3. Poey d'Avant, Fautin. *Monnaies féodales françaises*. París: 1858-1862 (4 volums) (reimprès en 3 vols. a Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961; i, en versió de butxaca, a: París: Maison Florange, 1995); Heiss, Aloïss. *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes*. Madrid: R. N. Milagro, 1865-1869.

4. Engel, Arthur; Serrure, Raymond. *Traité de numismatique...*: 437-46.

5. A tall d'exemple, il·lustrant el cas estrictament català per no allargar innecessàriament el relat, el 1905 encara no s'havia publicat l'obra de Joaquim Botet (Botet, Joaquim. *Les monedes catalanes*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908-1911 [3 volums], republished: Barcelona: Puvill, 1976); només es coneixien físicament unes desenes de tipus monetaris comtals, mentre que avui se'n coneixen més de cent cinquanta (Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats catalans*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1999); no se sabia gairebé res de les monedes locals i municipals (Crusafont, Miquel. *La moneda catalana local, segles XIII-XVIII*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1990); no s'havien estudiat els problemes monetaris del segle XV i la seva repercussió a la política barcelonina (Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973; Crusafont, Miquel. *Barcelona i la moneda catalana*. Barcelona: La Caixa, 1989); es creia que les monedes a nom de Ferran el Catòlic pertanyien a la seva època i no que fossin fabricades fins 75 anys després de la seva mort (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Rals i croats catalans del segle XVI". *Acta Numismàtica*, 30 (2000): 95-130); la sèrie del florí d'or d'Aragó no s'havia datat i ni tan sols s'havien identificat les seques emissores (Crusafont, Miquel; Comas, Rafael. *El florí d'or català: Catalunya, València, Mallorca*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1996); no es coneixia cap moneda catalana atribuïda al segle X (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Les monedes de Barcelona del segle X, segons les troballes Espanya-1 i Espanya-2 (925)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 36 (2006): 79-113); hom pensava que la seca de Barcelona no havia començat a fabricar ducats d'or fins l'any 1492, onze anys més tard del que en realitat havia succeït (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Ducats i principats catalans a l'època dels Àustries (1481-1602)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 29 (1999): 105-133); no havia aparegut el dipòsit d'Òrrius amb peces del segle XI (Padilla, José Ignacio; Vives, Elisenda; Balaguer, Anna Maria; Crusafont, Miquel. *Les excavacions a l'església de Sant Andreu. Òrrius. Estudi preliminar de la troballa de monedes comtals*. Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1983: 57-104); Bisson no havia escrit el *Conservation of Coinage* (Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage. Monetary exploitation and its restraint in France (c.a.d. 1000 - c. 1225)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), etc.

6. Curiosament, els traductors de les obres angleses a l'espanyol tendeixen a traduir el mot anglès *penny* per *penique*, i els traductors de les obres franceses a traduir el mot *denier* per *denario*, sense adonar-se que els mots i/o valors equivalents eren el de "diner" en català, o *dinero* en espanyol. Per això, quan en qualsevol d'aquestes obres de síntesi llegim el concepte de període o etapa del *penique*, per exemple, ho hem de traduir com a "etapa del diner". N'és un exemple la traducció de l'obra de Catherine Eagleton i Jonathan Williams: Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History*. Londres: British Museum, 1997 (Revisat el 2007: Londres: British Museum, 2007 [2nd Revised edition] i traduït i editat el 2009 al castellà a: Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Historia del dinero*. Barcelona: Paidós Ibérica S.A., 2009).

consistí en la divisió del tronc central en tres branques, aparentment complementàries, però que s'han mostrat moltes vegades hostils entre si.

Aquestes branques són, en primer lloc, la descripció, correcta atribució i catalogació dels exemplars monetaris conservats amb el pas del temps; en segon lloc, la comprensió del funcionament pràctic de les monedes físiques i del sistema monetari vigent en un territori i en un temps determinats; i, en tercer lloc, la comprensió global del concepte i utilitat de la moneda dins de la societat. Abans, però, d'explicar més detalladament cadascuna de les branques, cal definir el concepte de moneda, veritable protagonista de la disciplina. I aquesta tasca no és tan senzilla com sembla...

1.2 Què és la moneda? Origen i usos

En català i en espanyol només s'utilitza una sola paraula, “moneda”, per a designar dos conceptes diferents: la moneda de compte i la moneda efectiva.⁷ Es tracta d'un lleu handicap lingüístic que se soluciona establint a priori on comença i on acaba cadascun dels conceptes. La moneda de compte és una mesura de valor que s'utilitza mentalment per a calcular les transaccions i el valor real de les monedes efectives, que són les que circulen en tant que instrument i mitjà de pagament. Les dues definicions que acabo de citar —mesura de valor i instrument mitjà de pagament— són vàlides en un sentit descriptiu, però necessiten un desenvolupament que expliqui el perquè de la seva existència i utilitat.⁸ De entrada, cal advertir que no sembla que l'existència d'una comporti necessàriament l'existència de l'altra. Millor dit, si bé l'existència de la moneda de compte (mesura de valor) és provada a la majoria de (a totes?) les societats històriques, en canvi la moneda efectiva no sempre ha existit.⁹ Podem convenir que uns béns o uns serveis es poden valorar (o mesurar llur valor) sense que, forçosament, s'hagin d'intercanviar per monedes efectives.¹⁰ És per això que és important poder identificar i explicar l'origen i posterior ús de la moneda efectiva.

7. En canvi, les llengües alemanya, anglesa i francesa utilitzen dos mots distints per diferenciar els dos conceptes. En anglès: *currency/coín*; en francès: *monnaie/pièce*; en alemany: *Währung/Münze*. Actualment alguns sectors substitueixen aquestes expressions, que els sonen alienes per oblidades, per la de “moneda comptable” i “peça de moneda” respectivament.

8. La definició de moneda com a mesura de valor és de Miquel de Crusafont, que la va adaptar de la de De Jaucourt, apareguda al volum x de l'*Encyclopédie* de Diderot i D'Alembert: *un signe que représente la valeur, la mesure de tous les valeurs d'usage, et est donné comme le prix de toutes choses* (“un signe que representa el valor, la mesura de tots els valors d'ús, i es dóna com el preu de tot”). Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1996: 14.

9. Uns exemples medievals propers són els de Castella, Galícia o Navarra dels segles X i XI. Sánchez Alborno, Claudio. “Moneda de cambio y moneda de cuenta en el reino asturleonés”. *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 31-32 (1960): 5-32; Sánchez Alborno, Claudio. “Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo, Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo”, *VIII Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 21-27 aprile 1960). Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1961: 171-202; Isla, Amancio “Moneda de cuenta y organización monetaria en la Galicia alto-medieval”, *Miscel·lània en homenatge al pare Agustí Altisent*. Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1991: 487-510; Ladero, Miguel Ángel. “Moneda y políticas monetarias en la Corona de Castilla (siglos XIII a XV)”, *Moneda y Monedas en la Europa medieval. XXVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (19 a 23 de julio de 1999)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2000: 129-130; Crusafont, Miquel. “Significado y valor del «Sólido Galicano» (S. X-XI)”, *Introducción a la Historia monetaria de Galicia*, Francisco Cebreiro, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Labirinto de Paixóns S.L.: 105-116.

10. Un exemple d'aquesta circumstància és la coneguda utilització de l'expressió *in rem valentem* emprada en els documents dels segles X i XI per a precisar que un determinat pagament no es feia en moneda efectiva, sinó en un altre bé especialment cobejat. Bonnassie, Pierre. *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe a la fin du Xle siècle: croissance et mutations d'une Société*. Tolosa del Llenguadoc: Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975: 369-371 (versió catalana: Bonnassie, Pierre. *Catalunya mil anys enrere*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979-1981 [2 vols.]); Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats...*: 41-53, 93-95.



1.2.1 Nicolau d'Oresme: la moneda, un bé públic de funcionalitat comercial

Tradicionalment, la definició de moneda efectiva que ha estat més difosa i més àmpliament acceptada és la que diu així: la moneda és un instrument l'origen del qual és causat per la necessitat de la població d'intercanviar l'excendent de producció sense recórrer a l'incòmode bescanvi de productes. Aquesta teoria que la moneda és un bé comú, creada per a facilitar les transaccions comercials es devia arrossegar des de temps antics. El pensador que va aconseguir difondre-la i perpetuar-la és Nicolau d'Oresme (circa 1323-1382), bisbe de Lisieux i conseller de Carles V de França.¹¹ No va ser el primer,¹² però és el que ha resistit el pas del temps i el que ha influït en més autors posteriors.¹³ Oresme sostenia que la moneda era un producte originat pel mercat i no per l'estat, que era una mercaderia més i no només un mitjà d'intercanvi. Creia que, originàriament, havien estat particulars els qui certificaven la finesa dels metalls preciosos emprats com a moneda en llurs transaccions. I creia que els problemes monetaris van començar quan els estats van començar a falsificar la finesa d'aquests metalls i van provocar, conseqüentment, inflació, i que aquests problemes monetaris van empitjorar quan l'Estat va nacionalitzar la moneda.¹⁴ Oresme acceptava la intervenció monopolista dels reis en l'emissió de la moneda, però els recordava que la moneda era un bé d'utilitat pública que ells s'havien apropiat, i els exigia reduir al mínim els guanys en la seva fabricació, alhora que trobava inacceptables la usura, la mutació, el canvi i l'acumulació de monedes. Oresme no discutia el dret d'encunyar dels reis, però atorgava la propietat darrera de la moneda al poble.¹⁵

No es coneix cap prova favorable dels suposats inicis privats de la moneda, més enllà de la plausibilitat del procés. Modernament, la concepció comercial d'Oresme va ser fonamentada al segle XIX per un dels fundadors de l'Escola Austríaca d'Economia, Carl Menger,¹⁶ i després, recurrent-

11. Una introducció sobre Oresme i la traducció espanyola de la seva obra *Tractatus de origine et natura, iure et mutationibus monetarum* les trobareu publicades per Josep Hernando (Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine et natura, iure et mutationibus monetarum. Nicolas de Oresme (s. XIV). Introducció, transcripció y notas". *Acta historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 2 (1981): 9-65). També Peter Spufford en parla llargament (Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1988: 372-409 [traducció espanyola: Spufford, Peter. *Dinero y moneda en la Europa medieval*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1991]). Recentment alguns partidaris d'Oresme també han publicat la seva obra (Hülsmann, Jörg Guido. "Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise". *Mises Institute*. 18 Maig 2004. 12 Juny 2016 <<https://mises.org/library/nicholas-oresme-and-first-monetary-treatise>>; traducció espanyola: Valín, Jorge. "Traducción de Jörg Guido Hülsmann". *Jorge Valín Weblog*. 30 Maig 2004. 12 Juny 2016 <<https://jorgevalin.wordpress.com/2004/05/30/traduccion-de-jorg-guido-hulsmann/>>; *The De moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, ed. and trad. Charles Johnson. Londres: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1956). De fet, no és estrany que un posicionament ferm com el d'Oresme sorgís a París, ja que cal encabir-lo en un context de continuades mutacions monetàries a França per culpa de la guerra (Lafaurie, Jean. *Les monnaies des rois de France. Vol. I. de Hugues Capet a Louis XII*. París-Basilea: Émile Bourgey-Monnaies et Médailles S.A., 1951; Spufford, Peter. "Monetary practice and monetary theory in Europe (12th-15th centuries)". *Moneda y Monedas en la Europa medieval. XXVI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella (19 a 23 de julio de 1999)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2000: 53-86).

12. Abans d'Oresme, s'havien acostat als seus plantejaments pensadors com Pere Joan Oliu (Olivi) (1248-1298), Peter de la Palu (circa 1275-1342) i després Guiu Terrena (mort en 1342), els quals assenyalaven que el rei que només pensa en si mateix en qüestions monetàries és un tirà (Spufford, Peter. "Monetary practice...": 66).

13. Abans del segle XIX, Oresme va influir prou en autors com Martín Azpilcueta, Giovanni Aquila, Jean Bodin, René Budel, el mateix Mirabeau o, a casa nostra, Jaume Callís.

14. Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine...": 37.

15. Hernando, Josep. "Tractatus de origine...": 49-50.

16. Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money". *Economic Journal*, 2 (1892): 239-255.



ment adoptada al llarg del segle XX.¹⁷ És cert que no és gratuït que hom hagi relacionat l'origen de la moneda amb el comerç atès que, com bé observa John Hicks,¹⁸ l'evolució del mercat del troc implica l'establiment d'uns productes fàcils d'emmagatzemar, de fàcil liquiditat, cobejats per tothom i que, en un moment donat, puguin actuar com a mesuradors del valor dels béns d'intercanvi. Uns productes que compleixen aquests requisits són, òbviament, els metalls preciosos. Oresme, Menger i Hicks, i tots els que s'han fet seva aquesta evolució mercantil, han pressuposat que els metalls preciosos s'havien de convertir, indefectiblement, en mesures de valor acceptades per tothom. Però aquest procés de conversió no l'expliquen del tot. El resultat final podia ser molt còmode i pràctic però, ¿com s'arribà a l'acceptació general d'una mesura de valor? Doncs, segons aquests autors, s'hi arribà d'una forma natural, sense intervenció del poder.¹⁹ La darrera frase de l'article de Menger és molt explícita en aquest sentit: *All these (institutional) measures nevertheless have not first made money of the precious metals, but have only perfected them in their function as money.*²⁰ Segons aquest autor, les lleis polítiques no van crear el diner sinó que només van perfeccionar els metalls preciosos funcionant com a diner. És aquí on rau el malentès. Al segle XIX i a bona part del segle XX, quan es parlava de moneda es pensava en metalls preciosos: l'or i l'argent. Es pensava exclusivament en aquests dos metalls perquè eren els metalls dominants en la història de la moneda occidental. Però la moneda és quelcom més que un metall preciós,²¹ i és quelcom més que un invent occidental. De fet, al segle VII aC, al mateix temps que a Egina i Lídia es creava la moneda basada en l'or i en l'argent, a la Xina es creava basada en el bronze.²² És clar que el bronze no ha estat mai un metall preciós, ni tan sols a la Xina. Malgrat aquest darrer inconvenient, la teoria sobre l'origen comercial i privat de la moneda va ser i continua sent acceptada per molts pensadors, resistint el pas dels segles. El pensament d'Oresme ha aportat bons fonaments a la teoria econòmica de Hayek i de l'Escola Austríaca d'Economia (o Escola de Viena), en bona part matriu del pensament liberal modern.²³

17. Hicks, John. *A Theory of Economic History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960 (traducció espanyola: Hicks, John. *Una teoria de la història econòmica*. Barcelona: Aguilar S. A., 1974); Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*

18. Hicks, John. *A Theory of Economic...*: 58.

19. Per exemple, Carl Menger diu textualment que: *Money has not been generated by law. In its origin it is a social, and not a state institution. Sanction by the authority of the state is a notion alien to it* ("El diner no ha estat creat per llei. En el seu origen és una institució social i no pas una de l'estat. Està sancionat per l'autoritat de l'Estat, tot i ser una noció aliena a aquest"). I el mateix teòric conclou el procés així: *It was the just apprehending of their individual self-interest which brought it to pass, that all the more economically advanced nations accepted the precious metals as money as soon as a sufficient supply of them had been collected and introduced into commerce* ("Va ser el mer aprenentatge del seu propi interès individual el que va empènyer a què totes les nacions econòmicament més avançades acceptessin els metalls preciosos com a moneda tan aviat com un subministrament suficient n'era obtingut i introduït en el comerç"). Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money...": 255. És a dir que, segons l'autor, va ser la necessitat de les nacions (o diguem-li comunitats) el que va portar, de manera natural, a la conversió dels metalls preciosos en moneda, tant bon punt en van poder arrearplegar suficient quantitat.

20. Menger, Carl. "On the origins of Money...": 255.

21. Insistint una mica més amb el tema, s'utilitzen els termes *primitive money* o premoneda per a designar no només els metalls preciosos, sinó també collarets, metalls vils manufacturats, petxines i caorís i altres objectes utilitzats antigament com a béns cobejats de fàcil intercanvi (Einzig, Paul. *A Primitive Money In its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects*. Londres: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1949 [reeditat: Londres: Pergamon, 1966]). Cal considerar-los veritables monedes? La seva funció no és comparable a la protagonitzada per les monedes posteriors.

22. Hartill, David. *Cast Chinese Coins*. Victòria: Trafford Publishing, 2007: 6.

23. De fet, seguidors actuals de l'Escola Austríaca continuen reivindicant l'obra d'Oresme, com per exemple des del Ludwig von Mises Institute (Auburn, Alabama), responsables d'una edició del seu tractat (Johnson, Charles. *The 'De moneta' of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*. Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2009). La descripció del llibre des de la seva pàgina web comenta que: *Oresme was the first theorist to present a fully worked out ethics of money, one that shows the sheer immorality of government monopoly over money and the social effects of debasement* ("Oresme va ser el primer teòric qui va presentar un treball exhaustiu en termes d'ètica sobre els diners, mostrant la gran immoralitat del monopoli del govern



L'arrelament de la teoria de l'origen comercial en pensadors i economistes ha facilitat, al llarg dels segles, l'arrelament en historiadors, periodistes i, és clar, tertulians. Continua sent, doncs, la teoria majoritàriament acceptada sobre l'origen del diner i de la moneda. Per tant, és rar trobar estudis, de recerca o divulgatius, que, al parlar sobre la moneda, s'atreveixin a no relacionar-la obligatòriament amb el mot "comerç". El mateix Henri Pirenne, per exemple, a propòsit de l'emissió única de diners d'argent en època carolíngia, afirmava literalment que *le nouveau système, mono-métalliste argent, correspond à la regression économique à laquelle on est arrivé*.²⁴ Un dels principals responsables de la continuïtat d'aquest discurs és Peter Spufford i l'èxit indiscutible de la seva obra *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*.²⁵ És cert que sembla que la tendència va canviant poc a poc, però de moment el paradigma comercial continua mostrant-se força sòlid. De fet, en qualsevol estudi protagonitzat per la moneda o el diner és habitual intentar relacionar aquestes conceptes amb el comerç o amb activitats econòmiques relacionades, malgrat que el context sembli desmentir-ho.²⁶ Així, l'augment o el descens de les activitats comercials se sol prendre com a un bon indicador del creixement o disminució de l'ús de la moneda entre la població.²⁷

1.2.2 Teories alternatives: el deute, el temple, el fisc, el finançament

Una varietat de la teoria comercial és la proposada recentment per David Graeber²⁸ i acollida entusiàsticament per alguns pensadors actuals, sovint autoanomenats "alternatius".²⁹ Graeber creu que el diner es va crear a partir del crèdit. Opina que abans que existissin les monedes, el món estava dividit en deutors i creditors, i que aquests darrers necessitaven algun document per recuperar els béns prestats quan fos necessari. Per això es va haver d'inventar la moneda, que en els

sobre els diners i els efectes socials de la degradació"). Mises Institute. "Books. The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents". *Mises Institute*. 12 Juny 2016 <<https://mises.org/library/de-moneta-nicholas-oresme-and-english-mint-documents>>; o un altre exemple, de la mateixa procedència, el trobem en Hülsmann el qual diu textualment *nótese que Oresme dice que no fue el estado quien ordenó sabiamente la creación de monedas, sino que fueron 'los sabios' —élites naturales en una sociedad libre— quienes la crearon. Por lo tanto, ¿dónde entra en juego el estado aquí?*. Valín, Jorge. "Traducción de Jörg Guido Hülsmann". *Jorge Valín Weblog*. 30 Maig 2004. 12 Juny 2016 <<https://jorgevalin.wordpress.com/2004/05/30/traduccion-de-jorg-guido-hulsmann/>> (Document original: Hülsmann, Jörg Guido. *Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise*. Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2004).

24. "El nou sistema monometal·lista en plata es deu a la regressió econòmica a què es va arribar". Pirenne, Henri. *Ma-homet et Charlemagne*. París-Brusel·les: Alcan-Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937: 221-224. En aquesta frase de Pirenne, llegiu *commerciale* en lloc de *économique*. No vull interpretar ni canviar les paraules del gran historiador belga, però entenc que el sentit de la frase s'addiu més amb el canvi proposat.

25. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*...

26. Per exemple, Miguel Ángel Ladero, repassant la manca d'emissions monetàries de la Castella dels segles IX-XI, afirma que *los reyes asturianos y leoneses no acuñaron moneda, por motivos que desconocemos suficientemente aunque deben referirse tanto a la falta de necesidad económica como al insuficiente ejercicio de sus prerrogativas políticas* ("els reis asturians i lleonesos no van encunyar cap moneda, per motius que no coneixem prou bé però que deuen relacionar-se tant amb la manca de necessitat econòmica com amb l'insuficient exercici de les seves prerrogatives polítiques"), i afegeix que les activitats comercials no es van interrompre en aquest període i recorda que a Astúries es practicava el troc i i que a Galícia les referències monetàries són constants als documents. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Moneda y políticas monetarias...": 129-130.

27. Per exemple, Mercedes Rueda assenyalava l'increment del comerç i l'augment de la població com a causants dels inicis de les emissions de moneda castellana a Toledo, després de la seva conquesta per Alfons VI (Rueda, Mercedes. *Primeras acuñaciones de Castilla y León*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 1991).

28. Graeber, David. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn-Londres: Melville House, 2010.

29. Penso, a Catalunya, en la difusió que Jordi Grieria ha fet de l'obra d'Agustí Chalaux, defensor de la "moneda nominal" i la "moneda telemàtica" com a resposta a la societat capitalista en la que vivim. Grau, Magda; Chalaux, Agustí. *Assaig sobre moneda, mercat i societat*. Barcelona: Escola Finaly, 1984; Grau, Magda; Chalaux, Agustí. *Moneda telemàtica i estratègia de mercat*. Barcelona: Escola Finaly, 1985.

iniciis devia ser, forçosament, personalitzada i vinculant entre un deutor i un creditor particulars. La teoria de Graeber és una variant de l'anterior de Menger que compta amb l'avantatge d'explicar amb detall el procés evolutiu fins a la creació de la moneda. Com la de Menger, tampoc necessita la intervenció de l'Estat ni del poder establert.

Una altra teoria alternativa força original és la que fa derivar la creació de la moneda de les pràctiques religioses al temple. Richard Seaford considera que va ser la necessitat i pragmatisme dels santuaris, que necessitaven redistribuir els metalls preciosos que rebien en donació per tal de satisfer pagaments per serveis, el que va originar les monedes tal com les coneixem.³⁰ Es tracta, doncs, d'una visió antropològica, allunyada de la teoria comercial, sobretot en la manera que defineix el perquè de les marques empremtades a les monedes. Així, diu segons Seaford, el segell empremtat a les primeres monedes no era un signe de qualitat (o quantitat), sinó més aviat una garantia d'obtenir el reemborsament del valor pactat, i aquesta garantia era acceptada no només pel seu valor intrínsec, sinó sobretot, per la confiança entre els actors.³¹ No tinc elements per rebatre la teoria de Seaford, que crec cal considerar plausible. Ara bé, les seves consideracions sobre les empremtes de les primeres monedes i sobre la confiança també em fan pensar que no està massa allunyada (i fins i tot pot ser complementària) de la teoria cartalista o financera, que exposaré a continuació.

Segons la teoria cartalista és l'Estat el que origina la moneda.³² Aquesta teoria fou primer anunciada per l'alemany George Friedrich Knapp³³ i després continuada, pel grup de Cambridge proper a Keynes, i per seguidors com Abba Lerner, Philip H. Wicksteed, Charles Goodhart o Alla Seménova. Actualment, l'anomenat cartalisme constitueix una de les bases de la Teoria Monetària Moderna (TMM) que és un corrent de pensament proper a economistes postkeynesians (i aquí és on retrobem un altre cop la rivalitat entre Keynes i Hayek, i entre intervencionisme i liberalisme). Segons la teoria cartalista, una moneda té un determinat valor perquè l'Estat així ho determina, i no pas per res més. Més exactament, encara, l'origen i funció primordial de la moneda cal cercar-lo en el fet que l'Estat produeix "fitxes" que els ciutadans cobegen o troben convenient obtenir perquè, en darrera instància, el mateix Estat només accepta aquestes fitxes com a mitjà de pagament del deute obligatori que imposa sobre els habitants dels territoris que controla. I la funció de la moneda com a "facilitadora del comerç" és posterior i secundària.³⁴ Michael Crawford, el gran especialista en moneda republicana romana, resumia la idea que la moneda fou probablement inventada per tal que els pagaments oficials (taxes, soldades, tributs, etc.) es poguessin dur a terme convenientment. En altres paraules, la creació de la moneda va respondre a raons financeres, i qualsevol altra

30. Seaford, Richard. *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004: 110.

31. Seaford, Richard. *Money and the Early...*: 136.

32. Cartalisme prové del llatí *charta* i fa referència al document oficial necessari i previ a la creació de la moneda.

33. Knapp, George Friedrich. *The State Theory of Money*. Londres: McMillan & Co. Ltd., 1929 (originalment: Knapp, George Friedrich. *Staatliche Theorie des Geldes*. Munic: Duncker & Humblot, 1918).

34. Hudson, Michael. "The creditary/monetary debate in historical perspective", *The State, the Market and the Euro Chartalism versus Metallism in the Theory of Money*, Stephanie A. Bell, Edward J. Nell, eds. Cheltenham-Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2003: 39-76; Henry, John F. "The social origins of money: The case of Egypt", *Credit and State Theories of Money*, L. Randall Wray, ed. Cheltenham-Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2004: 79-98; Seménova, Alla. *The Origins of Money: Evaluating Chartalist and Metallist Theories in the Context of Ancient Greece and Mesopotamia*. Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2011.



funció econòmica del diner va ser una conseqüència accidental de la seva existència, i no pas la raó de la seva creació.³⁵

A Catalunya, Leandre Villaronga i Miquel de Crusafont s'han decantat sempre per aquest origen fiscal de la moneda, però sense menystenir les diferents estructures comercials de cada país.³⁶ En canvi, una posició més eclèctica és la de Fèlix Retamero, el qual desenvolupà alguns aspectes teòrics de gran interès a la seva tesi doctoral, publicada l'any 2000. Per exemple, criticava els qui defensaven un únic origen comercial de la moneda, fins i tot en aquells autors que no ho fan clarament al camuflar-ho en suposades qüestions econòmiques, o denunciava la versió d'altres autors que afirmen que una emissió monetària es pot produir "espontàniament".³⁷ Però seguint en part les idees de Christopher J. Howgego,³⁸ l'autor es decantava finalment per considerar que les dues teories principals sobre l'inici de la moneda (la comercial i la financera o fiscal) són certes i, per tant, no es poden contraposar:

Que la moneda s'utilitzés per a cobrir despeses estatals i que, a més, intervingués en les transaccions, no tan sols és compatible, sinó que difícilment, per seguir existint com a moneda, podria ser altrament... Les dues "raons", elaborades sobre condicions inicials vertaderes, poden ser respectivament il·lustrades de manera indefinida.³⁹

És a dir, que tant Howgego com Retamero traslladen a l'inici de la invenció de la moneda els múltiples i diferenciats usos o circuits monetaris existents.

1.2.3 Definició cartalista de moneda

Si jo prenc partit per la definició cartalista de moneda és perquè defujo els orígens espontanis i alhora valoro els interessos polítics i llurs necessitats fiscals i financeres. L'origen de la moneda, des de la perspectiva d'aquest enfoc, allunyada dels interessos comercials, podria haver estat així: la moneda, expressió del poder polític, va sorgir arran de la necessitat de fiscalitzar la població i aconseguir finançament pels projectes i objectius concebuts pels governants. La moneda es va crear quan el poder polític es decidí a garantir el valor de canvi d'un objecte determinat (l'or i l'argent a Grècia; el bronze a la Xina) i a obligar-ne l'acceptació entre la població. És a dir, d'una manera abreujada: la moneda és l'instrument de pagament amb el qual el poder polític mesura els recursos econòmics de l'administració i facilita la seva distribució així com la recaptació d'excedents.⁴⁰

35. Crawford, Michael H. "Money and Exchange in the Roman World". *Journal of Roman Studies*, 60 (1970): 40-48. La traducció de la citació a l'espanyol és de Leandre Villaronga: Villaronga, Leandre. "Recensiones bibliográficas". *Acta Numismàtica*, 2 (1972): 283.

36. Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana...*

37. Retamero, Fèlix. *La continua il·lusió del moviment perpetu. La moneda dels reges, dels mulūk i dels seniores (segles VI-XI)*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2000: 82-83.

38. Howgego, Christopher. "Why did ancient states strike coins?". *Numismatic Chronicle*, 150 (1990): 1-26.

39. Retamero, Fèlix. *La continua il·lusió...*: 84-85.

40. La definició clàssica de moneda, que fins ara m'havia estalviat de citar, és la de Sant Isidor de Sevilla: *In numismata tria quaeruntur: metallum, figura et pondus. Si ex iis aliquid defuerit, numisma non erit*. Isidori Hispalensis. "Etymologiarum sive Originum Liber XVI. De lapidibus et metallis. XVIII. De avro (12)". *The Latin Library*. 12 Juny 2016 <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore/16.shtml>>. Es tracta, però, d'una definició estrictament formal, gens essencial. Tenir-la en compte implica prescindir del sentit pràctic que sempre han tingut les actuacions monetàries i la conseqüent eliminació històrica d'un o de dos (metall i pes) dels tres atributs destacats per Isidor.

Cada cop que un govern acorda una emissió monetària ho fa motivat per una necessitat de finançament determinada. No és espontània, no és arbitrària. El finançament sempre és a l'origen, com en els casos en que un govern introdueix un nou impost aplicable sobre la població. Es poden adduir més proves d'aquesta vinculació entre el poder i l'origen de la moneda. La més immediata és que la paraula grega *νόμισμα* (pronunciada “nomisma”, i amb el significat de “moneda”) sembla derivar de la paraula grega *νόμος* (pronunciada “nomos”, i amb el significat de “lleí”). Però també és un bon indici que grans societats comercials de l'Antiguitat, com els egipcis o els fenicis, no necessitessin inventar la moneda per dur a terme la seva activitat. D'altra banda, al llarg de la història, els tallers monetaris o seques s'han multiplicat precisament en els períodes bèl·lics, quan les autoritats militars han necessitat més recursos per a mantenir les tropes, i no pas en els períodes de pau i bonança econòmica. És obvi que el comerç quedà indefectiblement lligat a la moneda des de l'aparició d'aquesta, però seria absurd minimitzar la seva seminal funció fiscal o de finançament de l'erari públic. Precisament per aquesta funció, la fabricació de moneda ha estat sempre una prerrogativa (una regalia) de les autoritats més elevades, mai dels comerciants. I quan, com en el cas d'algunes emissions locals de moneda, han estat particulars o autoritats menudes les que han fet ús d'aquesta prerrogativa, ha estat sempre per delegació confirmada o consentida de l'autoritat superior.

El tipus de definició de moneda és fonamental per a proposar objectius i línies de recerca a la Numismàtica, en tant que disciplina auxiliar de la història. Per exemple, segons les consideracions anteriors, no es pot deduir quines poblacions van fabricar moneda en el passat a partir d'una recerca basada en les que celebraven un mercat més exitós, o les que percebien més drets d'entrada de mercaderies a la duana. Aquesta recerca conduiria al no res. Perquè no són les poblacions comercials les que baten moneda, sinó les poblacions on resideix el poder polític o el poder militar exercint de poder polític.

1.2.4 Debat sobre l'existència de models de moneda diferenciats. El cas de la moneda feudal

És interessant el debat sobre l'existència o no de models de moneda diferenciats segons la tipologia de la societat que la fabrica i fa circular. Per exemple, Miquel Barceló publicà l'any 1993 un article amb un suggeridor títol: “Moneda fiscal i moneda feudal: una proposta de diferenciació”. Barceló argumentava que la moneda dels sobirans omeies d'al-Andalus, dels segles VIII a X, oferia un exemple clar del que ell anomenava “moneda fiscal”, la definició de la qual seria la següent:

La moneda fiscal és aquella que és batuda en règim estricte de monopoli ‘legalment’ fonamentat, per un Estat i és aquest mateix Estat encunyador el que l'imposa a la societat a través d'un mecanisme consistent en les despeses estatals i la demanda de moneda, en les condicions que aquest Estat decideixi, com a pagament fiscal.⁴¹

Posteriorment el mateix Miquel Barceló i Fèlix Retamero desenvoluparen aquesta diferenciació entre moneda fiscal i moneda feudal en un article publicat en anglès: *The ‘purest’ feudal coin issues was, then, to create the basis, through a curiously perverse feed-back, upon which to establish taxes on the very production of coins.*⁴² Resumint, segons aquests autors la moneda feudal seria un artifice creat per incrementar la renda capturada als pagesos; una moneda que es fabricava, no amb la idea de fer-la

41. Barceló, Miquel. “Moneda fiscal i moneda feudal: una proposta de diferenciació”. *Gaceta Numismática*, 111 (1993): 67.

42. “Les més “pures” emissions de moneda feudales serviren tot seguit per a crear les bases, curiosament mitjançant una perversa retroalimentació, sobre la qual s'establirien impostos sobre la mateixa producció de monedes”. Barceló,



circular entre la població i facilitar la recaptació de la renda, sinó com a instrument necessari per a crear nous impostos (impost sobre la fabricació, impost sobre la no mutació de la moneda, etc.) amb els que oprimir a la població. Un altre teòric que va afavorir la diferenciació proposada per Barceló i Retamero és Michael Hendy,⁴³ el qual diferenciava al seu torn entre moneda “antiga” (la dels romans) i moneda “nova” (la dels merovingis en endavant) i assenyalava que aquesta darrera es caracteritzava per permetre la participació d’interessos “privats” en la producció.⁴⁴

Considero aquestes diferenciacions redundants. La suposada moneda feudal no podia exercir aquest paper de propiciador de nous impostos si, prèviament, hom no hagués trobat mecanismes que obliguessin l’acceptació de la moneda i la posterior devolució, via impostos o renda monetària, a l’autoritat emissora. I aquests mecanismes previs, allunyats de l’intercanvi comercial espontani, ens remetien forçosament als mateixos que trobàvem esmentats a la definició de la moneda fiscal. Que la moneda dels estats feudals, o la d’altres formacions socials, ocupi un lloc subaltern es deu a un menor grau de complexitat i eficàcia de l’Estat que la fabrica, i no pas a un origen i ús diferenciat de l’instrument. Segons la meua concepció, la moneda feudal és també una “moneda fiscal o financera” en el sentit que Barceló atorga a aquest concepte, en tant que compleix els termes de la definició proposada.⁴⁵

1.3 La recerca numismàtica

1.3.1 Les fonts primàries: límits i problemàtica

Qualsevol de les tres branques de recerca de la numismàtica esmentades al principi de l’article no pot prescindir de l’estudi simultani de la documentació (escrita o arqueològica) amb l’observació material de les monedes conservades, identificant les seves empremtes i identificant el seu mètode de fabricació. La connexió entre els dos tipus de fonts —documentació i monedes físiques— hauria de permetre una aproximació més precisa de l’investigador a la realitat. El fet de treballar només amb un dels dos tipus de fonts ens pot menar a l’equívoc, perquè cadascun pateix

Miquel; Retamero, Fèlix. “From cops to coin: which way back?”. *Gaceta Numismática*, 12 (1996): 60; Retamero, Fèlix. *La continua il·lusió...*

43. Hendy, Michael. “From Public to Private: the Western Barbarian Coinages as a Mirror of the Desintegration of Late Roman State Structures”, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989: VII, 29-78.

44. Un dels motius assenyalats per Hendy per justificar aquesta participació privada era el comprovar la proliferació de seques a l’època merovingia i carolíngia (Hendy, Michael. “From Public to Private...”: 39, 74). Hendy argumentava que la profusió de llocs d’emissió equivalia a la profusió de poders polítics locals, ja que els considerava poders privats.

45. Desenvolupant el fil d’aquesta teoria, aquests autors assenyalen les resistències a la monetarització com a element característic de la moneda feudal. Les resistències a la monetarització han estat ben assenyalades per Bisson (Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage...*; Bisson, Thomas N. “La monnaie fiscale: les structures régionales à l’aube de l’État medieval (1150-1250)”, *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l’antiquité à nos jours: actes du colloque international organisé à Paris (du 10 au 12 janvier 1986)*, Georges Depeyrot, Tony Hackens, Ghislaine Moucharte, eds. Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications d’histoire de l’art et d’archéologie de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, 1987: 511-520; Bisson, Thomas N. “Els orígens de l’impost sobre la moneda a Catalunya: Una reconsideració”. *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 16-17 (1996): 301-310) per als comtats catalans, a partir del moment en que les autoritats emissores de moneda van establir impostos, com el monedatge, que tenien com a missió compensar les possibles pèrdues provocades per la renúncia a alterar arbitràriament les condicions que l’Estat imposa a la moneda com a pagament fiscal. Hi va haver resistències i pactes. Però tot això l’únic que demostra és que la funció comercial de la moneda estava supeditada a la funció fiscal. Vegeu també, sobre aquesta qüestió, la taula rodona organitzada pel *Laboratoire de Médiévisique occidentale de Paris* —LAMOP— (Feller, Laurent, dir. *Calculs et rationalités dans la seigneurie médiévale: les conversions de redevances entre xi^e et xv^e siècles*. París: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009).

de limitacions que enterboleixen la comprensió dels fets que presenten. Per exemple, el document escrit no sempre és efectiu. Molts documents són plens d'intencions fallides, encara que presentin la versemblant forma d'una ordre, una sentència, o una disposició plenament plausibles. I això inclou primers esborranys, modificats posteriorment en uns termes desconeguts, o voluntats polítiques fermes però impossibles de complir, o promeses que mai es van fer realitat.⁴⁶ Els estudis numismàtics basats només en la documentació escrita difícilment poden comprovar l'efectivitat de les actuacions monetàries extretes dels papers. Per exemple: Es va complir tal ordre per a fabricar aquella emissió monetària? Van ser efectives les disposicions per tal de prevenir la falsificació i alteració de la moneda, tan habitual aquell any?

El document escrit ens pot confondre, però les monedes físiques ens enganyen encara més sovint. És quelcom que ha passat desapercebut per molts numismàtics que s'han dedicat a aquesta matèria.⁴⁷ Sense la confirmació de la documentació escrita no hem de considerar com a certesa absoluta cap paradigma numismàtic, per repetit o difós que sigui. Aquesta prudència l'hem après (o hauríem d'haver après) de les emissions de moneda modernes i contemporànies, molt més ben documentades que les antigues o les medievals. Els exemples són molt abundants i pertorbadors. Per exemple, monedes fabricades l'any 1823, durant el Trienni Liberal, duïen la data 1814;⁴⁸ els croats batuts a Barcelona el 1584 duïen el retrat de Ferran el Catòlic i una epigrafià gòtica regular pròpia del segle XV;⁴⁹ les monedes d'argent i de billó del regne de Castella van continuar duent el nom d'Isabel i Ferran, els Reis Catòlics, fins el 1566;⁵⁰ els menuts municipals de Puigcerdà batuts l'any 1642, durant la Guerra dels Segadors, duen la data 1576,⁵¹ entre d'altres. Aquest és el primer engany, segurament el més important de tots. És un engany fruit de diverses causes. La primera i més evident és que les monedes no es fabriquen sempre al mateix temps que les matrius i encunyys que graven llurs empremtes. De vegades, n'hi ha prou amb un desfasament de pocs mesos per a confondre i equivocar la narració dels fets. Quan el decalatge és d'uns quants segles, el resultat historiogràfic pot ser absurd, en el millor dels casos, o greument equivocac, en la majoria d'ells. Hi ha una segona causa, no tan evident, que és que no sempre convé gravar la veritat (o la realitat) als tipus i llegendes de les monedes fabricadores, ni tampoc sempre convé canviar llurs empremtes sense un motiu favorable. Finalment, una tercera i darrera causa és la conservació de tipus monetaris immobilitzats durant dècades o, fins i tot, segles per tal de demostrar, a primer cop d'ull, que l'autoritat emissora manté la qualitat de la moneda, com havia promès, sense canviar-hi el més mínim detall.⁵²

46. I això passa fins i tot avui en dia. Un exemple és la moció presentada el 25 d'octubre de 2005 al Parlament europeu, recolzada per més de la meitat dels eurodiputats, que demanava a la Comissió Europea i al Banc Central Europeu reconèixer la necessitat de la introducció de bitllets d'un i de dos euros. Però com que el Banc Central Europeu no és directament responsable davant del Parlament ni tampoc davant de la Comissió, senzillament va ignorar la moció i petició.

47. No és el cas del manual francès de referència, de Marc Bompaire i Françoise Dumas (Bompaire, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale: monnaies et documents d'origine française*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), que tracten algunes d'aquestes dificultats (*pièges*) amb l'extensió que es mereixen.

48. Sanahuja, Xavier. "La seca constitucional de Barcelona (1822-1823)". *Acta Numismàtica*, 27 (1997): 111.

49. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Ducats i principats catalans...": 105-133.

50. Beltrán, Antonio. "Ensayo sobre la cronología de las monedas castellanas a nombre de Fernando e Isabel". *Numisma*, 7 (1953): 37-56.

51. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Els menuts de Puigcerdà amb data 1576". *L'Ardit*, 12 (1999): 25-30.

52. Bisson, Thomas N. *Conservation of coinage...*



Un segon engany és el resultat de no comprendre que una moneda no va circular necessàriament només l'any en que fou fabricada, i en un únic territori, sinó que les vicissituds de la història podien haver-la dut a circular en segles i espais geogràfics molt distints dels originaris. I no em refereixo a una circulació accidental o residual, sinó a una circulació plenament legal i intencionada. Per exemple, a casa nostra, algunes monedes fabricades a Castella durant el segle XVI no van tenir circulació efectiva a Catalunya fins el 1718,⁵³ dos-cents anys més tard del que hauria pronosticat una anàlisi estratigràfica en una prospecció arqueològica que no hagués tingut en compte les vicissituds circulatòries de les monedes físiques.

Un tercer engany es mostra menys important al ser, probablement, més fàcilment detectable. Es tracta de la confusió que provoquen aquells objectes monetiformes, com getons, fitxes, medalles o segells, que en un moment determinat poden passar com a monedes. En aquests casos, l'engany es pot evitar fàcilment a força de descriure i catalogar amb precisió les monedes autèntiques existents.

Finalment, un quart engany també es pot evitar mitjançant l'acurada catalogació i descripció de les monedes legítimes. Es tracta de la identificació de les monedes falsificades, tant aquelles concebudes per a circular en el moment que tocava com les de recent fabricació, sorgides per enganyar col·leccionistes i estudiosos.⁵⁴ Pel que fa a les monedes falsificades a l'època que circulaven cal tenir present que, com mostren els documents escrits, eren el signe visible d'un fenomen àmpliament estès i continuat a tota l'època medieval, moderna i contemporània. Cal tenir en compte que, de falsificacions monetàries (avui, ahir i demà) n'hi ha de tres tipus.

El primer tipus és de les falsificacions realitzades per especialistes experts, que obtenen un acabat morfològic gairebé exacte a l'original.⁵⁵ El segon tipus és el d'aquelles falsificacions realitzades per operaris traçuts, que assoleixen un bon acabat formal, però lleugerament distint de l'original. El tercer i darrer tipus és el de les falsificacions realitzades per personal inexpert, l'obra resultant dels quals es reconeix a simple vista com a fraudulenta.

L'investigador numismàtic no s'ha de preocupar massa per les falsificacions dels tipus 1 i 3. Les del primer tipus passen per autèntiques i ni tan sols solen plantejar dubtes; les del segon tipus s'identifiquen fàcilment com a falses. El problema rau en les falsificacions del tipus 2, perquè es tracta de monedes ben acabades, amb aparença d'autenticitat, però distintes de les encunyacions legals. Quan aquestes falsificacions són abundants és fàcil que siguin considerades legítimes i produïdes per les autoritats emissores competents, causant una distorsió de la recerca numismàtica. Per a distingir aquestes falsificacions del tipus 2 de les encunyacions legítimes cal aplicar el mètode científic en el transcurs de la recerca.

Totes aquelles peces que presentin elements aliens a les característiques de la fàbrica o seca legítima hauran de ser considerades falses, per ben realitzades que semblin. Per tal d'establir quins

53. Vegeu sobre aquesta qüestió un bon article de Felip Mateu Llopis (Mateu, Felip. "Les primeres encunyacions barcelonines de Felip V. Documents per a llur estudi (1704-1705)". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 18 (1933): 92-104) i també una aportació documental relativa al procés de substitució de la moneda catalana per la castellana l'any 1718 (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Barcelona, any 1718". *L'Ardit*, 18 (2003): 36-41).

54. Vegeu un exemple dels casos esmentats a continuació en un recent treball (Sanahuja, Xavier. "Las grandes falsificaciones del vellón castellano en los siglos XVI y XVII". *Gaceta Numismática*, 184 (2012): 15-29). La falsificació de moneda apareix contínuament en els grans tractats numismàtics, però específicament cal llegir l'aportació, per bé que principalment centrada a l'època moderna, d'Albert Estrada (Estrada, Albert. *La lluita contra la moneda falsa a la Barcelona de Felip II (1598-1621)*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2011 [versió espanyola editada a: Vic: Eumo, 2012]).

55. De vegades, aquestes falsificacions expertes eren ordenades per sobirans estrangers, enemics i/o veïns, sovint a les mateixes cases de moneda oficials (per exemple és el cas documentat a: Sanahuja, Xavier. "L'arrendament de les encunyacions d'or de Perpinyà a Pere Blan entre 1352 i 1365". *Acta Numismática*, 26 (1996): 147-160).

són els elements característics de cada fàbrica o seca emissora n'hi haurà prou amb l'observació del major nombre possible de monedes. Així, les característiques més recurrents seran les que ens indicaran la legitimitat de les peces, ja que, en la immensa majoria dels casos, la producció dels falsaris sempre ha estat quantitativament inferior a la producció oficial i legítima. Els estudis numismàtics basats només en l'observació de les monedes físiques tendeixen per naturalesa a l'absurd quan intenten transcendir els objectius merament descriptius per intentar assolir fites més elevades d'interpretació històrica.

1.3.2 Fonts secundàries: especial dificultat

Entre els documents escrits hom pot trobar un tipus específic de fonts que cal analitzar amb molt de compte. Em refereixo als tractats i compendis tècnics sobre la moneda i també a les cròniques narratives que contenen algun episodi relacionat. No dono massa importància a aquest tipus de fonts, més enllà d'esdevenir testimonis d'algun fenomen monetari puntual, sobretot perquè aquest tipus de fonts solen patir d'uns mals que es repeteixen sovint (i que no sempre han estat ben ponderats entre els historiadors). La limitació consisteix en que els tractadistes tendeixen sempre a considerar que un passat utòpic fou sempre millor que el present contaminat de modernitat.⁵⁶ I no em refereixo només als tractadistes medievals o moderns, sinó també als contemporanis. Per exemple, Cristòfol Massó Escofet defensava, l'any 1962, el patró or perquè feia responsable la relativament recent introduïda moneda fiduciària (els bitllets de banc) de la inflació, tant per la necessitat de trobar una via fàcil per part dels governs a l'hora d'eixugar el seu dèficit, com per la inestabilitat del paper davant dels mercats internacionals (on sovintegen les oscil·lacions especulatives), com també per l'excés resultant de creació de crèdit bancari.⁵⁷ El cas és paradigmàtic d'allò que llegim als tractats i cròniques: els problemes actuals són per culpa d'haver abandonat pràctiques antigues; no hi ha noves

56. Aquesta qüestió l'he tractat anteriorment (Sanahuja, Xavier. "La moneda com a origen de crisis alimentàries?", *Crisis alimenticias en la Edad Media: modelos, explicaciones y representaciones*, Pere Benito, ed. Lleida: Milenio, 2012: 221-230). Quan parlo de tractats no em refereixo a aquells manuals tècnics, dedicats a explicar operacions matemàtiques, mercantils o de fosa i aliatge de metalls, com per exemple els d'Andreu (Andreu, Joan [Juan Andrés]. *Sumario breve de la práctica de la aritmética de todo el curso del arte mercantil bien declarado, el cual se llama Maestro de Cuento*. València: Joan Jofré, 1515), Vataloll (Vataloll, Joan. *Practica mercantilv composta e ordenada per en Joan Vataloll de la ciutat de Mallorques*. Palma de Mallorca: Antiga Impremta Soler, facsímil 1521), Aurel (Aurel, Marc. *Tratado muy útil y provechoso para toda manera de tratantes y personas aficionadas al contar; de reglas breves de reducciones de monedas y otras reglas tanto breves quanto compendiosas*. València: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1541), Texeda (Texeda, Gaspar de. *Suma de arithmetica práctica y de todas mercaderías, con la orden de contadores*. Valladolid: Oficina de Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1546), Pérez de Moya (Pérez de Moya, Juan. *Manual de contadores en que se pone en suma lo que un contador ha menester saber y una orden para que los que no saben escribir con oyirlo leer, sepan contar y convertir de memoria unas monedas en otras. Con unas tablas al fin en Guarismo y Castellano: para averiguar con facilidad las cuentas de los réditos de los censos y juros, según usanza de España y otros Reynos. Va tan exemplificado que qualquiera de mediana habilidad, con poco trabajo, aprenderá a contar sin maestro*. Sense lloc de publicació: sense editor, 1562), Roca (Roca, Antich. *Aritmetica por Antich Roca de Gerona compuesta y de autores recopilada: prouechosa para todos estados de gentes. Va añadido un compendio para tener y regir los libros de cuenta, traduzido de lengua francesa en romance castellano*. Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1564), Arfe (Arfe, Juan de [Joan Arphe]. *Quilattador de la plata, oro y piedras*. Valladolid: Alonso y Diego Fernández de Cordova, 1572), Eleyzalde (Eleyzalde, Miguel. *Guía de los contadores donde se contienen muchas y muy provechosas reglas de cuenta, guarisma y castellana, declaradas por práctica muy fácil de entender con muchos exemplos muy necesarios, con el valor de las monedas de España y de los demás reynos della*. Madrid: Pierres Cosin, 1579), o Cortés (Cortés, Jerónimo [Jeroni]. *Compendio de reglas breves, con el arte de hallarlas e inventarlas, así para las reducciones de monedas del Reyno de Valencia, Aragón, Barcelona y Castilla, como para las demás monedas de los otros reynos, muy útil y necesario a todo género de tratantes, con muchas preguntas y respuestas de números*. València: Herederos de Ioan Navarro, 1594), sinó a les obres ideològicament actives que reflexionen sobre el concepte i utilitat de la moneda dins de la societat.

57. Massó, Cristòfol. *Inflació monetària*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1962.



propostes, són millors les del passat (tot i que, òbviament i paradoxal, han fracassat i desaparegut).⁵⁸ Òbviament, malgrat el ressò mediàtic, qualsevol intent de tornar al passat sol acabar fracassant, sovint en el seu estadi inicial. No val la pena sobreestimar aquells tractadistes que, a la pràctica, no van tenir cap influència en el desenvolupament dels fets estudiats.⁵⁹

És cert que faria trampa si no justificués amb una mica més de precisió el meu posicionament sobre aquest tipus de fonts. Posaré uns exemples breus. El primer cas, molt proper, és el d'Arnau de Capdevila, autor d'un tractat, l'any 1437, recurrentment citat en totes les obres historiogràfiques sobre la moneda catalana.⁶⁰ Entre altres qüestions més tangibles, Capdevila es queixava que un dels mals de la moneda catalana del segle XV era l'haver abandonat la justa relació entre valor intrínsec i valor circulatori de les monedes. En aquesta ocasió, part de les seves receptes sí que van ser aplicades en diverses fases durant la segona meitat del segle XV, però el pas definitiu, el que consistia en projectar i fabricar monedes que respectessin el just valor intrínsec del seu valor circulatori, va acabar només en un assaig. És cert que l'assaig arribà molt lluny, havent fins i tot aconseguit el permís reial, i havent decidit les espècies monetàries en circulació de nova creació. Però a l'hora de dur-lo a terme, no van poder. No sortia a compte, no era realista. Un segon exemple proposat és el del cronista musulmà Al-Maqrizi (1364-1442), el qual ens assabentà de la fam a l'Egipte mameluc contemporani.⁶¹ Al-Maqrizi explicava que la crisi alimentària de la seva època fou causada per l'inepte govern, la corrupció política i, també, per causes naturals com la poca crescuda del riu Nil. Però l'autor emfasitza que la crisi monetària fou una de les causes de la fam. Pel que fa a la política monetària Al-Maqrizi era un nostàlgic utòpic, com tants d'altres, que pregonava el retorn al Damasc omeia de l'any 696. L'únic problema és que ell vivia pels volts de l'any 1400 i en un Egipte integrat amb altres estats musulmans i cristians dins unes xarxes comercials evolucionades. Així, Al-Maqrizi acusava la recent moneda fiduciària, introduïda pocs anys enrere, com la principal causant de la inflació i de la crisi monetària, al mateix temps que enyorava les monedes que creia veritablement útils per a

58. I continua passant avui en dia: durant la crisi econòmica iniciada l'any 2008 a Catalunya i a Europa, posicions polítiques de l'extrema esquerra i de l'extrema dreta del Continent coincidiren a demanar la fi de l'euro com a moneda única i el retorn a les monedes estatals.

59. De la recerca de Sargent i Velde (Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem of Small Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) hom adverteix una evolució dels assajos monetaris a Europa des de l'època medieval fins a l'actualitat que ratifica el fracàs constant de voler retornar al passat.

60. De fet, Arnau de Capdevila és autor de dos tractats sobre la moneda l'any 1437, que són que: "Tractac é compendi fet de les monedes per lo qual pot esser mes é comprès com un regne ó pàtria pot esser robat é gastat per art de billoneria, é axí mateix com ne pot ésser preservat si diligentment es advertit, attès ó entès" (20 de març) i "Lo present tractac é compendi es de matèria de monedes en lo qual és mostrat que més val bona moneda que falça, é lo billoner quina art té de traurer la bona moneda de la flaca moneda; é fonch fet é ordenat a XV del mes de juliol del any de la nativitat del nostre MCCCCXXVII" (14 de juliol) (Zulaica, Fernando. "Propuesta para reorganizar el sistema monetario en Cataluña: el 'Tractat e compendi' de Arnau de Capdevila", *Actas del VII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Económica*. (Zaragoza, 19-21 de septiembre de 2001). Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001: 2-3).

61. El seu llibre és *Eghathatt Al Omma be Kashf Al Ghomma* ("Tractat de les fams que han succeït a Egipte"), estudiat per Josep Maria Salrach (Salrach, Josep Maria. *La fam al món. Passat i present*. Vic: Eumo, 2009), i ens serveix per reprendre la pregunta de quins són els factors que causen o incrementen les caresties o les fams en un moment determinat. Es tracta d'una pregunta que al llarg del temps ha suscitat moltes hipòtesis, i que tradicionalment han estat relacionades amb aquells processos que intervenen en un context de declivi de la disponibilitat d'aliments (context conegut amb l'acrònim anglès FAD). Ara bé, un context FAD no explica perquè només una part de la població és exposada a la fam o a la carestia, mentre que una altra part no ho és. Per tal de donar resposta a aquesta anomalia, economistes i historiadors han assenyalat noves explicacions basades en un alternatiu context de declivi de les opcions d'accés als aliments (context conegut com a FED). En un context FED les opcions d'accedir als aliments, com ara els diners per comprar-los, el transport per a accedir-hi, cauen bruscament en una part, més o menys important, de la població d'un territori. Dins del conjunt de processos FED també s'hi ha inclòs la moneda, encara que segurament d'una manera poc meditada (Sanahuja, Xavier. "La moneda com a origen de crisis...": 221-230).

fixar els preus de les coses, és a dir, les monedes d'or i argent. Creia, més específicament, que la nova moneda fiduciària, de coure pur, creada amb males intencions especuladores, disparava els preus i feia caure la capacitat adquisitiva de la gent. Aquesta darrera creença, però, es basava en uns exemples desafortunats. Així, Al-Maqrizi es dolia que un capital de 1.000 dirhems d'abans en peces de plata valia més de 3.000 dirhems de després en peces de coure. L'exemple de l'autor és compatible amb una pujada de nominal de preus però en cap cas serveix per a descobrir-hi un declivi de la capacitat adquisitiva de la població. El recurs a la moneda fiduciària era pioner al segle XV i ja assenyalava el mateix camí que haurien de seguir tots els països del món, en un moment o altre de la seva història, de resultes de la necessitat d'incrementar l'ús de la moneda en les activitats quotidianes de la població.⁶²

Un darrer comentari ha de fer referència a compilacions, cròniques i crònicons que hom pot utilitzar de manera puntual, exclusivament per a assenyalat l'existència d'algun fenomen monetari en concret. Cal anar molt amb compte amb aquest tipus de fonts escrites; moltes d'elles són farcides d'errors, tant d'interpretació com de transcripció. Potser se'm pot retreure un excés de generalització sobre aquesta qüestió, però la meua immersió en aquest tipus de fonts m'ha mostrat un panorama ple d'imperfecions. Per exemple, a Catalunya, en el període estudiat, el compendi que conté més esments monetaris és l'anomenat *Rúbriques de Bruniquer*,⁶³ les quals, però, són farcides d'imprecisions que avui han esdevingut més visibles gràcies a la publicació d'una de les seves parts, la corresponent a la Guerra dels Segadors.⁶⁴ Efectivament, moltes de les rúbriques monetàries referides a aquella època són equivocades de dia o, fins i tot, de mes.⁶⁵ Ho sabem perquè s'han conservat els acords municipals originals dins dels llibres d'actes del Consell barceloní i s'ha pogut comparar la veracitat, per exemple, de la datació precisa dels fets esmentats. I pel que fa a les cròniques de records i memòries, la credibilitat encara em sembla més qüestionable. Fins i tot alguns autors que escriuen sobre el que passava uns anys enrere, de quan ells eren joves, semblen no recordar absolutament res versemblant del que va passar.⁶⁶ Un cas paradigmàtic és Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa.⁶⁷ Aquest autor publicà el seu *Tratado* en vida, el qual consistia principalment en l'observació de les monedes conservades a la seva època, amb l'afegit de la lectura d'algun document escrit. El que sorprèn de Lastanosa és que, al tractar diversos aspectes contemporanis seus, ens assabenti de fets que són impossibles.⁶⁸ Per exemple, escriu que durant el regnat de Felip III (IV) —el regnat de la seva vida— circulaven a Aragó dos tipus de diners

62. Respecte a Al-Maqrizi i la crisi alimentària descrita, no es tracta d'afirmar que no es produí una crisi monetària relacionada amb l'alimentària, però sí que la primera podria haver estat conseqüència i no causa de la segona. En qualsevol cas, el retorn als orígens omeies que reclamava l'autor no podria ser cap solució de futur per als problemes de l'Egipte del segle XV.

63. *Rúbriques de Bruniquer. Cerimonial dels magnífics consellers y regiment de la ciutat de Barcelona*, ed. Francesc Carreras i Candi, Bartomeu Gunyalons. Barcelona: Impremta d'Henrich, 1912-1916 (5 volums).

64. Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda de la guerra dels Segadors (Primera República Catalana)*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2001.

65. De tota manera, i per error, moltes de les rúbriques incorrectes també foren incloses, duplicades, en el corpus documental d'aquesta obra.

66. Aquesta dificultat no és només inherent als protagonistes pretèrits ¿Quanta gent que va viure uns fets similars se'n recordaria avui en dia? No tinc la resposta però me la imagino, extrapolant-la de les respostes que, als anys seixanta, obtingué Antoni Turró (Turró, Antoni). *Les emissions monetàries oficials de la guerra Civil (1936-1939)*. I: Andorra, Illes Balears i Catalunya (Generalitat i locals). Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2007) quan preguntava als habitants de determinada població si recordaven les emissions de moneda municipal del 1937, generalitzades per tot Catalunya.

67. Lastanosa, Vicencio Juan. *Tratado de la moneda jaquesa*. Saragossa: sense editor, 1681 (Reimpressió a: València: Librerías París-Valencia, 1987).

68. Sanahuja, Xavier. "Reconsideración de la moneda jaquesa de vellón de época moderna (1519-1717)". *Numisma*, 247 (2003): 87-104.



menuts similars però de distint pes (10,50 i 21 grans). Però els documents i les monedes conservades desestimen aquest fet. És cert que els errors són produïts per haver-se redactat les compilacions, memòries o cròniques en la llunyania temporal. Una llunyania que de vegades és moderada, com hem vist en el cas de Lastanosa, però més que suficient per distorsionar els fets. En canvi, no passa el mateix amb els dietaris, que són escrits quotidianament (encara que no sempre) i que, per tant, cal considerar-los nets d'incorreccions més enllà de les interpretatives.⁶⁹

1.3.3 El crèdit dels estudis numismàtics

Les investigacions sobre la moneda han estat tradicionalment realitzades per un grup reduït d'especialistes. L'especialització en qualsevol camp de la història acostuma a convertir l'investigador en el referent a partir del qual es basteixen les obres de caràcter general. Ara bé, quan el grup d'especialistes en un determinat tema és massa reduït —i això és el que succeeix en la Numismàtica— es produeix un fenomen paradoxal: els avenços obtinguts per aquests especialistes són certament els únics que poden ser admesos com a paradigma, però al mateix temps són examinats amb reticència i sovint no són incorporats científicament fins després d'un temps considerable. La reticència es deu a la inseguretat de saber si les qualitats del reduït nombre d'especialistes són suficients. No s'ha de retreure pas aquesta precaució. Algunes veritats inqüestionables, que tothom ha acceptat sense preguntar-se per la seva veracitat, han resultat ser falses. El propi Josep Salat, el primer dels numismàtics catalans moderns, era conscient d'aquesta dificultat i ho expressava així:

*Quando se habla de noticias históricas y poco conocidas (como es la numismática catalana), es preciso presentar documentos auténticos, para que las noticias tengan autoridad y peso; porqué en estas y otras materias sucede, que algunos lectores creen lo que se les dice, y otros suspenden el asenso. Nadie debe agraviarse de que se juzgue así, porqué una infinidad de noticias históricas que años atrás se tenían por verdaderas, en el día no se han hallado tales, y apuradas y examinadas á la luz de la buena crítica, han resultado fabulosas.*⁷⁰

La prudència a l'hora d'acceptar noves aportacions numismàtiques ha d'exigir la verificació de les principals entitats numismàtiques de cada país, especialment d'aquelles que es dediquen a publicar llibres i revistes autoexigents científicament.⁷¹

69. A Catalunya, és el cas del *Manual dels Novells Ardit*s (Manual de novells Ardit, vulgarment anomenat Dietari de l'Antic Consell barceloní. Barcelona: Impremta d'Henrich, 1892-1975, 28 volums), dels Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum I. Anys 1411 a 1539. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994; Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum II. Anys 1539 a 1578. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994; Sans Travé, Josep Maria, dir. Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Volum III. Anys 1578 a 1611. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1996) o del Dietari de la fidelíssima vila de Puigcerdà (Galceran, Salvador. Dietari de la fidelíssima vila de Puigcerdà. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1977).

70. "Quan es parla de notícies històriques i poc conegudes (com és el cas de la numismàtica catalana), cal presentar documents autèntics, per a que les notícies tinguin autoritat i pes; perquè en aquestes i altres matèries succeeix que alguns lectors creuen el que se'ls diu, i altres suspensen l'assentiment. Ningú ha d'agreuja-se que es jutgi així, perquè una infinidad de notícies històriques que anys enrere es tenien per veritables, actualment no s'en consideren, i apurades i examinades a la llum de la bona crítica, han resultat ser meres fabulacions". Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Barcelona: Antoni Brusi, 1818: II, III (re-editat a: Madrid: J. R. Cayón, 1982).

71. Només a tall d'exemple, és el cas de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics a Catalunya, la *Sociedad Iberoamericana de Estudios Numismáticos a España*, la *Société Française de Numismatique* i la *Société d'Études Numismatiques et Archéologiques a França*, la *Royal Numismatic Society* a Anglaterra, etc.

2. Les tres branques de la numismàtica. Síntesi de l'evolució els darrers 100 anys

En el transcurs de l'evolució de la numismàtica, la branca dedicada a explicar l'origen, evolució, i protagonisme de la moneda dins de la societat ha sigut la més tardana en aparèixer. Malgrat això, cal situar-la en primer lloc pel fet d'haver esdevingut la més essencial i influent en el discurs històric actual. De les tres branques també és la més influenciable per les distintes teories sobre l'origen de la moneda que he esmentat anteriorment.

2.1 Primera branca: La història de la moneda (i l'impacte de l'obra de Peter Spufford)

En aquesta branca no és tan important disposar d'un corpus numismàtic de les monedes conservades ni poder identificar amb precisió un exemplar en concret. És més satisfactori conèixer l'evolució dels sistemes monetaris i llur relació amb activitats humanes com el comerç, l'estalvi, el finançament, el crèdit, o la fiscalitat. A diferència de la primera branca, els partidaris d'aquesta segona han defugit sovint el mot "numismàtica", fins i tot avergonyint-se, al considerar-lo un mot equivalent a una activitat descriptiva, poc útil i tancada al progrés desitjable del paradigma històric. Els seus seguidors han preferit utilitzar les denominacions "història de la moneda" (sempre en singular) o "història del diner". El canvi d'orientació promogut per aquesta segona branca és perceptible en tots els àmbits relacionats amb la numismàtica. Per exemple, les col·leccions públiques de monedes havien estat reunides, al segle XIX, en forma de gabinets numismàtics, uns indrets a mig camí entre els museus i els dipòsits que complien amb la funció que els estudiosos de la moneda reclamem: és a dir convertir-se en arxius protectors i receptors de les fonts numismàtiques. A l'allunyar-se de l'estudi material de les monedes, aquestes han deixat de ser un document històric fabricat en sèrie per a convertir-se en un tresor singular i de valor incalculable. Al ser més desconegudes, són conseqüentment més sacralitzades. En lloc dels arxius històrics, les monedes es conserven als anomenats "museus del diner" o fins i tot, a les seccions corresponents dels museus d'art.⁷²

Una part important de l'èxit d'aquesta branca cal cercar-lo en la participació d'historiadors reconeguts internacionalment. Així, per exemple, Henri Pirenne i Marc Bloch,⁷³ dos dels grans historiadors del segle XX, s'adonaren de la importància històrica de la moneda i la convertiren en objecte d'estudi o, si més no, de consideració i respecte. Bloch per exemple, afirmava que el fenomen monetari domina la vida econòmica; que són alhora *un symptôme et un effet*,⁷⁴ donant a entendre que de vegades les qüestions monetàries detectades pels historiadors poden ser els símptomes d'una conjuntura econòmica (definida per altres factors com la demografia, la política, etc.), però que altres vegades aquestes qüestions monetàries poden ser les causants, les alteradores de la conjuntura. D'aleshores ençà l'element monetari ha estat considerat com un factor que cal valorar profundament en qualsevol assaig d'Història Econòmica.

Però la majoria d'autors que han tractat sobre aquests temes han escollit sempre un mateix i únic camí: considerar que la història del diner és el mateix que la història del comerç, i que el di-

72. Per exemple, a Catalunya, el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya és actualment una secció del Museu Nacional d'Art i no pas, posem pel cas, de l'Arxiu Històric Nacional o del Museu d'Història de Catalunya.

73. Pirenne, Henri. *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. París-Brusel·les: Alcan-Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937; Bloch, Marc. "Le problème de l'or au Moyen Âge". *Annales*, 19 (1933): 1-32; Bloch, Marc. *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe*. París: Armand Colin, 1954.

74. "un symptoma i un efecte". Bloch, Marc. *Esquisse d'une histoire...*: 7.



ner funciona partint de dos eixos: la llar consumidora i l'empresa productora.⁷⁵ Aquest enfoc, que s'anomena monetarisme, tendeix a menysvalorar el paper de l'Estat en les qüestions monetàries.

D'entre totes les obres dedicades a l'estudi de la història de la moneda destaca la de Peter Spufford (nascut a Hutton, Anglaterra, 1934),⁷⁶ professor a Cambridge fins el 2001 i considerat, literalment, com a autor de *definitive studies of money in the Middle Ages*.⁷⁷ I certament, la seva influència ha estat descomunal entre tots els sectors acadèmics europeus. La seva obra principal és *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*, extensa i profusament documentada, publicada el 1988 a Cambridge, i traduïda de seguida a l'espanyol (*Dinero y moneda en la Europa medieval*) i a d'altres idiomes europeus. És inevitable, doncs, dedicar-li alguns paràgrafs.

La tesi monetarista principal de Spufford consisteix en relacionar l'increment de la massa monetària a Europa (i per tant l'augment del seu ús) amb el descobriment de noves mines de metall preciós i amb l'increment de les activitats comercials. Per exemple, pel que fa a l'època tardoromana i dels regnes germànics, Spufford dubta del trencament brusc de la circulació monetària a Occident per, segons el seu fil conductor, no haver de dubtar del trencament brusc de l'activitat comercial.⁷⁸ Curiosament, però, aquest trencament circulatori sí el dóna per bo a Anglaterra, imagino pel fet de conèixer-lo millor.⁷⁹ O per exemple, referint-se al segle XII, Spufford diu textualment que *a great increase in the amount minted was the most obvious consequence of the vast quantities of new silver being mined in Europe from 1160s onwards*.⁸⁰ És a dir, que l'increment de l'ús de la moneda fou gràcies a que es van localitzar o explotar nous jaciments metàl·lics. Spufford aconsegueix resoldre bé els obstacles que es troba, gràcies a una utilització enginyosa del llenguatge. Per exemple, l'autor afirma, arran de l'augment de denominacions monetàries en circulació a la Baixa Edat Mitjana, que

*the transformation from a currency consisting of a single denomination to one consisting of a multiplicity of denominations was the natural corollary to the extreme complexity of urban transactions that developed over the thirteenth century.*⁸¹

La paraula clau de la sentència de Spufford és “transaccions”, usada perquè ell considera que el protagonista de la història és el comerç. En una visió cartalista o fiscalista de l'evolució monetària, el mot “transaccions” caldria substituir-lo per “obligacions”. La importància que Spufford dóna al comerç és màxima. Per exemple, a l'hora de parlar sobre els casos de freqüent renovació de la mo-

75. Nitsche, Roland. *Money*. Londres-Nova York: Collins-McGraw-Hill, 1970. Traduït i editat amb el títol *El dinero*: Nitsche, Roland. *El dinero*. Barcelona-Madrid: Noguer S. A., 1971.

76. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*....

77. Goodreads. “Peter Spufford”. *Goodreads*. 12 Juny 2016 <http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/378972.Peter_Spufford>. Així és com se'l presenta també en altres portals virtuals de venda de llibres més usuals: Amazon, Abebooks, Fishpond, etc.

78. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*....: 22.

79. El trencament a la península Ibèrica, per posar l'exemple més proper, és molt evident (Metcalfe, David M. “The coinage of the first and second suevic kingdoms: from Romanitas to Latinization”, *Galicia: da romanidade a xermanización: problemas históricos e culturais. Actas do encontro científico en homenaxe a Fermin Bouza Brey*. Santiago de Compostela: Museo do Pobo Galego, 1992: 358-359; Pliego, Ruth. *La moneda visigoda*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009: I, 75-79).

80. “un gran augment en la quantitat encunyada va ser la conseqüència més evident de les enormes quantitats de plata nova que s'ha extret a Europa des de 1160”. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*....: 187.

81. “la transformació d'una moneda que consisteix en una sola denominació a una que consisteix en una multiplicitat de denominacions va ser el corollari natural de l'extrema complexitat de les transaccions urbanes que es van desenvolupar durant el segle XIII”. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use*....: 239.

neda per part d'algunes autoritats medievals, l'autor anglès reconeix, en primer lloc, que aquestes autoritats havien de ser necessàriament prou fortes i dominants en llur territori, però a continuació justifica la practicitat de la renovació mitjançant l'existència o no de possibilitats comercials al territori afectat, sense tenir en compte les necessitats financeres (guerres, projectes, concessió de privilegis) de les autoritats emissores:

In general frequent coinage renewal depended on a relatively strong central authority, a developing market structure (there were perhaps as many as a hundred weekly markets in twelfth century Poland, etc).⁸²

En resum, Spufford continua al llarg de la seva obra un procés, de caire monetarista, d'aquest tipus:

1. Es descobreixen i exploten nous jaciments metàl·lics
2. Es fabrica més moneda amb el nou metall
3. L'augment de la massa monetària fa augmentar el nombre de transaccions comercials
4. L'augment del comerç incrementa la demanda de monedes de diferents denominacions
5. Es descobreixen i exploten nous jaciments metàl·lics
6. Etcètera

És a dir, que l'ús de la moneda s'incrementa perquè apareixen noves mines de plata i perquè augmenta el comerç, però en cap cas es relaciona aquest increment de l'ús amb una voluntat política determinada. Dins d'aquest esquema l'autor hi encabeix el progressiu trànsit, entre els segles XII i XIII, de les rendes senyoriales exigides en espècies cap a les rendes exigides en moneda però, curiosament, no s'adona de la contradicció inherent a aquest trànsit. Spufford recull les visions d'altres autors,⁸³ i s'adona que, a partir d'un moment determinat, l'exigència de rendes en diners fou una gran càrrega per a les famílies, obligades a recórrer al mercat per aconseguir moneda i poder satisfer les demandes senyoriales.⁸⁴ La contradicció consisteix en que segons aquest procés, la necessitat de moneda seria anterior a l'obligació de recórrer al mercat i, per tant, capgiraria completament l'esquema mantingut en tot el llibre. Sense adonar-se de la contradicció, Spufford avança en el temps per concloure que l'increment de la massa monetària fou, a la fi, el fenomen que va permetre als estats el poder consolidar-se, créixer i modernitzar-se. Ell mateix posa un exemple del cas contrari, que és quan la manca de numerari dificulta la consolidació d'un poder fort, tot prenent el cas de la implantació del feudalisme: *The genesis behind the feudal organisation lies in the lack of gold coinage in the hands of the seventh-century Frankish kings, and the impossibility of continuing to pay the armies with coins.*⁸⁵

82. "En general, la renovació freqüent de les monedes depèn d'una autoritat central relativament forta, d'una estructura de mercat en desenvolupament (no hi havia potser més d'un centenar de mercats setmanals a Polònia al segle XII, etc.)". Spufford, Peter. "Local coins, and Foreign coins in Late Medieval Europe", *XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress (Berlin, 1997)*, Bernd Kluge, Bernhard Weissner, eds. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 2000: 329.

83. Com per exemple les de Marc Bloch (Bloch, Marc. *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*. París: Librairie Armand Colin, 1931), Robert Fossier (Fossier, Robert. *Les terres et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*. París-Lovaina: Nauwelaerts, 1968), o Pierre Toubert (Toubert, Pierre. *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle*. Roma: Biblioteca des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1973).

84. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 313-317.

85. "La gènesi darrera de l'organització feudal radica en la manca de moneda d'or en mans dels reis francs del segle VII, i la impossibilitat de continuar pagant els exercits amb diners". Spufford, Peter. "Local coins, and Foreign coins...": 30.



Per tant, pel que fa a la relació entre moneda i consolidació de les institucions, el procés de Spufford és:

1. Augmenta la massa monetària
2. Els governs se'n beneficien i consoliden el seu poder
3. Augmenta la massa monetària
4. Etcètera

O a l'inrevés. Decreix la massa monetària i els governs perden poder. És ben bé just al contrari del que exposa la teoria cartalista, segons la qual són les accions dels governs les que incideixen en l'increment o en la disminució de la massa monetària.

Un altre aspecte interessant dels analitzats per Spufford és el quan, on i perquè alguns estats europeus començaren a fabricar moneda fiduciària o sense valor intrínsec, de coure pur:

It is not surprising that it was at Venice, the greatest commercial city in Europe, that the striking of copper coins [in 1463], should have first been discussed, for throughout the second half of the fifteenth century Venice was the major European centre for the growing trade in the copper of the Alps and Carpathians, until it was supplanted by Antwerp in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It is, however, rather surprising that it was in Naples that the idea actually became a reality. It was in Naples, possibly already the largest capital city in Europe, that the first copper coins, cavalli, were struck in 1472. Once again it was clearly a matter of free choice and not of necessity, for quite enough silver existed in southern Italy at this time to mint traditional black money.⁸⁶

Deixant de banda l'oblit de les emissions de rals i ceitils de coure pur iniciades a Portugal des de, com a mínim, el regnat d'Eduard (1433-1438),⁸⁷ Spufford de seguida troba una explicació per a l'inici de les monedes de coure a Venècia i apunta que aquesta era la ciutat comercial més gran d'Europa, i un centre del comerç del coure. Però, en canvi, no n'ofereix cap per a les de Nàpols, l'inici de les quals indica que no era necessari, perquè hi havia prou plata com per no haver de prescindir d'ella, i que fou una lliure elecció, diguem-ne atzarosa, casual o arbitrària.⁸⁸ Spufford prioritza en tota la seva obra les explicacions de caire comercial o metal·lúrgic, però aquestes no sempre poden oferir respostes coherents per a un fenomen determinat.

86. "No és d'estranyar que l'encunyació de monedes de coure es va discutir primer a Venècia, el 1463, aleshores la major ciutat comercial a Europa. Al llarg de la segona meitat del segle XV, Venècia era el centre europeu més important, gràcies al creixent comerç de coure dels Alps i dels Càrpats, fins que va ser suplantada per Anvers, a la primera dècada del segle XVI. És, però, força sorprenent que va ser a Nàpols on la idea va esdevenir una realitat. Va ser a Nàpols, possiblement ja la més gran capital a Europa, on les primeres monedes de coure –cavalli– van encunyar-se el 1472. Una vegada més, va ser clarament una qüestió d'elecció i no per necessitat, per més que hi hagués suficient plata al sud d'Itàlia en aquest moment per a l'encunyació de diner negre tradicional". Spufford, Peter. "Local coins, and Foreign coins...": 372.

87. Aragão, Augusto Carlos Teixeira de. *Descrição geral e historica das moedas cinhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1874: I, 218; Grierson, Philip. *Coins of Medieval Europe*. Londres: Seaby, 1991: 191 (es tracta d'una versió evolucionada d'un primer treball: Grierson, Philip. *Monnaies du moyen Age*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1976).

88. Lucia Travaini creu que l'inici de les emissions de coure pur a Nàpols van ser causades perquè el mestre de la seca provenia de Ragusa, una ciutat on es fabricaven monedes de coure d'ús local des del 1281: *oltre che per i contati diretti, anche per l'esperienza portata dal maestro della zecca Cotrugli raguseo* ("així a través de contactes directes i sinó també a través del coneixement del mestre de la seca Benedetto Cotrugli de Ragusa") (Travaini, Lucia. "Il ruolo di Ragusa-Dubrovnik nella creazione delle prime monete di rame a Napoli e Venezia nel Quattrocento", 'Puer Apuliae'. *Mélanges offerts a Jean-Marie Martin*, Errico Cuozzo, Vincent Déroche, Annick Peters-Custot, Vivien Prigent, eds. Paris: Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008: 735).

El paradigma Spufford sembla inamovible entre els historiadors de la moneda o del diner.⁸⁹ Un exemple triat a l'atzar és el de Catherine Eagleton i Jonhatan Williams, afirmen, en una síntesi de la història del diner promoguda pel *British Museum*, que durant els segles X a XII va augmentar l'ús del diner, el volum monetari i la velocitat de circulació, i que malgrat que la revitalitzada activitat vikinga hi va jugar un paper important, encara ho va ser més l'extracció continua d'argent nou, i el creixement del comerç local i internacional, exemplificat en fires importants com les de Xampanya.⁹⁰

Un segon exemple dels mateixos autors, és relatiu al segle XVI i a la coneguda balança comercial deficitària dels regnes hispànics, i mostra amb quina facilitat es desvinculen els fenòmens monetaris de les actuacions polítiques contemporànies. Eagleton i Williams encapçalen el capítol dedicat a l'època moderna amb aquest fragment extret de Martín González de Cellorigo:

*La causa de la ruina de España es que las riquezas se las lleva el viento, y siempre han cabalgado en él en la forma de escrituras contractuales, de letras de cambio, de plata y oro, en vez de bienes que puedan producir frutos y que, a causa de su mayor valor, atraen a los ricos de otras partes y así arruinan a nuestros habitantes. Por eso vemos que la razón por la falta de dinero de oro y plata en España es que hay demasiado del mismo y España es pobre porque es rica.*⁹¹

És a dir, els autors es fan seus un fragment que justifica l'empobriment de la corona castellana moderna per l'activitat d'especuladors estrangers i no pas, posem pel cas, per una política absurda de la monarquia d'emprendre empreses caríssimes i poc productives, o per patir una balança comercial deficitària amb l'estranger.⁹²

Fins i tot Jacques Le Goff, en un obra recent, insisteix en el comerç com a fil conductor de l'evolució monetària de la societat occidental.⁹³ Com Spufford, Le Goff assenyalava un gran canvi monetari al segle XIII però, lluny de relacionar-lo amb el desenvolupament dels Estats, el fa precedir a aquest desenvolupament:

*C'est un tournant général de la chrétienté qui se retrouve dans le domaine monétaire. Les principaux signes sont, tout d'abord, la reprise de la frappe de l'or, et donc le retour au bimétallisme or/argent. Ensuite, on constate un développement du commerce, qui utilise essentiellement le monnayage d'argent. Enfin on constate un retour à l'État...*⁹⁴

89. Entre d'altres, és el cas de: Day, John. *Monnaies et marchés au Moyen Age*. París: Imprimerie Nationale, 1994; Derville, Alain. *L'économie française au Moyen Age*. París: Ophrys, 1995; Contamine, Philippe; Bompierre, Marc; Lebecq, Stéphane; Sarrazin, Jean-Luc. *L'économie médiévale*. París: Armand Colin, 1993; Rodamilans, Fernando. "La moneda y el sistema monetario en la Castilla medieval". *Ab Initio* (2010): 22-83.

90. Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History...*: 73.

91. "La causa de la ruïna d'Espanya és que les riqueses se les emporta el vent, i sempre han cavalcant en ell en la forma d'escriptures contractuals, de lletres de canvi, de plata i or, en comptes de béns que poguessin produir fruits i que, a causa del seu major valor, atraguessin els rics d'altres parts, i així arruïnen als nostres habitants. Per això veiem que la raó per la manca de diners d'or i plata a Espanya és que n'hi ha massa, i Espanya és pobre perquè és rica". Eagleton, Catherine; Williams, Jonathan. *Money a History...*: 162. La cita textual esta extreta de: González de Cellorigo, Martín. *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración a la república de España*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1992.

92. Com han defensat des de fa temps autors com, a tall d'exemple, John H. Elliott (Elliott, John Huxtable. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. Londres: Edward Arnold, 1963).

93. Le Goff, Jacques. *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent*. París: Perrin, 2010.

94. "Es tracta d'una usual tornada de la Cristiandat, que es retroba en el camp monetari. Els principals signes són, en primer lloc, la recuperació de l'encunayació d'or i, per tant, el retorn al patró or bimetal·lisme or / plata. Tot seguit, s'experimenta un desenvolupament del comerç, que essencialment utilitza les monedes de plata. Finalment, es constata un retorn a l'Estat..." Collin, Bruno. "Interview de Jacques Le Goff". *Numismatique et change*, 418 (2010): 24-25.



És a dir, el paper de l'Estat com a impulsor de l'ús monetari passa a un tercer pla, minimitzat per l'impacte del creixement del comerç i fins i tot, del batiment anònim i espontani de monedes d'or. De Le Goff encara val la pena destacar un altre fragment, que transcriu a continuació. Es tracta, com abans, de la resposta a una pregunta de Bruno Collin:

BC: *Au xiiiè siècle, vous scindez l'usage de l'argent en trois parties essentielles.*

JLG: *Oui. Le premier vise à l'acquisition de terres. Le second au souci de sécurité avec le financement des murailles de protection des villes. Et enfin, des oeuvres pieuses. Cette période est, d'ailleurs, marquée par l'apparition des ordres mendiants. Le terme signifie que ces gens vont vivre grâce à l'aumône dont ils vont utiliser une partie afin de soulager la population pauvre. En compensation de l'enrichissement de certaines classes de la société, l'église exigera d'elles la bienfaisance, essentiellement sous forme monétaire. Ce qui correspond à l'apparition de la 'monnaie noire' en billon qui est précisément celle de l'aumône. C'est aussi celle de la vie quotidienne en milieu rural...*⁹⁵

Deixant de banda l'explicació trinitària, que hauríem de prendre com un joc enginyós i no pas com una reflexió seriosa,⁹⁶ Le Goff arrodoneix i tanca els esquemes de Spufford. El creixement del comerç no acabava d'explicar per si mateix el perquè de la creixent necessitat i producció de moneda fraccionària i l'octogenari medievalista ens ofereix una resposta tant novel·lesca com desconcertant: que la moneda negra, de baixa llei i poc valor, servia per fer almoïna i per circular pel medi rural.⁹⁷

Per tancar aquest apartat vull reflexionar sobre un altre fenomen que hom pot detectar: aquesta fórmula “moneda=comerç”, repetida tantes vegades entre els historiadors de la moneda o del diner, no és recíproca a l'hora d'alterar-ne els seus factors. Els historiadors del comerç no necessàriament han de recórrer a la moneda per explicar l'evolució del seu objecte d'estudi. Em limitaré a exposar dos exemples extrets de dos autors importants, l'un anterior a l'obra de Peter Spufford, Robert Sabatino Lopez, i l'altre posterior, Michael McCormick.

Robert Sabatino Lopez, a la seva obra *The commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*,⁹⁸ començava reconeixent la importància de les monedes en el transcurs de la seva recerca, però només en tant que suport documental. Lopez opina que les monedes, en tant que mencionades en els documents i conservades en les col·leccions, constitueixen el mitjà més accessible per a prendre el pols de les primeres fases de la revolució comercial. Per exemple, ell es dona compte, a través dels estudis numismàtics, que per tota l'Europa catòlica, i sobretot a Itàlia, la llarga tendència deflacionària

95. “BC: Al segle XIII, vostè divideix l'ús de diners en tres parts essencials. JLG: Sí. La primera consisteix en l'adquisició de terres. La segona concerneix als problemes de seguretat amb els finançament de les murs per a la protecció de les ciutats. Finalment, a obres piadoses. Aquest període és, des d'aleshores, marcat per l'aparició dels ordres mendicants. Aquest terme significa que aquestes persones van a viure gràcies a les almoïnes, una part de les quals les utilitzaran per alleujar els pobres. A fi de compensar l'enriquiment de certes classes de la societat, l'Església exigirà a aquestes la caritat, principalment en forma monetària. Això va comportar l'aparició de 'moneda negra' en velló, que és precisament l'emprada en l'almoïna. També és l'emprada en la vida quotidiana a les zones rurals...”. Collin, Bruno. “Interview de Jacques Le Goff”. *Numismatique et change*, 418 (2010): 24-25.

96. Prefereixo creure que és un *divertimento* de l'autor i que no s'ho pren massa seriosament. La relació és molt clara: comprar terres=el pagès, construir muralles=el soldat, fer almoïna=el monjo; o si ho preferiu: Duby, George. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

97. Quan en realitat la moneda menuda circulava (i circula) preferentment dins de les ciutats, que és a on es necessitava per a pagar petits impostos, peatges, i tornar el canvi en el comerç al detall.

98. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial en la Europa Medieval*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1981. Traducció castellana de l'original en anglès: Lopez, Roberto Sabatino. *The commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971.

de l'alta Edat Mitjana es va invertir.⁹⁹ Però tot seguit afegia que el protagonisme de la revolució comercial l'havíem de buscar en altres innovacions més enllà de l'augment de massa monetària. En altres paraules, el subministrament de metall amonedat mai va cobrir la demanda i va ser el crèdit, finalment disponible en abundància, l'encarregat d'engreixar el mecanisme de la revolució comercial.¹⁰⁰

Lopez acabava deduint que la velocitat de la circulació monetària augmentà més ràpidament que el volum de béns i serveis.¹⁰¹ Per tant, la revolució comercial no partia de fenòmens monetaris, sinó de noves pràctiques mercantils (expansió del crèdit, nous instruments com la lletra de canvi, assegurances, etc.), mentre que la paral·lela emissió de monedes cada cop més rebaixades de contingut intrínsec es devia a d'altres causes no relacionades amb la revolució comercial, com per exemple (i això ho afegeixo jo) a una major confiança de l'usuari en el poder emissor de la moneda o també en la creixent necessitat de monedes de petit valor per fer front a les petites obligacions (que no necessàriament transaccions) quotidianes.

Un altre exemple més recent d'aquesta paradoxa de la no reciprocitat de la fórmula "moneda=comerç" el trobem en Michael McCormick,¹⁰² autor d'una completa història del comerç europeu altmedieval: *Origins of the European Economy*. McCormick ha dedicat tot un apartat a parlar de monedes, però no amb l'orientació que retrobem llegint Spufford. A McCormick li ha interessat repertoriar les troballes de monedes de l'època estudiada, òbviament ben identificades, per a poder provar, únicament, les relacions entre uns territoris i uns altres. Així doncs, McCormick ens ha mostrat que es pot fer una monografia sobre el comerç dels segles VI a X, per exemple, sense parlar de la moneda, excepte en el moment d'identificar les troballes de monedes musulmanes, bizantines i carolíngies, per poder demostrar el pas de mercaders d'aquests territoris per un determinat indret. McCormick ha tractat les monedes únicament com a mercaderia, o com a proves documentals d'algun altre fet rellevant, però no les ha tractat pas, per exemple, com a reactivadores del comerç. El seu comerç flueix, al llarg de la seva obra, sense la necessitat de les monedes.

Thomas J. Sargent i François R. Velde van sorprendre el món acadèmic amb un estudi sobre la moneda menuda (*The big problem of the Small Change*) que prescindia del comerç com a factor evolutiu.¹⁰³ Sargent i Velde van analitzar el problema de les crisis recurrents de moneda menuda (per mancança o excés) en circulació al llarg de la Història. És molt interessant la interpretació que ofereixen Sargent i Velde sobre el funcionament de la moneda en època medieval i moderna. Per exemple, ells expliquen que els governs altmedievals (no distingeixen entre senyors feudals, califes o emperadors) no pensaven en la moneda com un a mitjà d'intercanvi (o mitjà de comerç) sinó com a mercaderia de plata amb un valor determinat. Aquesta consideració obligava que tots els signes monetaris havien de tenir una relació de canvi estable segons el seu contingut i, com que això no era sempre possible, provocava recurrents caresties de moneda menuda. Cipolla, que fou l'inspirador del títol de l'obra de Sargent i Velde, proposà que la solució a la crisi de la moneda menuda calia buscar-la en la fabricació de *tokens* o fitxes substitutòries, recolzades pel govern, el

99. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 112.

100. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 113-115.

101. Lopez, Roberto S. *La revolución comercial...*: 114.

102. McCormick, Michael. *Orígenes de la economía europea. Viajeros y comerciantes en la Alta Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2005 (versió castellana de l'original en anglès: McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2001).

103. Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem...*



qual hauria d'estar disposat a recanviar-les per bona moneda de valor superior. Sargent i Velde hi afegeixen dues condicions que són que la quantitat fabricada d'aquestes fixes no pot ser massa petita (per poder facilitar el canvi) ni massa gran (per no crear inflació).¹⁰⁴

El procés de construcció i implementació de la fórmula de Sargent i Velde explica també l'evolució dels assajos monetaris europeus des de l'època medieval fins al segle XX els quals, en una seqüència molt resumida, però continuada, es poden establir com es mostra a la taula 1.¹⁰⁵

2.2 Segona branca: Identificació i catalogació sistemàtica de les monedes

Als inicis, la numismàtica es dedicava exclusivament a la identificació i catalogació dels exemplars monetaris conservats al llarg del temps, bé per a interrogar-los històricament sobre els personatges del passat que apareixien a les empremtes, bé per a interrogar-los sobre llurs característiques metrològiques i extreure'n conclusions útils relacionades amb la pràctica monetària

Al segle XX, aquesta branca original va créixer i es va consolidar amb l'objectiu principal d'identificar i catalogar les monedes conegudes, esdevingudes documents històrics. Catalogar i ordenar no es tracta només d'una tasca mecànica, allunyada de la reflexió històrica. Un cop confeït, la visió de conjunt que proporciona un catàleg numismàtic pot permetre extreure'n conclusions i propiciar una nova síntesi o un nou paradigma de la disciplina. Aquesta primera branca ha continuat (també amb excepcions, però) utilitzant sempre el nom de "Numismàtica" per a definir la matèria que estudia.

Des de principis del segle XX, en aquesta branca de la Numismàtica han sobresortit els autors i les institucions del nord d'Europa, sobretot del món anglosaxó, tant anglesos (com el *British Museum*, el *Fitzwilliam Museum* de Cambridge, l'*Ashmolean Museum* d'Oxford) com nord-americans (la *Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*, l'*American Numismatic Society*, o l'*American Hispanic Society*). Les revistes especialitzades i els catàlegs numismàtics sistemàtics propiciats per aquestes institucions, especialment els que abasten l'època antiga, són els de referència a tot el món.¹⁰⁶ I aquesta tendència continua ben viva actualment, en bona part emparada per la legislació d'aquests estats, permissiva en assumptes de patrimoni històric, però al mateix temps protectora de la conservació de la informació.¹⁰⁷

Pel que fa a l'època medieval, el numismàtic més representatiu ha estat Philip Grierson (Dublín, 1910-Cambridge, 2006). Nascut a Irlanda, però d'origen anglès, Grierson ha estat el màxim

104. Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem...*: 4-6.

105. L'esquema es meu, inspirat pels exemples que utilitzen Sargent i Velde al llarg de la seva recerca i del seu resum final (Sargent, Thomas. J.; Velde, François R. *The Big Problem...*: 373-374).

106. Per posar només uns pocs exemples: els catàlegs de la moneda romana imperial: *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. Londres: British Museum, 1923-1975, 6 volums; o *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, editat en 10 volums i reeditat i millorat successivament des de 1923 per Spink de Londres (*The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Londres: Spink & Son Ltd. 1923-1994), 10 volums; o també moneda provincial: *The Roman Provincial Coins*. Londres-París: British Museum-Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, 1992-2007, 4 volums; així com el catàleg de la moneda bizantina: *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1968-2006, 5 volums; i el catàleg de la moneda àrab (*Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1999-2002, 10 volums, entre molts altres exemples).

107. Sobretot a la Gran Bretanya, on les lleis han facilitat que les troballes siguin comunicades a l'autoritat competent per a estudiar-les i decidir llur importància històrica, respectant la propietat privada de les persones. La *Treasure Act* de 1996 fou especialment redactada després de la popularització dels detectors de metalls i ha propiciat la publicació, adquisició i exhibició de troballes excepcionals per al patrimoni britànic Font: The British Museum. "The Treasure Act". *Portable Antiquities Scheme*. 12 Juny 2016 <<http://finds.org.uk/treasure>>.

exponent de la recerca numismàtica europea del segle XX.¹⁰⁸ Va posar al dia el manual d'Engel i Serrure continuant el mateix esquema de relacionar cada període històric amb una denominació monetària principal, i continuant aparentment també la generalitzada idea de relacionar l'evolució dels sistemes monetaris amb l'evolució del comerç i de la indústria.¹⁰⁹ Però l'obra de Grierson ha estat molt més innovadora i valuosa en tant que extraordinari coneixedor de les fonts escrites i de les fonts numismàtiques.¹¹⁰ En l'obra de Grierson el punt de partida principal és utilitzar les monedes com a documents històrics. Com recalca Lucia Travaini, Grierson fou un historiador de les monedes, especialment interessat en la història política i, per tant en la iconografia, la primera incursió del qual en la numismàtica fou per a rectificar una mala atribució d'una moneda.¹¹¹ Ell va impulsar el museu numismàtic Fitzwilliam, de la Universitat de Cambridge i fou el promotor del projecte *Medieval European Coinage* (MEC), que preveu la publicació de 14 volums de catalogació i estudi de les emissions de moneda europees medievals.¹¹² Grierson també ha estat l'autor de tres dels cinc volums de la col·lecció *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*,¹¹³ el catàleg de referència mundial per a les monedes bizantines. Pel que fa a l'origen i essència de la moneda, Grierson s'arreglerà amb els cartalistes, de la mateixa manera que ho fan la majoria d'experts en aquesta segona branca. Lucia Travaini ho deixa clar al parlar de la vida i obra de Grierson:

*for those who study the history of metall coins and mints —sovereign prerogative par excellence— it seems difficult to believe that some economic theories favour the role of the private sector in creation of coins, in order to make exchanges easier: the cartalist thesis, that instead sees the State's strong role at the origin of the production and use of coins, has been preferred by scholars of different disciplines such as sociologists, anthropologists, and among these Grierson was the one who possibly better than others managed to illustrate his idea, becoming an emblem of this interpretation.*¹¹⁴

108. A més del llibre que li ha dedicat Lucia Travaini (*Philip Grierson, Irish Bulls and Numismatics*, ed. Lucia Travaini. Roma: Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon, 2011), podeu trobar una memòria biogràfica de Grierson a la introducció d'*Acta Numismàtica* 36 feta per Miquel de Crusafont (Crusafont, Miquel. "Philip Grierson". *Acta Numismàtica*, 36 (2006):7-11).

109. Grierson, Philip. *Coins of Medieval Europe*....

110. Grierson, Philip. *The Origins of Money*. Londres: University of London, 1977 (Corregit i reimprès a: Dalton, George, ed. *Research in economic anthropology*. Greenwich: Jai Press, 1978: I, 1-35; i reeditat dins: Arslan, Ermanno A.; Travaini, Lucia, eds. *Scritti storici e numismatici*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2001: 207-2016); Grierson, Philip. *Les monnaies. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental XXI*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.

111. *Philip Grierson, Irish*....

112. De moment només han aparegut tres volums, el de l'Alta Edat Mitjana, a cura de Philip Grierson i Mark Blackburn, editat l'any 1986; el d'Itàlia, confegit per Philip Grierson i Lucia Travaini, l'any 1998; i el de la península Ibèrica, redactat per Anna Maria Balaguer, Miquel Crusafont i Philip Grierson, i publicat el l'any 2013 (Grierson, Philip; Blackburn, Mark. *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 1, The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)*. Cambridge (UK)-Nova York: Cambridge University Press, 1986; Grierson, Philip; Travaini, Lucia. *Medieval European Coinage: Volume 14, South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia: With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1998; Grierson, Philip; Balaguer, Anna Maria; Crusafont, Miquel de. *Medieval European Coinage. Volume 6. The Iberian Peninsula*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2013).

113. Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1968: II/1,2 ("Phocas to Theodosius III (602-717)"); Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1973: III/1, 2 ("Leo III to Nicephorus III (717-1081)"); Grierson, Philip. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999: V/1, 2 ("Michael VIII to Constantine XI (1258-1453)").

114. "per a aquells que estudien la història de les monedes de metall i el seu encunyament –prerogativa del sobirà per excel·lència- sembla difícil creure que algunes teories econòmiques afavoreixen el paper del sector privat en la creació de monedes, per tal de facilitar els intercanvis: la tesi cartalista, que en canvi veu un fort paper de l'Estat en l'origen de la producció i l'ús de monedes, ha estat preferida pels estudiosos de diferents disciplines, com sociòlegs i antropòlegs, i



A Espanya, i amb menor mesura també a la resta de països de l'Europa llatina, aquesta branca de la Numismàtica ha estat minvada durant dècades, sobretot per les dificultats que el col·leccionisme privat ha tingut a l'hora de materialitzar la col·laboració amb els estaments públics. És veritat, però, que hi ha excepcions notables, que esmentaré més endavant.

A França el cas és una mica més complex: per tot el segle XX ha disposat de bons numismàtics recolzats pel sector públic i d'una bona producció bibliogràfica,¹¹⁵ però sobretot centrada en determinats episodis històrics (els merovingis, els carolingis, el regne estricte de França a l'època medieval). En canvi, d'altres sèries numismàtiques restaven sense catalogar minuciosament. Seguint la mateixa tendència esmentada per a la resta d'estats llatins, recentment s'han editat a França excel·lents catalogacions de la moneda reial d'època moderna, algunes sèries regionals d'època medieval i moderna,¹¹⁶ i també certes monografies d'època antiga, totes elles sorgides des de la iniciativa privada.

La qualitat d'aquestes obres és variable, n'hi ha d'excel·lents mentre que d'altres, algunes de les quals no m'ha semblat precis ni just esmentar, no deixen de ser mediocres o, fins i tot, abominables. El que és segur, però, és que totes elles haurien estat millor si haguessin comptat amb un suport tècnic i material de les institucions detentores de l'exclusivitat del patrimoni cultural.

2.3 Tercera branca: Funcionament dels sistemes monetaris (allò que necessita saber l'historiador investigador)

La comprensió del funcionament de cada sistema monetari en un espai i un temps determinat és el tercer objectiu de la Numismàtica que anunciava al començar aquesta tesi. Es tracta d'un tema que sempre ha interessat, però no de manera similar. Inicialment, amb anterioritat al segle XX, la recerca esmentada servia per a resoldre problemes plantejats amb el dret, atès que en contractes i escriptures antigues apareixien sistemes monetaris obsolets o tipus monetaris perduts en l'oblit, que calia interpretar i convertir a la moneda de curs general vigent, o servia també per aprendre del passat per a millorar el futur.¹¹⁷ Malauradament, i malgrat l'interès evident, aquesta branca sovint ha estat deixada de banda, sobretot a casa nostra, en perjudici evident de la credibilitat de tots els estudis històrics, ja que el no disposar de manuals numismàtics d'utilitat provada a nivell local impossibilita que un estudi de recerca basat en dades monetàries (compres, vendes, preus, crèdits,

entre aquests Grierson va ser qui, possiblement millor que cap altre, va aconseguir il·lustrar la seva idea, convertint-se així en un emblema d'aquesta interpretació". *Philip Grierson, Irish...: 92-93.*

115. Per posar un gratificant exemple, el manual de Brépols titulat *Numismatique médiévale* (Bompaire, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale...*) és un excel·lent i complet compendi de tot el que cal saber de la disciplina numismàtica medieval, lògicament adaptada a l'entorn francès.

116. Per exemple: Yannick, Jézéquel. *Les monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bretagne, Xe au XVe siècle*. París: Maison Florange, 1998; Divo, Jean Paul. *Numismatique de Dombes*. Corzono: Fiorino d'Oro, 2004; Chareyron, Régis. *Numismatique féodale drômoise*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Éditions Commios, 2006.

117. És el cas de Josep Salat, l'objectiu del qual era conèixer el passat per canviar el futur, immers, com estava, en un context monetari que havia variat molt poc els darrers cent anys i que encara hauria d'esperar-ne una cinquantena més per veure noves propostes dutes a la pràctica. Salat volia explicar als dirigents del seu país tots els errors monetaris que s'havien comès en el passat històric i de quina manera aquest llegat podia posar a l'abast un nou sistema monetari més senzill, pràctic i competitiu (Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Barcelona: Antoni Brusi, 1818 [2 volums]; reeditat per: Salat, Josep. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña, con documentos justificativos*. Madrid: Juan R. Cayón, 1982).

etc.) es pugui saber si és correcte o no. A nivell europeu, sí trobem algunes regions ben representades en aquest nivell, com la Toscana i el Milanesat,¹¹⁸ o la França reial.¹¹⁹

Carlo Cipolla (Pavia, 1922-2000) és autor d'estudis que expliquen el funcionament del sistema monetari d'un territori determinat, concretament en els casos de Florència i Milà.¹²⁰ S'interessà molt, per tant, en la moneda de compte i en la relació del valor intrínsec de les monedes efectives amb aquesta moneda de compte. Per exemple, Cipolla creia interessant escatir i documentar, al llarg del temps, l'equivalent en plata de la unitat de compte. Per a fer-ho, proposà seguir tres camins, que són: 1) l'anàlisi de les monedes físiques conservades; 2) la lectura de les ordres d'emissió; i 3) la recerca a la documentació de la seca. Cipolla reconeixia que, si es pot accedir als camins 2 i 3, no cal perdre el temps amb el camí 1.¹²¹ De tota manera, tot i basar la seva recerca exclusivament en la documentació escrita, Cipolla no dubtava en mostrar el seu coneixement físic de les monedes estudiades mitjançant la inclusió d'imatges en els seus treballs.

Les activitats comercials són importants en les línies argumentals dels treballs de Cipolla, però no pas excloents. De fet, els moviments econòmics que destaca no són necessàriament comercials. Per exemple, Cipolla confirmava la fugida de moneda de plata d'Europa cap a Egipte i Xina des de la segona meitat del segle XIV a causa d'un determinat tipus de canvi or/plata en aquests territoris que afavoria el fenomen.¹²² O fins i tot es qüestionava alguns mecanismes generalment acceptats, o els matisava. Així, sobre la creença que relaciona el descobriment de mines de metall preciós amb la fabricació de monedes més grans, Cipolla conclouia no veure-ho clar. Per exemple, en la segona meitat del segle XV, en el sud d'Alemanya, concretament al Tirol i a l'àrea de Saxònia i Bohèmia, es van descobrir de nombrosos jaciments argentífers, i s'inicià llur explotació. Però Cipolla no veu gens clar el mecanisme segons el qual una major abundància de metall acaba condicionant la fabricació de monedes més pesades.¹²³

En canvi, sobre aquesta mateixa encunyació de monedes de plata pesades, però al segle XVI, Cipolla trobava una explicació fonamentalment comercial (encara que en part també financera). Segons ell, la forta expansió del volum de transaccions financeres internacionals de la segona meitat del segle XVI va implicar una demanda creixent de monedes d'or. Més o menys a partir dels anys cinquanta, aquesta forta demanda no es va correspondre amb un augment proporcional de l'oferta. Per tant, en molts mercats es van haver de completar les transaccions amb moneda de plata, en lloc de la tradicional d'or, i per això hom va recórrer a la fabricació de monedes d'argent pesades per tal de substituir l'ús tradicional d'escuts d'or.¹²⁴

Cipolla també assenyalava la creació i fabricació de denominacions monetàries pensades inicialment amb motivacions no comercials, sinó fiscals. Ell va observar que el mes d'agost de 1504, els Florentins començaren a fabricar una nova moneda d'argent, el valor de la qual, segons l'ordre oficial que autoritzava l'emissió, havia de servir per a pagar la taxa de cadascun dels barils de vi

118. Cipolla, Carlo M. *Il governo della moneta a Firenze e a Milano nei secoli XIV-XVI*. Bolonya: Il Mulino, 1990 (traduït i editat amb el títol *El gobierno de la moneda*: Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1994).

119. Fournial, Etienne. *Histoire monétaire de l'Occident Médiéval*. París: Éditions Nathan, 1970; Bompaigne, Marc; Dumas, Françoise. *Numismatique médiévale...*

120. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*

121. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 44-45.

122. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 160.

123. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 16.

124. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 29-30.



que arribaven a les portes de la ciutat.¹²⁵ Cipolla fou un precursor que assenyalà diversos camins metodològics a explorar.

2.3.1 Consideracions prèvies sobre el funcionament dels sistemes monetaris

A l'hora d'estudiar el funcionament dels sistemes monetaris cal tenir en compte els prejudicis i tòpics que acompanyen l'imaginari numismàtic i que poden distorsionar qualsevol visió de conjunt.

Una primera consideració prèvia és la certesa que la moneda no és un instrument democràtic. De fet, poques coses al món funcionen de manera democràtica. És una realitat que no ens hauria d'estranyar. En canvi, no es rar que els investigadors iniciem treballs de recerca concebuts, per exemple, per a demostrar realitats tan "sorprenents" com que a tal segle les monedes d'or no arribaven a les classes més populars sinó que se les intercanviaven els nobles i els grans magnats del país. I aquest fet estem temptats de presentar-lo com un handicap (i per tant, també com una injustícia). Però hauria de ser a l'inrevés, cal enfocar la recerca històrica en direcció a poder explicar processos complexos i no pas evidències seculars. Al meu entendre, si hem de parlar de moneda d'or, valdria la pena fer un estudi per a explicar els casos contraris a l'esmentat, el moment en que la moneda d'or ultrapassa el seu àmbit natural de circulació —les classes acomodades— per abastir el mercat quotidià —de les classes populars. En aquests casos poc freqüents, funciona millor el sistema monetari? És més just el repartiment de la riquesa dins la societat que fa circular moneda d'or entre rics i no tan rics? Són preguntes interessants de respondre i no gens evidents. I ens podem trobar amb la sorpresa que la resposta sigui just el contrari del que, des d'una visió de partida naïf, ens havíem plantejat, perquè la credibilitat i bon funcionament d'un sistema monetari no té res a veure amb popularitzar l'ús de la moneda d'or.¹²⁶ Sobre aquesta qüestió cal tenir present, un altre cop, Nicolau Oresme i els seus seguidors, i la distorsió que produeix el seu pensament, acceptat majoritàriament. Si donéssim per bona llur teoria que la moneda era un bé públic i que no pertanyia al rei, sinó a la comunitat, aleshores sí que tindria sentit fer una recerca sobre un episodi històric en el que això no es complís.

Una segona consideració a tenir en compte és que la moneda és un instrument que funciona a base de confiança. Generalment, els estudis centrats en la moneda, tant des del punt de vista de la Història Econòmica, de la Història del Dret, o de la Numismàtica clàssica, tendeixen a estudiar la (reeixida o fallida) circulació de la moneda des d'un punt de vista principalment metal·lista. És a dir, que és la relació entre el valor intrínsec dels metalls i el valor extrínsec de la moneda (medieval o moderna) el que condiciona el comportament i acceptació de tot un sistema monetari. Òbviament aquest tret és fonamental però no és l'únic a l'hora d'explicar l'èxit o el fracàs d'una política monetària. El factor humà, els corrents de pensament culte i popular, allò que podem anomenar la mentalitat, constitueix també un factor molt important a tenir en compte quan parlem de la moneda. A Occident, pel període estudiat, podem distingir dos nivells de percepció de la moneda

125. Cipolla, Carlo M. *El gobierno de la moneda...*: 18.

126. Per exemple, a la Catalunya del període 1620-1626, és documentada la circulació abundant de moneda d'or entre tots els sectors de la societat. I cal remarcar que aquest fet no era considerat precisament com un gran èxit per part de les classes menys afavorides, perquè tenir a les mans moneda d'or sobrevalorada, com era el cas, anava en detriment de les economies més modestes. per al cas de Lleida: Sanahuja, Xavier. "La moneda de Lleida al segle XVII". *Acta Numismàtica*, 31 (2001): 116-117.

i de les pràctiques que se'n deriven. A nivell elevat, acadèmic, retrobem, per exemple, una certa aversió de l'Església.¹²⁷ Però aquest nivell no sembla afectar excessivament les polítiques menades per les autoritats emissores ni tampoc el comportament popular envers la moneda, sobretot perquè la realitat és obstinada i difícil d'amagar. A nivell popular i polític, és el sentit pràctic i l'experiència passada, el que condiciona el comportament de la gent davant qualsevol actuació monetària. Així, l'acceptació del for oficial de les monedes, encara que obligat de manera coercitiva, només resulta efectiva quan la gent interpreta que la seva confiança no serà defraudada. Però no es tracta de la confiança en la moneda en si mateixa el que compta al cap i a la fi. La confiança veritable, que dóna estabilitat a la moneda i a tants altres aspectes de la vida quotidiana, és la confiança en l'Estat, en el poder, en l'autoritat emissora. És una confiança política la que genera la confiança i tranquil·litat monetària. I per tant, podem convenir que algunes percepcions monetàries no cal que siguin del tot reals, modificades per una confiança superior en no ser decebut per l'autoritat emissora. Per exemple, l'any 1626, la mentalitat de l'usuari acceptava que les monedes catalanes batudes a molinet poguessin tenir un pes una mica inferior al de les monedes batudes a martell, i inferior al pes que les correspondria per llei, a canvi d'una major seguretat contra les falsificacions i alteracions fraudulentos. D'aquesta variació en la conducta en tenim proves escrites,¹²⁸ que certifiquen que la confiança en una moneda més difícil de falsificar i alterar prevalia sobre la preocupació pel veritable contingut de metall preciós.¹²⁹

És a dir, que el contingut intrínsec de metall no condiciona exclusivament el grau d'acceptació d'una moneda.¹³⁰ Ni abans ni ara. Molt sovint és més important la confiança en l'autoritat emissora i en el grau col·lectiu de convicció de no ser decebut per aquesta. I encara ho és més quan la moneda en discussió és una moneda menuda, amb alt grau de fiduciarietat, feta de metalls pobres. I una prova clara de tot això la tenim avui en dia, on tothom dóna crèdit a la validesa d'uns diners i uns valors monetaris que, realment, són majoritàriament diners virtuals i prou.

127. Es pot citar un cop més Oresme i el "bé comú" com a justificació de l'existència de la moneda i també de les activitats comercials. O es pot citar la frase *Nummus non parit nummos* ("el diner no fa diner"), de Tomàs d'Aquino, dedicada contra la usura, però sorgida com a reacció en un context, el segle XIII, de grans canvis i transformacions comercials i monetàries. Spufford, Peter. *Money and its use...*: 387.

128. Sanahuja, Xavier. "El problema de la llei i talla de la moneda de plata catalana del segle XVII". *Acta Numismàtica*, 37 (2007): 136-137.

129. De fet, en el manteniment del sistema monetari actual, que no es basa en monedes amb valor intrínsec, també hi juga un paper molt important la confiança popular (en les autoritats emissores i reguladores), més que no pas altres factors matemàticament quantificables.

130. S'han fet molts estudis centrats principalment en el contingut intrínsec de les monedes, alguns fins i tot elaborant taules evolutives. En un d'aquests treballs, Gaspar Feliu (Feliu, Gaspar. "L'equivalent metàl·lic d'algunes monedes de compte a l'Edat Moderna". *Acta Numismàtica*, 21-23 (1993): 456) es fa ressò d'unes paraules de Morineau (Morineau, Michel. *Incroyables Gazettes et fabuleux métaux. Les retours des trésors américaines d'après les Gazettes Hollandaises (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)*. Cambridge (UK)-Paris: Cambridge University Press-Éditions de la Maison Sciences de l'Homme, 1985) en les que afirma que el valor intrínsec de la moneda és la referència darrera. El factor "confiança", rarament considerat, pot arribar a ser un element força distorsionador de taules i estadístiques i acabar per tenir la darrera paraula.



3. Estat de la disciplina a Espanya i Catalunya. Perspectives

3.1 L'obra dels pioners

Al segle XIX, Àlvar Campaner fou dels primers en considerar la numismàtica com una disciplina auxiliar de la Història, i va dedicar bona part de la seva obra a establir un mètode que facilités aquesta tasca. El títol d'una de les seves obres principals, *Indicador manual de la numismàtica española*,¹³¹ és prou explícit en aquest sentit. A diferència d'autors precedents, que adreçaven les seves investigacions numismàtiques als polítics i als dirigents amb la intenció de canviar i millorar el sistema monetari vigent, Campaner les adreçava als erudits, historiadors i col·leccionistes de monedes que, sense cap ajuda pública, feien avançar la disciplina. El manual de Campaner servia només coma a ajuda per a classificar monedes inèdites i poder-les ubicar en l'espai i en el temps.

Aquells erudits van fer bé la seva feina i van poder enllestir catàlegs numismàtics suficientment útils per a la seva època. Però amb el pas del temps, les prioritats han canviat. D'aleshores ençà s'ha multiplicat el descobriment de monedes inèdites i llur atribució. S'han exhumat documents i s'han interpretat lleis, ordres i bans relatius a la moneda. En definitiva, s'ha pogut refer una història monetària de Catalunya i d'Espanya amb uns resultats inicialment satisfactoris, sobresortint, en l'àmbit medieval i modern, noms com Aloïss Heiss, Joaquim Botet, Miquel de Crusafont, Octavio Gil Farrés, Pío Beltrán Vilagrasa, o Antonio Roma Valdés.

3.2 Numismàtica, Universitat i prejudicis

Malgrat els esforços individuals esmentats, el cert és que la Numismàtica ha anat quedant fora dels *curricula* acadèmics universitaris. Al segle XIX, i segurament abans, la Numismàtica o l'estudi de les monedes antigues va aconseguir un cert prestigi, i de manera generalitzada, entre tots els circuits historiogràfics. El motiu és que les monedes es consideraven un document històric de primer ordre, imprescindibles per a poder desxifrar els enigmes de civilitzacions antigues. A Espanya, la clau principal d'aquesta recerca era el poder desxifrar les llegendes, en el cas de les monedes escrites en alfabet llatí, i, sobretot, l'alfabet, en el cas de les monedes escrites en caràcters ibèrics o fenicis. Aquesta preeminència lingüística va propiciar que es considerés la numismàtica com un complement natural d'altres disciplines auxiliars de la Història, com ara l'Epigrafia i la Paleografia. Més endavant, es va afegir a la terna una quarta especialitat, la Sigil·lografia. Aquesta combinació de disciplines va acabar per donar uns fruits extraordinaris, sobretot pel que fa a la classificació de les monedes ibèriques i al definitiu desxiframent de l'alfabet ibèric, curullat per Manuel Gómez Moreno. Però això va passar el 1922. I des d'aleshores fins avui han passat més de noranta anys i a Espanya han sorgit desenes d'universitats noves i de carreres, llicenciatures, graus, i itineraris curriculars. Però avui, com al segle XIX, la Numismàtica continua apareixent-hi com a complement fossilitzat de la Paleografia, la Diplomàtica, l'Epigrafia, la Sigil·lografia, i sempre també en darrer lloc, en un darrer lloc nominal que no arriba a materialitzar-se sovint ni en una hora de classe

131. Campaner, Àlvaro. *Indicador manual de la numismática española*. Palma de Mallorca: M. Murillo, 1891. Reeditat a Madrid: Campaner, Àlvaro. *Indicador manual de la numismática española*. Madrid: Juan R. Cayón, 1976.

teòrica per als alumnes.¹³² És cert que la Numismàtica antiga sí que ha merescut una actuació diferenciada en alguns estudis universitaris, però sempre també, com a complement indissociable de l'Arqueologia,¹³³ mai com a disciplina auxiliar de la Història econòmica, ni tampoc com a disciplina auxiliar de la Cronologia. La Història de la moneda no existeix com a matèria singular en els estudis universitaris espanyols ni catalans.¹³⁴

Però que no s'estudii a les universitats no vol dir que no interressi a ningú. Al segle XIX els estudiosos de la moneda eren forçosament col·leccionistes, al no disposar d'obres de referència publicades i al no existir museus i institucions protectores del patrimoni històric. Les obres de referència de Josep Salat, Àlvar Campaner, Francesc Carreras Candi, i Joaquim Botet, es nodriren principalment del col·leccionisme. I també els museus. Precisament van ser aquells erudits col·leccionistes els que van lluitar per formar els primers gabinets numismàtics públics. I gràcies a això Catalunya disposà d'una obra numismàtica extensa, inexistent en cap altra historiografia nacional de l'època.¹³⁵ Amb el pas del temps, el sentit dels mots ha canviat i el col·leccionisme ha passat a ésser una activitat, sinó considerada quasi delictiva, certament malaltissa. És un descrèdit la relació de la Numismàtica amb el col·leccionisme. Paradoxalment, però, el col·leccionisme privat continua encara avui concebut com un mitjà per estudiar i divulgar objectes del passat, i l'augment gradual del col·leccionisme públic no ha estat suficient per posar-se-li a l'alçada. Al nostre país, encara avui, és el col·leccionisme numismàtic el principal centre d'estudis i divulgació de la història de la moneda, mentre que les aportacions d'aquesta temàtica provinents de les universitats o dels "museus del diner" semblen més encaminades vers l'acumulació de "tresors" que no pas a la recerca històrica. El mèrit del col·leccionisme privat és enorme, tenint en compte que és acusat d'apropiació indeguda d'allò "que és de tots", invocant un mal entès patrimoni històric.¹³⁶ Aquest problema no el tenen, per exemple, a Anglaterra, on la *Treasure Act* britànica facilita l'intercanvi d'informació entre les institucions protectores del patrimoni històric i els col·leccionistes.¹³⁷ Allà, el tresor més

132. A tall d'exemple, algunes de les assignatures universitàries vigents actualment o els darrers deu anys són: "Paleografia, Diplomàtica, Epigrafia i Numismàtica" (Universitat de Lleida); "Cátedra de epigrafía y numismática" (Universidad Complutense de Madrid); "Paleografía, diplomática, epigrafía y numismática" (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia); "Paleografía, diplomática, epigrafía, numismática y archivística" (Universidad de Sevilla); etc.

133. L'assignatura "Numismàtica antiga" sí que ha estat present en algunes universitats espanyoles i catalanes, com ara a la Universitat de Barcelona. En canvi, no recordo que s'hagi impartit mai una assignatura consolidada de Numismàtica (o història de la moneda) medieval o moderna, desvinculada de l'Epigrafia, en cap universitat.

134. Una dada curiosa és que quan preguntem al cercador Google pels mots "catedràtic de numismàtica", en espanyol, els primers resultats ens remetien a l'entenyable Pantuflo Zapatilla, pare dels bessons Zipi i Zape, creació del genial dibuixant Josep Escobar, el qual, a més, també era catedràtic de filatèlia i columbofilia.

135. Josep Salat va donar la seva col·lecció a la Junta de Comerç de Barcelona als inicis del segle XIX, d'on aniria a parar a l'antic Museu Provincial d'Antiguitats de Barcelona; posteriorment altres numismàtics aconseguiren que el 1932 es creés el Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya.

136. El preàmbul de la Llei 16/1985, de 25 de juny, del Patrimoni Històric Espanyol, vigent encara avui en dia, acaba amb aquesta frase que, per l'absència de matisos, ajuda a la malinterpretació esmentada: *Porque en un Estado democrático estos bienes [de interés cultural] deben estar adecuadamente puestos al servicio de la colectividad en el convencimiento de que con su disfrute se facilita el acceso a la cultura y que ésta, en definitiva, es camino seguro hacia la libertad de los pueblos* ("Perquè en un Estat democràtic aquests béns [d'interès cultural] han d'estar adequadament posats al servei de la col·lectivitat en el convenciment que amb el seu gaudi es facilita l'accés a la cultura i que aquesta, en definitiva, és el camí segur cap a la llibertat de els pobles"). Boletín Oficial del Estado. "Ley 16/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español. Preámbulo". *Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 12 Juny 2016 < <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1985-12534> >.

137. La *Treasure Act* del 1996 és una llei del Parlament britànic pensada per a ordenar les troballes de tresors a Anglaterra, Gal·les i Irlanda del Nord. La llei obliga els descobridors d'objectes (dels considerats de possible interès històric, com les monedes) a mostrar-los a les autoritats locals designades, que decidiran si l'objecte constitueix un tresor o no. Si l'objecte és declarat un tresor, el propietari ha d'oferir-lo en venda a un museu per un preu establert per una comis-



preuat és la informació, i no l'acumulació d'objectes a les vitrines i als magatzems dels museus. Aquí, la informació sovint es perd per por a la represàlia.¹³⁸ I malgrat tot, la col·laboració desinteressada dels col·leccionistes privats ha permès recollir dades, informacions i imatges necessàries i vitals per a l'estudi de les monedes. És per això que, fins i tot de d'un punt de vista corporatiu en favor d'historiadors, conservadors i investigadors, cal protegir i promoure el col·lectiu dels col·leccionistes privats, que és un dels pocs col·lectius que, al cap i a la fi, perdrà un vespre per assistir a una conferència, o es gastarà uns diners per comprar un llibre, o pagarà una entrada per visitar una exposició d'allò que li agrada. En definitiva, l'investigador numismàtic ha de donar suport al col·lectiu col·leccionista, perquè és un col·lectiu consumidor d'història i, per tant, a la llarga, garant de la continuïtat de la recerca històrica i de la seva viabilitat econòmica. I ha de facilitar la col·laboració necessària entre els dos grups que poden fer possible la recerca històrica: el grup dels afeccionats i col·leccionistes que estan interessats en el tema i el dels investigadors professionals que fan recerca amb fons públics en el marc de les universitats i acadèmies.

Un darrer assumpte controvertit és el de la recerca de la moneda perduda. Moltes emissions de moneda documentades d'època medieval i moderna no han estat identificades físicament.¹³⁹ Amb el temps apareixeran. Però només es poden localitzar buscant-les amb detector de metalls als vells camps de conreu dels pobles de la zona. Les monedes, rarament perdudes, però sovint rebutjades i llençades a les escombraries quan deixaven de tenir curs, esperen pacients enterrades al camp, fins que un tractor les parteixi en bocins, un adob químic les malmeti per sempre, o una nova renglera de cases adossades les faci desaparèixer per sempre sota la terra. Aquesta tasca de recerca la farà algú o altre, moltes monedes apareixeran i es publicaran un altre cop gràcies als col·leccionistes. Cal aproximar-se a les monedes desmitificant la seva naturalesa. La immensa majoria d'elles no formen part de cap tresor de valor incalculable. La majoria d'elles són objectes fabricats en sèrie, en quantitats milionàries.

3.3 La necessitat de catalogacions sistemàtiques

Coneixent les dificultats actuals de la numismàtica a Catalunya i a Espanya, no és d'estranyar que la disciplina necessiti una renovació i un augment important del nivell d'exigència. En ple 2015, la recerca numismàtica a Catalunya i a Espanya continua fent-se individualment. Però les obres d'especial dificultat, com és el cas que ens ocupa, milloren exponencialment amb la participació de diversos investigadors. A més, llevat de comptades excepcions a Catalunya, les catalogacions no s'han adequat a l'actualitat, i no han aprofitat l'allau d'informació provinent de les xarxes virtuals. Una allau d'informació que permet accedir més fàcilment a col·leccions públiques i privades, o a fons de comerciants, arxius documentals, etc.

sió independent (*Treasure Valuation Committee*). En el cas que el museu no mostri cap interès en l'objecte, o no sigui capaç d'adquirir-lo, el propietari el pot retenir particularment al final del procés, que no és massa llarg. La garantia de l'equanimitat impedeix que els objectes siguin exportats il·lícitament del país pels seus propietaris, o que els hagin d'amagar. I el que és més important és que, al llarg d'aquest procés, independentment de si s'adquireixen o no els objectes, els museus han pogut examinar-los, fixar-los i estudiar-los tots.

138. Sobre el patrimoni històric i la seva gestió vaig publicar unes reflexions. Sanahuja, Xavier. "El patrimoni històric equivocat". *Acta Numismàtica*, 39 (2009): 5-9.

139. Per exemple, en el cas de les emissions de moneda municipal a Catalunya (segles XIV-XVIII), encara no es coneix cap moneda d'Alcover, ni de Riudoms, ni de Sant Celoni, ni de Palamós, ni la majoria dels tipus monetaris de Reus, de Bagà, de Manresa, d'Igualada, etc., malgrat estar ben documentada la seva circulació.

De fet, les catalogacions sistemàtiques satisfactòries de sèries monetàries anteriors a 1700 són molt escasses. Amb recolzament públic són poques les publicades a Espanya, i totes elles centrades en el món antic, entre les quals destaquen les efectuades per Pere Pau Ripollès i el seu grup de treball a València.¹⁴⁰ Només molt recentment, gràcies a l'abaratiment dels costos d'edició i a la progressiva facilitat en l'intercanvi d'informació a través d'internet, han vist la llum algunes iniciatives privades dignes d'esmentar. A Espanya, els primers intents seriosos de sistematització de la moneda menuda castellana han pogut tirar endavant gràcies a la iniciativa exclusivament privada: es tracta de la catalogació de la moneda de billó d'Enric IV de Castella (1454-1474), efectuada per Antonio Roma i José Luis Braña, i la catalogació que, juntament amb Íñigo Jarabo, he publicat sobre la moneda de billó castellana dels Àustries (1566-1718). A Catalunya, els catàlegs sistemàtics d'Anna Maria Balaguer, sobre la moneda dels comtats catalans (785-1503),¹⁴¹ Miquel de Crusafont, sobre la moneda catalana medieval (785-1516) i de la Guerra dels Segadors (1640-1652);¹⁴² i Leandre Villaronga, sobre la moneda antiga de la Península Ibèrica, s'han produït sempre al marge de la Universitat, però amb el suport de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics. A València, és molt avançat un treball de Josep Antoni Sendra que inclourà totes les monedes del regne des de la seva conquesta cristiana.

Em plau assenyalar una tendència positiva generalitzada a tots els països que és la progressiva valoració de la moneda menuda, la de petit valor. Des d'antic, la moneda menuda, de coure o bronze, ha estat molt menys estudiada que la d'or o argent. Les causes són diverses: sovint es tracta de peces de lectura i identificació difícil; fins fa poc el nombre d'exemplars conegut era molt reduït, al no haver-ne aflorat més gràcies a la popularització dels detectors de metalls; els col·leccionistes tampoc els havien fet massa cas en detriment de monedes més atractives encunyades en metalls preciosos. El resultat és que algunes obres, malgrat haver nascut amb la intenció d'esdevenir catàlegs de referència, obviaven o menysvaloraven la sempre difícil moneda menuda.¹⁴³

3.4 Fa falta un manual pràctic

Però, sobretot, la mancança més notable de la numismàtica catalana i espanyola és no haver pogut posar la informació tècnica resultat de tantes recerques individuals a l'abast dels investigadors no especialitzats en numismàtica. És a dir, publicar una eina numismàtica que faciliti a historiadors

140. Amandry, Michel; Burnett, Andrew; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *The Roman Provincial Coinage*. Londres-París: University of Oxford, 1992: I; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *La ceca de Arse-Saguntum*. Sagunt: Fundació Bancaixa, 2002; Ripollès, Pere Pau. *Las monedas provinciales romanas de Hispania*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010; Gozalves, Manuel. *La ceca de Turi-azu: monedas celtíberas en la Hispania republicana*. València: Diputació de València, 2009; Llorens, Maria del Mar; Aquilué, Xavier. *Ilercavonia-Dertosa i les seves encunyacions monetàries*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2001; entre d'altres obres.

141. Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la moneda dels comtats...*

142. Crusafont, Miquel. *Numismàtica de la Corona Catalano-aragonesa medieval (785-1516)*. Madrid: Vico, 1982 (edició catalana); Crusafont, Miquel; Comas Ezequiel, Rafael. *El florí d'or català: Catalunya, València, Mallorca*. Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española-Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1996; Crusafont, Miquel. *Catàleg General de la Moneda Catalana*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 2009.

143. Va passar per exemple amb els catàlegs de la moneda musulmana de la *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Lavoix, Henri. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. París: Imprimerie Nationale, 1887-1896 [3 volums]. Reeditats a Bolonya: Lavoix, Henri. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Bolonya: Arnaldo Forni, 1977) i del British Museum (Lane-Poole, Stanley. *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. Londres: Printed by order of the trustees, 1875-1890 [10 volums]), o darrerament amb els de moneda visigoda (Pliego Vázquez, Ruth. *La moneda visigoda*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009 [2 volums]).



investigadors la comprensió del funcionament dels sistemes monetaris a cada moment concret. I són moltes les veus reconegudes que han demanat l'existència d'una eina auxiliar d'aquestes característiques, i des de fa temps. Per posar un exemple, Josep Fontana explicava, l'any 1996, en el pròleg d'un llibre de Miquel de Crusafont, que quan ell...

començava a fer recerca sobre els temps moderns, els problemes que exigien una millor comprensió de les qüestions monetàries (li) sortien pertot..., només els vells llibres de reducció de monedes pensats per a l'ús quotidià dels catalans de fa dos-cents anys (el) van ajudar, a la fi, a resoldre els problemes fonamentals.¹⁴⁴

Si aquest problema amb les monedes de finals del segle XVIII era prou enutjós, encara més ho devia ser el recórrer a monedes de segles més pretèrits i menys documentats. I encara ho és d'enutjós, perquè no s'ha publicat cap eina pràctica de consulta que doni resposta als problemes monetaris plantejats pels investigadors.

Cal corregir aquesta greu deficiència historiogràfica del nostre país, que dificulta la comprensió de molts processos històrics relacionats amb l'ús efectiu de monedes —quantitats de diner, penes i taxes—, amb el finançament de les administracions públiques, o amb la intervenció de complexes o senzilles transaccions comercials.

Un manual numismàtic posat al servei de l'historiador hauria d'incorporar, com a mínim, les següents eines d'ajuda a la recerca:

1. La identificació dels sistemes monetaris de compte en ús a cadascun dels Estats de la península Ibèrica, des de l'enfonsament de les estructures polítiques de l'Imperi Romà fins a l'aparició dels sistemes monetaris decimals (segles V-XIX). En aquest primer nivell caldria identificar i diferenciar les distintes monedes de curs general, assenyalant les seves fronteres geogràfiques, els seus límits temporals en tant que sistemes oficials o oficiosos, o la superposició de diferents sistemes en un mateix territori en determinats moments històrics, sense entrar, però, en la descripció i diferenciació de les monedes efectives (per exemple: florins, croats, escuts, etc.).
2. La Identificació de les successives sèries monetàries fabricades i/o en circulació a cadascun d'aquests Estats fins a l'abandonament del seu ús, incloent la documentació i posterior comprovació de la composició dels aliatges utilitzats en aquestes emissions. En aquest segon nivell caldria incloure la identificació física —formal, però també metàl·lica— dels diferents patrons monetaris efectius que s'han succeït al llarg de la història, fent especial atenció a corregir errors d'apreciació i a assenyalat aquelles dificultats que encara no han estat resoltes, especialment detectables en els primers segles de fabricació monetària (segles VIII a XIII). Entre les monedes efectives cal distingir entre moneda pròpia, moneda estrangera, moneda mercaderia o substitutòria de necessitat.
3. La confecció de taules verificades amb les denominacions que rebien les monedes (oficial, nominal, popular, entre d'altres menys usades com ara les denominacions emprades a l'estranger o per col·lectius minoritaris) i llurs valors de canvi (entre elles, i en relació amb altres monedes coetànies), establerts de manera oficial, oficiosa o lliurement fixats pel costum o l'ús quotidià entre particulars. Aquest tercer punt conforma l'eina més útil per als investigadors que necessiten poder identificar —i valorar adequadament— les monedes que apareixen a les transaccions comercials, financeres o administratives dels documents que utilitzen en la

144 Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la moneda catalana...*

seva recerca. La successió cronològica d'aquestes taules no ha estat mai preparada per a una publicació, i només alguna d'elles ha estat, rarament, publicada de manera parcial, sense combinar denominacions amb valors de canvi respecte a d'altres monedes efectives o respecte a les monedes de compte utilitzades.

4. La seriació verificada dels batiments de cada tipus monetari determinat, incloent la informació de la data d'inici, la data final i el lloc de la fabricació, l'espai geogràfic circulatori, i també les dates d'inici i final de circulació oficial o oficiosa en un territori determinat. Aquestes informacions són essencials per a poder relacionar un exemplar monetari concret amb l'entorn històric per on circulava. Més enllà de l'aspecte documental i llurs possibilitats didàctiques o il·lustratives, la utilitat d'aquestes informacions rau en proveir altres ciències auxiliars de la història, com la cronologia o l'arqueologia, de punts de partida vàlids per a elaborar hipòtesis basades en el mètode científic.
5. La indexació cronològica dels documents monetaris publicats de cadascun dels Estats esmentats. Es tracta de numerar i ordenar tots els documents monetaris coneguts i assenyalar l'obra on han estat transcrits, registrats o assenyalats, per tal de facilitar a l'investigador una cerca documental ràpida.
6. La Confecció d'un glossari de termes especialitzats, que inclogui mots relacionats amb la fabricació, i circulació de la moneda, especificant el seu ús temporal i, si s'escau, geogràfic. Considero que cal precisar el llenguatge el màxim possible, per tal d'intentar evair confusions i creences equivocades o mereixedores de matisos rellevants.

I tot aquest volum d'informació, s'ha de compilar amb criteris científics i tenint en compte que, al segle XXI, les obres d'especial dificultat no les pot signar un únic autor, encara que sigui un expert reconegut. I si no hi ha prou experts, primer formem-los.



LAS CONEXIONES CON EL PASADO: EL MEDIEVALISMO EN LAS REVISTAS DE HISTORIA DE COLOMBIA

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RESUMEN

Este artículo es una revisión y balance de los problemas de la Edad Media abordados por historiadores colombianos y tiene como propósito mostrar cómo desde Colombia se ha investigado el medievo. Para ello, se han tomado como referencia todos los artículos y las reseñas sobre este tema publicados en las revistas de historia del país. De esta manera, se pudo evidenciar cómo la Edad Media ha sido una preocupación de un grupo de historiadores nacionales, interesados en su riqueza temática, que han hecho aportes significativos al estudio de esta época del desarrollo de la humanidad.¹

1. Introducción

La Edad Media ha tenido su espacio en la historiografía colombiana, como se evidencia en artículos y reseñas sobre el tema publicados en revistas nacionales. No obstante, entre las recientes generaciones de historiadores hay la percepción de que el mismo nunca ha sido trabajado desde el país; mucho menos se considera que haga parte de los actuales intereses investigativos de la disciplina desde Colombia. Esto obedece en parte a la consolidación de la disciplina a nivel nacional, producto del surgimiento de las escuelas, departamentos, revistas y libros de historia locales. Desde estas plataformas académicas, nació entonces la preocupación por investigaciones más próximas, es decir, en los ámbitos nacional, regional y local. Ahora bien, en la medida en que se consolidaron los estudios sobre el entorno próximo se abandonó el interés por la historia universal, hasta el punto de que en el presente aún se discute la pertinencia de continuar investigando y enseñando la Edad Media.

El presente artículo muestra el aporte que desde Colombia se ha hecho al estudio de la Edad Media. En primer lugar, se revelan cifras sobre la historiografía medieval en las revistas de historia² y se señala su proporción en la producción científica del país. Luego, se relacionan los artículos sobre el tema y se establecen las temáticas abordadas en estos. Finalmente, se tratan las reseñas de libros

1. El presente artículo forma parte del proyecto *El desarrollo historiográfico de la Edad Media: una mirada desde Colombia*, realizado para obtener el título de Magister en Identidad Europea Medieval en la Universitat de Lleida (España), financiado por la Universidad del Atlántico (Colombia) en el marco del Programa de apoyo Institucional para la formación en Maestría y Doctorado, convocatoria 2014.

2. Las revistas de historia consideradas para este estudio son las que hace parte del Índice Bibliográfico Nacional, IBN-Publindex 2014-1, en este se encuentran categorizadas las publicaciones científicas de Colombia. Servicio Permanente de Indexación de Revistas Especializadas de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (CTI) Colombianas. "Índice Bibliográfico Nacional -IBN Publindex I Actualización 2014". Índice Bibliográfico Nacional-Publindex. 30 enero 2015. Colciencias. 16 julio 2015 <<http://publindex.colciencias.gov.co:8084/publindex/EnIbnPublindex/resultados.do>>.



sobre el medioevo que aparecieron en esas mismas revistas y se hacen algunas consideraciones generales para sustentar la idea del aporte antes mencionado.

2. La historiografía medieval en las revistas de historia colombianas

Los interesados en la historia en Colombia antes de los años sesenta tenían como opción la carrera de Filosofía y Letras en la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, en donde se permitía en el quinto semestre escoger el énfasis en historia.³ Solo hasta 1963 surgió el primer programa de historia en la Universidad del Valle (Colombia)⁴ y en 1966 el departamento de historia en la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Desde entonces, comenzó el proceso de formación de los primeros historiadores. Junto con esta experiencia y con el deseo de “consolidar la disciplina” —como señala Archila—⁵ fue creado el “Anuario” Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura, primera revista de historia surgida en el mundo universitario y la segunda después del Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades⁶ de la Academia Colombiana de Historia. El interés del *Anuario* (en adelante ACHSC) fue difundir los resultados de las investigaciones del recién creado departamento de historia, y seguir las huellas de *Annales d'Économie, Société et Civilisations*, dirigida por Lucien Febvre y Marc Bloch.⁷

Hoy día se cuenta con 15 revistas de historia de carácter científico e indexadas, según el Índice Bibliográfico Nacional –IBN PublindeX,⁸ que corresponden al 2,77% del total de las revistas científicas del país que son 542. La mayoría de estas publicaciones de historia surgieron en la medida en que se creaban los primeros departamentos de esta área, en las universidades colombianas. Se puede afirmar entonces que el crecimiento de los departamentos y revistas contribuyó a la profesionalización del oficio; no en vano López plantea que las revistas son “lugares privilegiados del debate historiográfico”.⁹ Con respecto a la profesionalización del oficio, Archila sostiene que:

En la historia colombiana y en general en la global, un paso clave para la consolidación de la disciplina de la historia fue la profesionalización del oficio que dejó atrás al tradicional historiador que dedicaba los tiempos libres que le dejaban su profesión —por lo común, abogado, político, militar o religioso—, para incursionar en el pasado sin mayor rigor teórico o metodológico. Pero era necesaria la formación de investigadores de tiempo completo y no solo de docentes.¹⁰

3. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura: sus orígenes y desarrollo”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 30 (2003): 9.

4. Montenegro, Augusto. “Veinticinco años de la carrera de Historia”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 1 (1995): 10.

5. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura, una joven revista histórica que cumple 50 años”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 33.

6. Para este trabajo no tendremos en cuenta el mencionado boletín, porque las revistas científicas de Historia en Colombia, fueron el espacio en el cual sería expuesta una nueva corriente historiográfica. Esta nueva corriente surge por oposición a la tradicional, difundida desde las academias de historia imbuidas de patriotismo y empirismo. En palabras del padre Lee, según König, citado por Archila, los miembros de aquellas academias fungían como “caballeros andantes de patriotismo”. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 34.

7. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 9.

8. Servicio Permanente de Indexación de Revistas Especializadas de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (CTI) Colombia-nas. “Índice Bibliográfico Nacional –IBN PublindeX II Actualización 2014”. Índice Bibliográfico Nacional-PublindeX. 30 enero 2015. Colciencias. 16 julio 2015 <<http://publindeX.colciencias.gov.co:8084/publindeX/EnIbnPublindeX/resultados.do>>.

9. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. *Europa. Temas, debates y libros*. Bogotá: Estudio Gráfico, 2013: 9.

10. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 33.



Al inicio, los asuntos de carácter universal tuvieron un papel fundamental en las revistas; fueron los primeros temas en los artículos y reseñas. De ahí que la Historia Medieval estuviera presente en 19 artículos y 18 reseñas, en 7 de las 15 revistas de historia del país (ver gráfico 1). Ahora bien, la profesionalización del oficio de historiador, que permitió la consolidación de la microhistoria y marcó el camino para el acercamiento histórico a lo nacional, regional y local, viene a modificar este panorama. En efecto, el estudio de temas de historia universal fue desapareciendo, a la par del crecimiento de la investigación histórica en el país.¹¹

Los artículos y reseñas se encuentran en las revistas *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*; *Historia Crítica*; *Historia y Espacio*; *Fronteras de la Historia*; *Historia y Sociedad*; *Memoria y Sociedad*; e *Historia Caribe*. Esto puede tener varias explicaciones, según la revista, como la ausencia de “discriminaciones de escuela o criterios interpretativos [...] a historiadores nacionales o extranjeros”¹² —para el caso del *Anuario*—, en donde el único criterio señalado por su fundador Jaime Jaramillo es la “seriedad y el rigor que debe caracterizar al difícil oficio de comprender y escribir la historia”.¹³ Otra explicación podría ser que esta revista fue el órgano de difusión por excelencia del movimiento llamado de la Nueva Historia,¹⁴ influenciado por la sociología, la economía y las tendencias historiográficas conformadas desde Europa y Estados Unidos.¹⁵

En el caso de *Historia Crítica*, en donde se encontraron la mayoría de los textos que sustentan esta investigación, podría atribuirse al hecho de ser la apuesta de una “comunidad académica independiente”,¹⁶ que se propuso ser:

[...] el medio de divulgación amplio que presente los resultados de investigaciones, análisis historiográficos y reflexiones de los profesores del Departamento [de Historia], así como de colaboradores de otras universidades nacionales e internacionales. La revista contiene escritos sobre temas relacionados con la disciplina histórica, así como también con diversos períodos vistos a través de diferentes enfoques historiográficos.¹⁷

En el caso de la revista *Historia y Sociedad*, hubo una preocupación por la divulgación de la producción académica de historiadores tanto nacionales como extranjeros.¹⁸ *Memoria y Sociedad*, por su parte, buscó “avanzar en la propuesta comunicativa y consolidar los lazos del equipo profesoral con

11. El crecimiento de la historiografía nacional se vio impulsado por las nuevas experiencias en postgrado que surgían en el país, así lo señala Archila al referirse a la publicación de artículos en el *Anuario*: “[...] en cambio se ve la creciente participación de estudiantes de posgrado —primero de la Maestría en Historia, desde los años ochenta, y luego del Doctorado en Historia, desde mediados de los años noventa— y aun de recién egresados de la carrera, reinaugurada a comienzos de la década del noventa”. Archila, Mauricio. “El Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 37.

12. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 10.

13. Jaramillo, Jaime. “El Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura...”: 10.

14. El movimiento de Nueva Historia de Colombia fue el que recibió las experiencias “de la Escuela de Annales como de la *New Economic History* y de la historiografía marxista”. Montenegro, Augusto. “Veinticinco años de la carrera de historia...”: 9.

15. Montenegro, Augusto. “Veinticinco años de la carrera de historia...”: 9.

16. “Introducción: cincuenta números de Historia Crítica”. *Historia Crítica*, 50 (2013): 7.

17. García, Daniel. “Presentación”. *Historia Crítica*, 1 (1989): 3.

18. Acevedo, Rubén Darío. “Las revistas de Historia y la Historia”. *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. 10 agosto 2015 <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/article/view/47250/48493>> (Ponencia presentada en el “Encuentro Internacional: El Papel de las Revistas de Historia en la consolidación de la disciplina en Iberoamérica- 50 años del *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*”, celebrado los días 21-23 de agosto de 2013 en Bogotá).

la comunidad colombiana e internacional”.¹⁹ Existen, pues, varias razones que permiten entender que el interés era aportar a la consolidación de la disciplina desde una mirada más analítica, más amplia y universal.

En virtud de lo que se acaba de plantear, la presencia de materiales medievales en estas revistas no tiene nada de extraño. No obstante, algunas de estas publicaciones tienen un marcado interés regional, local o temático. Por ejemplo, *Fronteras de la Historia* mostró su interés por difundir los resultados de las investigaciones sobre historia colonial en Colombia y América Latina.²⁰ A su vez, *Historia y Espacio* buscó ser la respuesta de los “historiadores del suroccidente colombiano que no resistían más historias nacionales, en las que se incluía esta región sin ver sus particularidades”.²¹ Otra experiencia regional es la revista *Historia Caribe*, concebida como el “órgano de expresión de todos los investigadores de la historia local regional, sin contar la tendencia historiográfica a la cual pertenezca el autor o autores de los artículos”.²²

De todos modos, la inclinación por lo regional y lo local no terminó afectando la publicación de trabajos de otras realidades espaciales y temporales. La historia medieval será así el 1 % de los temas científicos publicados en las revistas científicas de historia colombianas. Se ve entonces como a pesar de lo lejano o suficientemente estudiado que hoy pueda ser considerado el mundo medieval, no ha estado ausente de las publicaciones nacionales.

3. Los artículos de historia medieval en la historiografía colombiana

El trabajo de identificar la presencia historiográfica de la Edad Media fuera del espacio europeo tiene varios antecedentes. En el contexto colombiano, se cuenta con un artículo de Vargas,²³ que consistió en identificar los textos sobre historia de Europa en la revista *Historia Crítica*. Con referencia a la Edad Media, se cuenta con varias investigaciones realizadas en otros países, como la de Ríos Saloma²⁴ en México, Fernandes²⁵ en Brasil, Corral Lafuente²⁶ y Navarro en España²⁷ y Rojas en Chile.²⁸ En estos estudios se muestra el abordaje historiográfico del medioevo desde cada uno

19. Flórez, Alberto G. “Presentación”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 1/1 (1995): 5.

20. Gamboa, Jorge Augusto. “La historiografía colonial en Colombia y Latinoamérica”. *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*. 10 agosto de 2015 <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/article/view/46993/48306>> (Ponencia presentada en el “Encuentro Internacional: El Papel de las Revistas de Historia en la consolidación de la disciplina en Iberoamérica- 50 años del *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*”, celebrado los días 21-23 de agosto de 2013 en Bogotá).

21. Echeverry, Antonio José. “Historia y Espacio: Una mirada desde las regiones”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 342.

22. Alarcón, Luis; Conde, Jorge. “Historia Caribe: Desarrollo, aportes y desafíos de un proyecto editorial en construcción”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 40/1 (2013): 367.

23. Vargas, Martín Eduardo. “La historia europea en la revista *Historia Crítica*”. *Historia Crítica*, 25 (2003): 79-97.

24. Ríos, Martín F. “La historia medieval en México: estado de la cuestión”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 437-457.

25. Fernandes, Fátima Regina. “Les défis de l’historiographie médiévale au Brésil au Début du XXI^e Siècle”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 407-419.

26. Corral, José Luis. “La historia medieval en España: una reflexión a comienzos de siglo XXI”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 3 (2009): 408-417.

27. Navarro, German. “¿Quién es quién en el medievalismo español?”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 2 (2008): 299-308.

28. Rojas, Luis. “Los estudios medievales en Chile: reseña de su formación y publicaciones”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 9 (2015): 360-376.



de esos países. Esto mismo constituye el objeto de este artículo, en el caso colombiano. La Tabla 1 muestra, entonces, los artículos sobre la Edad Media publicados en revistas de historia colombianas indexadas.

La tabla 1 muestra los distintos tópicos abordados en estos artículos, cuya lectura permitió agruparlos en las siguientes temáticas:

1. Iglesia, religión y creencias
2. Ideas e instituciones medievales
3. Análisis y comentarios de textos sobre historia medieval
4. Relaciones entre historia medieval e historia colonial
5. Personajes de la Edad Media
6. La Inquisición
7. Historia de la universidad
8. Historia de las mujeres en la Edad Media
9. Textos académicos para la enseñanza de la Edad Media

Algunos artículos pueden ser incluidos en dos o más de estas temáticas, pues estas no son cerradas; por el contrario, hay circulación entre ellas. Ahora bien, los comentarios sobre el fondo y la forma de estos trabajos, así como su análisis de manera extensa serán objeto de estudios posteriores. Por ahora, solo se trata de realizar un primer acercamiento a esa Edad Media estudiada en las revistas de historia de Colombia.

La primera temática comprende 12 artículos que hablan sobre la Iglesia, la religión y las creencias (ver tabla 2). En estos, se abordan tópicos como las motivaciones religiosas para la expansión europea en América,²⁹ o el ideal cristiano de mujer y de familia en el medievo.³⁰ En esta temática, podrían incluirse también los artículos sobre la Inquisición, las herejías y los judíos; pero su calidad y rigor llevó a definirles su propia categoría. Valga señalar que, a pesar de haber sido publicados hace ya bastante tiempo, estos textos mantienen vigencia por sus análisis y conclusiones.

La segunda temática incluye 10 artículos que tratan sobre las ideas e instituciones medievales. En cada uno de los textos se exponen varios imaginarios e ideales medievales, y como algunos de ellos generaron instituciones hoy de referencia para la época. En ellos se desarrollan varios asuntos, como son las motivaciones del viaje³¹ y los procesos de evangelización en América.³² Por otra parte, también se cuenta con el análisis del pensamiento de varios personajes del medioevo, como Anselmo de Canterbury³³ y Pedro Abelardo.³⁴ Por último se cuenta con artículos dedicados a la

29. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Sobre las motivaciones económicas y espirituales de la expansión europea (siglo XV)". *Historia Crítica*, 6 (1992): 59-79.

30. López, Abel Ignacio. "Mujeres y Familia en la Edad Media. Estudio Bibliográfico". *Historia Crítica*, 16 (1998): 99-115.

31. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Sobre las motivaciones...": 59-79.

32. Vignolo, Paolo. "Hic sunt canibales': El canibalismo del Nuevo Mundo en el imaginario europeo (1492-1729)". *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 32 (2005): 151-188; López Rodríguez, Mercedes. "Los hombres de Dios en el nuevo reino: cura y fraile doctrinero en Tunja y Santafé". *Historia Crítica*, 19 (2000): 129-158.

33. Castañeda, Felipe. "¿Cómo pensar la libertad a finales del siglo XI? El caso de Anselmo de Canterbury". *Historia Crítica*, 18 (1999): 101-117.

34. Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios Superiores en la Francia del siglo XII". *Historia Crítica*, 16 (1998): 117-125.

creación de la Universidad³⁵ y la Inquisición.³⁶ En general todos los trabajos son un buen aporte, si los comparamos con otros de igual desarrollo, además tienen una explicación clara y bien lograda.

El comentario y la revisión de libros o documentos medievales también han sido del interés de varios historiadores colombianos. Se cuenta con cinco artículos en esta tercera temática, ensayos dedicados a analizar las crónicas medievales de Froissart y Vallini,³⁷ y los libros de Anne Brenon y Jesús Mestre sobre los cátaros.³⁸ En este aparte se encuentran dos balances historiográficos, uno dedicado a los textos de historia de Europa en la revista *Historia Crítica*³⁹ y otro sobre la percepción de los judíos y su conversión en las historiografías anglosajona y española.⁴⁰ En definitiva los autores se preocuparon por estudiar textos medievales reconocidos en su tiempo, con el objetivo de explicar las ideas y los debates que desarrollaban. Por otra parte, lo anterior permite ver cómo la lectura de libros sobre la Edad Media ocupó el interés al inicio profesional de varios historiadores, que más tarde pudo haber influenciado su carrera académica.

La cuarta relación cuenta con cinco artículos que se dedican a la influencia del mundo medieval en los primeros siglos americanos. Se puede ver esa preocupación por entender de manera continua los procesos históricos entre la historia medieval e historia colonial, tema hoy en debate, así lo muestra la siguiente idea de Baschet:

En este sentido, 1492 no es la línea divisoria entre dos épocas tan ajenas una de la otra como el día de la noche, sino más bien el punto de articulación de dos empresas extrañamente parecidas, el punto de unión de dos momentos históricos dotados de profunda unidad. [...] Entonces resulta necesario reconocer que el corte tradicionalmente admitido entre Edad Media y Tiempos Modernos tiene que volver a pensarse con el mayor detenimiento, y que la Conquista hunde sus raíces en la historia medieval de Occidente.⁴¹

Estos textos evidencian la pertinencia y la necesidad de adelantar trabajos de este tipo, en donde se estudien esos puntos de conexión, entre Europa y América, por cierto todavía pendientes.

La quinta relación cuenta con cuatro artículos, y se estudia a diferentes personajes medievales como Agustín de Hipona, Bartolomé de las Casas y sus concepciones sobre la historia.⁴² En otro se analizan las consideraciones que tiene Anselmo de Canterbury de la libertad en el siglo XI,⁴³ y por último se tiene los trabajos sobre Pedro Abelardo⁴⁴ y la revisión al texto de la filosofía de la guerra

35. Soto, Gonzalo. "Las 'humanistas' como 'universitas' en el medievo". *Historia y Sociedad*, 11 (2005): 59-80.

36. Ceballos, Diana Luz. "Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición". *Historia y Sociedad*, 22 (2012): 51-72.

37. Ospina, Sergio. "Froissart, Villani y la escritura histórica en la Baja Edad Media: Entre la Antropología y la Historia". *Historia y Sociedad*, 28 (2015): 47-77.

38. Los estudios referidos son: López, Abel Ignacio. "Mujeres y Familia...": 99-115; López Forero, Abel Ignacio. "Disidencia y poder en la Edad Media: la historia de los cátaros". *Historia Crítica*, 20 (2001): 113-142.

39. Vargas, Martín Eduardo. "La historia de europea en la revista 'Historia Crítica'". *Historia Crítica*, 25 (2003): 79-97.

40. Contreras, Jaime. "Historiografía anglosajona e historia de España: percepción de judíos y conversos". *Fronteras de la Historia*, 4 (1999): 179-193.

41. Baschet, Jérôme. *La civilización feudal. Europa del año mil a la colonización de América*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009: 24.

42. Castañeda, Felipe. "Conflictos mayores y concepciones de la historia: los casos de Agustín de Hipona, Bartolomé de las Casas e Immanuel Kant". *Historia Crítica*, 27 (2004): 91-110.

43. Castañeda, Felipe. "¿Cómo pensar la libertad...": 101-117.

44. Miranda, Néstor. "Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...": 117-125.



de Vitoria.⁴⁵ Cada uno de los escritos permite conocer aquellos elementos relevantes en la vida de los personajes, su influencia y las repercusiones de sus obras en el mundo medieval.

En la sexta relación se ubican los dos estudios sobre la Inquisición antes mencionados. El primero de ellos se ocupa del surgimiento y del control político ejercido por el poder secular desde sus inicios.⁴⁶ El segundo responde a la pregunta del autor sobre sí el orden constitucional de los reinos castellano y aragonés determino su auge o la posible crisis institucional.⁴⁷ Ambos estudios permiten tener un acercamiento claro y actualizado sobre la Inquisición y su desarrollo, sí se les ubica dentro del estado del debate en la actualidad.

Las últimas temáticas con menor cantidad de artículos, son la séptima que es sobre la historia de la universidad⁴⁸ con dos textos. En ellos se expone de manera clara diferentes aspectos y cuáles fueron las principales ideas que marcaron su nacimiento y su consolidación posterior. La octava temática es un trabajo sobre la historia de las mujeres,⁴⁹ en donde se revisa como era la vida cotidiana de la mujer y su relación con la familia en el medievo. La novena y última se encuentra un texto académico para la enseñanza de la Edad Media.⁵⁰ Terminamos con el artículo de Ruiz-Domènec⁵¹ quien hizo un recuento de sus vivencias como historiador dedicado a la Edad Media, con el cerramos esta parte porque no cumplió ninguna de las características para ubicarlo en alguna de las anteriores temáticas.

4. Las reseñas sobre libros de la Edad Media

En la tercera parte tenemos las reseñas de libros de historia medieval publicadas en las revistas de historia de Colombia (tabla 3), son evidencia del interés por parte de historiadores colombianos por temas y autores medievalistas. La mayoría de las reseñas son del historiador colombiano Abel López Forero, de quien se han señalado varios artículos en la anterior sección. Se puede afirmar que es de lejos el investigador y profesor más dedicado en el país a la Edad Media. Por eso las primeras reseñas a revisar en este aparte serán las de él, después se pasará a las realizadas por otros autores. El trabajo consistirá en un resumen de las principales consideraciones expresadas en cada texto, con el fin de conocer la valoración que se le dio a la obra comentada y de su aporte en el área

La primera reseña es al libro de Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, que para López “es una brillante crítica a los abusos que políticos e incluso historiadores han hecho de la temprana Edad Media”.⁵² Afirma que el autor rechaza los usos arbitrarios de elementos medievales para justificar prejuicios y exclusiones por parte de ideólogos del nacionalismo europeo.⁵³

45. Castañeda, Felipe. “La cruz y la espada: filosofía de la guerra en Francisco de Vitoria”. *Historia Crítica*, 22 (2001): 27-50.

46. Ceballos, Diana Luz. “Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición...”: 51-72.

47. Contreras, Jaime. “Inquisición: ¿auge o crisis? Realmente ‘otra’ Inquisición”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 26 (1999): 286-332.

48. Soto, Gonzalo. “Las ‘humanistas’...”: 59-80; Miranda, Néstor. “Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...”: 117-125.

49. López, Abel Ignacio. “Mujeres y Familia...”: 99-115

50. Miranda, Néstor. “Pedro Abelardo y los Estudios...”: 117-125.

51. Ruiz-Domènec, José Enrique. “Un pedazo de la vida: los senderos de un medievalista europeo para el siglo XXI”. *Historia Crítica*, 54 (2014): 125-141.

52. López, Abel Ignacio. “Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 199”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 29 (2002): 292.

53. López, Abel Ignacio. “Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations...*”: 293.

Considera que el libro es una reivindicación de la historia como ciencia de cambio, posibles gracias a varias investigaciones del mismo Geary y a los hallazgos arqueológicos logrados en el marco de la investigación.⁵⁴ Por la importancia del trabajo realizado concluye: “este libro y las investigaciones en las que se apoya inducen a revisar mapas históricos y textos universitarios”.⁵⁵

La segunda reseña tiene por título *Periodización, renacimiento y una larga Edad Media* y es sobre el libro de Jacques Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'Histoire en tranches?* En ella retoma el debate acerca de la periodización en la historia, que según López es un hábito aprendido de los religiosos influenciados por el judeocristianismo.⁵⁶ Opina que el libro cuestiona a “los defensores del Renacimiento como periodo propio exageran algunos de sus alcances, desdeñan de los logros de la Edad Media y no caen en la cuenta de que las mayores transformaciones tuvieron lugar después del siglo XVIII”.⁵⁷

Otro texto analizado fue el libro de Carlos Astarita *Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa, 1250-1520*,⁵⁸ del que valora su distanciamiento de las tesis de Perry Anderson, Reyna Pastor, Maurice Dobb y de otros medievalistas sobre el carácter del Estado feudal, del papel de comercio y de la industria rural en el origen del capitalismo.⁵⁹ Por esa razón considera que el libro “constituye una reivindicación de la historiografía económica marxista, que pone en tela de juicio ciertas ideas sobre el excepcionalísimo castellano de finales de la Edad Media”.⁶⁰ Concluye que la mayor novedad del libro es “poder mostrar que, en el caso castellano, el origen del capitalismo no fue necesariamente resultado de la crisis del feudalismo”.⁶¹

La cuarta reseña corresponde al libro de Frank Barlow *Tomás Becket. El santo político*,⁶² que López tituló: *Delito y responsabilidad política*. Afirma que el texto nos ofrece muchos detalles que ayudan a entender el proceso que condujo al homicidio de Becket, destaca que “sin duda [el rey] había puesto en marcha operaciones que fácilmente podían producir tal desenlace”. Añade que el texto permite analizar la intervención de rey, como todo “habría sido planeado por cortesanos interesados en congraciarse con el soberano”.⁶³ Valora la obra porque nos permite ver esa lucha de los poderes espiritual y temporal y sus alcances jurisdiccionales, su supremacía y legitimidades propias.⁶⁴

La siguiente reseña es sobre libro de David Herlihy *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, que es el resultado de tres conferencias dictadas por el autor en 1985. En ellas retomó varios aspectos de la peste de 1348, clásicamente relacionada con la peste bubónica y que es revisada por Herlihy, dando como resultado nuevas conclusiones. Para López el libro cuestiona esa visión clásica

54. López, Abel Ignacio. “Geary, Patrick, The Myth of Nations...”: 295.

55. López, Abel Ignacio. “Geary, Patrick, The Myth of Nations...”: 296.

56. López, Abel. “Periodización, renacimiento y una larga edad media. Jacques Le Goff. Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 41/2 (2014): 355-363.

57. López, Abel. “Periodización, renacimiento y una larga edad...”: 358.

58. López, Abel. “Astarita, Carlos. Del feudalismo al capitalismo. Cambio social y político en Castilla y Europa Occidental, 1250-1520. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia, 2005, 264 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 31 (2011): 120-123.

59. López, Abel. “Astarita, Carlos. Del feudalismo al capitalismo...”: 120.

60. López, Abel. “Astarita, Carlos. Del feudalismo al capitalismo...”: 122.

61. López, Abel. “Astarita, Carlos. Del feudalismo al capitalismo...”: 123.

62. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. “Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket. El santo político. Barcelona: Edhasa, 2012. 576 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 36 (2014): 149-151.

63. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. “Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...”: 150.

64. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. “Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...”: 151.



del hecho, porque al mirar los relatos de las curaciones el autor hace hincapié, que no se mencionan la presencia de tumores o bubas, sino de puntos oscuros o pústulas en diferentes partes del cuerpo.⁶⁵ En resumen el texto no solo cuestiona esa visión clásica, sino que también lo hace de la explicación malsusiana, que en su momento no tuvo en cuenta las diferencias sociales y la penuria de los recursos, que no terminó afectando de la misma manera a ricos y a pobres.

El sexto libro reseñado es: 1492. *El nacimiento de la modernidad* de Felipe Fernández-Armesto, del que valora su abundante uso de fuentes primarias, pero cuestiona el poco uso de bibliografía moderna y actualizada. Que por su ausencia, según López no permite de forma clara la demostración de su tesis.⁶⁶

El siguiente texto que comento es el de Paul Freedman: *Lo que vino de Oriente, las especias y la imaginación medieval*. Destaca López que el autor permite conocer como las especias no tenían un uso restringido a la conservación de los alimentos, también era considerado sus poderes curativos y sus fragancias, más si estaban asociadas a la santidad y al “Paraíso”.⁶⁷ Concluye que lo anterior sirvió de motivación para la exploración portuguesa y castellana, pero al final en el siglo XVII su demanda disminuiría al punto que pasaron de moda. Además con los nuevos productos del Nuevo Mundo hubo un cambio de los gustos alimenticios y las prácticas médicas.⁶⁸

La octava reseña es al texto de Andrea Del Col, *Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio*,⁶⁹ comenta que es una continuación de la obra de hace veinticinco años de Carlo Ginzburg, por la que nos dejó conocer la biografía y pensamiento de Domenico Scandella.⁷⁰ A su juicio complementa el trabajo antes realizado, y reitera como el uso de los procesos inquisitoriales podrían ser una fuente para conocer la vida de alguien y su mundo intelectual.⁷¹

La siguiente reseña de López es al libro *Une histoire de la violence. De la fin du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, de Robert Muchembled. Anota que el texto nos ofrece la posibilidad de entender cómo en la Europa occidental desde el siglo XIII, hubo un progresivo declive de la violencia física, de manera especial en lo que se refiere a homicidios. El texto muestra que “los violentos eran en su mayoría jóvenes y célibes, movidos por lo que el autor denomina una ‘ética viril’ y como las sociedades medievales no solían condenar esas agresiones; más bien las estimulaban”. Finalmente esa práctica entraría en desuso progresivamente hasta el siglo XVI, lo anterior se debió al fortalecimiento del Estado y la extensión de la justicia criminal junto con las nuevas normas de comportamiento. Por último, resalta que “a comienzos del siglo XXI, la violencia tiene aún rasgos medievales manifiestos, en especial, en las bandas de jóvenes de los barrios de las grandes ciudades”.⁷²

65. López Forero, Abel Ignacio. “Barlow, Frank. Tomás Becket...”: 151.

66. López, Abel. “Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. 1492. El nacimiento de la modernidad. Bogotá: Mondadori, colección Debate, 2010, 371 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 85.

67. Sánchez, Ricardo. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa en la época del descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión Ibérica hacia ultramar, 1450-1550. Santafé de Bogotá, Ariel Historia, 299 págs.”. *Historia y Sociedad*, 6 (1999): 277.

68. López, Abel. “Freedman, Paul. Lo que vino de Oriente. Las especias y la imaginación medieval. Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universitat de Valencia, 2010, 289 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 87.

69. López, Abel I. “Andrea Del Col. ‘Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio: His Trials Before the Inquisition, 1583-1599. Traducido por John y Anne C. Tedeschi. Tempe, Ar.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies’, 1997. 173 páginas”. *Fronteras de la Historia*, 6 (2001): 270-276.

70. López, Abel I. “Andrea Del Col. ‘Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio...’: 270.

71. López, Abel I. “Andrea Del Col. ‘Domenico Scandella Known as Menochio...’: 271.

72. López, Abel. “Muchembled, Robert. ‘Une histoire de la violence. De la fin du Moyen-Age à nos jours’. París: Éditions du Seuil, 2008, 499 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 30 (2011): 86.

Sigue ahora el libro de Kathen Davis *Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time*.⁷³ En su reseña López plantea que “la periodización con la que se distingue las edades Media y Moderna sirve de disfraz a un ejercicio de poder”. Porque se busca asociar a la “Edad Media con feudalismo, desorden político, religión y esclavitud, por una parte, y a Edad Moderna con soberanía, secularización y libertad”. Para él la autora deja muy claro la influencia de los presupuestos de la Ilustración, que buscó con esa división mostrar cómo “la época moderna emancipó a Europa del lastre del feudalismo y del dominio de la religión, y que ese cambio benefició a toda la humanidad”.⁷⁴ En el libro tenemos a opinión de López un buen recorrido por las categorías de feudalismo y secularización y los debates frente a su uso.⁷⁵

La reseña once es al libro de Gabriele Spiegel *The past as text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*,⁷⁶ que para López es una invitación a leer de una manera distinta las crónicas medievales.⁷⁷ Añade que la obra nos ayuda a ver la manera de enfrentar los retos de la propuesta postmodernista,⁷⁸ esto se debe porque en la primera parte del texto se nos ofrecen los “fundamentos teóricos y sociales del llamado giro lingüístico y su influencia en los estudios de la historia”.⁷⁹

La siguiente reseña es al libro de Miri Rubin *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and The Challenges of Medieval History* y *L'ogre Historien* de Jacques Le Goff.⁸⁰ La obra es resultado del coloquio que se dio en el Centro de Historia y Economía del *King's College* en Cambridge, en donde alrededor de cincuenta medievalistas se reunieron con ocasión del septuagésimo cumpleaños de Le Goff. Para López el texto se puede resumir en dos preguntas “¿Qué han aprendido de él los medievalistas? y en ¿Qué se ha progresado desde el momento en que él planteó o propuso determinado problema?”. Comenta que varios de los artículos son el desarrollo de temas propuestos y planteados por Le Goff, a manera de revisión al aporte del medievalista francés y la proyección de su obra.⁸¹

Las reseñas realizadas por López terminan con la hecha al libro de José Ramón Díaz de Durana, *Pasión por la Edad Media. Entrevista con José Ángel García de Cortázar*.⁸² El trabajo es fruto de dos entrevistas realizadas, una en 2005 y la otra en 2007, en donde se resalta su actitud pionera en la investigación medieval a la hora de estudiar la realidad rural castellana, sobre todo las relaciones entre espacio y poder. También en el texto se puede ver el estado y futuro de los debates medievales, que generan en García una cierta preocupación, aspecto quiere evidenciar López en su reseña.⁸³

73. López, Abel. “Davis, Kathleen. ‘Periodization and Sovereignty. How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time’”. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008. 187 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 32 (2012): 106-109.

74. López, Abel. “Davis, Kathleen. ‘Periodization and Sovereignty...’: 106.

75. López, Abel. “Davis, Kathleen. ‘Periodization and Sovereignty...’: 106-107.

76. López, Abel Ignacio. “Spiegel, Gabrielle. ‘The past as text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography’”. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, 1999, 298p.”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 25 (1998): 248-251.

77. López, Abel Ignacio. “Spiegel, Gabrielle. ‘The past as text...’: 249.

78. López, Abel Ignacio. “Spiegel, Gabrielle. ‘The past as text...’: 248.

79. López, Abel Ignacio. “Spiegel, Gabrielle. ‘The past as text...’: 248.

80. López, Abel Ignacio. “Rubín, Miri (Editor). *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, Rochester, N. Y., Boydell Press, 1997, p. 262. Revel, Jacques, Schmitt, Jean Claude (editors). *L'ogre Historien. Autour Jacques Le Goff*. Paris, Gallimard, 1998, p. 353”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 28 (1998): 219-226.

81. López, Abel Ignacio. “Rubín, Miri (Editor). *The Work of Jacques Le Goff...’: 219.*

82. López, Abel. “Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. *Pasión por la Edad Media. Entrevista con José Ángel García de Cortázar*. Valencia: Ediciones Universidad de Valencia, 2008, 195 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 31 (2011): 124.

83. López, Abel. “Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. *Pasión por la Edad Media...’: 124.*



Ahora vienen varias reseñas realizadas a los libros de Abel Ignacio López Forero. Las dos primeras son al texto *Europa en la época del Descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión hacia ultramar, 1450-1550*, escritas por Rubén Jaramillo⁸⁴ y Ricardo Sánchez.⁸⁵ Ambos autores señalan que este texto es fruto de la experiencia docente de López, resaltan que la finalidad de la obra son las aulas universitarias.⁸⁶ Los dos reseñistas de manera distinta valoran la obra: Jaramillo destaca lo importante que es “dentro del proceso, tan vigoroso y original, de la historiografía académica colombiana en los últimos años, ya empiecen a producirse obras como la presente, que vienen a ampliar hacia el ámbito universal, la problemática tratada”.⁸⁷ En cambio Sánchez realza lo que se refiere a los orígenes del continente, que para él tiene dos, la clásica del descubrimiento, y la segunda propuesta por él que es la “de su emancipación”. Considera que el libro ayudaría a entender ese segundo origen, y a tener una mirada de cómo fue “nuestra inserción, a través de la violencia de la dominación, del mestizaje y el sincretismo en la modernidad”.⁸⁸

La siguiente reseña es de Medófilo Medina⁸⁹ al libro *Europa. Temas, debates y libros* de Abel López, resalta la importancia del autor en la formación de los historiadores del país, apunta que el libro debe:

(...) estudiarse como el reflejo de una parábola intelectual tanto en el plano docente como investigativo. No solo los que han sido alumnos del profesor López sino, no pocos de los historiadores e historiadoras colombianos tenemos una deuda intelectual con él por haber puesto a nuestra disposición una erudición histórica a la que sin su concurso no habríamos accedido.⁹⁰

Desde nuestra opinión la anterior idea está significativamente respaldada y podría servir de conclusión a la obra intelectual de López que ha sido objeto de acercamiento en este artículo, los aportes por él logrados y el alto nivel de sus investigaciones son evidentes.

La reseña diecisiete es la de Dolcey Romero sobre el texto de Jacques Heers, titulado: *Esclavos y sirvientes en las sociedades mediterráneas durante la Edad Media*.⁹¹ Sobre el libro afirma en la reseña que “es una obra desmitificadora de las fronteras y límites con que desde lo extremo se ha parcelado tradicionalmente los procesos históricos; especialmente el problema de la esclavitud”.⁹² En su opinión el trabajo puede dar “luces a futuras investigaciones relacionadas con la esclavitud indígena y negra en nuestro país [Colombia]”.⁹³

84. Jaramillo, Rubén. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa en la época del Descubrimiento. Comercio y expansión hacia ultramar, 1450-1550. Santafé de Bogotá, Ariel Historia, 1998, 311 páginas.”. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 25 (1998): 379-381.

85. Sánchez, Ricardo. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...”: 276-277.

86. Jaramillo, Rubén. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...”: 379; Sánchez, Ricardo. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...”: 276.

87. Jaramillo, Rubén. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...”: 380.

88. Sánchez, Ricardo. “Abel Ignacio López Forero. Europa...”: 277.

89. Medina, Medófilo. “López Forero, Abel Ignacio. Europa. Temas, debates y libros. Bogotá: Xpress Estudio Gráfico y Digital S.A., 2013. 438 pp.”. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 35 (2013): 262-265.

90. Medina, Medófilo. “López Forero, Abel Ignacio. Europa...”: 265.

91. Romero, Dolcey. “Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes en las sociedades mediterráneas durante la Edad Media. Instituto Valenciano de Estudios e Investigación, España, 1995”. *Historia Caribe*, 4 (1999): 148-149.

92. Romero, Dolcey. “Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes...”: 148.

93. Romero, Dolcey. “Jacques Heers. Esclavos y sirvientes...”: 149.



La última reseña revisada es la de Jaime Humberto Borja⁹⁴ al libro de Yobenj Chicangana, *Sobre la imágenes de caníbales del Nuevo Mundo, lo maravilloso a lo exótico colonial de los siglos XV-XVII*. A su juicio la importancia de la obra es porque nos permite ver la influencia que tuvo la manera que fueron escritas las crónicas en el momento del descubrimiento y la colonización, y cómo en ellas se enfatizó el discurso sobre el canibalismo. Todo lo anterior con el interés de mostrar y resaltar la barbarie de los indígenas, y así justificar las acciones de dominio y control realizadas en América.⁹⁵ El libro permite ver cómo el poder de los imaginarios terminó por afectar los patrones, la veracidad y la intención de estas narraciones, es clara la relación entre el discurso narrado y discurso visual.⁹⁶

5. A modo de conclusión

La presencia de la Edad Media en el desarrollo historiográfico colombiano es claro, sobre todo en los primeros años, en donde la historia universal era una temática de interés. Lo anterior se puede ver en el balance realizado, hay una mayor presencia de estos temas en los primeros años. El progresivo abandono se puede entender en la medida en que se crearon los primeros departamentos de historia en el país, lo que permitió la profesionalización del oficio a nivel nacional. Este cambio influyó para que esas temáticas de carácter universal, fueran progresivamente reemplazadas por temas de interés local. Actualmente la Edad Media y la Historia Universal no son cuestión de preocupación en estos momentos a la hora de la formación inicial, como tampoco en la práctica investigativa. Situación que se puede ver en los temas que se abordan en los trabajos de grado de historia, tanto en los niveles de pregrado y postgrado (maestría y doctorado) en donde son un tema ausente.

El otro punto es la calidad de los textos que se encontraron, si tenemos en cuenta los posibles limitantes a los que se enfrentaron en su momento los autores. Llama la atención como los artículos analizados tienen una cierta distancia a las visiones clásicas de los escritores liberales de los siglos XIX y XX,⁹⁷ al momento de estudiar sus exposiciones y conclusiones. Por último, la historia universal y por lo tanto la Edad Media, sigue siendo considerada una época suficientemente estudiada y lejana para la mayoría de los historiadores del país. Pero trabajos como los de Echeverry⁹⁸ y Ceballos,⁹⁹ por mencionar algunos, son la muestra de todo lo contrario y cómo desde nuestra orilla, con la rigurosidad propia de la investigación histórica, se pueden dar a luz a buenos textos que aportan al estudio de mundo medieval.

94. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo. Imágenes de caníbales y salvajes del Nuevo Mundo. De lo maravilloso medieval a lo exótico colonial. Siglos XV-XVIII. Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2013, 260 pp.". *Historia Crítica*, 53 (2014): 227-231.

95. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo...": 227-228

96. Borja, Jaime Humberto. "Chicangana-Bayona, Yobenj Aucardo...": 228.

97. Esto es mencionado en los trabajos de López y Ceballos en donde ambos señalan el rezago vivido de los estudios de la Edad Media que sufrieron por los discursos de la Ilustración y del liberalismo del siglo XIX. Coincidiendo con el planteamiento de Sabaté: "esa Edad Media sinónimo de época de retroceso, estancada (media) entre dos polos de progreso y avance, ha consolidado la expresión en medios cultos al margen de la evolución que pueda tener la visión del medioevo". Sabaté, Flocel. "La Edad Media en nuestro presente". *Iber. Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 14 (1997): 27.

98. Echeverry, Antonio José. "Franciscanos, tras ideales utópicos". *Historia y Espacio*, 28 (2007): 65-90.

99. Ceballos, Diana Luz. "Política, heterodoxia e Inquisición...": 51-72.



LA CERÀMICA DE SANT MIQUEL DE LA VALL: UNA REFLEXIÓ SOBRE LA CIRCULACIÓ I INTERCANVI DE CERÀMICA GRISA A LA CATALUNYA MEDIEVAL

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RESUM

La ceràmica grisa medieval de Sant Miquel de la Vall constitueix un cas particular en l'estudi d'aquest tipus de produccions a Catalunya. La caracterització arqueomètrica d'un conjunt reduït format per 10 individus mitjançant la seva anàlisi petrogràfica a partir de l'observació microscòpica de làmines primes i la determinació dels trets químics i mineralògics per mitjà de les anàlisis de Fluorescència de Raigs X (FRX) i Difracció de Raigs X (DRX) ha permès identificar fins a quatre produccions diferenciades, algunes de les quals han estat recuperades també en altres jaciments llunyans ubicats a les comarques de l'Anoia i el Gironès. En aquest treball presentem una reflexió respecte de les possibles rutes de circulació i intercanvi de ceràmica en època medieval i sobre el paper dels rius Segre, Llobregat i Ter com a elements articuladors del territori entre els segles XI i XII.¹

1. Introducció

La ceràmica comuna de cuina de cocció reductora, coneguda habitualment com a “ceràmica grisa”, constitueix un dels vestigis arqueològics més comuns als jaciments d'època medieval tant a Catalunya com a tot el terç nord peninsular, el migdia de França i la península itàlica. Habitualment considerades com a produccions locals, llur procés de manufactura sovint ha estat interpretat en qualitat d'activitat estacional, complementària de les tasques agrícoles i ramaderes per a satisfer les necessitats domèstiques, o bé com a producte de comerç en circuits reduïts i limitats, en petits mercats de tipus local. El caràcter altament utilitari d'aquests productes, sovint mancats de decoració o amb senzills motius incisos, i la simplicitat de les seves formes al llarg de períodes molt extensos, dificulten considerablement la seva interpretació en clau de provenença a partir d'una aproximació exclusivament morfològica o macroscòpica.

Al llarg dels darrers anys, s'ha dut a terme un projecte de recerca multidisciplinari centrat en l'estudi analític d'un conjunt extens de ceràmica grisa d'arreu de Catalunya, amb l'objectiu de definir amb precisió l'existència d'àrees de producció amb característiques singulars i el seu grau d'interrelació en clau territorial. El panorama general de producció i distribució d'aquest tipus de

1. Aquest article s'inscriu entre els treballs habituals del Grup de Recerca d'Arqueologia Medieval i Postmedieval de la Universitat de Barcelona (GRAMP-UB), grup de recerca consolidat per la Generalitat de Catalunya (2014SGR1252) i deriva del projecte postdoctoral: *La ceràmica de cuina en època medieval: provenença, tecnologia i comerç al camp català* (2010 BP-A 00335) finançat per la Generalitat de Catalunya. Expressem el nostre agraïment a l'*Institute of Archaeology* (UCL) per haver facilitat l'ús dels *Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories*.

productes a la llum dels resultats obtinguts passa per una distinció entre centres de producció de majors o menors dimensions disseminats arreu del territori i amb un impacte diferenciat en funció de la seva capacitat productiva.² Per regla general, aquest tipus de vaixella culinària datada entre els segles XI i XII respon, efectivament, a produccions limitades amb un abast regional, fortament marcades pels circuits de producció i distribució locals. Tanmateix el terme “local” no deixa de ser un qualificatiu imprecís a l’hora de definir aquest tipus de produccions.

De fet, el terme “local” ha suscitat al llarg de molts anys una reflexió que a donat origen a una extensa literatura. Des que a finals dels anys 70 es duguessin a terme les primeres aproximacions analítiques amb l’objectiu clar de determinar la provenença dels productes ceràmics, és generalment acceptat que les fonts de matèria primera que poden determinar la procedència local o no d’un conjunt es distingeixen per la seva composició química, mineralògica i petrogràfica.³ Des d’aquesta perspectiva, fonamentada en l’anàlisi de pastes, la identificació de la zona de producció és complexa en absència d’evidències directes. El coneixement de la geologia local i regional i la comparació amb els materials de procedència coneguda és un element clau per a la identificació de la provenença.⁴ Tanmateix, és necessari tenir en compte altres factors que hi poden influir com ara la variabilitat de les fonts de matèria primera o les tècniques de preparació de la pasta.

Si entenem per local aquella vaixella produïda exclusivament per la mateixa comunitat que l’ha d’emprar, aquest és un fenomen que no succeeix de manera tan freqüent com es podria pensar. A Catalunya, les grans dimensions i la capacitat productiva de les terrisseries medievals de Cabrera d’Anoia i Casampons han de fer pensar necessàriament en una producció que supera l’àmbit estrictament local i circula en un radi regional més ampli; i la tradició terrisseria de localitats com Verdú, Piera, Quart o La Bisbal, que van assolir un renom en la producció de ceràmica comuna que ha arribat fins als nostres dies, constitueixen també un element de reflexió sobre l’abast d’aquest tipus de produccions en època medieval. En qualsevol cas, sembla que a casa nostra el panorama és el de diversos cercles regionals, amb un grau d’impacte desigual sobre el territori. Hauríem de parlar, en realitat, d’una sèrie de circuits reduïts on un o diversos centres individuals o nucleats⁵ abasteixen els vilatges de la seva rodalia en un radi major o menor en funció de la capacitat productiva del centre.

Tanmateix, posant per cas que un matís significatiu del mot local permetés incloure aquest espai regional més extens, la caracterització de la ceràmica del Castelló Sobirà de Sant Miquel de la Vall (Il·lustració 1) planteja una realitat que va més enllà d’aquests circuits reduïts. L’estudi d’una petita mostra integrada en el projecte esmentat i formada per 10 individus procedents d’aquest jaciment pirinenc⁶ ha revelat l’existència de produccions clarament diferenciades i la seva comparació amb altres referències conegudes fa sospitar d’una circulació regular de productes entre el Pirineu i la

2. Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. “Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria en el noreste peninsular: una aproximación territorial a partir del estudio analítico de vajilla utilitaria”. *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 21 (2014): 125-153.

3. Tite, Michael S. “Ceramic production, provenance and use – a review”. *Archaeometry*, 50/2 (2008): 216-231.

4. Arnold, Dean E.; Neff, Hector; Bishop, Ronald L. “Compositional analysis and ‘sources’ of pottery: an ethnoarchaeological approach”. *American anthropologist*, 93 (1991): 70-90; Bishop, Ronald L.; Rands, Robert L.; Holley, George R. “Ceramic compositional analysis in archaeological perspective”. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 5 (1982): 275-330; Rice, Prudence M. *Pottery analyses: a sourcebook*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987: 413.

5. Peacock, David P. S. *Pottery in the roman world: An ethnoarchaeological approach*. Londres: Longman, 1982: 9.

6. Riu, Manuel. “Castelló Sobirà de Sant Miquel de la Vall”, *Catalunya romànica*, Antoni Pladevall, ed. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993: XV, 333-339.



plana amb un radi d'acció considerable. En aquest treball, presentem els resultats de la caracterització arqueomètrica d'aquest conjunt ceràmic com a punt de partida fonamental per a una reflexió en clau més àmplia sobre l'abast d'aquest tipus de productes i el seu potencial en un estudi multidisciplinari encaminat a definir els processos d'articulació del territori en època medieval.

En aquest sentit, el jaciment de Sant Miquel de la Vall constitueix un cas d'estudi paradigmàtic donades les característiques de l'assentament, que condensa a petita escala els trets d'una societat en ple procés de feudalització i que és un exponent clar de l'hàbitat fortificat dels segles XI-XII.⁷ Aquest model d'ocupació del territori, que inclou en un mateix assentament la fortificació i la concentració del poblament rural, fou àmpliament difós als territoris comtals al llarg del segle XI en perfecta consonància amb les transformacions de les estructures socials i polítiques. La distribució de les estructures d'hàbitat a l'interior d'una vila murada (Il·lustració 1a) que envolta les cases amb una estructura defensiva, sovint amb un reforçament dels murs posteriors, no sempre respon a un mecanisme de defensa davant d'un perill extern sinó també a una dinàmica estratègica d'ordenació del territori i de les poblacions existents que es revela com a reflex de les repercussions sobre la ocupació de l'espai que genera la implantació de l'ordre feudal.⁸ Podem trobar paral·lels d'aquest tipus de poblament a la mateixa comarca del Pallars: al castell de Mur,⁹ i arreu de Catalunya en vilatges despoblats a partir del segle XIV com el Roc de Palomera,¹⁰ al Berguedà; el vilatge de Caulers,¹¹ a Caldes de Malavella; o el poblat medieval de l'Esquerda,¹² a Osona; per exemple, tots ells en plena activitat al llarg dels segles XI-XII.

La distribució interna del jaciment no dista gaire de l'estructura habitual dels poblats i llogarets medievals fortificats o no. El castellet i el conjunt del poblat queden ubicats a la zona sud de l'estructura murada. En aquesta zona, les cases queden ubicades al llarg d'un eix NE-SO seguint el pendent del terreny que s'enfila fins a la cantonada est al llarg de tres terrasses successives (Il·lustració 1). A la posició més elevada, el castell domina el conjunt del poblat i se situa a l'empara de la muralla sud. El poblat s'estén vers el sud, de manera descendent, fins arribar a la part més baixa on s'hi troba l'església dedicada a Sant Miquel, probablement d'origen romà tardà, d'una sola nau i planta basilical.¹³

2. Metodologia d'estudi i rutina analítica

Les 10 mostres de ceràmica analitzades corresponen a parets informes corresponents a la forma olla a excepció de tres fragments de vora (Il·lustració 1c), totes elles pertanyents a diferents in-

7. Riu, Manuel. "Creació i desaparició d'alguns vilatges fortificats a la Catalunya Medieval". *Cota Zero: Revista d'Arqueologia i Ciència*, 6 (1990): 57-66.

8. Padilla, José I. "Últimas intervenciones en el despoblado de Sant Miquel de la Vall (Pallars Jussà)". *Tribuna d'Arqueologia*, (1985-1986): 75-82.

9. Adell, Joan Albert; Benito, Pere. "Castell de Mur", *Catalunya romànica*, Antoni Pladevall, ed. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1993: XV, 347-352.

10. Riu, Manuel. "Creació i desaparició d'alguns vilatges...": 57-66.

11. Riu, Manuel. *Excavaciones en el poblado medieval de Caulers (mun. Caldes de Malavella, prov. Girona)*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia, 1976.

12. Ollich, Imma. "Roda ciutat (L'Esquerda) i la defensa de la línia del Ter al comtat d'Osona", *Actes del Congrés Els Castells Medievals a la Mediterrània Nord-Occidental (Arbúcies, Girona, 5-7 març 2003)*. Arbúcies: Museu Etnològic del Montseny, 2004: 179-194.

13. Padilla, José I. "Últimas intervenciones en el despoblado...": 78.

dividus. Han estat caracteritzades mitjançant una combinació de tècniques que inclou l'anàlisi petrogràfica per microscòpia òptica (MO) de làmines primes i l'estudi de la composició química mitjançant la Fluorescència de Raigs X (FRX). Aquests dos mètodes han estat realitzats de manera independent i els resultats d'un i altre comparats entre ells, així com amb la informació macroscòpica i contextual dels fragments i amb altres mostres de ceràmica grisa procedents de jaciments d'arreu de Catalunya que han estat emprades com a elements de referència.

Per a l'estudi petrogràfic (MO) una làmina prima estàndard de 3 µm de gruix ha estat preparada a partir d'una secció vertical de cadascuna de les mostres. Aquestes làmines han estat observades mitjançant un microscopi de llum polaritzada *LEICA DM EP* que disposa d'una màquina fotogràfica *Q-imaging Go-3*. El seu estudi ha permès agrupar-les en fàbriques petrogràfiques en funció de la natura de les seves inclusions, matriu i porositat.¹⁴ Aquesta tècnica permet identificar aspectes concrets relatius a la proveniència de les mostres, la matèria primera emprada i la tecnologia que defineix el procés productiu. L'estudi de proveniència s'ha dut a terme comparant els resultats obtinguts amb altres mostres de ceràmica i amb el mapa geològic de Catalunya emprant la base de cartografia geològica proporcionada per l'Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya i comparada amb la base topogràfica mitjançant l'aplicació en línia <http://www.icc.cat/vissir3/>.

La caracterització química ha estat realitzada mitjançant l'anàlisi amb un equip *Spectro X-Lab 2000 ED-XRF* de pastilles preparades a partir de c. 5g de mostra, a excepció de la mostra SMVa03, amb un pes massa reduït per poder realitzar totes les anàlisis, per la qual cosa s'ha donat prioritat a la preparació de la làmina prima. Respecte de la resta d'individus, les pastilles han estat obtingudes a partir de la mescla de 4g de mostra prèviament molta i assecada durant 12 hores a 100°C, amb 0,9 g de cera en pols *Hoescht* premsada durant 2,5 minuts sota una pressió de 15 Tm. Han estat determinats i analitzats com a òxids 8 elements majors (Na_2O , MgO , Al_2O_3 , SiO_2 , K_2O , CaO , TiO_2 , Fe_2O_3) i 2 de menors (P_2O_5 , MnO), juntament amb 20 traces (S, V, Cr, Co, Ni, Cu, Zn, Ga, Rb, Sr, Y, Zr, Nb, Ba, La, Ce, Hf, Ta, Pb, Th) expressades com a element. Han estat descartats tots els elements amb concentracions inferiors a 10 ppm per trobar-se per sota del límit de detecció de l'instrumental.

La taula de dades obtinguda, amb els valors normalitzats al 100%, correspon a un cas especial de l'espai projectiu $d+1$ -dimensional de punts projectius des de l'origen que són projectats en el símplex S_d on tant els punts com les seves projeccions en el símplex segueixen un model multiplicatiu amb una mètrica d'interval·ls logarítmics.¹⁵ Per això, hem transformat les dades en logaritmes de raons centrats (LRC) segons

14. Travé, Esther. *Producció i distribució d'una terrisseria medieval: Cabrera d'Anoia*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (tesi doctoral), 2009: 260-275; Travé, Esther. "Producció i distribució d'una terrisseria medieval: Cabrera d'Anoia". *Tesis doctorales en Red*. 12 Gener 2010, Universitat de Barcelona. 14 Gener 2015 <<http://www.tesisenred.net/handle/10803/2072>>; Quinn, Patrick S. *Ceramic Petrography. The Interpretation of Archeological Pottery & Related Artefacts in Thin Section*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013: 73-79.

15. Barceló Vidal, Carles; Martín Fernández, José A., Pawlowsky Glahn, Vera. "Mathematical foundations of compositional data analysis". *Proceedings of IAGG'01. The Annual meeting of the International Association for Mathematical Geology (Cancun 6-12 September)*, Gina Ross, ed. Lawrence: Kansas Geological Survey, 2001: 1-20 (CD-ROM). Versió online: Barceló Vidal, Carles; Martín Fernández, José A., Pawlowsky Glahn, Vera. "Mathematical foundations of compositional data analysis". *Universitat de Girona*. 12 Gener 2015 <http://ima.udg.edu/~barcelo/index_archivos/Cancun.pdf>; Aitchison, John. "A concise guide to compositional data analysis". *Department of Statistics University of Glasgow*. 2005. 14 Gener 2015 <http://www.leg.ufpr.br/lib/exe/fetch.php/pessoais:abtmartins:a_concise_guide_to_compositional_data_analysis.pdf>; Buxeda, Jaume. "Revisiting the compositional data. Some fundamental questions and new prospects in Archaeometry and Archaeology". *Proceedings of CO-DAWORK'08, The 3rd compositional Data Analysis Workshop, May 27-30, Girona*, Josep Daunis, Josep Antoni Martín, eds. Girona: Universitat de Girona, 2008, 1-18.



$$\mathbf{x} \in S^d \rightarrow \mathbf{y} = \log\left(\frac{\mathbf{x}}{g(\mathbf{x})}\right) \in \mathbb{R}^{d+1}$$

on S^d és el símplex d -dimensional i $g(\mathbf{x})$ és la mitjana geomètrica de tots els $d+1$ components de $\mathbf{x}$. Les dades obtingudes a partir d'aquesta transformació han estat explotades estadísticament mitjançant diversos anàlisis de components principals (ACP) i de conglomerats (AC); tot això emprant el programa IBM SPSS en la seva versió 19.0. Tot i que encara avui dia no hi ha un acord unànim en l'ús de la transformació logarítmica car l'explotació logarítmica minimitza els efectes de dilució mentre que l'explotació de dades estandarditzades emfasitza la capacitat diferenciadora de grups de les dades absolutes,¹⁶ sembla evident que en un conjunt tan reduït com el nostre resulta imprescindible minimitzar els possibles efectes de la variabilitat interna.

D'altra banda, la variació total del conjunt (vt) ha estat calculada a partir de l'equació

$$vt = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n d_a^2(x_i, g(\mathbf{x}))}{n}$$

i l'origen d'aquesta variabilitat ha estat analitzat a partir d'una matriu de variació composicional (MVC) definida com

$$T = [\tau_{ij}] = var[\log(x_i/x_j)]$$

on $i = 1, \dots, D-1$ i $j = i+1, \dots, D$. Es tracta d'una matriu simètrica amb valors '0' a la seva diagonal que hem simplificat considerant $v_{ij} = \exp(-\sqrt{\tau_{ij}})$ per a cada valor a la versió final per tal d'obtenir valors compresos a l'interval $[0,1]$, on 0_{ij} implica manca de proporcionalitat i 1_{ij} implica proporcionalitat perfecta.

Un cop determinats els grups composicionals principals, les mostres SMVa02, SMVa05 i SMVa09 han estat caracteritzades mineralògicament per Difracció de Raigs X (DRX) a partir de 0,5 g de l'espècimen en pols prèviament preparat. Aquesta pols ha estat dipositada en un portamostres preparat a tal efecte i compactada manualment amb una placa de vidre fins a obtenir una superfície plana i uniforme. Els mesuraments han estat realitzats mitjançant un difractòmetre de sobretaula *RIGAKU MiniFlex 600* treballant amb la radiació $K\alpha$ del Cu ($\lambda = 1,54060 \text{ \AA}$) a una potència de treball de 0,6 kW (40kV, 15mA) entre 3 i $90^\circ 2\theta$ amb una amplada de pas de $0,02^\circ 2\theta$ i una velocitat de $10^\circ/\text{min}$. Les fases cristal·lines presents a cada mostra han estat determinades mitjançant el programa X'Pert High Score Plus® que disposa del banc de dades PDF2 2005 ICSD (Inorganic Crystal Structure Database). Aquesta aproximació multidisciplinària ofereix resultats prou interessants per a la interpretació arqueològica d'aquestes ceràmiques, la seva circulació arreu del territori i les tècniques de producció emprades, tot aportant nous elements respecte a les estratègies de producció i distribució de ceràmica a les àrees rurals de la Catalunya Medieval.

16. Baxter, Mike J., Freestone, Ian C. "Log-ratio compositional data analysis in archaeometry". *Archaeometry*, 48 (2006): 511-531.

3. Caracterització de la ceràmica grisa de Sant Miquel de la Vall

La ceràmica de Sant Miquel de la Vall presenta pastes de color gris clar o lleugerament plom, homogènies i ben tramades, relativament fines, amb algunes inclusions menudes habitualment <1 mm de gruix. Des d'una òptica macroscòpica, únicament resulta possible distingir entre una fàbrica, formada per les mostres SMVa01 i SMVa09, que presenta inclusions molt nombroses i menudes de natura diversa, habitualment blanquinoses de quars i d'altres de molt fosques, i una segona fàbrica formada per la resta de mostres, amb inclusions lleugerament més grolleres en comparació amb l'anterior i generalment identificables com a quars, a excepció d'algunes inclusions vermelloses o groguenques de natura indeterminada.

L'anàlisi petrogràfica de làmines primes ha permès identificar fins a quatre fàbriques clarament diferenciades en funció fonamentalment de la natura de les inclusions. Es tracta d'una fàbrica (1) amb micrita i quars fi, una segona fàbrica (2) amb quars fi, calcita i opacs, una altra fàbrica (3) amb marga sorrenca, i una darrera mostra aïllada amb fragments de roca sedimentària i metamòrfica (taula 1). Entre elles, la fàbrica amb micrita i quars fi (II-lustració 2a) és la que inclou un nombre de mostres major i es caracteritza per la presència d'un 35 – 40 % d'inclusions que conformen una sorra fina o molt fina de quars monocristal·lí predominant, amb un rang de dimensions entre 0,03 – 0,5 mm (excepcionalment fins a 1 mm a les mostres SMVa02 i SMVa07) i una petita part de calcita, de comuna a molt escassa i en forma microcristal·lina o micrítica, que no sembla haver estat afegida de forma intencional. Les pastes de SMVa02, 05 i 07 presenten algunes inclusions molt escasses de *chert* i alguns fragments de roca molt menuts ($\leq 0,25$) probablement de tipus sedimentari. Únicament la mostra SMVa08 presenta algunes inclusions molt infreqüents de feldspat, biotita, o minerals opacs. Totes elles presenten un percentatge de matriu argilosa al voltant del 55 %, de color castany o gris, generalment fosca i no birefringent; i un 5% de porositat, formada per meso- i macrovacúols.

La fàbrica amb quars fi, calcita i opacs (II-lustració 2b) la formen dues mostres, clarament diferenciades a ull nu, presenta un 60% de matriu d'aparença lleugerament calcària, de color castany clar groguenc, no birefringent i lleugerament vitrificada a SMVa01, i un 30% d'inclusions formades per quars monocristal·lí dominant (0,1 – 0,5 mm) i inclusions molt freqüents opaques (0,1 – 1 mm), ocasionalment amb aparença argilosa i tonalitats rogenques. El conjunt el completen inclusions calcàries comunes o escasses i algunes inclusions aïllades de biotita. Entre les inclusions calcàries, en podem trobar algunes que corresponen a closques de bivalve. El darrer 10% restant de les mostres correspon a la porositat, marcada generalment per la presència de meso- i macrovacúols força arrodonits. El conjunt d'inclusions sembla relacionable amb alguna roca carbonàtica de tipus biomicrític o escullós, que en alguns casos sembla originar petites inclusions de micrita i en altres presenta una textura de roca argilosa, amb la que segurament s'hi relacionen les inclusions opaques.

La fàbrica amb marga sorrenca (II-lustració 2c), està formada a partir d'una pasta relativament grollera en comparació amb la resta, amb un 35 – 45% d'inclusions entre les quals predominen els fragments relacionats amb una marga sorrenca, formada per agregats de quars monocristal·lí i calcita, generalment en formes de micrita i esparita. El trencament d'aquestes inclusions sembla donar origen a una sorra calcària formada per quars monocristal·lí i micrita/esparita al 50%, que constitueix el conjunt d'inclusions dominants, si bé que s'hi poden reconèixer alguns fragments intactes de marga sorrenca, especialment a SMVa03. La mostra SMVa10 presenta, a més, alguns fragments escassos de *chert*. Les mostres d'aquesta fàbrica presenten un percentatge del 50 – 55 %



de matriu i del 5 – 10 % de porositat. Excepcionalment, SMVa06 i SMVa10 són les mostres més grollera i més porosa respectivament.

Finalment, la mostra SMVa04 (Il·lustració 2d) no queda inclosa en cap dels grups anteriors i es caracteritza per la presència d'un 25 % d'inclusions pobrament sortejades formades per quars dominant (0,25 – 0,5 mm), fragments de roca sedimentària comuns, probablement de limolita (2,5 – 4 mm), i alguns fragments de roca metamòrfica més escassos. També s'hi detecten alguns pèl·lets d'argila, *chert* i alguna inclusió calcària molt aïllada. Un 65 % de la pasta el compon la matriu no calcària i homogènia, de color castany clar o siena torrat, amb activitat òptica moderada, i el darrer 10% correspon a la porositat, similar a les fàbriques anteriors, però en aquest cas amb macrovacúol (1 mm) amb vores lleugerament cremades i enfosquides.

Pel que fa als trets químics, obtinguts a partir de l'anàlisi per FRX, el conjunt presenta una variació total molt elevada ($vt = 2,2979$) que denota un origen poligenètic, tot i tractar-se d'una mostra molt reduïda. Tot observant la gràfica d'uniformitat composicional (Il·lustració 3a), podem comprovar com els elements MnO, P_2O_5 , TiO_2 i MgO imposen molt poca variació en el conjunt car $vt/\tau_i > 0,75$ mentre que l'origen de la variació cal buscar-lo en una gran multiplicitat de components on $vt/\tau_i < 0,55$. Cal assenyalar el fet que la variabilitat imposada per aquests components augmenta de manera regular per la qual cosa podem deduir que la variabilitat depèn de moltes fonts. És significatiu també el fet que els elements majors SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 i Fe_2O_3 , que per regla general constitueixen el c. 90% d'un producte ceràmic, queden inclosos en aquest grup de components que expliquen un grau de variabilitat molt elevat i que referma l'origen poligenètic del conjunt.

Una anàlisi de components principals (ACP) que pren en consideració els elements majors a excepció del Na_2O , MgO, CaO i P_2O_5 , permet definir amb claredat les singularitats químiques de cadascuna de les fàbriques detectades (Il·lustració 3b). Hem descartat aquests elements de l'anàlisi en tant que els valors que presenten en algunes mostres semblen indicar o bé que podrien estar afectats per alteracions postdeposicionals o bé que la seva variabilitat depèn de la textura de la pasta. En el cas del fòsfor, la seva concentració a la mostra SMVa06, amb un 0,46 % que contrasta amb els valors habituals a la resta de mostres (c. 0,1 %), fa pensar que l'origen d'aquest element en aquesta mostra podria ésser degut a alguna contaminació per matèria orgànica, tot i que seu origen ens resulta desconegut¹⁷ (taula 2).

D'altra banda, la variació del percentatge de calci a la majoria de mostres depèn de la quantitat d'inclusions calcàries detectades a partir de l'anàlisi petrogràfica. Així, la mostra SMVa06 presenta un contingut molt elevat respecte del grup (9,09 %), directament relacionat amb una proporció major d'inclusions calcàries de marga sorrenca; de la mateixa manera, la mostra SMVa02, presenta una concentració de CaO del 5,85 %, relacionada també amb un percentatge superior d'inclusions micrítiques que a la resta de mostres del seu grup. La presència de les inclusions calcàries que caracteritzen fonamentalment les fàbriques petrogràfiques descrites en proporcions lleugerament variables sembla afectar també les concentracions de Na_2O i MgO, per la qual cosa hem optat per excloure també aquests elements de l'ACP.

La consideració d'aquests elements, a més, fa disminuir la variància total explicada pels dos primers components de l'ACP que, en excloure'ls, és del 84,577 % (Il·lustració 3b). A la gràfica de dispersió de punts resultant de la comparació dels dos primers components de l'ACP realitzada per

17. Collomb, Philippe; Maggetti, Marino. "Dissolution des phosphates présentes dans des céramiques contaminées". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 20 (1996): 69-75; Duma, György. "Phosphate content of ancient pots as indication of use". *Current Anthropology*, 13 (1972): 127-130.

als elements majors podem detectar la presència de tres grups clars corresponents amb les fàbriques petrogràfiques determinades. La mostra aïllada SMVa04 apareix en aquesta gràfica en una posició propera a les mostres de la fàbrica amb quars fi, calcita i opacs, fet que sembla explicat per l'atracció major vers l'element K_2O . Tanmateix, la natura de la pasta i de les inclusions principals d'aquesta mostra fa difícil poder-la considerar a priori de manera conjunta amb la fàbrica esmentada.

A fi de clarificar aquesta relació i de comprovar la veracitat dels grups identificats, hem realitzat una anàlisi de conglomerats (AC) per a la mateixa subcomposició i el dendrograma resultant permet comprovar la divisió del conjunt en tres grups químics (Il·lustració 3c). Així doncs, podem identificar l'existència d'un grup químic "1" format per les mostres corresponents a la fàbrica amb micrita i quars fi, que destaca fonamentalment per una concentració de SiO_2 molt elevada (70,87 %), explicada per l'abundància d'inclusions menudes de quars, valors moderats de Al_2O_3 (14,86 %) i una concentració remarcable de Zr (275 ppm) en comparació amb la resta de grups (taula 3).

El grup químic "2" inclou les ceràmiques de la fàbrica amb quars fi, opacs i micrita. Es tracta d'un conjunt singular en relació a la majoria d'elements. Cal remarcar en primer lloc, en relació amb tot el conjunt, les proporcions inusualment elevades d' Al_2O_3 i Fe_2O_3 (26,15 % i 8,76 % respectivament) i força baixes de SiO_2 (56,95 %). Aquests trets semblen en clara relació amb la natura de les inclusions, amb un percentatge baix de quars, que explica els valors del silici i una quantitat considerable d'inclusions opaques, de tipus argilós, molt riques en ferro i alumini. Tanmateix, els elements traça expliquen bona part de la singularitat del conjunt, que presenta concentracions particularment elevades de Cr, Ni, Zn, Ga, Sr, Ce i Th (taula 3). Fem notar en aquest grup que la concentració inusualment elevada de bari es deu a una concentració anòmla a la mostra SMVa01 (612 ppm) que probablement sigui deguda a una contaminació postdeposicional.¹⁸

El grup "3" es correspon amb la fàbrica amb marga sorrenca. Si bé en aquest grup el percentatge elevat de CaO (5,73 %) està afectat per l'elevada concentració de la mostra SMVa06 i per això la desviació estàndard (σ) fa que no sigui del tot fiable, la concentració de Na_2O i MgO (0,17 % i 1,6 % respectivament) sembla corroborar la relació d'aquestes concentracions amb les inclusions de tipus calcari identificades com una marga sorrenca. El grup destaca per les baixes concentracions dels elements traça en relació amb el conjunt, entre els quals destaquen els valors del V, Cr, Ni, Cu, Ga, Y, Zr, Nb, Ce, Pb, Th (taula 3).

Finalment, considerem la mostra SMVa04 definitivament com una mostra aïllada, tot i que des del punt de vista composicional presenta una similitud major amb el grup 1 que amb els grups 2 i 3, particularment en relació als elements Fe_2O_3 , S, Zr, Ce, Pb, i Th. Aquesta similitud és clarament observable en el dendrograma (Il·lustració 3c), on la mostra SMVa04 apareix vinculada al grup 1, mentre que els grups 2 i 3 hi apareixen relacionats a una distància major respecte de la base del dendrograma. Si tenim en compte que en aquesta gràfica com més allunyada de la base es produeix la vinculació major és la diferència composicional dels grups, resulta significatiu el fet que els grups 2 i 3 presenten una escassa similitud respecte del grup 1 i SMVa04, fet que ens fa suposar a priori una distinció entre productes locals i d'importació que comentarem tot seguit.

Des del punt de vista tècnic, totes les pastes han estat preparades a partir d'una argila relativament grollera i no semblen presentar desgredador afegit en cap cas; ans al contrari, tant les inclusions presents a la pasta com llur variabilitat sembla resultar de la presència natural d'aquests

18. Picon, Maurice. "Un exemple de pollution aux dimensions kilométriques: la fixation du baryum par les céramiques". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 9 (1985): 27-29; Picon, Maurice. "La fixation du baryum et du strontium par les céramiques". *Revue d'Archéométrie*, 11 (1987): 41-47.



components no plàstics en una argila residual procedent de l'erosió de roques preferentment sedimentàries. Tot i estar caracteritzades fonamentalment per la presència en major o menor grau d'inclusions calcàries, tecnològicament les pastes es defineixen com a poc calcàries, on el contingut de $\text{CaO} < 5\text{-}6\%$, fet que no ha de sorprendre en tractar-se de ceràmiques de cuina.¹⁹

Si observem la situació tant de les mostres analitzades com dels grups identificats en l'anomenat triangle ceràmic realitzat com a gràfica ternària que considera en els seus vèrtexs els percentatges de SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 i $\text{CaO-MgO-Fe}_2\text{O}_3$, normalitzats al 100 % (Il·lustració 4a), podem veure com les ceràmiques de Sant Miquel de la Vall se situen al límit entre els triangles d'equilibri termodinàmic quars-anortita-wol-lastonita i quars-anortita-mul-lita, propis de les ceràmiques calcàries i poc calcàries respectivament. Aquesta situació es deu fonamentalment a l'elevat contingut en Fe_2O_3 d'algunes mostres, que pot actuar com a flux, i al contingut en CaO també relativament elevat en alguns casos, que ens porta a considerar les pastes de SMVa02 i SMVa06 com a calcàries.

Els resultats obtinguts a partir de l'anàlisi per DRX de les mostres SMVa02, SMVa09 i SMVa06 pertanyents als grups 1, 2 i 3 respectivament permeten determinar una cocció a baixa temperatura per als grups 2 i 3, mentre que les ceràmiques de la fàbrica amb micrita i quars fi, haurien experimentat temperatures de cocció superiors (Il·lustració 4b). Certament, les mostres SMVa06 i SMVa09 presenten la fase mineral de la calcita en forma primària, tal com es pot percebre amb claredat a partir de la observació microscòpica, per la qual cosa podem estimar una temperatura de cocció que no hauria superat els $750\text{-}800^\circ\text{C}$. Tanmateix, la mostra SMVa02 no presenta aquesta fase mineral i sembla mostrar alguns pics d'hercinita, que és un mineral que es desenvolupa de manera estable en atmosferes reductores a partir de 900°C .

4. Discussió dels resultats: produccions locals i d'importació

La comparació dels materials de Sant Miquel de la Vall amb el mapa geològic de la zona (Il·lustració 5) no fa sospitar a priori d'una procedència forana de les ceràmiques analitzades. Tanmateix, la manca de mostres d'argila o de materials de referència procedents d'alguns forns coneguts a la rodalia com el forn de ceràmica grisa d'Abella de la Conca²⁰ fa difícil determinar amb certesa la procedència dels grups determinats. Certament, el jaciment de Sant Miquel de la Vall està situat sobre una plataforma de conglomerats, argiles i gresos situada al nord de la Serra de Montsec (Il·lustració 5). Al nord d'aquesta zona de gresos, hi apareixen una sèrie de formacions calcàries a l'est del Pantà de Sant Antoni, que s'estenen fins a Organyà, el Coll de Nargó i les immediacions del Port del Comte. La presència del forn d'Abella sobre aquestes formacions ens podria fer pensar que potser alguna de les fàbriques identificades –potser la primera– hi podria estar relacionada.

Per tal d'aclarir aquesta qüestió en la mesura de les possibilitats, i determinar la procedència local o forana de les fàbriques de Sant Miquel de la Vall, els resultats obtinguts han estat comparats amb les dades de la caracterització arqueomètrica d'una col·lecció àmplia de mostres de ceràmica grisa coetànies i procedents d'arreu de Catalunya.²¹ En aquest nou conjunt, hem pogut compro-

19. Picon, Maurice. "Grises et grises: quelques réflexions sur les céramiques cuites en mode B", *Actas das 1ª Jornadas de Cerâmica Medieval e Pós-Medieval, métodos e resultados para o seu estudo* (1992). Tondela: Edições Municipais, 1995: 283-287.

20. Riu, Manuel. "Talleres y hornos alfareros de cerámica gris en Cataluña", *Fours de Poitiers et testares Médiévaux en Méditerranée Occidentale*. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Casa de Velázquez, 1990: 105-115.

21. Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Estrategias de producción y distribución de cerámicas grises medievales en el Nordeste Peninsular: caracterización arqueométrica de los materiales de Caulers y Sant Feliu de Gi-

var com la fàbrica 1 presenta semblances significatives amb les ceràmiques d'altres zones de la geografia catalana, mentre que les fàbriques 2 i 3 troben paral·lels en dos conjunts de ceràmica grisa recuperat a les esglésies de Sant Feliu de Girona (Gironès) i Sant Miquel de Veciana (Anoia) respectivament. La semblança d'aquestes fàbriques amb quars fi opacs i micrita (Il·lustració 6a-d), i amb marga sorrenca (Il·lustració 6e-f) amb les fàbriques homònimes d'àrees més allunyades és evident des de el punt de vista petrogràfic, particularment en el primer cas, i raonable des del punt de vista composicional (Il·lustració 7).

A fi d'establir una comparació en un grau de detall major, hem seleccionat les mostres pertanyents a aquestes fàbriques procedents de Girona i Veciana i n'hem explotat les dades de manera conjunta amb les de Sant Miquel de la Vall. En aquest cas la variació total presenta un valor més baix ($vt = 1,3314$), fet explicable per la incorporació a la taula de dades d'un conjunt de mostres teòricament molt similars a algunes de les mostres de Sant Miquel de la Vall, per la qual cosa podem pensar a priori que hi podrien estar relacionades.

Tant les noves ACP (Il·lustració 8a-b) i AC (Il·lustració 8c) practicades en aquest conjunt com una comparació en funció de les concentracions de determinats elements en forma de matriu de dispersió (Il·lustració 8d) permeten copsar com les mostres de la fàbrica 2 mostren una similitud major entre elles independentment del jaciment de procedència, mentre que la fàbrica amb marga sorrenca presenta certes discrepàncies entre el grup de Sant Miquel de la Vall i les mostres de Veciana. L'estudi detallat de la fàbrica amb quars fi, opacs i micrita en relació amb la ceràmica grisa recuperada a l'àrea de Girona corrobora la relació d'aquestes mostres per la qual cosa sembla versemblant contemplar-les com una única fàbrica, el lloc de producció de la qual resulta desconegut a dia d'avui tot i que podríem localitzar-lo de manera hipotètica en alguna zona de l'àrea pirinenca, rica en calcàries biomicrítiques, en principi relativament allunyada de la ciutat de Girona.

La natura particular de les inclusions de marga sorrenca característiques del grup 3, i la seva semblança petrogràfica amb les ceràmiques de l'Anoia, fan pensar –amb precaució– en una possible relació d'aquestes mostres amb la zona rica en calcàries del triangle delimitat per les poblacions de Veciana, Tàrraga i Cervera, que inclou la localitat de Verdú. La relació d'aquestes fàbriques detectades a Sant Miquel de la Vall amb mostres recuperades altres zones força més allunyades podria puntar vers la teoria esmentada anteriorment, segons la qual podríem trobar-nos davant de produccions foranes respecte de l'àrea local més immediata de la rodalia de Sant Miquel de la Vall. En qualsevol cas, la natura clarament diferenciada de les produccions identificades en aquest jaciment pallarès ha de suscitar necessàriament una reflexió respecte del que tradicionalment hem considerat “produccions locals” en l'àmbit d'estudi de les ceràmiques culinàries de cocció reductora en època medieval.

De fet, resulta imprescindible aplicar diversos criteris en la definició del que és local i el que no. La abundància o no de diferents grups en un territori determinat, el criteri estilístic i la possibilitat de documentar centres productors a la rodalia han d'estar contemplats necessàriament junt amb els trets composicionals de les pastes. Certament, la perspectiva d'un gran jaciment que pot haver estat receptor de diversos centres enlloc de productor no es nova en el camp de la ceràmica

rona”. *Munibe. Antropologia-Arkeologia*, 64 (2013): 199-217; Travé, Esther; Ollich, Imma; Rocafiguera, Montserrat de. “Les terrisseries i la producció d'atuells de cuina a Osona en època medieval: Caracterització química i petrogràfica d'un conjunt de ceràmica grisa de l'Esquerda”. *Ausa*, 172 (2013): 259-285; Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. “Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria...”: 125-153.



utilitària. Estudis recents de les produccions andines, per exemple, revelen aquest paradigma.²² En el nostre cas, els productes de Sant Miquel de la Vall, que semblen en relació amb ceràmiques localitzades a més de 100 km obren una nova perspectiva per a interpretar la dinàmica de producció i distribució d'aquest tipus de productes ceràmics a Catalunya i reforcen la idea d'un àmbit de distribució intra- i supraregional que ja havíem apuntat en treballs anteriors.²³

En aquest sentit, sembla versemblant que les conques fluvials dels rius Llobregat, Segre i Ter juguin un paper remarcable en la circulació i intercanvi de productes, béns i idees en relació amb aquests circuits supraregionals de distribució, com demostra la circulació de productes a través dels rius Ter i Onyar a l'àrea de Girona o bé la distribució dels productes de Casampons o Cabrera d'Anoia a través de la conca del Llobregat. Certament, en el cas que ens ocupa, podem apuntar la importància del curs del Segre com a eix de circulació de productes. La ruta pirinenca que dibuixen els cursos dels rius Segre i Ter hauria estat un vincle destacat en aquests circuits pirinencs possibilitant la distribució d'una ceràmica l'origen exacte de la qual ens resulta desconegut però que sembla genuïna d'aquesta zona nord del Principat i que hauria abastit tant la zona del Pallars com l'àrea de Girona. D'altra banda, el curs descendent del Segre vincula l'espai pirinenc, amb la plana de Lleida i la Catalunya central i podria haver estat un espai de distribució habitual per a les produccions d'aquesta zona.

5. Conclusions

Delimitar amb precisió l'espai de producció de la ceràmica utilitària no és una tasca senzilla, donada la manca de caracteritzacions procedents de centres productors de referència a bona part del territori català. Tanmateix, la multiplicitat de factors que intervenen en la determinació de proveniència i la creació d'un nou registre ampli de ceràmica grisa ofereixen elements de comparació significatius entre les diferents produccions detectades en un territori força extens –en un període acotat entre els segles XI i XII– i possibiliten la detecció d'interrelacions, tenint en compte a més que la geologia de Catalunya és ben diversa, fet que juga a favor d'aquest tipus d'aproximacions.

La caracterització petrogràfica, química i mineralògica de les mostres de Sant Miquel de la Vall que hem presentat en aquest treball aporta informació significativa respecte de la distribució de ceràmiques grises a Catalunya i, si més no, permet posar en dubte o matisar significativament la creença generalment acceptada segons la qual la producció d'atuells de cuina de ceràmica reduïda queda restringida a cercles eminentment locals amb un impacte regional més o menys reduït.

La relació que sembla existir entre dos dels tres grups de proveniència detectats a Sant Miquel de la Vall i alguns productes que, malgrat no constituir grups majoritaris, són ben presents a les zones de l'Anoia i Girona respectivament, juntament amb l'evidència de trets petrogràfics que no semblen intrínsecament relacionables amb la geologia del Pallars marca una tendència clara vers la proveniència forana d'aquests grups respecte de l'àrea occidental pirinenca. Aquest fet posa en relleu l'existència d'un circuit d'intercanvi que va més enllà dels cercles regionals tradicionalment considerats i descriu un panorama de relacions entre punts diversos de l'espai pirinenc i entre el

22. Druc, Isabelle. "What is local? Looking at ceramic production in the Peruvian Highlands and Beyond". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 69 (2013): 485-513.

23. Vegeu: Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Estrategias de producción y distribución de cerámicas grises...": 199-217; Travé, Esther; López, María Dolores; Álvaro, Karen. "Circuitos de distribución de cerámica culinaria...": 125-153.

Pirineu i la Plana, en el qual els cursos d'aigua, particularment els rius Segre, Ter i Llobregat hi haurien jugat un paper remarcable.

La mostra caracteritzada al jaciment de Sant Miquel de la Vall mostra una gran heterogeneïtat malgrat el reduït nombre d'individus i la seva comparació amb els materials emprats com a elements de referència permet detectar tendències que reforcen la idea d'aquests cercles amplis d'intercanvi. Tanmateix, pel que fa a la tecnologia de producció, els materials de Sant Miquel de la Vall no s'allunyen de la tònica habitual que presenten les ceràmiques grises medievals en general i responen a processos productius àmpliament estesos en un espai molt ampli i que passen per una preparació simple de les pastes a partir d'argiles grolles en origen que no són sotmeses a tractaments específics de manera sistemàtica. Sembla doncs que l'existència d'unes tècniques de fabricació àmpliament compartides i, efectivament, d'uns cercles de producció local i regional que exerceixen un grau d'impacte diferent sobre el territori en funció de les dimensions i capacitat productiva dels diferents centres terrissers en actiu no són obstacle per a l'existència de vies de comunicació i intercanvi regular entre àrees més distants entre elles que escapen dels cercles regionals més immediats.



**AL QUAL DONÀ AMPLE E BASTANT PODER
A TOTS LOS ACTES FAEDORS EN LES DITES CORTS.
PODER Y REPRESENTACIÓN MUNICIPAL DE LLEIDA
EN LAS CORTES CATALANAS (1416-1458)**

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RESUMEN

La representación municipal en las asambleas de Cortes catalanas resulta un argumento particularmente interesante para observar, sobre todo desde el punto de vista del municipio, los principales problemas de la ciudad y los entresijos de poder político y económico entre ésta, la monarquía y los otros brazos. Por ello, analizar el poder que el *Consell General* ("Concejo General") de las urbes de la Corona concede a sus procuradores en las Cortes permite explicar con mayor precisión los sistemas utilizados por el municipio para controlar a sus representantes y estar mejor informado de lo que sucedía dentro del Brazo Real en particular, y de la asamblea en general. Se utilizará Lleida como caso de estudio, dadas su importancia y la interesante documentación de su archivo municipal durante el periodo de Alfonso el Magnánimo.¹

1. Introducción

La representación municipal en las asambleas de Cortes catalanas resulta un argumento particularmente interesante para observar, sobre todo desde el punto de vista del municipio, los principales problemas de la ciudad y los entresijos de poder político y económico entre ésta, la monarquía y los otros brazos.

Por ello, analizar el poder que el *Consell General* otorga a sus procuradores, y cómo éstos lo utilizarán según la ocasión, permite explicar con mayor precisión los sistemas utilizados por el municipio para controlar a sus representantes y estar mejor informado de lo que sucede dentro del Brazo Real en particular, y de la asamblea en general.

Así pues, dentro del complejo sistema parlamentario, la figura del procurador nos permite penetrar en la estructura de las asambleas, ofreciéndonos, desde un punto de vista privilegiado —a medio camino entre su ciudad y el Brazo Real—, una visión de las relaciones de poder entre el gobierno municipal, la monarquía y el reino. Por ello, la figura del síndico dentro de las asambleas de Cortes goza de un papel de vital importancia, pues a este personaje se le confiere una serie de responsabilidades que permitirán a su ciudad disponer de un canal de comunicación eficaz con las altas esferas de decisión de la Corona.

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Recientes estudios han contribuido a aportar más información sobre esta figura imprescindible de los parlamentos bajomedievales, sobre sus funciones, su *cursus honorum* y su estatus social.² En Cataluña, de manera similar a los otros territorios de la Corona, los síndicos responden al perfil de ciudadanos pertenecientes a la oligarquía que controlaba el gobierno urbano y que utiliza las asambleas como espacio ideal para proteger y aumentar sus propios intereses de grupo.³ Además, normalmente pertenecen a notables familias ciudadanas que ejercen un peso destacado dentro y fuera de la urbe gracias a las fortunas hechas con sus negocios. Igualmente, un alto porcentaje de síndicos llegan a alcanzar este importante cargo gracias a la formación universitaria, normalmente en leyes, pudiendo de esta manera defender jurídicamente su ciudad en las Cortes.⁴ Pero, ¿cómo es esta procura? Los procuradores, ¿disponen de total o parcial autonomía de decisión? ¿Cómo y cuándo deben rendir cuentas a su ciudad?

Por otra parte, dentro del gobierno urbano se detectan distintas comisiones que actúan durante las asambleas, ocupando un papel muy destacado en la elección, posterior control y asesoramiento de los procuradores enviados a las Cortes. El análisis de estos consejos, vistos como grupos de trabajo, resulta particularmente interesante para entender mejor la gestión del poder político y económico de la ciudad, así como su relación con el resto del Brazo Real y la monarquía.

Por otro lado, cabe decir que la visión que nos ofrece la documentación municipal resulta muy interesante porque permite completar la ofrecida por los procesos de Cortes, dando una perspectiva distinta e innovadora. Los conflictos de poder entre la monarquía y el gobierno urbano, en relación con las Cortes, son vistos ahora desde la ciudad.

De este modo, se tomarán en cuenta las asambleas de Cortes del siglo XV y, en especial, se dedicará una particular atención al periodo de Alfonso el Magnánimo.⁵ Igualmente, dada la gran

2. Se señalan, entre las principales aportaciones, los trabajos de: Palacios, Bonifacio. "La representación municipal en Cortes. Estudio de la figura del Procurador de Zaragoza a mediados del siglo XV". *En la España medieval*, 7 (1985): 1241-1270; Sarasa, Esteban. "Monarquía, cortes y ciudades en la Corona de Aragón", *Monarquía, cortes y ciudades en la Corona de Aragón: siglo XV. La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*. Actas III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval (Sevilla, 25-30 de noviembre de 1991), Manuel González Jiménez, Isabel Montes, Antonio María Claret, eds. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1997: I, 611-626; Sánchez Aragonés, Luisa María. *Cortes, Monarquía y ciudades en Aragón (1416-1458)*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1994; Muñoz, María Rosa. "Autonomía ciudadana y poder regio en las Cortes valencianas bajomedievales". *Archivo Storico Sardo*, 2 (2001): 81-108; Turull, Max. "Síndicos a Cortes. Perfil social, político e institucional de los representantes ciudadanos a Cortes y Parlamentos en Cataluña (1333-1393)", *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 989-1012; Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts. Els síndics municipals a l'època d'Alfons el Magnànim*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2005; Barrio, Juan Antonio. "Los procuradores del Brazo Real en las Cortes medievales del Reino de Valencia". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 21 (2009): 59-98. De igual manera, cabe citar la obra de carácter general de: Hébert, Michel. *Parlementer: assemblées représentatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge*. París: Éditions de Boccard, 2014.

3. Oliva, Ana María; Schena, Olivetta. "Autonomie cittadine e potere regio negli atti dei Parlamenti del Regno di Sardegna nel Quattrocento". *Archivo Sardo: rivista di studi storici e locali*, 2 (2001): 73.

4. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 103-104.

5. Para una visión general de las relaciones de poder entre monarquía y sus ciudades, véase, entre otros: Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "El ejercicio del poder real en la Corona de Aragón". *En la España Medieval*, 17 (1994): 31-93; Sabaté, Flocel. "Municipio y monarquía en la Cataluña bajomedieval". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 13 (2000-2002): 255-282; Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1973; Guinot, Enric. "Sobre la génesis del modelo político de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XIII: Pactismo, Corona y Municipios". *Res Publica*, 17 (2007): 151-155; Narbona, Rafael. "El rey y la ciudad. Sinergia entre el Magnánimo y Valencia". *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 7 (2015): 193-210 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/ivitra/volumes/7>>); Péquignot, Stéphane. "Pouvoir royal et sociétés dans la couronne d'Aragon. Un essai de lecture historiographique (1990-2006)". *En la España Medieval*, 30 (2007): 381-432; Earenfight, Theresa. "The Political Dynamic between the Aragonese Monarchy and the Consell de Cent of Barcelona during the Lieutenancy of Maria of Castile (1440-1458)", *El món urbà a*



cantidad de documentación que la ciudad de Lleida posee sobre este argumento, se utilizará ésta como caso de estudio.⁶

2. El sutil hilo del poder: gobierno urbano y el procurador municipal en las Cortes

Una vez que ha llegado la convocatoria de Cortes por parte de la monarquía al *Consell General* de la ciudad de Lleida, los *paers* (“consejeros mayores”) proceden a la elección de los síndicos para asistir a las asambleas representativas. Acto seguido, se configura una comisión más o menos reducida, como veremos, que se encarga de seguir todo lo que sucede en las Cortes y de aconsejar a los síndicos en las proposiciones y respuestas que tienen que dar tanto dentro del Brazo Real como en el seno de la asamblea, así como ante el monarca o, en su defecto, ante su lugarteniente. Se procede también a elaborar las instrucciones que estos procuradores deberán llevarse a las Cortes.

Por todo ello, ¿qué autonomía tenían estos síndicos? Resulta interesante preguntarnos por el grado real de independencia de estos procuradores y por el grado de actuación, negociación y de libertad del que gozan respecto al *Consell General* de la ciudad, pues este prestigioso encargo va acompañado de una gran responsabilidad. Así, el poder que la ciudad da a su procurador o procuradores para que tomen decisiones, intervengan en nombre de la ciudad, presenten los agravios de ésta o negocien el donativo a la Corona durante las asambleas, suele ser amplio y suficiente.⁷

Cabe decir que el grado de libertad en la toma de decisiones varía sustancialmente en función de la época y de la ciudad de las que hablemos. De esta manera, sabemos que, aunque su margen de maniobra se nos antoja elevado y los procuradores disponían de cierta autonomía de decisión, el control del gobierno leridano estaba siempre presente, teniendo los procuradores que rendir cuentas y consultar a los *paers* o a las comisiones creadas explícitamente para ayudarles durante las sesiones parlamentarias, como veremos. Este control se realizaba, ya sea a través de continuas cartas que el municipio les escribía, que contenían todas las instrucciones sobre las tareas que

la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. *Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 245-264; Sobrequés, Jaume. *El pactisme a Catalunya: una praxi política en la història del país*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1982; Montagut, Tomás de. “Pactisme o absolutisme a Catalunya: les grans institucions de govern (s. XV-XVI)”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 19 (1989): 669-680. Sobre las oligarquías urbanas, véase, entre otros: Asenjo, María, ed. *Urban Elites and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Spanish Kingdoms at the End of the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013; y, más en particular: Sabaté, Flocel. “Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana de Cataluña”. *Revista d'Història Medieval*, 9 (1998): 127-150; Bertran, Prim. “Oligarquías y familias en Cataluña”, *La sociedad en Aragón y Cataluña en el reinado de Jaime I: 1213-1276*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2009: 53-80; Narbona, Rafael. “Algunas reflexiones sobre la participación vecinal en el gobierno de las ciudades”. *Res Publica*, 17 (2007): 121, 135-136; Narbona, Rafael. “Cultura política y comunidad urbana: Valencia, siglos XIV-XV”. *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 14, (2013): 171-211; Bernabeu, Sandra. “L'oligarquia municipal de la ciutat de València durant el regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim i Joan II (1416-1479)”, *Identidades urbanas. Corona de Aragón-Italia. Redes económicas, estructuras institucionales, funciones políticas (siglos XIV-XV)*, Paulino Iradiel, Germán Navarro, David Igual, Concepción Villanueva, eds. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2016: 93-114.

6. En particular, se tomarán en cuenta las asambleas de Cortes que van desde el Parlamento de 1416 hasta las Cortes de Barcelona de 1454-1458. Udina, Antonio. “El braç reial a les Corts catalanes durant el regnat del Magnànim”, *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta. Actes del XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó/Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (7 al 12 de desembre de 2000)*, Salvador Claramunt, ed. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003: III, 1013-1022.

7. *E publicats los dits vots, encomitent lo present consell constituíhí síndic e missatger a les dites corts lo dit honorable micer Jacme Navarra, al qual donà ample e bastant poder a tots los actes faedors en les dites Corts, fermant-li sindicat ample e bastant, segons a semblants síndichs e missatgers és acostumat fermar* (“Y publicados los dichos votos, el presente consejo, en grupo, eligió como síndico y mensajero Jaume Navarra, al que dio amplio y suficiente poder en todos los actos de las dichas Cortes, dándole una procura amplia y suficiente, como resulta habitual dar a estos síndicos y mensajeros”). AML. reg. 412, ff. 59v-63v.

debían desarrollar, o bien a través de instrucciones propiamente dichas, también llamadas memoriales, que los representantes ciudadanos se llevaban a las Cortes. Otras formas de control eran el juramento sobre los Evangelios y la supervisión de una comisión con funciones de asesoramiento, el *Consell de Prohoms de les Corts* (“Consejo de Prohombres de las Cortes”). Asimismo, el hecho de que normalmente los procuradores leridanos fueran dos por cada asamblea de Cortes (muy a menudo, un *ciutadà honrat* [“ciudadano honrado”] y un experto en leyes), más allá de responder a la voluntad de representar mejor a la ciudad y de ser una cuestión de honor —pues, cuantos más síndicos podía presentar una ciudad en las Cortes, mayor era su prestigio—, era otra manera de evitar conductas contraproducentes de uno de ellos.

3. Los instrumentos para controlar al procurador

El poder del procurador, concedido por el *Consell General* de su ciudad, tiene, pues, límites bien precisos impuestos por este último. Y estos límites se aplican a través de un eficiente control que la ciudad pondrá en práctica con distintos instrumentos.

3.1 Los memoriales

Los memoriales, auténticas instrucciones que las ciudades reales elaboran como pauta para que sus representantes defiendan sus intereses, y que los procuradores se llevan a su partida hacia las asambleas, en el caso de Cataluña son normalmente muy completos y explícitos, lo que nos da una visión amplia no sólo de los problemas y agravios que la ciudad debía afrontar en las Cortes, sino también del comportamiento y protocolo que los representantes ciudadanos debían seguir. Así, cada ciudad real discutirá dentro de su Brazo a través de sus síndicos los agravios que quiera resolver, y decidirá si presentarlos conjuntamente o por separado ante el soberano.⁸

Cabe decir que, aparte de los estudios de Joan Lluís Palos sobre el siglo XVI⁹ y de Bonifacio Palacios sobre Aragón,¹⁰ disponemos de muy pocos más o menos recientes que hagan referencia explícita a este tema. Así, destacan los trabajos de Tomás Puñal sobre Castilla;¹¹ de José Antonio Alabau y María Rosa Muñoz concernientes al reino de Valencia,¹² y de Esther Martí sobre Cataluña.¹³

Cuando llegaba a la ciudad de Lleida la noticia de la convocatoria de Cortes, su *Consell General* elegía a los síndicos en las magnas asambleas. Una vez que se habían elegido, normalmente antes de su partida hacia la reunión, los *paers* y el *Consell General* de la ciudad elaboraban los memoriales,

8. Martí, Esther. “Els memorials o instruccions per als síndics a Corts de la ciutat de Lleida durant el regnat d’Alfons el Magnànim”, *Proceedings of the 53rd Conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (Barcelona, 3-6 September, 2003)*, Jaume Sobrequés, Jon Agirreazkuenaga, Mercè Morales, Mikel Urquijo, Mamés Cisneros, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions del Parlament de Catalunya, 2005: II, 1633-1641.

9. Palos, Joan Lluís. “Un sector específico de diputados: los síndicos municipales y capitulares”, *Les Corts a Catalunya. Actes del Congrés d’Història Institucional*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991: 394-401.

10. Palacios, Bonifacio. “La representación municipal en Cortes...”: 1241-1267.

11. Puñal, Tomás. “El memorial medieval de cortes”. *Norba. Revista de Historia*, 17 (2004): 187-203.

12. Alabau, José Antonio. “Per tot be avenir de la nostra vila’. El sistema representativo de las villas reales en las Cortes valencianas durante la Baja Edad Media. Alcoy en las Cortes de 1443-1446”, *Proceedings of the 53rd Conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (Barcelona, 3-6 September, 2003)*, Jaume Sobrequés, Jon Agirreazkuenaga, Mercè Morales, Mikel Urquijo, Mamés Cisneros, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions del Parlament de Catalunya, 2005: I, 537-553.

13. Martí, Esther. “Els memorials o instruccions...”: 1073-1091.



que contenían todas las disposiciones y elementos que los síndicos debían tener presentes a lo largo de las Cortes.

Este tipo de instrucciones varían en función del municipio que las redacta. Así, podemos encontrar memoriales con pautas muy generales, que dejan mucho margen de actuación a los procuradores, y otros en los que las instrucciones son muy precisas y detalladas, sin dejar apenas margen a la inventiva o acción personal. Este último caso es el de los síndicos de Lleida, al menos a juzgar por la documentación estudiada, donde se especifica desde el lugar que deben ocupar los representantes municipales (siguiendo las rígidas normas protocolarias) hasta una inacabable colección de temas para tratar en las Cortes, a menudo numerados y expresamente detallados, que hacen referencia tanto a la gestión municipal como a aspectos protocolarios.

A partir de algunos memoriales dados a los síndicos de Barcelona, que han sido incluidos posteriormente en los procesos de Cortes, podemos ver también el alto grado de control que la oligarquía urbana ejercía sobre ellos, ya que determinaba desde cómo debían presentarse ante la reina María hasta el control que debían aplicar sobre los otros síndicos para evitar que participase en las Cortes alguien que no tuviera la autorización para hacerlo. Asimismo, debían velar para que el único escribano del Brazo Real fuera el de Barcelona —para disgusto de los síndicos leridanos, que, en más de una ocasión, como en las Cortes de Monzón de 1435, intentarán imponer el suyo.¹⁴ Además, en estas instrucciones se dejaba bien claro que los síndicos no tomarían ninguna decisión sin haber consultado previamente con su ciudad.¹⁵

No obstante, resultaba bastante habitual, sobre todo cuando el gobierno urbano se había reunido apresuradamente, que las instrucciones fueran básicamente una recopilación de los agravios que la ciudad deseaba presentar ante la monarquía. Respecto a Lleida, este es el caso del memorial que se redacta para el *misses* Simó Sunyer y Antoni Cardona, síndicos de la ciudad en las Cortes de Monzón de 1436.¹⁶

Los temas que más se repiten en estas formulaciones de agravios, y también en los memoriales más amplios, son, sobre todo, quejas contra los oficiales reales, en particular el *veguer*, a menudo por la mala gestión de asuntos relacionados con los prisioneros. Abundan igualmente las quejas contra oficiales de la justicia, por malas actuaciones o por continuar en su cargo más allá del plazo establecido, culpabilizando al monarca por la mala gestión de sus oficiales locales, que termina convirtiéndose, en muchos casos, en un motivo de desorden público. Y es que las necesidades económicas de la Corona convirtieron al soberano en un rápido expendedor de licencias, privilegios y favores, con el objetivo final e inmediato de obtener un subsidio económico en perjuicio de lo público.¹⁷

Otra cuestión recurrente que encontramos apuntada en estos memoriales, así como en la correspondencia que se intercambian regularmente los síndicos y los *paers*, son las quejas presentadas por la ciudad en las Cortes a propósito del incumplimiento, por parte de los oficiales reales, de

14. AML. reg. 742, f. 7r.

15. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1912: XXI, 134-137.

16. AML. reg. 742, ff. 4v-7v.

17. Sabaté, Flocel. "Municipio y monarquía...": 266.

unos privilegios muy especiales para la ciudad, la elección de sus consejeros, sobre todo a medida que avance el reinado del Magnánimo y tras sus intentos de aplicar el método de la insaculación.¹⁸

También abundan las quejas por casos de incumplimiento de las Constituciones de Cataluña¹⁹ o de los privilegios de la ciudad, como hacer pagar contribución a pueblos considerados vecinos de Lleida, como Almacelles, o por el pago de otros impuestos de los que la ciudad está exenta. Más de una vez se reflejan las quejas por la mala gestión desde la Diputación del General, y se insta a la monarquía a intervenir para que la ciudad de Lleida esté mejor representada.²⁰

En conexión con el punto anterior, en los memoriales encontramos igualmente una gran cantidad de súplicas relacionadas con el lamentable estado de las finanzas urbanas.²¹ Así, en la documentación consultada emerge reiteradas veces la demanda a la Corona de que retorne cantidades considerables de dinero que la ciudad de Lleida le ha prestado para hacer frente a gastos ocasionados por la guerra, para afrontar otros tipos de deudas contraídas o también para la celebración de Cortes en la ciudad.²²

También encontramos en los memoriales varias referencias a cuestiones y problemas relacionados con censales.²³ A menudo, estas quejas, que hacen referencia a impagos de censales, deben relacionarse con el lamentable estado de las finanzas urbanas desde el siglo XIV, que se complica aún más a lo largo del siglo siguiente, cuando es imposible separar la deuda pública de las finanzas municipales, con los graves problemas que ello conlleva.²⁴

18. Sobrequés, Santiago. *Régimen municipal gerundense en la baja edad media. La 'insaculación'*. Girona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1955: 40.

19. AML. reg. 844, ff. 87r-88v.

20. AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

21. Sobre la fiscalidad urbana en Cataluña, véase, entre otros: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel, ed. *Fiscalidad real y finanzas urbanas en la Cataluña medieval*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "La monarquía y las ciudades desde el observatorio de la fiscalidad", *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208-1458: la monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, J. Ángel Sesma, ed. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2010: 45-66; Küchler, Winfried. *Les finances de la Corona d'Aragó al segle XV (regnats d'Alfons V i Joan II)*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim-Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1997; Turull, Max; Verdés, Pere. "Gobierno municipal y fiscalidad en Cataluña durante la Baja Edad Media". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 76 (2006): 507-530; Turull, Max. *El gobierno de la ciudad medieval. Administración y finanzas en las ciudades medievales catalanas*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009; Turull, Max. *La configuració jurídica del municipi baix medieval: règim municipal i fiscalitat a Cervera entre 1182-1430*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1990; Morelló, Jordi. "Las villas del Camp de Tarragona ante la presión fiscal de la Corona durante la Baja Edad Media", *Fiscalidad de Estado y fiscalidad municipal en los reinos hispánicos medievales*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, Denis Menjot, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006: 357-376.

22. *E axí mateix la dita Ciutat prestà a la dita Senyora Mil lliures jaqueses ara darrerament quant la dita Senyora celebrà corts en la dita Ciutat de Leyda, de les quals feu debitori e promès tornar a la dita Ciutat aquelles de les primeres pecunies que'l Principat de Cathalunya en Corts o en parlament li donàs, que supliquem sa Senyora si e mercè tornar les dites quantitats a la dita Ciutat si en la dita Cort li es feta subvenció o donatiu com la dita Ciutat sie en gran necessitate* ("Igualmente, la ciudad prestó a la Señora Reina mil libras cuando la Señora celebró cortes en la dicha ciudad de Lleida, que prometió devolver a la ciudad con el dinero que obtuviera en las Cortes o en el Parlamento. Así pues, suplicamos a su Señora que retorne dicha cantidad a la ciudad si en dichas Cortes ha obtenido una subvención o donativo, pues la ciudad pasa por gran necesidad"). AML. reg. 742, f. 43r. Sobre los donativos, véase: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel; Ortí, Pere. *Corts, Parlaments i fiscalitat a Catalunya: els capítols del Donatiu (1288-1384)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997.

23. AML. reg. 742, ff. 42v-42r.

24. Verdés, Pere. "'Car les talles són difícils de fer e pijors de exigir': a propósito del discurso fiscal en las ciudades catalanas". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 30 (2012): 129-153; Verdés, Pere. "'Per tal que no calgués a logre manlleva': el endeudamiento a largo plazo de un municipio catalán durante la Baja Edad Media (Cervera, 1333-1387)", *La deuda pública en la Cataluña bajomedieval*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, ed. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2009: 21-99. Para una visión general de la deuda pública en la Corona de Aragón, véase: Sánchez Martínez, Manuel, ed. *La deuda pública en la Cataluña bajomedieval*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2009; Furió, Antoni. "Deuda pública e intereses privados. Finanzas y fiscalidad municipales en la Corona de Aragón". *Edad Media: Revista de Historia*, 2 (1999): 35-80. Resultan igualmente



Estos memoriales también recogen algunas quejas ante la monarquía por cuestiones diversas que afectan a ciudadanos particulares, a menudo relacionadas también con censales, o bien con algún encarcelamiento que los consejeros creen injusto.²⁵ Otras veces, los memoriales aportan información sobre la conflictividad social en la ciudad. Así, destaca la súplica de la ciudad a la monarquía para que ponga orden en las peleas entre bandos para lograr controlar los oficios.²⁶

Notables e igualmente interesantes son también las indicaciones para los procuradores sobre cómo deben actuar en las Cortes: se les pide que no hagan nada que pueda perjudicar al *Consell General* y que informen de todo lo que pasa en las asambleas, con el fin de que el gobierno urbano pueda redactar más instrucciones en cartas posteriores sobre asuntos concretos o más delicados. Igualmente, los procuradores deben traer a la ciudad una copia de todos los actos y procesos derivados de la asamblea para que la ciudad pueda utilizarlos en cualquier controversia futura.²⁷

Por lo que se refiere a las negociaciones delicadas y de gran peso económico para la urbe, como los donativos o concesiones de cualquier cantidad de otra índole, las instrucciones que reciben los procuradores son exhaustivas. Así, a Bartomeu Maull y Joan Riambau, síndicos de Lleida en las Cortes de Perpiñán, se les especifica a través de un memorial, que deben llevarse a la asamblea, que no consientan ningún donativo, ni al rey ni a ninguna otra persona o entidad, sin haber consultado previamente con la ciudad. Igualmente, los síndicos no deben atreverse a emplear su poder para perjudicar a ningún ciudadano ni a ninguna posesión de la urbe, y, sobre todo, no deben dedicarse a ningún asunto que no sea de las Cortes, habida cuenta del gran daño que podrían ocasionar a la ciudad y la pérdida de tiempo que supondría para las propias Cortes.²⁸

De hecho, que los procuradores se dedicaran a otras cosas que no fueran exclusivamente sus funciones no debía ser un hecho aislado, más si tenemos en cuenta que es motivo de mención en los memoriales. Era, pues, bastante frecuente cierto relajamiento entre los representantes en las asambleas.²⁹ De hecho, algunas veces los síndicos de Lleida serán exhortados por los *paers* a

interesantes las aportaciones de: García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "Avalando al rey: Préstamos a la Corona y finanzas municipales en la Valencia del siglo XV", *Fiscalidad de Estado y fiscalidad municipal en los reinos hispánicos medievales*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, Denis Menjot, eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2006: 377-389.

25. En 1443, en el memorial que la ciudad de Lleida da a sus procuradores en las Cortes de Tortosa, aparece la súplica a la reina María para que ordene a sus oficiales sacar de la cárcel a Esperanza, esposa de Francesc Torà. AML. reg. 742, ff. 42-45v.

26. *Ítem supliquen la dita Senyora Reyna que sie de sa mercè voler fer alguna deguda provisió en les suspites que quiscum any les partides dels bandositats donen en les eleccions dels ofis de la Ciutat, com se'n segueixque gran dan a la cosa pública* ("Igualmente, suplicamos a Su Señora que quiera hacer su merced alguna intervención para evitar enfrentamientos entre bandos en las elecciones de los oficios de la ciudad, pues ello ocasiona un gran daño al bien público"). AML. reg. 742, f. 45r. Sobre luchas de bandos en el Principado de Cataluña, véanse los trabajos clásicos de: Batlle, Carme. "Retorn a la Busca i la Biga, els dos partits de la Barcelona medieval". *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 3 (1982): 229-234; Sabaté, Flocel. "Els bàndols com a solidaritat en la societat urbana baixmedieval". *Afers: fulls de recerca i pensament*, 13/30 (1998): 457-472. Sobre la conflictividad urbana, véase igualmente: Asenjo, María; Zorzi, Andrea. "Conflicto y discordia en ciudades bajomedievales. Italia y reinos hispánicos". *Hispania*, 75/250 (2015): 323-330; Narbona, Rafael. "La conflictividad social en las ciudades", *Conflicto, violencia y criminalidad en Europa y América*, J. Antonio Munita, ed. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Publicaciones de la Universidad del País Vasco 2004: 79-104.

27. El memorial reza: *Ítem que ls dits missatgers a la fi del parlament o de les corts haïen e sien tenguts portar e liurar a la Ciutat dins la Casa de la Paeria lo jorn que faran la relació, treslat se fahent capítols e tots actes que sien fets en la dita cort o parlament, com lo notari del braç real l'age donar ffranch e quiti a la dita Ciutat* ("Igualmente, los síndicos al final del parlamento o de las las cortes, el día que deberán relacionar su actividad, deben entregar a la ciudad copia de todos los capítulos y actos que se hayan hecho en dichas cortes o parlamento, pues el notario del brazo real está obligado a dársela"). AML. reg. 742, f. 45r.

28. AML. reg. 742, f. 73v.

29. En esta línea, ilustra perfectamente este estado de cierto descontrol el siguiente fragmento: *E no ontrestant açò ses seguit que les dos Braços aquesta nit són trobats fort poch en los Braços, que ja les més gents se-n eren anats pe-les festes* ("Ha sucedido que



ocuparse de los asuntos por los que han sido enviados a las Cortes, llegando incluso a reclamar su vuelta a la ciudad y a amenazarles con no enviarles más dinero.³⁰

Cabe decir que otras veces estos memoriales sencillamente no existen como tales, sino que quedan recogidos como temas tratados dentro del *Consell General*, coincidiendo con la llegada de los síndicos o de al menos uno de ellos, ya sea por asuntos personales, porque las Cortes habían sido suspendidas o por causa de una fiesta importante, como, por ejemplo, Navidad. En estas circunstancias, se aprovecha para reunir al mayor número posible de integrantes del *Consell General*, y se invita a los procuradores a explicar con todo detalle lo sucedido en las Cortes, a la vez que reciben, de palabra o por escrito, las nuevas disposiciones que marcarán su comportamiento en la siguiente asamblea.

Un punto más del control que el *Consell General* ejerce sobre los síndicos de Lleida, como evidencian algunos memoriales, es la tipología de material que se pide a los procuradores que lleven consigo a las Cortes, para que pueda ser objeto de consultación si se requiere. Así, los representantes urbanos en las magnas asambleas se llevan distintos tipos documentales: las cartas del rey, o la reina, como credencial, documentos relacionados con el impago de censales e imposiciones que puedan ser motivo de controversia, y finalmente todos aquellos tipos documentales que hacen referencia a sentencias, donaciones y *maridatges* (impuesto),³¹ entre otros, que puedan considerarse importantes para desarrollar coherentemente las demandas y quejas de la ciudad en las Cortes.³²

En las instrucciones que la ciudad confiere a sus procuradores, resalta también el *iter* que los síndicos deben realizar una vez que lleguen al lugar de la asamblea, pues confirma el grado de precisión y cuidado de las indicaciones del *Consell General*. Así, los síndicos, primero se presentarán ante el monarca o su lugarteniente, y luego, una vez acreditados, se presentarán ante el Brazo Real. Se les indica también el lugar exacto donde deben sentarse —en el caso de los representantes leridanos, al lado derecho de los síndicos barceloneses—, motivo, el de la posición, de más de una fricción entre las ciudades presentes en las asambleas, pues era un elemento de protocolo y un honor, además de una tradición, ocupar un determinado asiento y no uno cualquiera.³³

3.2 El juramento sobre los Evangelios

Otro elemento interesante por lo que se refiere al control sobre los representantes de la ciudad en las Cortes por parte del *Consell General* es el acto del juramento que debían realizar antes de partir hacia la asamblea. Si bien es básicamente un acto solemne, en la línea de las costumbres de la época, también es la forma que ratifica el compromiso público de los síndicos de defender los intereses de su ciudad. Tenemos varias muestras en el caso de Lleida:

esta noche se han encontrado muy pocos componentes de los dos estamentos, pues la mayoría se había ido por las fiestas"). *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XXIII, 376.

30. AML. reg. 405, ff. 1v-2r.

31. AML. reg. 328, f. 51v.

32. AML. reg. 328, ff. 49v-49r.

33. *Ítem après se presentarà en les cortis, ço és al braç real, informant-se tantost com sie en la sglésia de Framenós, hon se tenen les cortis, en quin apartament se ajuste lo braç real, e presentant-se als qui allí seran justats en lo dit braç real donarà la letra que se'n porte de Ciutat, sient-se allí entre ells, al costat dels síndichs de Barçalona, e allà mà dreta, segons que ells mateix li daran son loch* ("Se presentará en las cortes, es decir, al Brazo real, y se informará cuando llegue en la Iglesia donde se desarrollan las cortes, dónde se reúne el Brazo real. Luego se presentará a sus componentes y dará la carta que se habrá llevado desde Lleida, sentándose entre ellos, a la derecha de los de Barcelona, según ellos mismos le indicarán"). AML. reg. 742, f. 100v-r.



*Ítem encomitent, davant los dits honorables senyors e pahers, prohòmens e advocats, comparegueren los dits honorables [...] síndichs a corts e procuradors qui demunt prestaren lo sacrament e homenatge segons les instruccions a ells donadores demunt contengudes [...], lo qual sacrament e homenatge prestaren en poder del dit honorable Bernat Graylla, paher [...].*³⁴

Otras veces, la documentación nos ofrece todavía más información sobre el tipo de juramento que debían hacer los síndicos a Cortes. Así, Jaume Navarra, como era costumbre, jura sobre los Evangelios diciendo: *yo jur que no vendré contra l'erbatge, ordinacions, ne privilegis de la Ciutat, e tot ço que ls altres síndichs han jurat.*³⁵ Este juramento solía hacerse en presencia de todo o gran parte del *Consell General* y de los *paers*,³⁶ y en él también se prometía respetar las instrucciones recibidas para ir a las Cortes.³⁷

Una vez que han hecho dicho juramento, los síndicos pueden irse a la asamblea, llevándose su memorial para tener siempre bien presente lo que tienen que defender dentro de su propio brazo, pero también frente a los otros estamentos, así como ante la monarquía. Realmente, la importancia de jurar sobre los Evangelios era considerable, no solamente como acto simbólico, sino también como una garantía, pues en casos en los que los síndicos se marchaban a toda prisa y no tenían tiempo de jurar, se enviaba un cargo de confianza del *Consell General* hasta donde se encontraran para que lo hicieran:

[...] que en nom de Déu sie tramés als dits misagés lo discret n'Arnau de la Pardina, notari, lo qual s'enport lo dit sindicat e greuges. Emperò que lo sindicat no ls sie liurat fins haie los dits misatgés jurat als Sants IIII Evangelis que bé e lealment se hauran en corts los affés qui s faran li-s trametran en les dites corts. E axí mateix que no procehiran en neguns affés en les dites corts preposados ulta los fets que dats los són o seran en memorial, sens consultació e consentiment de la Ciutat, lo qual sacrament present e haien a prestar en poder del dit Arnau de la Pardina, notari desús dit, rebent aquell en nom dels dits pahers e Ciutat.

Se puntualiza también que: *E per ço com los dits misagés no prestaren lo sacrament damunt dit abans que sench partiren, axí com deuen que als dits misages no ls hi aie corregut lo salari fins haie prestat lo dit sacrament.*³⁸

34. "Delante de los consejeros mayores, consejeros y abogados comparecieron los honorables procuradores [...] en las cortes, que prestaron sacramento y homenaje, como establecido en las instrucciones que se les habían dado [...], delante del honorable Bernat Gralla, consejero mayor [...]" AML. reg. 742, ff. 76r-77v.

35. "Yo juro que no desoiré las ordenaciones, privilegios e impuestos de la ciudad, así como otras disposiciones que los otros procuradores hayan jurado". AML. reg. 416, ff. 7v-10r.

36. AML. reg. 742, f. 61r.

37. Bartolomeu Maull y Joan Riambau, antes de partir hacia las Cortes de Perpiñán en 1449: *[p]restaren lo sacrament e homenatge segons les instruccions a ells donadores demunt contengudes volen e attés segons que es acostumat, lo qual sacrament e homenatge prestaren en poder del dit honorable Bernat Graylla, paher* ("prestaron sacramento y homenaje, como contemplado en las instrucciones que habían recibido, y como es costumbre, delante del honorable Bernat Gralla, consejero mayor"). AML. reg. 742, ff. 76r-77v. También en 1454 otros procuradores municipales realizan el juramento antes de salir hacia las Cortes de Barcelona: *Lo dit honorable en Pere Cardona, síndich desús dit, presta sacrament e homenatge en presència del honorable en Bernat Navarra, paher en cap, present lo dit honorable mossen Johan Quintana, paher, en virtut dels quals promés haver sabre clarament en la dita misatgeria e regir en aquella segons les instruccions a ell donades e desús inscrites, e altres instruccions aconsellat per los altres síndichs* ("Pere Cardona, procurador, presta sacramento y homenaje delante del honorable Bernat Navarra, consejero mayor, y en presencia del honorable Johan Quintana, consejero mayor, promete regir dicha procura según las instrucciones que se le han dado, así como dejarse aconsejar por los otros procuradores"). AML. reg. 742, f. 137r.

38. "Que se envíe a dichos procuradores Arnau de la Padina, notario, y que éste se lleve dicho sindicato y los agravios. Que no se entregue dicho sindicato a los procuradores hasta que éstos hayan jurado sobre los IV Evangelios que seguirán con ciencia y lealtad los aspectos a tratar en las cortes. Del mismo modo jurarán que no se ocuparán de otros

3.3 El control epistolar sobre los procuradores

El control del gobierno urbano de Lleida sobre sus representantes en las Cortes también resulta evidente, más allá de los memoriales, en su contacto epistolar más o menos constante. Así, vemos, a través de la carta que los *paers* de Lleida envían a sus procuradores en las Cortes de Tortosa en 1443, cómo se les exhortaba a que escribieran continuamente, informando de todo lo sucedido en las asambleas, pues solamente así era factible asesorarles y aconsejarles debidamente, alegando que esta era la costumbre aplicada en todas las ciudades.³⁹ El mismo año, los *paers* de Lleida escriben a sus representantes en la magna asamblea respondiendo a una carta de éstos en la que se exponen algunos problemas de división dentro del Brazo Real. En esta misiva, los *paers* instan a sus síndicos a que les expliquen cuanto suceda en las Cortes, escribiéndoles —puntualizan— como era normal que hicieran los representantes de Barcelona a su urbe, y se les advierte además de que el *Consell General* ha creado un grupo de prohombres para asesorarles.⁴⁰

Es gracias a este contacto epistolar, más o menos continuo, que el gobierno urbano consigue discutir y llegar a una conclusión sobre lo que ocurre en las Cortes y puede dar las instrucciones a sus procuradores sobre cómo actuar en determinados casos:

Molt honorables e savis senyors, dues letres vostres havem rebudes [...] al pres dinar havem fet justar los prohòmens destinats als Actes de corts, als quals primerament per nosaltres e ells e los scrivans de la casa, prestat sagrament de tenir secrets aquests actes, són estades legides e publicades les dues letres. Als molt honorables e savis senyors los síndichs e misatgers de la Ciutat de Leyda, residents en les corts qui huy se çelebren en la vila de Perpinyà. Los pahers e prohòmens de la Ciutat de Leyda appellats a vostra honor e plaer.⁴¹

La documentación nos permite ver cómo en casos de no acatamiento de las normas por parte de los procuradores en cuanto a su obligación de tener periódicamente informada a su ciudad, los *paers* de Lleida les llaman inmediatamente al orden. Así sucede, por ejemplo, en 1421, cuando los *paers* regañan a Jaume Navarra, procurador en las Cortes de Tortosa, por no escribir ni comunicar todo lo que sucedía en la asamblea.⁴²

aspectos propuestos en las cortes más allá de aquellos mencionados en el memorial, sin haber consultado y obtenido la aprobación de la ciudad para ocuparse de ellos. Prestaran sacramento delante de Arnau de la Pardina, en nombre de los consejeros mayores y de la ciudad”; “Y como los procuradores antes de su partida no prestaron el sacramento mencionado, que no se les reconozca salario alguno hasta que hagan dicho sacramento”. AML. reg. 412, ff. 32v-33r.

39. [...] *Més avant senyors vos preguam que de açí avant vos plàcie continuadament avisar hi scriurens de tots los proceyments hi manteniment de la Cort de aquelles coses que us seran hoides scrivir, [...] com los de Barchinona, hi de les Ciutats axí ho facen [...] car per consellar a vosaltres en tots los actes faedors en la dita Cort per maior descàrrech vist lo consell general prop celebrat Nua/ diputades e assignades algunes notables persones ab tant poder com ha lo dit/ consell* (“[...] Os rogamos que de ahora en adelante tengáis por costumbre avisar y escribir sobre todos los aspectos tratados en las cortes, [...] como lo hacen los representantes de Barcelona y de las otras ciudades [...]. Además, para poder aconsejaros mejor, el Consejo General ha elegido algunas notables personas, que ostentan el mismo poder que dicho consejo”. AML. reg. 742, ff. 51v-51r.

40. AML. reg. 742, ff. 5v-51r.

41. “Muy honorables y sabios señores, hemos recibido dos cartas vuestras [...], y después de comer hemos reunido los prohombres destinados a los actos de cortes, que han realizado el juramento de mantener en secreto estos actos, y sólo luego hemos leído las dos cartas. A los honorables y sabios procuradores de Lleida, residentes en las cortes que se celebran en la villa de Perpiñán, los consejeros mayores y prohombres de la ciudad de Lleida”. AML. reg. 742, ff. 78v- 78r.

42. *Ítem nos maravellam molt e tant que no podem pus com tant vos és en embalbira la mà de no scriurens dels fets de les corts o almenys de dar recapte en les coses que.us són informades [...] sens gran dan a la ciutat [...] e moltes altres coses a vós donades en memorial [...] com per letres nostres, per que.us plàcie provehir e servir [...]. E així plàcieus [...] treballar-hi mills que ço sus ara no és fet* (“Así, estamos muy maravillados, pues creemos que se os habrá paralizado la mano a fuerza de no escribir sobre lo que sucede en las cortes, o por lo menos explicar las cosas de las que os habrán informado, pues todo ello crea gran daño a



3.4 Las comisiones como instrumentos de control sobre el procurador

Una vez que la ciudad recibe la noticia de la convocatoria de una asamblea representativa por parte del soberano, el *Consell General* y los *paers* muy a menudo crean una comisión. Ésta será bautizada con distintos nombres, a juzgar por la documentación consultada, según la ciudad o el propio número de componentes. En Lleida, frecuentemente se la reconocerá como los *Prohoms de les Corts*.

Todas estas comisiones presentan la función común de asesorar al *Consell General* y, sobre todo, a los mismos procuradores en las Cortes sobre los argumentos tratados o a tratar en estas reuniones y sobre otros temas relacionados con ellas. Pero, estas comisiones, ¿ejercen solamente una función de simple asesoramiento o su capacidad decisoria o de influencia va más allá y es capaz de limitar o condicionar directamente la capacidad de decisión del procurador en las Cortes?

La importancia de estas comisiones se deduce también de la tipología de las personas que las componen: la gran mayoría tienen una notable experiencia en la gestión dentro del municipio, ya que han ocupado y siguen ocupando distintos cargos relevantes. Conviene también no olvidar el notable peso dentro del *Consell de Prohoms de les Corts* de los procuradores de la ciudad en las magnas asambleas, que aportan una dosis extra de experiencia y también de formación jurídica —de ahí la presencia de muchos juristas— y de contactos con el resto del brazo, con los otros estamentos y representantes del soberano.⁴³

Así, muchos de los componentes de estas comisiones han sido o serán procuradores en las Cortes, o pertenecen a una familia que ha desarrollado este importante cargo. Respecto a la ciudad de Lleida, durante el periodo analizado, solamente tres procuradores en las Cortes no formarán parte de este tipo de consejos asesores. Los demás aparecen en ellos con más o menos asiduidad.⁴⁴

Igualmente, vemos que la mayoría de personajes que componen estas comisiones pertenecen a familias de la oligarquía urbana, con un evidente peso de aquellos pertenecientes a la *mà major* (patricios), aunque no hay que subestimar el papel, que parece ir en aumento, de la *mà mitjana* (burguesía). La principal función de estas comisiones será, pues, la de aconsejar —y por ende, controlar— a los procuradores de la ciudad en las Cortes. Éstos, como ya se ha expuesto anteriormente, tienen la obligación de informar regularmente a su ciudad de todas las cosas que suceden en las asambleas y de consultar cualquier decisión que se deba tomar y que no esté contemplada en los completos memoriales que, a modo de instrucciones, su ciudad les entrega antes de su salida hacia el lugar de la reunión.⁴⁵ Aquí entra de lleno la actuación de estas comisiones, cuando el *Consell General* y los *paers* las crean —o las reclaman en el caso de que sean ya operativas— para tratar y deliberar sobre algún aspecto concreto expuesto en las cartas que envían los procuradores desde las Cortes.⁴⁶

la ciudad [...], no se respeta todo aquello precisado en el memorial [...], y en otras cartas que os hemos enviado [...]. Así, os invitamos [...] a trabajar mejor de lo hecho hasta ahora"). AML. reg. 844, f. 10v-r.

43. Para una visión general sobre estas comisiones, véase: Martí, Esther. "Procuradores y consejos asesores de las ciudades reales en las Cortes catalanas y en los parlamentos sardos del siglo XV", *¿Órganos técnicos o instrumentos políticos? Las comisiones de trabajo de las instituciones parlamentarias y representativas*, María Betlem Castellà, Esther Martí, eds. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche-Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2014: 53-85.

44. Martí, Esther. "Procuradores y consejos...": 76-77.

45. AML. reg. 412, ff. 32r-33r.

46. *Dimecres XVIII de Agost any demunt dit, los honorables misser Jachme Riquer e en Gabriell Peyró, paers, manaren an Matheu Coral e an Pere Jugo, missatgers de la Paheria, que facen venir los prohòmens de les corts en comitent, com ells per los feyts de les corts los hagen mester* ("Miércoles, XVIII de agosto, los honorables Jachme Riquer y Gabriell Peyró, consejeros mayores, man-

Otra ardua tarea, sin lugar a dudas, era la confección de las instrucciones o memoriales que el *Consell General* debe proporcionar a los síndicos enviados a las Cortes. Muy a menudo, los *paers* contaban con la experiencia y conocimientos legales de muchos de los componentes de los *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts*, que actuaban como grupo bien conocedor, y con suficiente experiencia, de las problemáticas que la ciudad debía afrontar en las Cortes.⁴⁷ Así, en 1434,

*[...] acorda lo present conseyl general que les coses damunt [...] pahers preposades sien remeses [...] als pahers e ses prohòmens per els elegidós, los quals amb la major part de aquells tracten, enanien e acordaren sobre la manera dels dits affers [...]. Així emperò que çò que parlar e tractar hauran tornen al conseyl general per o que lavós lo dit conseyl general hi pux deliberar.*⁴⁸

Otras veces, estas comisiones pueden durar incluso entre unas Cortes y las siguientes, para seguir tratando asuntos derivados de ellas.⁴⁹ Así, los componentes del *Consell de Prohoms* suelen ser integrantes del *Consell General*, y gozan del *plen poder* ("completo poder") otorgado por este consejo, aunque sus decisiones, al final, deben ser confrontadas con los *paers*.⁵⁰ Se reúnen cuando éstos los llaman para deliberar sobre algún tema en concreto de las Cortes, sobre todo cuando llega alguna nueva de los síndicos.⁵¹ En este sentido, en otra referencia documental también encontramos:

*Ítem fonch proposat per los dits honorables pahers que saben com la ciutat té los honorables en Jachme Navara e n'Anthoni Cardona per síndichs e misagés, a les corts qui-s celebren vuy en Barchinona e demés, que moltes vegades los dits misatgés scriuen a ells dels actes de les dites corts, per los quals los han a fer ses respostes e satisfer a açò que-ls fan saber, e serie cosa que cada vega que-ls agesen a sciure per los dits actes hagesen ha ajustar conseyl, dels quals los dits pahers haien a procehir en tots los actes qui los dits misatgés los faran saber. E axí matex ells hauran a sciure a ells.*⁵²

dan a Matheu Coral y Pere Jugo, mensajeros de la Ciudad, que reúnan los prohombres de las cortes, pues los requieren sobre algunos aspectos a tratar en las cortes"). AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

47. Así, en 1436, el *Consell General* atribuye a los *paers* la posibilidad de controlar a los representantes de la ciudad y de dotarles de un número de prohombres, a determinar por ellos, para poder aconsejarles. AML. reg. 412, ff. 43r-45r.

48. "[...] El presente consejo general acuerda que las cosas propuestas [...] por los consejeros mayores se remitan [...] a los consejeros mayores y a los prohombres que ellos habrán elegido, y que la mayoría de éstos traten y decidan cómo afrontar cada argumento [...]. Una vez tomada una decisión, se reenviará ésta al consejo general para que éste pueda deliberar". AML. reg. 411, f. 6r.

49. En 1435, los concejales de Barcelona escriben a los de Lleida sobre temas relacionados con la política del rey. Y el *Consell General* de la ciudad: [...] *acorda [...] que los senyors de pahers ab algune prohòmens per els elegidós e ab conseyl dels advocats de la Ciutat facen sa bona resposta als dits honorables conseylers, e no resmenys a conseyl dels prohòmens desús scrits o de la major part de aquells facen tots quelle bones provisions als dits affers [...] romant lo present conseyl general als dits prohòmens [...] tot plen poder* ("[...] Acuerda [...] que los consejeros mayores y algunos prohombres por ellos elegidos, y con el consejo de los abogados de la ciudad, respondan a los honorables consejeros, y que se proceda, como mejor se pueda, a los aspectos tratados [...], dando el consejo general a dichos prohombres [...] completo poder). AML. reg. 411, ff. 43v-45v.

50. [...] *Acorda lo conseyl general e elegí per a les coses desús proposades per los dits honorables misatgés los prohòmens dehesen damunt dits ab conseyl dels quals, o dels sis de aquells, los dits pahers, prohesquen en tots los actes que hauran a ffer a les dites Corts [...] donant los tot plen poder* ("[...] El consejo general para afrontar los aspectos que proponen los procuradores elige distintos prohombres, dándoles completo poder, y estableciendo que los consejeros mayores deben proceder después de contar con la opinión de los cuales, o por lo menos de seis de ellos"). AML. reg. 413, f. 10v-r.

51. AML. reg. 742, f. 65r.

52. "Fue propuesto por los honorables consejeros mayores que, como los honorables Jachme Navara y Anthoni Cardona, procuradores de la ciudad a las cortes de Barcelona, escriben muy a menudo pidiendo cómo proceder en los actos de dichas cortes, que cada vez que deban responder a los procuradores se reúna un consejo que delibere sobre estos actos, para poder dar respuesta a dichos procuradores". AML. reg. 413, f. 10v-r.



Todo ello evidencia el importante papel de este tipo de comisiones en la gestión de los asuntos tratados en los parlamentos, así como las relaciones de parentela o clientelares de sus componentes con los procuradores en las Cortes, lo que no excluye los contactos con los otros representantes del Brazo Real en dichas asambleas y con los otros estamentos —hecho que a menudo conlleva interferencias entre los distintos poderes dentro y fuera de la ciudad y con personajes con cierto poder de decisión en los otros dos brazos—.

Por todo ello, pensamos que podemos hablar de una marcada y programada voluntad de control del poder político y económico por parte de las oligarquías ciudadanas también a través de estas comisiones, que se transforman, más allá de su función técnica, en un complicado mecanismo de control del poder. De hecho, más allá de las relaciones familiares y clientelares de sus componentes con otras esferas de poder dentro y fuera de la urbe, como apuntábamos, no hay que desdeñar el papel que juegan estas comisiones en la gestión de la información que llega y sale hacia las asambleas de Cortes, como una potente forma de control del poder en la misma ciudad y fuera de ella.

4. Conclusiones

Lo que el gobierno urbano de Lleida se juega en las Cortes del periodo de Alfonso el Magnánimo es demasiado importante y complejo para dejarlo en manos de unas pocas personas elegidas. Distintos son, pues, los condicionantes de la potestad otorgada a los procuradores urbanos. Entre ellos cabe destacar los memoriales, en sus diferentes tipos, desde aquellos de amplia extensión y ricos en detalles hasta los que son mucho más esquemáticos y denotan la prisa del *Consell General* para hacerlos llegar a manos de sus síndicos. Otro sistema de control es, sin lugar a dudas, el intercambio epistolar al que los *paers* y el *Consell General* someten a sus representantes en las Cortes, con la finalidad de que mantengan informada a su ciudad de cuanto ha acontecido en las asambleas. En este campo hay igualmente que contemplar el juramento solemne que se insta a realizar a los procuradores leridanos en las Cortes antes de su salida, y los *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* dentro del municipio.

De hecho, estas comisiones, especialmente creadas para asesorar y aconsejar tanto a los síndicos en las Cortes como al gobierno municipal respecto a los argumentos concernientes a las magnas asambleas, revisten una gran importancia. Ello nos lleva a afirmar que no se trata solamente de meros órganos técnicos de gestión, sino más bien de verdaderos instrumentos de control del poder. Esta afirmación viene confirmada también por el notable bagaje de la mayoría de los componentes de estos *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts*. Así, el peso político, económico y social de muchos de sus integrantes, o de sus familias —con una participación muy activa en el gobierno municipal, dentro de otras comisiones, consejos y ocupando cargos municipales de relieve, o en determinados casos, en otros órganos políticos más allá de la urbe—, lleva ineludiblemente a hablar de una voluntad de control del poder político y económico y de la gestión de la información, perfectamente estudiada por parte de las oligarquías urbanas, lo que en gran medida refleja la red de contactos dentro del Brazo Real, y de las Cortes en general, de los municipios desde su interior.⁵³

53. Valga como ejemplo de la red de relaciones personales, familiares y políticas de uno de los síndicos en las Cortes celebradas en Lleida en el año 1440, Gispert Mateu, abogado, que ejercerá como procurador de la ciudad también en las siguientes Cortes de 1442-1443. Lo hallamos presente en gran cantidad de los *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* entre 1435 y 1453. AML. reg. 411, ff. 43r-45r; reg. 412, ff. 23r-24r; reg. 415, ff. 46r-47r, 76v-77r, 77v-78r, 97v-98r, 110v-111v; reg.

Por otra parte, los contactos profesionales, familiares y personales del procurador (siendo algunos de ellos incluso muy apreciados por la Corona) pueden contrarrestar la opinión y la fuerza del *Consell de Prohoms de les Corts*, aunque no hay que olvidar que muchos de los componentes de estas comisiones han sido síndicos o pertenecen a una familia de éstos. Todo ello evidencia una gran capacidad de los procuradores leridanos y de los distintos componentes de los *Consells de Prohoms de les Corts* para crear vínculos y tejer relaciones tanto dentro del *Consell General* de la ciudad como en otras esferas de poder del Principado de Cataluña, consiguiendo un peso decisivo de sus familias en las decisiones municipales, y por extensión, del Brazo Real, que condicionan en ciertas ocasiones los tiempos y las decisiones de las asambleas representativas.⁵⁴

Así pues, en el análisis de las comisiones de *Prohoms de les Corts* leridanas y de los procuradores en las Cortes, hay que tener en cuenta que era frecuente que una misma familia tuviera diferentes miembros, contemporáneamente o sucesivamente, en dichas comisiones o en las altas esferas de la municipalidad, perpetuando así el poder familiar y aumentando el prestigio de la estirpe y su poder económico.

Por otro lado, también hay que tener en cuenta que algunas familias que han desarrollado un papel destacado en la procuración en las Cortes tienen también destacados miembros dentro del Brazo Eclesiástico.⁵⁵ Por otra parte, la obtención de un título nobiliario será una de las estrategias de las familias para posicionarse mejor dentro del gobierno urbano y de la Corona, un camino abierto, pues, hacia la participación dentro del Brazo Militar en las asambleas y un método para obtener un mayor grado de influencia y poder como linaje.⁵⁶ Todo ello permite a las oligarquías urbanas crear una sólida red clientelar y de contactos que une a todos los sectores relevantes de la sociedad y que en algunos casos incluso conecta a diferentes reinos de la Corona.

366; ff. 4r-5r. Además, sabemos que era primo de los Montsuar, una familia que, como es bien sabido, gozaba de un gran prestigio dentro y fuera de la ciudad. Gispert Mateu era familia también de otro de los principales magnates del *Consell General* de Lleida, Nadal Botella. Lladonosa, Josep. "La casa Montsuar de Lleida", *La nissaga dels Montsuar*, Jeannine Cos-sé, Josep Lladonosa, eds. Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1982: 82.

54. Así, por ejemplo, el síndico de la ciudad de Lleida, Bartomeu Maull, experto en leyes, será llamado en distintas ocasiones por la lugarteniente del Magnánimo, la reina María, para hacerse aconsejar sobre asuntos de índole personal. AML. reg. 742, ff. 106r-107v. Del mismo modo, Simó Sunyer, conocido jurista leridano, procurador en las Cortes en distintas ocasiones, ejerció como *proveïdor de greuges* (funcionario que se ocupa de recoger los agravios) del Brazo Real en las Cortes de 1431, junto con el síndico barcelonés Vicent Padriça. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XVII, 83. Años antes, en 1410, actuó como mensajero de la ciudad ante el rey, junto con otros nombres bien conocidos en la ciudad, como Bernat d'Olzinelles, Francesc de Sant Climent y Samsó de Navés. AML. reg. 405 Bis, ff. 11v-13r. Igualmente, Jaume Navarra, *ciutadà honrat* y procurador de Lleida a Cortes en distintas ocasiones, ocupará el encargo de *proveïdor del Braç Reial* ("interlocutor del Brazo Real") en las Cortes de 1419-1420. *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón...*: XVI, 58-59. Sus hijos ocuparán distintos cargos en diversos consejos del gobierno urbano. Su hijo Jaume será *veguer*, y siendo nombrado caballero, participará en las Cortes de 1493 dentro del Brazo Militar, mientras que su hermano Vicenç representará a Lleida en las Cortes de 1473-1479. Asimismo, Pere Cardona, síndico de Lleida en las polémicas Cortes de 1454, fue *oïdor de comptes* ("revisor") de la Diputación del General, mientras que su hijo Miquel fue clavario del *Estudi General* de la ciudad, y aparece dentro de los diputados del Brazo Militar entre 1473 y 1479. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 112-113, 118-119.

55. Por ejemplo, la familia Cardona, o los Maull, entre otros.

56. Véase, por ejemplo, la familia Navarra, anteriormente citada, o la familia Bosch, o los Gralla. Martí, Esther. *Lleida a les Corts...*: 106-130.



ÁLVARO DE LUNA TIRANO. OPINIÓN PÚBLICA Y CONFLICTO POLÍTICO EN LA CASTILLA DEL SIGLO XV

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RESUMEN

La continuada caracterización del gran privado de Juan II de Castilla, don Álvaro de Luna, como tirano, la constatación de la expansión social de tal caracterización a lo largo de su mandato y que el motivo central de su ejecución se remita precisamente a este argumento son circunstancias históricas que ofrecen la posibilidad de explorar la conformación de una opinión pública, su desarrollo cronológico, su proyección social y su utilidad política, dentro de las posibilidades y los límites ofrecidos por las fuentes disponibles.¹

1. Introducción

El interés por las diversas prácticas de comunicación relacionadas con los contextos de conflicto político viene constituyendo desde hace sobre todo una década y media un hecho constatable.² Así ha ido adquiriendo relieve historiográfico un ámbito de análisis al que se viene prestando una creciente atención por parte de los historiadores, sin dejar de atender a los problemas conceptuales que entraña cualquier intento de aproximación a las distintas cuestiones propias de esta línea de trabajo.³ Resultado de ello ha sido la notable ampliación de las perspectivas de análisis de los fenómenos comunicativos,⁴ tomando especial relevancia lo que se ha enunciado en clave de co-

1. Este trabajo forma parte del Proyecto *Prácticas de comunicación y negociación en las relaciones de consenso y pacto de la cultura política castellana, ca. 1230-1504* (HAR2013-42211-P) de la Secretaría de Estado de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España. Proyecto de I+D del Programa Estatal de Fomento de la Investigación Científica y Técnica de Excelencia, Subprograma de Generación del Conocimiento durante el período 2014-2016.

2. Una extensa recopilación bibliográfica sobre este tema en: Mostart, Marco. *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

3. Dos síntesis clarificadoras de esos problemas conceptuales en: Oliva, Hipólito Rafael. "Sociabilidad y comunicación política a fines de la Edad Media. Algunas reflexiones previas", *Convivir en la Edad Media*, Martín Cea, Juan Carlo, eds. Burgos: Dossoles, 2010: 213-231; Dumolyn, Jan. "Political Communication and Political Power in the Middle Ages: A Conceptual Journey". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012): 33-55.

4. Dutour, Thierry. "L'élaboration, la publication et la diffusion de l'information à la fin du Moyen Âge (Bourgogne ducal et France royale)", *Harò! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, Nicolas Offenstadt, Didier Lett, dirs. París: Publications de La Sorbonne, 2003: 141-155; Lemonde, Anne; Taddei, Ilaria, eds. *Circulation des idées et des pratiques politiques. France et Italie (XIII-XVI siècle)*. Roma: École française de Rome, 2013; Gamberini, Andrea; Genet, Jean-Philippe; Zorzi, Andrea, eds. *The Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*. Roma: Viella, 2011; Hattori, Yoshihisa. *Political Order and Forms of Communication in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Roma: Viella, 2014.

municación simbólica,⁵ así como la toma en consideración de una variedad cada vez más amplia de fuentes relacionadas con el análisis de sus diversas manifestaciones.⁶

Consecuencia de tal opción historiográfica ha sido poner de relieve dentro del estudio de la época medieval cómo en las sociedades de los siglos XIV y XV se vienen a conformar marcos históricos en los que la valoración de los procesos de información y desinformación representan cuestiones de estudio insoslayable en el intento de esclarecer procesos de conflicto político.⁷

Dentro de este creciente interés por las distintas expresiones relacionadas con las actividades de comunicación, incluso ya antes al momento de los primeros indicios de expansión de esta línea de investigación, en los primeros años del presente siglo, tuvo un papel destacado como sujeto de análisis todo lo relacionado con el concepto de opinión pública.⁸ Siendo este concepto de opinión pública objeto de polémicas en las que se planteaba su improcedencia para la época medieval o, por el contrario, su valor central en el análisis de determinados conflictos,⁹ lo cierto es que no ha dejado de tener presencia en la historiografía más reciente con relación a contextos de fines del medievo.¹⁰ Del mismo modo, la valoración del papel político de la opinión pública ha exigido de una consideración particular hacia el rumor como un instrumento útil de lucha en los contextos conflictivos.¹¹

La referencia a la idea de tirano y de tiranía recorre todo el conjunto de la época medieval en un plano de debate intelectual como consecuencia del interés que para muchos autores políticos del medievo tuvo en este punto la recepción y comentario de la obra de Aristóteles, Cicerón o San

5. Véase sobre los aspectos conceptuales de la comunicación simbólica el monográfico: Reinhardt, Nicole; Monnet, Pierre; Klesmann, Bernd; Bruhns, Hinnerk, dirs. "Culture politique et communication symbolique". *Trivium*, 2 (2008). Versión en línea: Reinhardt, Nicole; Monnet, Pierre; Klesmann, Bernd; Bruhns, Hinnerk, dirs. "Culture politique et communication symbolique". *Trivium*. Octubre 2008. 13 febrero 2016 <<https://trivium.revues.org/793>>.

6. Genet, Jean-Philippe. "Image, représentation et communication politique", *Power and Persuasion. Essays on the Art of State Building in Honour of W.P. Blockmans*, Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Antheun Janse, Robert Stein, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 275-290.

7. Verdon, Jean. *Information et desinformation au Moyen Âge*. París: Perrin, 2010; Billoré, Maité; Soria, Myriam. *La Rumeur au Moyen Âge. Du mépris à la manipulation, V-XV siècle*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011.

8. Guenée, Bernard. *L'opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après la "Chronique de Charles VI" du Religieux de Saint-Denis*. París: Perrin, 2002; Gauvard, Claude. "Le roi de France et l'opinion publique à l'époque de Charles VI", *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'état moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*. Roma: École française de Rome, 1985: 353-366; Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*. París: École des chartes, 2013. Para Castilla: Val Valdivieso, María Isabel del. "La opinión pública en los núcleos urbanos de la Castilla de fines de la Edad Media: posibilidades de estudio", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 173-191.

9. Laborie, Pierre. "Opinion publique", *Historiographies, II: Concepts et débats*, Christian Delacroix, François Dosse, Patrick García, Nicolas Offenstadt, dirs. París: Gallimard, 2010: 802-813.

10. Gauvard, Claude. "Qu'est-ce que l'opinion publique avant l'invention de l'imprimerie?", *L'Opinion. Information, rumeur, propagande. Le Rendez-vous de l'histoire*, Claude Gauvard, Alain Corbin, Christian Delporte, Jean-François Sirinelli, eds. Nantes: Éditions Pleins, 2008: 21-59.

11. De Craecker-Dussart, Christiane. "La rumeur: une source d'informations que l'histoire ne peut négliger. À propos d'un recueil récent". *Le Moyen Âge*, 118 (2012): 169-176; Billoré, Maité; Soria, Myriam. *La rumeur au Moyen Âge...*; Para Castilla: Carrasco, Ana Isabel. "El rumor político. Apuntes sobre la opinión pública en la Castilla del siglo XV". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 80 (2006): 65-90. Con especial referencia a las manifestaciones cronísticas en el caso castellano: Carrasco, Ana Isabel. "'Vana' o 'divina' vox populi. La recreación de la opinión pública en Fernando del Pulgar", *Gobernar en tiempos de crisis. Las quiebras dinásticas en el ámbito hispano (1250-1808)*, José Manuel Nieto, María Victoria López-Cordón, eds. Madrid: Sílex: 287-305; Carmona, María Antonia. "La documentación cronística castellana y la opinión pública en Castilla: posibilidades y límites", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 211-227.



Gregorio, entre otros.¹² De ello ya se encuentran testimonios relevantes desde la época visigoda,¹³ en la que el pensamiento de San Isidoro tuvo una influencia significativa en la evolución medieval con relación a este tema. De este interés pueden encontrarse en Castilla para la época bajomedieval evidencias significativas.¹⁴ Sin embargo, más allá del debate entre intelectuales, lo que acaso resulte más interesante de la referencia a la tiranía en el contexto de conflictos políticos determinados es que entre fines del siglo XIV y fines del siglo XV la alusión a este concepto había superado el marco propio del debate intelectual, de modo que, fuera de ese espacio, y en el propio de los agentes políticos concretos de diversa condición, se asume que no hay deslegitimación más rotunda e inapelable para una acción gubernativa que calificarla de tiránica. Del mismo modo, en el marco de los debates de fines del medievo, nada justifica mejor la resistencia a un poder que caracterizarlo como tiránico,¹⁵ dándose fundamento a la afirmación de un derecho de resistencia.¹⁶

En el caso concreto castellano, el triunfo trastámara frente a Pedro I, mucho más aún tras el inicial revés de la batalla de Nájera,¹⁷ debía, sin duda, mucho a la pronta identificación que consiguió entre este monarca y la figura del tirano, lo que se solemnizó en el marco de las cortes de Burgos de 1367,¹⁸ constituyendo a partir de entonces un referente movilizador muy poderoso en el inmediato desarrollo de la guerra civil.¹⁹ Esta constatación nos lleva a la superación del marco meramente de debate académico e intelectual de los conceptos de tirano y de tiranía permitiendo que se hagan presentes en contextos de confrontación política concreta en los que la referencia a la tiranía era consecuencia de su conexión con decisiones y acciones de gobierno precisas. De este

12. Peters, Edward. *The Shadow King. Rex inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature*. New Haven-Londres: Yale University Press, 1970; Turchetti, Mario. *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jours*. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001; Bjaï, Denis. *Figures du tyran antique au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Caligula, Néron et les autres*. París: Klincksieck, 2009; Boulègue, Laurence, ed. *Le tyran et sa postérité dans la littérature latine de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*. París: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

13. Guance, Ariel. "Rex perditionis: la caracterización de la tiranía en la España visigoda". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 77 (2001-2002): 29-39.

14. Nieto, José Manuel. "'Rex inutilis' y tiranía en el debate político de la Castilla bajomedieval", *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale. Colloque international (25-27 novembre 2002)*, François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genêt, José Manuel Nieto, dirs. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005: 73-92; Nieto, José Manuel. "La gestación bajomedieval del derecho de resistencia en Castilla. Modelos interpretativos". *Cahiers d'Etudes Hispaniques Médiévales*, 34 (2011): 13-29; Nieto, José Manuel. "La comunidad política amenazada: debates en torno a la tiranía en el Occidente medieval (siglos XII al XV)", *L'Espai del mal. Reunió científica. IX Curs d'estiu Comtat d'Urgell (Balaguer, 7, 8 i 9 de juliol de 2004)*, Flocel Sabatés, ed. Lleida: Pagès, 2005: 187-204; Foronda, François. "Le prince, le palais et la ville: Ségovie ou le visage du tyran dans la Castille du XVe siècle". *Revue Historique*, 305/3 (2003): 521-541.

15. Un ejemplo reciente del valor central fue adquiriendo en el debate político tardomedieval la reflexión en torno a la tiranía en: Boucheron, Patrick. *Conjurer la peur: Siècle 1338. Essai sur la force politique des images*. París: Seuil, 2013.

16. Carvajal, Patricio. "Derecho de resistencia, derecho a la revolución, desobediencia civil. Una perspectiva histórica de interpretación. La formación del derecho oúblico y de la ciencia política en la temprana Edad Moderna". *Revista de Estudios Políticos (nueva época)*, 76 (1992): 63-101.

17. Castillo, Fernando. "Análisis de una batalla: Nájera (1367)". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 73 (1991): 105-146; Lerena, Tomás. "La batalla de Nájera (1367)", *La guerra en la Edad Media. XVII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera*, Blas Casado, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007: 345-378.

18. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1863: II, 145, 147 (petición 1 y petición 4 respectivamente).

19. Valdeón, Julio. "La propaganda política, arma de combate de Enrique de Trastámara". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 19 (1992): 459-467; Rábade, María del Pilar. "Simbología y propaganda política en los formularios cancelarescos de Enrique II de Castilla". *En la España Medieval*, 18 (1995): 223-239; Estepa, Carlos. "Rebelión y rey legítimo en las luchas entre Pedro I y Enrique II", *Lucha política. Condena y legitimación en la España Medieval*, María Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, eds. Lyon: Éditions de l'École normale supérieure de Lyon, 2004: 43-61 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16); Valdaliso, Covadonga. *Historiografía y legitimación dinástica. Análisis de la Crónica de Pedro I de Castilla*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010.



modo se ofrece al historiador la posibilidad de abordar tales cuestiones desde la perspectiva propia de los procesos de conformación de opinión y de aplicación de estrategias de comunicación.

A partir de lo señalado, la continuada caracterización de un modo cada vez más tangible del gran privado de Juan II de Castilla, don Álvaro de Luna, como tirano a partir de un determinado momento que se tratará de precisar, la constatación de la expansión social de tal caracterización a lo largo de su mandato y el hecho de que el motivo central de su ejecución se remita precisamente a este argumento son circunstancias históricas que ofrecen la posibilidad de explorar la conformación de una opinión pública, su desarrollo cronológico, su proyección social y su utilidad política, tal como se pretenderá abordar en las páginas siguientes, dentro de las posibilidades y los límites ofrecidos por las fuentes disponibles.

2. La normalidad histórica de la privanza y la excepcionalidad histórica de una privanza

La condición de don Álvaro de Luna como privado del rey, contrariamente a lo señalado en alguna ocasión,²⁰ no tenía que suponer necesariamente algo de significación negativa.²¹ Por el contrario, había ido tomando una cierta carta de naturaleza la presencia de esta figura como consecuencia de la consolidación, a partir de una larga experiencia, de una posición política a la sombra del rey de uno o varios personajes preeminentes en la corte que contaban con el apoyo del rey y que se distinguían por su especial accesibilidad al monarca. Su rastro cronístico y documental, tal como se ha puesto de relieve por François Foronda,²² nos remite a mucho tiempo atrás y, por tanto, a una larga cronología. Esta evolución, de acuerdo con lo señalado por este autor, y tal como las fuentes permiten afirmar, arrancaría de los tiempos de Sancho IV, a los mismos comienzos de su reinado, con el nombramiento para tal función del abad de Valladolid Gómez García. Caído en desgracia, acabaría alejado de la corte. De hecho, la crónica del reinado alude a la reacción del mo-

20. Le 'privado' ne serait alors qu'un avatar du conseiller, rendu possible par la béance du pouvoir royal mais aussi la comblant, se substituant en quelque sorte à ce pouvoir, clef de voûte de l'équilibre politique, afin d'en assurer la pérennité. Mais il s'agit d'une figure qui, en cette première moitié du XV^e siècle, ne s'inscrit pas (ou pas encore) dans les pratiques de pouvoir ; elle n'en est qu'une forme monstrueuse car elle est vécue et donc combattue comme contraire aux normes du bon gouvernement et à la raison ("El privado no sería entonces más que un avatar del consejero, hecho posible por la brecha del poder real, tapándola, sustituyendo de algún modo este poder, clave de bóveda del equilibrio político, a fin de asegurar la perennidad. Pero [el privado] es una figura que, en esta primera mitad del siglo XV, no se inscribe [todavía no] en las prácticas del poder; tal figura no es más que una forma monstruosa pues es percibida y, en consecuencia, combatida como contraria a las normas del buen gobierno y a la razón"). Fournès, Ghislaine. "Du concept de 'privanza' à la notion de conseil dans la 'Crónica de Álvaro de Luna' (XV^e siècle)". Diciembre 2005. *e-Spania*, 12. 16 enero 2016. <<http://e-spania.revues.org/20620>>. Aunque, en efecto, la práctica de la privanza está sujeta a frecuentes críticas en la literatura política bajomedieval, estas se encuentran sobre todo motivadas por los excesos en los que puede devenir el uso de la privanza más que por la propia existencia de una actividad cuya utilidad se veía avalada por la continuada utilización que desde fines del XIII se venía haciendo de tal figura.

21. Foronda, François. "La 'privanza' dans la Castille du bas Moyen Âge. Cadres conceptuels et stratégies de légitimation d'un lien de proximité", María Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, eds. Lyon: Éditions de l'École normale supérieure de Lyon, 2004: 153-197, en particular, 176-197 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16); Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime de la faveur. Autorité monarchique et puissance aristocratique en Castille (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Paris: Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2003; Foronda, François. "La privanza, entre monarquía y nobleza", *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa (c. 1230-1504)*, José Manuel Nieto, ed. Madrid: Sílex, 2006: 73-132; Foronda, François. "S'emparer du roi. Un rituel d'intégration politique dans la Castilletrastamare", *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe Occidentale. Colloque international (25-27 novembre 2002)*, François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genêt, José Manuel Nieto, dirs. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2005: 213-329.

22. Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime...*



narca al conocer la noticia de su muerte el 29 de julio de 1286, afirmando que “plugole mucho.”²³ Con ello, se anunciaba una realidad bien repetida en la historia de los privados, la frecuente compatibilidad entre la amplitud de la influencia y del poder ostentado a la sombra del rey y el final cruel de muchos de estos personajes una vez perdido el favor real. De modo que los ascensos políticos, hasta convertirse en una cierta forma de alter ego del monarca, y las consiguientes caídas en desgracia de estos personajes se presentan como una realidad histórica hartamente repetida. Tales rasgos se hacen especialmente constatables en la Castilla del siglo XV.²⁴

Si hasta aquí podemos hablar en clave de normalidad política, dada la reiteración y larga trayectoria de este tipo de acontecimientos, sin duda alguna, el caso del privado don Álvaro de Luna ofrece unos ciertos rasgos de excepcionalidad dentro de esta prolongada forma de práctica gubernativa. Esta surge como consecuencia del contraste entre amplitud de poder y caída en desgracia. Tal contraste alcanza las dimensiones más rotundas al producirse bajo forma de ajusticiamiento en plaza pública y a resultas de una implicación muy directa del rey en la adopción de tal medida, empeñándose personalmente en tratar de dar forma jurídica a lo que se evidencia como el empeño regio de dar castigo definitivo al privado, tal como luego se verá. Esta excepcionalidad se hace, además, todavía más evidente en el caso de don Álvaro de Luna en tanto ostenta el poder con bastante continuidad durante aproximadamente tres décadas, de manera, por tanto, inusualmente prolongada, pasando de identificarse, tal como pusiera de relieve Nicholas Round,²⁵ siguiendo la expresión cronística,²⁶ como el mayor hombre sin corona que en su tiempo habitó en Castilla, hasta mostrársenos bajo la imagen de una cabeza sobre una pica en compañía de un franciscano orante en la plaza mayor de Valladolid.

Nada mejor daba justificación a la ejecución que puso fin a la vida del maestre que el pregón con el que se anunciaba la justicia del rey mientras era trasladado al patíbulo. El contenido de ese pregón habría sido largamente meditado en el seno del Consejo Real para que expresase de forma taxativa y precisa en pocas palabras la razón más determinante de la sentencia. La acusación que se habría pregonado se sintetizaba en que el privado se habría comportado bajo forma tiránica, por lo que estaba apoderado de la persona del rey, cuya liberación urgía conseguir.²⁷

Por su parte, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, en su crónica del reinado, y Fernán Gómez de Cibdarreal, a través de una de sus epístolas, nos ofrecen como versión coincidente del pregón de ajusticiamiento aquella que decía: “esta es la justicia que manda hacer el Rey nuestro Señor á este cruel tirano e usurpador de la corona real: en pena de sus maldades, mándale degollar por ello.”²⁸ Como resultado de una pesquisa realizada años después de aquellos hechos, los distintos testigos interrogados, presentes el día de la ejecución, coinciden en señalar la acusación de tiranía como la

23. “Le complació mucho”. Nieto, José Manuel. *Sancho IV (1284-1295)*. Gijón: Trea, 2015: 75-78.

24. Carceller, Pilar. “Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco y Beltrán de la Cueva: un estudio comparativo del privado regio a fines de la Edad Media”. *En la España Medieval*, 32 (2009): 85-112.

25. Round, Nicholas. *The Greatest Man Uncrowned. A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna*. Londres: Tamesis Book, 1986

26. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla y Maestre de Santiago*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940: 428

27. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 431.

28. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. “Crónica de Juan II”, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, 683; Gómez de Cibdarreal, Fernán. *Centón epistolario*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1945: XIII, 34; *Epistolario español: colección de cartas de españoles ilustres, antiguos y modernos*, ed. Eugenio Ochoa. Madrid: Atlas, 1945: 34.

que de manera principal quedó expresada en el pregón real que se fue vociferando repetidamente mientras el maestre era conducido a su ejecución.²⁹

De esta manera, la síntesis esencial del significado político de don Álvaro de Luna venía a plasmarse en la idea de la transformación del privado, acaso el privado que a lo largo de toda la historia de la privanza en la Castilla bajomedieval mayores poderes, influencia y riqueza había llegado a acaparar al amparo de su cargo, en tirano, acaso también, el mayor tirano sin corona que había crecido a la sombra de la monarquía castellana. Además, la emergencia de esta imagen de tiranía tenía su parte de originalidad, puesto que se proyectaba con respecto a quien no le correspondía la expresión máxima del poder político, lo que, ya de por sí, dotaba al condestable de un perfil de extraordinaria singularidad acorde con la imagen que más de tres décadas después quedaría plasmada bajo expresión artística en su cenotafio toledano de la capilla de Santiago de Toledo,³⁰ con el que se pretende rehabilitar su memoria bajo calificativo de “buen gobernante, hombre de armas y hombre de letras haciendo olvidar su muerte sin honor”.³¹

Pero esa imagen del condestable tirano había tenido su historia, sus hitos y sus significados concretos, siendo susceptible de ser inserta en unas prácticas de comunicación simbólica. Será en su proceso de construcción y evolución en el que centremos toda nuestra atención, considerando la posibilidad de que tal asunto tuviera mucho que ver con lo que acaso bien podría considerarse como una expresión especialmente característica del papel político que la formación de una opinión pública podría tener a fines del medievo en el marco de un variado conjunto de tensiones políticas.

3. De privado a tirano: la intervención de Alfonso V de Aragón (1425)

Tal como ha sido puesto de relieve,³² el comienzo de la identificación de don Álvaro con la condición tiránica habría que situarlo en junio de 1425, con motivo de la carta que Alfonso V de Aragón dirige Pedro Núñez de Herrera, señor de Pedraza,³³ poniendo de relieve cómo el rey de Castilla habría quedado completamente bajo el control de su privado, por lo que manifiesta su voluntad de acudir a Castilla con gente de armas para rescatar al monarca de esta situación, animando al mencionado noble a incorporarse a sus fuerzas una vez que haya entrado en Castilla.³⁴ Esa consideración de tirano se expresa tanto bajo referencia a la actitud personal del condestable, como al modo en que puede caracterizarse en su conjunto la forma de llevar los asuntos del rey, eviden-

29. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna según testimonios inéditos de la época*. Valladolid: Editorial Viuda de Montero, 1915.

30. Pérez Monzón, Olga. “La imagen del poder nobiliario en Castilla”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37/2 (2007): 926-935.

31. Pérez Monzón, Olga. “La imagen del poder nobiliario...”: 935.

32. Foronda, François. “La privanza, entre monarquía y nobleza...”: 116-117.

33. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla*. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, 1835-1913: II, 1-5.

34. “É por tal manera ejerció su tiranía, que los grandes, notables varones é ricos-homes é fijos-dalgo, é otras gentes notables, daquesos regnos, se apartaban é apartaron de continuar en la corte del dicho Rey, nuestro primo, no pudiendo sufrir ser subyugados de tal tirano: é encara los que eran presentes huían con grand terror del, mayormente como en caso que á la corte quiesiesen ir, ó estar en ella, non les era, nin es dada libertad de hablar, aconsejar ó servir el dicho Rey nuestro primo, á cada uno segund pertenesce á su grado, antes entendió por maneras esquisitas, en desechar é apartar á los grandes é nobles fijos-dalgo, é otras gentes industriosas, é sabias de la casa, é corte, é crianza del dicho Rey, nuestro primo, non dejando continuar en ella, salvo aquellos que fuesen á él pacientes : é puso cerca de la persona del Rey personas los demas de baja mano é condición, los quales fuesen é sean con toda vigilancia favorecientes á él en su tiranía.” *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...: II, 2.*



ciando que hay una voluntad consciente y plenamente asumida de actuar bajo procedimientos típicamente tiránicos. Con todo, de la carta no se desprende una deslegitimación de la privanza como instrumento de gobierno, quedando limitada su denuncia al uso concreto que el don Álvaro está haciendo de su cargo con especial valoración del perjuicio que provoca en la posición política de los hermanos del monarca aragonés, los infantes de Aragón.³⁵

La caracterización de esa condición tiránica, tal como se describe en la carta del rey Aragón, presenta como rasgo principal el completo control del espacio cortesano por el tirano, lo que conlleva, por un lado, un proceso de vaciamiento selectivo de la corte, con la marcha de grandes y caballeros, lo que favorece una completa absorción del entorno real por el privado. A la vez, actuando como motivo y consecuencia de esta circunstancia, se produciría la imposición de un ambiente de temor y miedo, así como de ausencia de libertad y de imposibilidad del ejercicio del consejo respecto del monarca dentro de ese espacio cortesano, lo que genera un efecto de inseguridad para los que permanecen en él, favoreciendo la huida del mismo de muchos de sus ocupantes naturales. De este modo, los habitantes de la corte se acaban reduciendo a los partidarios del tirano.

El texto de Alfonso V viene a suponer una caracterización extremadamente detallada de la caustica tiránica concreta que atribuye a don Álvaro de Luna, cuya tiranía quedaría descrita a partir de doce rasgos principales:

1. Don Álvaro gobierna al rey y sus reinos, ocupando, tal como se afirma, “la gobernanza de la persona del dicho rey e de sus regnos.”³⁶ Con ello se estaría definiendo el rasgo más característico de lo que tradicionalmente se venía a enunciar como el tirano *propter defectum tituli*, lo que, como veremos, respondía a una tipología tiránica que tenía implicaciones específicas en el sentido de facilitar la reacción frente a dicho tipo tiránico.
2. Limita y dificulta la proximidad del rey a los suyos.
3. Propicia el odio entre el rey y sus allegados.
4. Usa el engaño y la infamia.
5. Induce a quebrantar los seguros otorgados por el rey.
6. Hace presos a los buenos, refiriéndose con ello en particular al infante don Enrique de Aragón.
7. No guarda el servicio del rey ni el bien público del reino.
8. Sus acciones provocan que los grandes y gentes notables huyan de la corte, desamparando al monarca.
9. Induce la imposición de un régimen de terror entre los que permanecen en la corte.
10. Quebranta las libertades.
11. Impone exacciones manifiestamente injustas.
12. Se apropia del patrimonio real.

Aunque no faltaba en el ámbito aragonés el interés por la reflexión política en torno al tirano, de lo que, por ejemplo, ofrecía ejemplo relevante Frances Eiximenis,³⁷ resulta interesante observar cómo en la propia carta se afirma haberse originado la preocupación del rey aragonés por las iniciativas de don Álvaro hallándose en sus dominios italianos. Esto inclina a plantear la hipótesis de que la caracterización de esta imagen tiránica de don Álvaro respondiera a la importante creatividad

35. Foronda, François. *La 'privanza' ou le régime de la faveur...*: 296.

36. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 2.

37. Cortés, Carmen. “El tirano y la tiranía en el pensamiento político pactista de Francesc Eiximenis”, *El pensamiento político en la Edad Media*, Pedro Roche, ed. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, 2010: 379-390.

teórica que este tema había suscitado en el medio italiano, tratándose por entonces de un tema que allí se hallaba muy en boga.³⁸

En efecto, Alfonso V había permanecido en la península italiana hasta 1423. Para entonces, el debate en torno a la tiranía había alcanzado una presencia muy relevante de la que, a no dudar, el monarca aragonés quedaría ampliamente informado, permitiéndole abordar la crítica hacia el rival político aplicando lo conocido a través de tal debate. Aunque estaba bien reciente la aportación de Salutati a la reflexión sobre la caracterización del tirano,³⁹ eran sobre todo los argumentos expresados en su día por Bártolo de Sassoferrato los que habían alcanzado mayor difusión.⁴⁰

Desde la perspectiva de la crítica hacia el gobierno de don Álvaro interpretado como forma de *regimen malorum*, es decir, de tiranía en el sentido más completo del término, la obra *De Tyranno* del mencionado Bártolo de Sassoferrato ofrecía extraordinarias posibilidades justificativas. Frente al tradicional planteamiento que refería la condición tiránica a los que ejercían el poder soberano, reyes o emperadores, Bártolo entraba también en la consideración del ejercicio de la tiranía en el marco de instancias políticas inferiores o delegadas, no dejando de aludir específicamente a la protagonizada por ciertos magnates, planteándose cuál debía ser la actitud a tomar por el poder superior del que habían recibido su dignidad: *si aliquis dux, marchio, comes vel baro, qui habet iustum titulum probatur tyrannus exercitio, quid debet facere superior? Respondeo: debet eum deponere*.⁴¹ A la luz de esta reflexión, si bien era verdad que con su denuncia Alfonso V daba fundamento sólido a la caracterización de don Álvaro como tirano, eximiendo de culpa al rey,⁴² este no dejaría de asumir cierta responsabilidad en el caso de no tomar la decisión de su deposición. Los rasgos propios del ejercicio tiránico, en forma de decálogo, tal como aparecen descritos en su obra, son en su mayoría compatibles con la docena de malas prácticas del privado antes enumerada, de acuerdo con el texto de la carta del rey aragonés, quedando todos resumidos, según la obra bartoliana, en la idea de que *opera eius non tendunt ad bonum commune, sed proprium ipsius tyranni*,⁴³ lo que resulta acorde con la línea argumental principal de Alfonso V al destacar la obsesión del privado por su propio interés en detrimento del bien común del reino.

Una de las principales preocupaciones de Bártolo se sitúa en la identificación del tirano *ex defectu tituli* que ejerce funciones de rey sin serlo.⁴⁴ Era este el tipo de tiranía que, frente a la enunciada en términos de *ex parte exercitii*, ofrecía rasgos más objetivos, dando fundamento a reacción antitiránica rotunda y plena de justificación. No podían ajustarse mejor al caso castellano las reflexiones de Bártolo cuando señalaba cómo una de las expresiones de tirano más temibles, dentro del tipo mencionado, era aquella que respondía a quien en el ejercicio de su cargo alcanzaba tanto poder que llegaba a controlar enteramente el gobierno haciendo lo quisiera a su antojo sin freno ni límite

38. Manifestación de ese interés en las ciudades italianas se refleja bajo la expresión *séduction de la tyrannie*. Boucheron, Patrick. *Conjurer la peur...*: 119-136. Véase también sobre esta misma cuestión del desarrollo de la reflexión sobre la tiranía entre los intelectuales italianos y al hilo de acontecimientos políticos concretos entre los siglos XIV y XV: Turchetti, Mario. *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité...*: 291-332.

39. Salutati, Coluccio. *Il trattato "De tyranno" e lettere suelte*, ed. Francesco Ercole. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1942.

40. Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento italiano. Il "De Tyranno" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314-1357)*. Florencia: Leo S. Olschki, 1983.

41. Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 202.

42. Foronda, *La privanza ou le régime de la faveur...*: 297.

43. Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 196.

44. Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 21, 41-43.



alguno.⁴⁵ Tal planteamiento encajaba plenamente con el caso castellano. Con esa afirmación de la ocupación por don Álvaro del regimiento y gobernanza de la persona del rey y de sus reinos, que quedaba simbolizada por la apropiación del espacio cortesano y consiguiente expulsión de él de los allegados al monarca y la imposición en el mismo de un régimen de terror, no se dejaba margen para que el tirano *ex defectu tituli* no se hiciera presente. Con ello se justificaba sin paliativos la acción más radical y rotunda que condujera a la expulsión del tirano. De este modo, la acción armada que anuncia el monarca aragonés encontraba pleno fundamento en la lógica argumentativa bartoliana.

En consecuencia, con su carta, perfectamente inserta en la innovaciones que el pensamiento italiano había aportado con relación al problema de la tiranía, Alfonso V daba sólida base a la conformación de una opinión en torno a la figura del condestable bajo caracterización de tirano, opinión que habría de perseguirle hasta el cadalso, dotando de argumentos muy convenientes a sus detractores.

4. La conformación de una opinión nobiliaria

El 7 de diciembre de 1438 el rey Juan II emitía una cédula por la que rechazaba las acusaciones que “algunas personas maliciosamente movidos con grand invidia e mal querencia” lanzaban contra don Álvaro de Luna, acusándolo de no servir bien al rey, actuando sólo por sus propios intereses. Por el contrario, el monarca reivindicaba a su privado, manifestándole a este que “con toda lealtad e animosidad siempre me avedes servido e servides muy bien, sufriendo de cada día por mi servicio e onor e ensalçamiento de la corona rreal de mis rregnos muchos trabajos poniendo vos por ello a muchos peligros.”⁴⁶ Tal manifestación real se contradecía con otros testimonios.

Sin que se pueda establecer fecha precisa, pero siendo, en cualquier caso, posterior a 1433 y pareciendo muy conectada con los movimientos antilunistas que se extienden en la corte castellana a partir de 1439, tenemos una obra apenas utilizada por los historiadores interesados en la época,⁴⁷ conocida como *Libro de Gracián, Tratado y semblanza de Gracián o Novela moral de Gracián*,⁴⁸ que aportará extensos argumentos para la construcción de una imagen de tiranía de don Álvaro, en particular, con relación a aquellos aspectos que conectaban con el acaparamiento abusivo de riquezas que se acababa convirtiendo en una forma de verdadero expolio, tanto para el patrimonio personal del rey como del reino. La obra, de autor desconocido, se ha vinculado con don Diego Anaya y Maldonado (muerto en 1437), que fuera obispo de Salamanca y Cuenca y arzobispo de Sevilla, tanto por razones codicológicas, al estar incluida en un volumen conservado en la biblioteca de la universidad salmantina que le perteneció, como por razones de trayectoria biográfica de este personaje.⁴⁹ Su enfrentamiento con don Álvaro ya se remontaba a los mismos orígenes de

45. Quaglioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 54.

46. Calderón, José Manuel. *Alvaro de Luna (1419-1453). Colección diplomática*. Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos-Dykinson, 1999: 179.

47. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. “Los efectos del mal gobierno en la Andalucía de Juan II según la ‘Novela Moral de Gracián’”. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 213 (2016): 109-149.

48. Estudio y edición en: Satorre, José J. “La novela moral de Gracián. Un texto inédito del siglo XV”. *Estudios Lulianos*, 24 (1980): 165-210; 25 (1981-1983): 83-165; 26 (1986): 165-251.

49. Monsalvo, José María. “Diego de Anaya y su tiempo: aristócrata, obispo, diplomático y humanista”, *La universidad de Salamanca y el pontificado en la Edad Media*, Miguel Anxo Pena, Luis Enrique Rodríguez, eds. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2014: 217-254.

su privanza, cuando ocupaba la mitra salmanticense, señalándose como partidario de los infantes de Aragón.⁵⁰ El encono entre privado y prelado acabaría pasándole a este gruesa factura al conseguir don Álvaro su deposición pontificia de la mitra hispalense acusado de conspiración. Por ello acabaría perdiendo por su decisión la mitra arzobispal, reclusiéndose, temiendo por su vida, ante la persecución del condestable, en el monasterio jerónimo de San Bartolomé de Lupiana. Esta relación conflictiva sería heredada por su hijo Juan Gómez de Anaya, arcediano de Salamanca, que protagonizaría movimientos antilunistas.⁵¹

La obra narraría las andanzas del joven Gracián, presentando en parte rasgos de libro de viajes, así como de obra doctrinal y también de espéculo moral y político. El propio destino de su protagonista que, decepcionado de las inmundicias del mundo, acaba refugiándose en la vida contemplativa, favorece la conexión con la vida del prelado. Organizada en doce capítulos, resulta especialmente interesante para nuestro asunto lo correspondiente al capítulo cuarto, dedicado a cómo deben conducirse los príncipes. En él, junto a recomendaciones propias de un espéculo de príncipes relativas a cómo deben comportarse estos en el ejercicio de sus funciones, se concede también muy amplia atención a la caracterización de los que repetidamente son aludidos como falsos o malos privados. Pareciendo evitar una crítica expresa, como si hubiera temor a dar nombres concretos, todo hace pensar, tal como ha puesto de relieve Fernando Gómez Redondo, que la imagen de ese privado reprochable se inspira en los hechos de don Álvaro de Luna.⁵²

Estos falsos privados, tal como se describe en la obra, corromperían todas las virtudes, quedándose con las rentas de los príncipes a los que aconsejaban mal, echando nuevos y crueles tributos; asentarían en los libros de los príncipes a sus parientes y amigos, otorgándoles grandes rentas; tomarían lo ajeno sin medida, arrendarían a su antojo la recaudación de los tributos y manipularían sus pujas, abundarían en cohechos e injurias contra todos, en especial, contra los más pobres; a la sombra del príncipe se quedarían, sin tener derecho alguno para ello, con muchos pueblos; actuarían como codiciosos y lisonjeros, engañando y robando sin medida a sus príncipes, sacando grandes dineros y así “dizen que la voluntad del príncipe se cunpla aunque el pueblo se pierda”.⁵³ Infundirían en el príncipe falsos temores, procurándole la enemistad con sus caballeros, así como con otros príncipes, contra los que lo mueven a la guerra.

Sin aparecer en ningún momento la palabra tirano, el hilo argumental no puede cuadrar mejor con el memorial de acusación de tiranía enviado al rey por algunos grandes en 1440, al que luego nos referiremos.⁵⁴ De hecho, Fernando Gómez Redondo ha advertido la presencia de algunas referencias comunes con la carta atribuida a Diego de Valera denunciando la tiranía de don Álvaro, lo que le lleva a afirmar, creo que con buen fundamento, que

50. González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1982: 34-35.

51. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946: 310.

52. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. Tomo III: Los orígenes del humanismo. El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2002: 377-401.

53. Satorre, José J. “La novela moral de Gracián...”: 115.

54. Una interpretación que conecta la obra con el Rimado de Palacio del Pero López de Ayala en: Vázquez Janeiro, Isaac. “Los estudios franciscanos medievales en España”, *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera (Nájera, 31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1999)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Ángel García de Cortázar, eds. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 43-64, en especial, 60-64; Vázquez Janeiro, Isaac. “‘Gracián’, un ‘Félix’ castigliano del seculo XV. Una ricerca sull’innominato autore”. *Annali dell’istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Romenza*, 34/1 (1992): 295-337.



esta es la sección del tratado que mejor conecta con las circunstancias que llevan de la concordia de Castronuño (1439) al golpe de Rámaga (1443). Es más, parece que aprovecha —si no es que los proporciona— los argumentos de la oposición a don Álvaro, pues este mismo tejido de razones asoma en la carta⁵⁵ con la que se daba expresión a la posición del bando del rey de Navarra, del infante don Enrique y de los grandes que los apoyaban que envía a Juan II para que recupere la libertad frente a su privado.⁵⁶

En ella, la caracterización del proceder del privado bajo forma tiránica se hace bien explícita, considerando que se habría apropiado tiránicamente del poder del rey y que adoptaría decisiones propias de actos tiránicos.

A la vez que en esta carta hay llamativas coincidencias textuales con el antes citado *Libro de Gracián*, favoreciendo la hipótesis de la contextualización de esta obra en el marco de los debates de este momento, también puede considerarse como un anuncio esquemático de lo que va a ser el memorial de agravios que ese mismo grupo habrá de presentar al monarca aquel mismo año, tal como se transcribe en la *Crónica del Halconero*.⁵⁷

La amplitud de acusaciones que se lanzaban contra el condestable en los capítulos de este memorial no podía ocultar un esfuerzo de hacer presente su encaje perfecto con lo que en la segunda de las *Siete Partidas* se describía como los usos propios del gobernar tiránico, aunque pensando en el texto legislativo a actuaciones propias de emperadores o reyes, a partir de los siguientes ocho criterios, en torno a los cuales se vertebraba la imagen de tal proceder:⁵⁸

1. Degradar moralmente a los súbditos.
2. Favorecer la división interna.
3. Empobrecer el reino.
4. Debilitar a los poderosos.
5. Aniquilar a los sabios.
6. Impedir las formas de asociación y hermandad.
7. Vigiliar y controlar las opiniones.
8. Confiar en los extranjeros en detrimento de los naturales.

Así, en el caso de don Álvaro de Luna, se enumeraba con extraordinaria extensión y detalle las que se describían como típicas prácticas tiránicas, todas ellas conducentes a buscar el propio provecho, y entre las que tenían especial peso la elaboración de leyes injustas, el acaparamiento de riquezas sin límite, hasta el extremo de no bastarle los tesoros acumulados en el reino, ocultando algunas de estas riquezas fuera del mismo, como en Génova o en Venecia; el imponer todo tipo de tributos abusivos para su propio beneficio, el extender la sospecha generalizada; la persecución y destrucción de los grandes, o el procurarse espías e informadores.

Pero quizá la aportación más relevante de esta larga relación de denuncias no se halle solamente en su extensión y detallismo descriptivo, sino en que se presentaba al privado como alguien que actuaba plenamente como rey, sin apenas restricciones en su capacidad de acción, tal como

55. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. “Crónica de Juan II...”: II, 560-562.

56. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa medieval...*: 389.

57. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero...*: 320-334.

58. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso El Sabio. Cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo II: Partida Segunda y Tercera*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807: 11 (título I, ley X: “Qué quiere decir tirano, et cómo usa de su poder en el regno después que es apoderado él”).

se decía, al “fazerse monarca en vuestros reynos”.⁵⁹ De este modo, si cabía todavía alguna razón para pensar que hasta ahora podía considerarse la acusación de tiranía más como un símil que como una realidad política plena, ahora sí se alcanzaba esa plenitud de comportamiento tiránico, al asumir el privado la integridad de las funciones propias del monarca y ejecutarlas bajo forma de ejercicio tiránico, respondiendo con toda propiedad al concepto de tirano *propter defectum tituli*, por su apropiación sin derecho de la función regia que además se usaba *ex defectu exercitii*, representando así una plenitud de la condición tiránica.

Esta absorción del ministerio regio, tal como se expresaba en el documento, abarcaría la totalidad de sus contenidos, lo que se plasmaba en la alusión a cómo el privado usaba “entera e largamente de todo vuestro rreal poder, así avsoluto como ordinario”.⁶⁰ Con ello se estaba acaso apuntando a cómo se veía en el privado el artífice del proceso de expansión de un “poderío real absoluto”, cada vez más presente como cláusula documental en las disposiciones regias y también como práctica de gobierno excepcional, pero administrada por el privado, según su conveniencia, tal como denunciaba el memorial. La afirmación de este principio político en las cortes de Olmedo de 1445,⁶¹ desarrolladas bajo la tutela de don Álvaro, con todo lo que tenía de respaldo a las prácticas absolutistas, confirmaba la conexión entre los intereses personales del privado y la expansión de los contenidos absolutistas del poder regio por él administrado.⁶² A la vez, también evidenciaba la deriva absolutista del concepto monárquico en Castilla.⁶³

En consecuencia, estaba plenamente justificado que el documento se estructurase, tras su preámbulo acusatorio, con una relación descriptiva de lo que eran las funciones propias del príncipe ideal, para enumerar a continuación las correspondientes al príncipe tiránico, terminando con todas las atribuibles al condestable, que venían a suponer una completa ejemplificación de esas prácticas tiránicas. En consecuencia, a partir de ahora, la plenitud del comportamiento tiránico de don Álvaro contaba con un sólido testimonio que daba una base muy consistente a lo que se apuntaba por sus detractores como el núcleo de la opinión bajo la que se quería deslegitimar al privado, cuya máxima extensión por el reino se pretendía impulsar.

5. Hacia la popularización de una opinión

Se ha puesto de manifiesto, con toda razón, que a partir del golpe de Záfraga, acaecido el 11 de mayo de 1448, se habría producido la generalización del uso del término “tiranía” en todo el reino para referirse al gobierno de don Álvaro.⁶⁴ Tal circunstancia permitiría identificar esa caracterización tiránica del privado como una cierta forma de opinión pública que parecía alcanzar prevalencia en cuanto a la imagen del mismo. Seguramente, la mejor manifestación de ese fenó-

59. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero*...: 320.

60. Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero*...: 320.

61. González Alonso, Benjamín. “De Briviesca a Olmedo (algunas reflexiones sobre el ejercicio de la poetestad legislativa en la Castilla bajomedieval)”, *El Dret Comú i Catalunya. Actes del IV Simposi Internacional. Homenatge al professor Josep M. Gay Escoda. Barcelona, 27-28 de maig de 1994*, Aquilino Iglesia, ed. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1995: 43-74.

62. Nieto, José Manuel. “El ‘poderío real absoluto’ de Olmedo (1445) a Ocaña (1469): la monarquía como conflicto”. *En la España Medieval*, 21 (1998): 159-228.

63. Dios, Salustiano de. “Sobre la génesis y los caracteres del Estado absolutista en Castilla”. *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 5 (1985): 36-37.

64. Olivera, César. *Las Cortes de Castilla y León y la crisis del reino (1445-1474). El registro de Cortes*. Burgos: Cortes de Castilla y León, 1986: 39.



meno de generalización se constata a partir de la comprobación de su presencia en el marco de los movimientos urbanos, superando, por tanto, el círculo reducido de los grandes del reino.

Sin duda, el mejor testimonio de esta superación del espacio nobiliario-cortesano se encuentra en el memorial del bachiller Marcos García de Mora, difundido con motivo del alzamiento anticonverso que tiene lugar en la ciudad de Toledo en 1449,⁶⁵ encabezado por el repostero mayor de Juan II, que encontraría en este memorial un discurso justificador de su reivindicación de apartamiento de los conversos de los cargos públicos a los que habrían accedido, según su criterio, como consecuencia de la estrategia tiránica de don Álvaro y que situaría a este como causa principal de la crisis política bajo la que se interpretaba la situación general del reino.⁶⁶

La referencia a la expresión tirano o tiranía para referirse a don Álvaro se produce hasta en un total de 39 ocasiones. El centro de la causa de los motivos de descontento expresados en el memorial se sitúan en la iniciativa de un don Alvaro de Luna identificado reiteradamente como “malo tirano”. Se identificaba como momento de origen de este comportamiento el situado cuatro años antes de la redacción del escrito, lo que nos conduce al año de la batalla de Olmedo, tras la que el autor percibiría una toma por el privado del pleno y total control del poder del monarca. Así, por tanto, se establecía una cronología propia y diferenciada respecto a los textos anteriormente considerados con respecto al origen y desarrollo de las actitudes tiránicas del privado. Como acusación especialmente grave, se le señalaría como actuando “so color del nombre del dicho señor rey”,⁶⁷ con lo que se abundaría en una idea de auténtica suplantación del rey por su privado. Con esta caracterización como ejemplo de tirano de un privado que actúa sistemáticamente en contra de los intereses del reino queda perfectamente articulada la llamada a la movilización contra las decisiones tomadas por un rey bajo control de tal privado con la siguientes consecuencias:⁶⁸

- Las normas dadas por el monarca, o por quien actúa en su nombre, que se consideren contrarias al bien común y al derecho, carecerán de valor.
- Cuando el rey es injusto por acción o por omisión tiene lugar lo que denomina “defecto de jurisdicción”, justificándose en tal situación el derecho de resistencia y la defensa frente al rey.
- Cuando el rey cae en tiranía, bien fuera por su propia iniciativa o bien como consecuencia de un proceso de suplantación de sus funciones, debe exigirse la entrega del poder a su sucesor o a las ciudades del reino para que actuasen como garantes del bien común en defecto del monarca.
- Los naturales del reino no sólo tendrían el derecho, sino también el deber de resistirse y oponerse a las decisiones resultantes de los actos tiránicos.

Con esta hilazón argumentativa, en consecuencia, se establecía un frente justificativo que hacía que la caracterización tiránica del privado motivase la toma de acciones concretas contra el monarca mismo. Dicho de otra manera, la consolidación y generalización de una opinión pública que veía en el maestre la ejemplificación de la tiranía ya no limitaba el campo de actuación contra este, tal como venía sucediendo en los años precedentes, mientras tal asunto se había venido planteando en el campo de la lucha cortesana, sino que ahora, con su presencia en un

65. López Gómez, Oscar. “El impacto de las revueltas urbanas en el siglo XV. A propósito de la rebelión de 1449 en Toledo”. *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 15 (2014): 175-191.

66. El texto en: Benito, Eloy. *Los orígenes del problema converso*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1976: 104-132.

67. Benito, Eloy. *Los orígenes...*: 105.

68. Gutiérrez Nieto, Juan Ignacio. “Semántica del término ‘comunidad’ antes de 1520. Las asociaciones juramentadas de defensa”. *Hispania*, 136 (1977): 346.

marco extracortesano, comenzaba a considerarse motivo suficiente para impulsar el cambio en la propia titularidad del trono.

Puede afirmarse que la línea argumental desarrollada en el memorial toledano anunciaba la que habría de seguirse en la acusación que justificaría la ejecución del condestable cuatro años después, aunque replanteando, tal como se verá, la posición del monarca, al que se exculparía de toda responsabilidad, interpretando la ejecución de don Álvaro como un instrumento al servicio de la liberación del poder real respecto del poder tiránico que lo mantenía imposibilitado en el ejercicio de sus funciones.

6. El tirano ajusticiado

De la misma manera que, tal como se señaló al principio, la presencia de privados junto al rey no supone ninguna forma de excepcionalidad ni anomalía durante buena parte de la evolución bajomedieval castellana, el que el final de ese privado se produzca por la vía de ejecución pública ordenada por el rey bajo apariencia de resultado de proceso judicial resulta un hecho, en cambio, lo bastante excepcional como para estar a tono con las dimensiones alcanzadas por la privanza en cuestión.

A partir de los acontecimientos que conducen a la definitiva caída de don Álvaro, entre los que toma importancia decisiva el asesinato por su iniciativa del contador mayor Alonso Pérez de Vivero, Juan II se mostrará especialmente interesado en impulsar todo un procedimiento para dar apariencia jurídica a lo que es una decisión política⁶⁹: acabar con el poder del privado, lo que parecía pasar necesariamente, dadas las dimensiones que había alcanzado el mismo y su capacidad para sobreponerse las contrariedades, acabar con su vida.

En efecto, revisando la documentación tocante a este asunto, resulta imposible sustraerse a la valoración de los subterfugios a los que trata de apelar el monarca para dar cierta apariencia de judicialización de lo que es una decisión política personal. Así, se lleva a cabo una puesta en escena mediante la que el monarca quiere representar un deber justiciero impersonal, objetivo y, en cierto modo, consensuado en el marco de las instancias judiciales cortesanas, bien alejado de una mera ira regia vindicativa.

Para alcanzar tal objetivo representativo, se sitúa el arranque de la actuación contra el privado en una iniciativa institucional que se pretende parezca ajena al monarca “por quel mi procurador fiscal é promotor de la mi justicia me denunció é fiso cierta denunciacion contra el dicho Maestre don Alvaro de Luna (...) é me fue suplicado no solamente por el dicho procurador fiscal”.⁷⁰ Esta denuncia se refería a la muerte del ya aludido Alonso Pérez de Vivero. Si hemos de dar crédito a un documento posterior al reinado de Juan II,⁷¹ éste habría reunido a los letrados del Consejo Real con el objeto de que tomasen posición sobre lo que debía hacer con relación a don Álvaro, siendo el primero en pronunciarse el relator Fernando Díaz de Toledo, directísimo y leal servidor del monarca. Este relator regio respondería “que le parescia segund derecho que era dino de muerte por justicia e de perder los bienes para la cámara e fisco de su alteza”.⁷²

69. Sobre las irregularidades de este proceso ya se llamó la atención en: Pastor, Isabel. *Grandeza y tragedia de un valido. La muerte de Don Álvaro de Luna*. Madrid: Caja de Madrid, 1992: I, 251-254.

70. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 43.

71. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 74-77.

72. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 75-76



En cualquier caso, en el propio documento se dan indicios de que los letrados actuarían presionados por los deseos del monarca, que mostró su satisfacción con la opinión del relator, “é desque los otros letrados vieron la voluntad del Rey, siguieron todos el consejo del dicho Relator”. Así se estaba dando formato de consejo técnico a una decisión que, en realidad, era inequívoca expresión de “la voluntad del Rey”.

Tratando de dar formalidad jurídica al instrumento de publicación de la decisión de la pena a aplicar, el rey mandó que se reunieran los letrados del Consejo: “e así juntados ovo grande altercación entre ellos: é finalmente fue acordado que la dicha ejecución se fiesse por mandamiento, é no por sentencia é asi se fiso”.⁷³ De este modo, la resistencia de algunos letrados evitaría lo que acaso pudo ser el deseo del monarca en orden a buscar una fórmula como la sentencia, que daba mayor imagen de procedimiento judicial que el simple mandamiento, que dejaba en evidencia la implicación personal del monarca y su interés político particular en el asunto.

Esta tensión entre procedimiento político y jurídico se prolonga hasta el mismo momento de la ejecución del maestro, si nos detenemos un poco en el análisis de la forma de publicitación de la misma que, de acuerdo con los procedimientos de la época, era función que correspondía a la práctica del pregón.⁷⁴

En efecto, particular complejidad plantea el pregón que se dio con motivo del ajusticiamiento de este mismo personaje, don Álvaro de Luna, en Valladolid en 1453, en cuanto que no hay plena coincidencia de los contemporáneos que aluden a él en lo que afecta a su contenido concreto. Por otra parte, no falta la opinión de algún coetáneo de los hechos que se manifiesta en la línea de valorar la importancia concedida al pregón para dotar de mayor legitimidad a una ejecución que levantaba recelos en el propio entorno regio. En tal sentido, no se puede obviar la presencia de una diversidad de posiciones entre los propios cortesanos cercanos al rey sobre la conveniencia de la ejecución del condestable.⁷⁵

En la crónica con la que se trata de reivindicar la memoria del maestro se habla de “mentiroso pregón” como forma de deslegitimación de la decisión regia de llevar al condestable al cadalso. El contenido del pregón habría sido largamente meditado en el seno del Consejo Real para que expresase de forma rotunda el motivo principal de la sentencia. La acusación que se habría pregonado se sintetiza en “que estaba apoderado de la persona del Rey”.⁷⁶

Por su parte, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, en su crónica del reinado, y Fernán Gómez de Cíbarreal, a través de una de sus epístolas, nos ofrecen como versión coincidente del pregón de ajusticiamiento aquella que decía: “esta es la justicia que manda hacer el Rey nuestro Señor á este cruel tirano e usurpador de la corona real: en pena de sus maldades, mándale degollar por ello”.⁷⁷

Alonso de Cartagena, en su breve adición a la crónica de Juan II de Pérez de Guzmán incluye un comentario llamativo sobre este pregón al señalar que fue “guardada forma de justicia, con voz de pregonero”. Con ello parece que debiera entenderse que el pregón del ajusticiamiento contribuyó

73. *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 76.

74. Nieto, José Manuel. “El pregón real en la vida política de la Castilla trastámara”. *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012): 77-102.

75. Sobre la preocupación entre los consejeros regios sobre la adecuada formalidad y sujeción a procedimiento de la sentencia contra el condestable se encuentran indicios en: *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, 43, 74-77.

76. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 431.

77. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. “Crónica de Juan II...”: II, 683; Gómez de Cíbarreal, Fernán. *Centón epistolario...*: XIII, 34; *Epistolario español...*: 34.



a dar apariencia de normalidad justiciera y dentro del procedimiento normal de la justicia regia a una sentencia que despertó bastantes reservas de índole procedimental.⁷⁸

Por otra parte contamos con el testimonio muy directo de quien, estando preso a la vez que lo era el condestable, fue obligado a actuar con otros nueve más como pregonero. El pregón que afirma que le obligaron a gritar habría dicho lo siguiente: “esta es la justicia que manda hazer nuestro señor el rrey a este cruel tirano, soberano sobre la corona rreal, mándanle degollar por ello, quien tal haze que tal pague”.⁷⁹

A partir de lo expuesto por otro testigo de aquella ejecución, cabe enriquecer significativamente nuestro conocimiento de cómo se llevó a cabo la justificación del ajusticiamiento mediante el uso de pregones. Francisco Rodríguez de Santamaría era escribano de Burgos cuando tuvo lugar la ejecución, redactando un libro de memorias en el que anotó íntegramente el pregón con el que se comunicaba el motivo de la sentencia. Según este testimonio, cabe entender que hubo un pregón principal *in extenso*, pronunciado al principio del traslado del preso al cadalso, además de otros pregones que, a manera de breves mensajes, se iban gritando en distintos lugares y momentos del recorrido. Para ello se debieron utilizar, al menos en algunos casos, a otros presos, como el caso que se acaba de reseñar. De acuerdo con este testimonio, el pregón extenso diría en su integridad lo siguiente:

Esta es la justicia que manda hacer nuestro señor el rrei a este cruel tirano por quanto él con gran orgullo y soberbia e loca osadía e injuria de la rreal magestad, la qual tiene lugar de Dios en la tierra, se apoderó de la casa e palacio e corte de el rrei nuestro señor, usurpando e ocupando el lugar que no hera suyo ni le pertenecía, e hizo e cometió en deservicio de Dios e del dicho señor rrei y en menguamiento e a baxamiento de su persona e dignidad y estado de la su corona Real e de sus rreinos, y en gran daño e deservicio del patrimonio rreal e perturbación e menguamiento de la justicia, muchos e diversos crimines y escesos e delitos y maleficios y tiranías e coechos, en pena de lo qual le mandan degollar porque la justicia de Dios e del Rei sea en él executada y a otros sea exemplo, porque no se atreven a hacer e cometer tales e semejantes cosas, y quien tal hizo que tal padezca.⁸⁰

De acuerdo con el testimonio de otro testigo, el condestable rechazaría la acusación de tirano, tal como se daba en el pregón, afirmando: “tirano mientes, que como cavallero lo hazía, como otros cavalleros lo hacen”.⁸¹

De este modo, la plaza pública en su función ahora de lugar en el que se ejecuta la justicia del rey,⁸² toma con motivo de esta ejecución todo su significado como espacio privilegiado para la transmisión de noticias y para la difusión y conformación de una opinión pública que apunta en este caso a la completa absorción de la trayectoria y la memoria del privado ejecutado por una condición de tirano en su significado más pleno de usurpación del lugar del rey y de mal uso de sus funciones en un sentido contrario al bien común, absorbiendo esta imagen de tirano la expresión máxima del mal situado en el centro del quehacer político.

78. Rubrica *additio ex summa Episcopi Burgensis*. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. “Crónica de Juan II...”: II, 693.

79. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 92.

80. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 93-94.

81. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 95.

82. Martín, Juan Carlos. “Las funciones sociales de la ‘plaza pública’ en la Castilla del siglo XV”, *Sociedades urbanas y culturas políticas en la Baja Edad Media castellana*, José María Monsalvo, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2013:155-157.



De este modo, en un contexto de dudosa legitimidad de un procedimiento judicial bajo sospecha y de inevitable lectura política,⁸³ se dejan indicios más que suficientes para considerar que el pregón del ajusticiamiento no representaba un asunto secundario. Bien al contrario, podía aportar una contribución significativa con vistas a producir un efecto de justificación de la sentencia y de legitimación del procedimiento seguido. Ello obligaba a explicitar con rotundidad unas culpas que situaban al condestable bajo la peor acusación política que se podía plantear, la de tirano. A la vez, el motivo de culpabilidad del condestable que se pregonase debía conectar con una opinión pública que desde la corte real se debía percibir como muy extendida con relación a esa caracterización del maestre como ejemplo consumado de tiranía. En consecuencia, el que el núcleo acusatorio que se vocease a la multitud apuntase al delito de tiranía hace pensar en la presencia de un apreciable consenso con respecto a la identificación popular del privado con tal imagen. De este modo, el pregón se convertía en la expresión de una cierta forma de consenso entre rey y reino sobre el que podía fundamentarse un cambio de régimen político que exigía de la desaparición del alter ego regio, produciendo un efecto de liberación que debía serlo a la vez para el rey y para el reino.

Una vez llevada a cabo la ejecución el 3 de junio, el 16 de junio el rey daba comunicación oficial de la misma, situando de nuevo el centro de la culpa en las prácticas de carácter tiránico realizadas por el condestable, aludiéndose a “grandes e enormes e detestables tiranías e malos fechos tocantes al dicho Álvaro de Luna, o a la opresión della como al apoderamiento tirano con que el qual usurpó e tobo usurpado gran tiempo mi palacio e casa e corte e el regimiento e gobernación de mis regnos”.⁸⁴

A la vista de las circunstancias que se acaban de exponer con relación a la ejecución del maestre y al papel decisivo que jugó en la acusación de tiranía, cabe pensar que antes de 1449 la imagen de tiranía que se había construido en torno al privado protegía la posición del rey, actuando tal imagen como una especie de cortafuegos que permitía ver en el monarca más a una víctima que a una casa necesaria. Esto se alteró a partir de la ampliación de las argumentaciones desarrolladas durante la revuelta toledana, lo que comenzó a exigir de una acción regia que bajo acusación de tiranía formalizase una liquidación del privado. Habiendo superado la imagen de tiranía el círculo nobiliario-cortesano en el que la acusación al privado podía tener la utilidad de exculpar al rey, la irrupción de esa misma imagen en un marco más amplio se convertía en una acusación directa contra el monarca que, de no actuar, podría uncir su destino al de su privado.

Una vez acaecida su ejecución, la memoria tiránica de don Álvaro de Luna habría de ser objeto de reiterado reflejo por parte de autores bien significados, tendiendo a extraer un mensaje aleccionador cuya utilidad parecía destinada tanto a futuros privados como al monarca reinante.⁸⁵

Lope de Barrientos ofreció una imagen de un privado que llegaría a absorber enteramente la voluntad y la autoridad del rey, dando por resultado un régimen de terror que no permitía que nada escapase al control de don Álvaro: “tenía sojuzgado el rregno, e tan gran temor le auían gran-

83. Recientemente se ha llamado la atención sobre la incidencia en el proceso que propició el final y la caída del gran privado de una cierta forma de conspiración burocrático-administrativa contraria a don Álvaro de Luna en el seno de la corte: Cañas, Francisco de Paula. “Una conspiración en la Corte de Castilla: la trama burocrático-administrativa en la caída del condestable Álvaro de Luna (1453)”, *La part de l'ombre. Artisans du pouvoir et arbitres des rapports sociaux (VIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Jacques Pericard, dir. Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2014: 266-287.

84. Corral, León del. *Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 32-33.

85. Algunas expresiones literarias en torno a la memoria del maestre en: López, César G. “La caída y muerte del Gran Condestable de Castilla en el contexto de la literatura de su época”. *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 17 (1992): 243-267.

des e pequeños que ninguno osaua bolleçer, que luego era castigado”.⁸⁶ Esa misma imagen era la que dejaba apuntada Alonso de Palencia cuando caracterizaba a don Álvaro como *tirannico pronus suspicioni*, es decir, tirano inclinado a la sospecha.⁸⁷ De igual manera, fue para Diego de Valera una interpretación recurrente de la trayectoria del maestre encuadrar la mayor parte de sus acciones en un comportamiento propio de la voluntad de imponer un régimen de tiranía.⁸⁸ Tampoco faltará, aunque sea aludiendo a personaje interpuesto, la referencia a la tiranía en el *Doctrinal de Privados*, destinado por el Marqués de Santillana a dejar memoria negativa de la vida del maestre cuando alude a la “tiranidad” de Haman, “el mal priuado”⁸⁹ como instrumento para criticar al maestre ya difunto.

Frente a tales opiniones, apenas cabe oponer la que el apologeta del maestre, Chacón, expresa en la crónica que le dedica cuando señala como justificaciones irreprochables de todas sus acciones la honra de la corona real, la preeminencia de su rey y el bien común de sus reinos.⁹⁰

7. Conclusiones

A partir del recorrido realizado se ha podido observar el proceso de expansión de una opinión pública creciente gestada a lo largo de casi tres décadas en las que don Álvaro quedaba identificado como un tirano sin corona, símbolo del mal político por excelencia, que permitía exonerar, sino de toda la culpa, sí de la culpa principal, a un monarca que se había dejado someter a su voluntad, tal como apuntaba Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, que califica al monarca como “remiso y negligente”. Con ello habría, ciertamente, facilitado los excesos del privado, pero se trataría, en cualquier caso, de acusaciones muy livianas las referidas a Juan II si se comparan con las que se echaba sobre las espaldas de don Álvaro, en tanto que no dejaba de atribuir la culpa principal a este, limitando la del monarca a un mero dejar hacer.⁹¹

Con todo ello, quedaba apuntada la consecuencia más evidente, el ejercicio de una forma de tiranía por quien no era el titular del poder soberano. Pero su explicación se sitúa en la interacción de una serie de circunstancias que favorecerían el éxito de tal opinión hasta convertirse en rasgo muy característico del personaje y fundamento jurídico de la justificación de su caída y ejecución.

Junto a unas relaciones políticas en las que la necesidad del pacto venía a constituir una demanda casi cotidiana, tanto en un sentido horizontal como vertical,⁹² iba adquiriendo presencia la expansión de una serie de expresiones que nos remiten al ejercicio de un “poderío real absoluto” que, del mismo modo que estaba, en cierta medida, sujeto a esas relaciones de pacto, también podía producir en cualquier momento su alteración o su ruptura.⁹³ Las posibilidades de tutela cierta de

86. Barrientos, Lope de. *Refundición de la crónica del Halconero*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946: 166.

87. Palencia, Alonso de. *Gesta Hispaniensia ex annalibus suorum dierum collecta*, ed. Robert B. Tate, Jeremy Lawrance. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: I, 65.

88. Moya, Cristina. “Un ejemplo de heterodoxia política en el siglo XV castellano: el gobierno de Álvaro de Luna visto por Diego de Valera”. *eHumanista/IVITRA*, 18 (2011): 156-179 (<<http://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/volumes/18>>), en especial, 157.

89. Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza. *Poesías completas*. Madrid: Castalia, 1980: II, 186.

90. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...*: 451.

91. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, ed. Jesús Domínguez Bordona. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979: 146.

92. Nieto, José Manuel; Villarroel, Óscar, eds. *Pacto y consenso en la cultura política península*. Madrid: Sílex, 2013.

93. Nieto, José Manuel. “La nobleza y el ‘poderío real absoluto’ en la Castilla del siglo XV”. *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévalles*, 25 (2002): 237-254; Nieto, José Manuel. “De la ira regia al poderío real absoluto:



esta atribución por parte del privado real abría un espacio enormemente inquietante para quienes, como miembros del entorno regio, eran sus principales beneficiarios.

La experiencia de un origen dinástico enraizado en un asalto al trono, en donde el esfuerzo de crear opinión y movilizar esfuerzos de propaganda que se revelaron eficaces, convirtió tales prácticas en un frente de acción cuya influencia no haría más que afirmarse y agrandarse según avanzaba la evolución del siglo XV. En tal sentido, si la imagen de tiranía había resultado enormemente eficaz en la movilización contra un monarca, bien podía esperarse un efecto similar con relación a un privado, favoreciendo la extensión de tal rasgo descriptivo a un nuevo ámbito de aplicación.

Sobre todo este conjunto de factores vino a incidir el perfil individual de un privado que demostró una habilidad excepcional para poner al servicio de unas ambiciones personales prácticamente ilimitadas todos los resortes de la influencia política adquirida sobre el monarca. Consciente de la importancia de la articulación de extensas clientelas, atendió a ello consiguiendo por esta vía un recurso potentísimo de movilización, de información y de inducción de temor y de adhesión hacia su persona.⁹⁴ De este modo, el establecimiento de una extensa red clientelar se convirtió en un factor decisivo de supervivencia política en las circunstancias más adversas, de la misma manera que motivó reacciones contrarias a sus intereses y de amplia y creciente dimensión, de las que la construcción de esa imagen de tiranía sería una expresión muy significativa.

Junto al factor clientelar, la acumulación por don Álvaro de enormes medios materiales tuvo no menos importancia en el mantenimiento de su preeminente posición.⁹⁵ Pero esta acumulación patrimonial también contribuiría a hacer ver la necesidad de una reacción eficaz frente a una privanza de dimensiones cada vez más ilimitadas. Para ello, el condestable demostró una creatividad sin precedentes, tal como han demostrado investigaciones recientes de enorme relieve historiográfico, al impulsar lo que se conoció como el “arrendamiento en masa”⁹⁶ de los tributos reales, tal como se produjo por primera vez en 1429, lo que suponía poner en manos de unos pocos arrendadores, situados bajo una dependencia clientelar directa con respecto al privado, la captación de la mayor parte de la capacidad recaudatoria de la monarquía. De este modo, quedaría bajo su tutela el control directo y completo del conjunto del sistema recaudatorio regio durante las décadas de los años 30 y 40,⁹⁷ hasta el extremo, incluso, de que no faltaron las ocasiones en que algunas operaciones de arrendamiento eran realizadas en presencia del propio condestable.⁹⁸

Todo ello se produjo en un contexto intelectual y de reflexión política, pero también de opinión pública ampliamente asumida, en el que el mal político en su mayor expresión había encontrado un concepto y una expresión, la tiranía, que lo identificaban sin reservas y con toda rotundidad. Se trataba de un concepto cada vez mejor identificado y cuyos contenidos no dejaban de enriquecerse y sobre el que en el siglo XV se fueron concitando múltiples influencias intelectuales, tal como se

monarquía y miedo político en la corona castellano-leonesa”, *Por política, terror social*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès, 2013: 245-264.

94. Foronda, François. “Patronazgo, relación de clientela y estructura clientelar. El testimonio del epílogo de la ‘Historia de don Álvaro de Luna’”. *Hispania*, 235 (2010): 431-460.

95. Calderón, José Manuel. *Álvaro de Luna: riqueza y poder en la Castilla del siglo XV*. Madrid: Dykinson, 1998: 141-322.

96. “Arrendamiento en masa” hace referencia a una forma de recaudar un impuesto para la totalidad del reino mediante la utilización de recaudadores privados que obtienen tal competencia de recaudación en nombre del rey. Ver: Calderón, José Manuel. *Álvaro de Luna: riqueza y poder...*

97. Ortego, Pablo. *Poder financiero y gestión tributaria en Castilla: los agentes fiscales en Toledo y su reino (1429-1504)*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 2015: 46-56, 579.

98. Ortego, Pablo. *Poder financiero y gestión tributaria...*: 57.

ha podido ver. Su aplicación, en este caso, a la actitud y trayectoria política de un privado situó a lo que hasta entonces había sido instrumento de gobierno con amplia experiencia histórica en algo que adquiriría nuevos rasgos de inquietud y amenaza para el círculo político inmediato al monarca, pero también, en general, para el conjunto de la sociedad política.

En la Castilla del siglo XV, tal como sucedía en otros reinos occidentales, se iba haciendo cada vez más marcada la evidencia de una cierta bidireccionalidad en la comunicación política⁹⁹ que, si bien mantenía un potente flujo de arriba hacia abajo, disponiendo para ello de múltiples recursos, tanto institucionales como informales, textuales, orales y simbólicos, también iba dando signos de otro flujo de abajo hacia arriba, de lo que cabe hacer especial constatación tanto a través de las instituciones y prácticas representativas, como de los brotes de conflicto en que se hacía una manifestación precisa de los objetivos a demandar y de los motivos que los justificaban. En este sentido, es posible que la caracterización tiránica del privado real estudiado pudiera considerarse como ejemplo de tal bidireccionalidad, de acuerdo con la cronología apuntada. Partiendo de una imagen inducida desde la corte aragonesa, pasó a ser incorporada al círculo cortesano, accediendo a medios nobiliarios inferiores, hasta hacerse explícita en el marco del conflicto toledano de 1449. A partir de ahí, cabría preguntarse, sin poder responder con fundamento seguro, si este último acontecimiento no supuso un impulso decisivo para que una opinión que había experimentado el trayecto descendente, ahora iniciase el viaje de vuelta hasta contribuir a provocar que el monarca tuviera que hacer visible su convicción de que esa opinión con respecto al privado también era la suya, actuando en consecuencia.

A partir de ahora, el ejercicio de la privanza habría de percibirse como la posibilidad de nuevas tiranías,¹⁰⁰ lo que, ciertamente, favoreció que, tras la desaparición de don Álvaro, la privanza se viera como un instrumento de gobierno a delimitar, tendiéndose a valorar positivamente su ausencia.¹⁰¹ Además, no hay que olvidar, tal como se ha observado,¹⁰² la creciente influencia del entorno burocrático-administrativo regio como un factor que también jugaría a favor de la delimitación del poder de los futuros privados.

Con la caracterización tiránica de don Álvaro se añadía un ejemplo práctico relevante a la teoría planteada por Bartolo de Sassoferrato cuando planteaba la invalidez de los actos resultantes del exceso de poder, de la desviación de las atribuciones y de la incompetencia funcional, criterios que estarían llamados a constituir un fundamento esencial del moderno derecho administrativo.¹⁰³

99. Oliva, Hipólito Rafael; Challet, Vincent; Dumolyn, Jan; Carmona, María Antonia, "La comunidad medieval como esfera pública: algunas reflexiones", *La comunidad medieval como esfera pública*, Hipólito Rafael Oliva, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, María Antonia Carmona, eds. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2014: 12-13.

100. Habiendo vivido en primera persona la privanza de Álvaro de Luna, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, refiriéndose a la regencia de Catalina de Lancaster, señala cómo la existencia de los privados es algo que en la mayor parte de los casos da origen a vicios en la práctica gubernativa: "Fue muy onesta e guardada en su persona e fama, liberal e manífica, pero muy sometida a priuados, e muy regida dellos, lo qual, por la mayor parte, es biçio comun de los reyes". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y Semblanzas...*: 19.

101. Así se refleja con relación al juicio que establece Fernando del Pulgar con los Reyes Católicos, alabando que carecieran de privados, actuando el rey como el privado de la reina y la reina como el privado del rey: "Damos gracias a Dios que tenemos un rey y una reina que no queráis saber dellos sino que ambos ni cada uno por sí no tiene priuado, que es la cosa y aun la causa de la desobediencia y escándalos en los reinos. El priuado del rey sabed que es la reina, y el priuado de la reina sabed que es el rey". Pulgar, Fernando. *Letras. Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, ed. Jesús Domínguez Bordona. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958: 57.

102. Cañas, Francisco de Paula. "Una conspiración en la Corte de Castilla...": 283.

103. La valoración de la obra de Bartolo de Sassoferrato con relación a tal principio jurídico en: Calasso, Francesco. *Gli ordinamenti giuridici del Rinascimento medievale*. Milán: Giuffrè, 1965: 263; Quagliioni, Diego. *Politica e Diritto nel Trecento...*: 55.



BEATAS, BEATERIOS Y CONVENTOS: ORIGEN DE LA VIDA CONVENTUAL FEMENINA VASCA

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RESUMEN

En este artículo se lleva a cabo el estudio sobre los beaterios como formas de religiosidad femenina durante la Edad Media y el papel jugado como la institución que antecedió a los conventos fundados durante la Edad Moderna. Para ello, se procede al análisis de los beaterios por su papel en el nacimiento de la vida conventual femenina vasca, junto con sus características y su implantación en la sociedad vasca de la época.

1. Introducción

Uno de los mayores fenómenos sociales en la España de la Edad Moderna fue la expansión y la ampliación de la presencia del clero regular y, en consecuencia, la multiplicación de los conventos, tanto masculinos como femeninos. Estamos ante una auténtica oleada fundacional que se intensificó durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI y la primera del XVII,¹ y este ímpetu expansivo del clero conventual fue, claramente, un fenómeno notoriamente post-tridentino.² En el País Vasco también se vivió una significativa transformación con la creación de numerosos conventos, aunque es necesario indicar que la coyuntura vivida en España es extrapolable al País Vasco con ciertas matizaciones ya que la intensidad de la oleada fundacional conventual no es comparable ni en número ni en significación con la existente en el resto de la Monarquía de los Austrias, una tradición heredada, como a continuación veremos, de la Edad Media.³

Las raíces de este furor fundacional, que se extendió por todos los rincones del reino alcanzando mayor intensidad durante el último tercio del Quinientos y mediados del Seiscientos,⁴ se encuentran a lo largo de toda la Edad Media. Para el siglo IV, el monacato femenino ya estaba configurado como un fenómeno urbano⁵ y era visto como paralelo al masculino que era, predominantemente,

1. Atienza, Ángela. "Nobleza, poder señorial y conventos en la España moderna. La dimensión política de las fundaciones nobiliarias", *Estudios sobre señorío y feudalismo: homenaje a Julio Valdeón*, Eliseo Serrano, ed. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2010: 235.

2. Atienza, Ángela. "La expansión del clero regular en Aragón durante la Edad Moderna. El proceso fundacional". *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 21 (2003): 18.

3. Este trabajo se centra en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco, situada en el norte de España, es decir, en las provincias de Bizkaia, Guipúzcoa y Álava. Navarra y los territorios vascos situados en el sur de Francia no son tenidos en cuenta.

4. Catalán, Elena. "El clero ante la crisis del siglo XVII. Conflictos y estrategias". *Tiempos modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 20 (2010): 20.

5. Reder, Marion. "Las voces silenciosas de los claustros de la clausura". *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 25 (2000): 282.

una huida antisocial al desierto.⁶ Asimismo, en el siglo VI San Cesáreo de Arlés fundó la primera regla para mujeres: *Regula sanctorum virginum*,⁷ y, gradualmente, se introdujeron Órdenes religiosas en la Península Ibérica medieval, como las benedictinas o las cistercienses, pudiendo hablar del conventualismo femenino urbano que se introdujo a partir del siglo XIII.⁸ Por ejemplo, en el reino de Navarra, las monjas benedictinas de Estella fueron fundadas en el siglo X, las monjas cistercienses del Monasterio de Santa María de la Caridad en Tudela son del año 1157, las clarisas de Santa Engracia de Pamplona del año 1228, las benedictinas de Estella del año 1232, las agustinas de San Miguel de Barañáin en 1244, las cistercienses de Santa María de Salas en Estella del año 1260, las clarisas de Santa Clara de Tudela en el año 1261 o las clarisas de Santa Clara de Estella de mediados del siglo XIII. Por su parte, en Galicia pueden ser mencionadas las benedictinas en San Breixo de Donas desde el siglo IX, las religiosas de San Benito de San Xoán de Cova desde el siglo X, las benedictinas desde 1287 en el monasterio de San Salvador de Sobrado, las clarisas de Santa Clara de Allariz desde 1289, las clarisas de Santiago de Compostela en el siglo XIII o el convento de Santa Clara en Pontevedra fundado en el siglo XIV. Más ejemplos de estas fundaciones medievales las encontramos en la ciudad de Zaragoza con las clarisas de Santa Catalina desde el año 1234 y el Monasterio de la Resurrección desde 1276. Es una tónica generalizada; durante toda la baja edad media, la Península Ibérica conoció una importante dinámica de fundaciones conventuales femeninas.

2. Situación y evolución en el País Vasco

Respecto a las fundaciones conventuales femeninas vascas, hubo un ritmo muy distinto que permite apreciar las diferencias que existieron no sólo entre las tres provincias vascas sino también en relación con el resto de la Península cristiana. La provincia alavesa fue donde no sólo comenzaron antes las fundaciones sino donde también se dio el mayor número durante la Edad Media. En primer lugar, en Vitoria se fundó el convento de Santa Clara, cuya fecha de fundación desconocemos aunque gracias al Libro Becerro de la comunidad sabemos que para el año 1247 ya existía.⁹ Por esta época, también se fundó el convento de las monjas cistercienses de Santa María de Barria, cuya fecha de fundación tampoco se conoce aunque se suele fechar en el siglo XII.¹⁰

En el municipio alavés de Salinas de Añana se encuentra la rama femenina de la Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén, ya que bajo la advocación de San Juan de Acre, toda una rareza rememoradora de la ciudad de Acre, en Israel. Desconocemos la fecha en la que llegaron las

6. Linage, Antonio. "La mujer y el monacato", *I Congreso Internacional del Monacato femenino en Espala, Portugal y América (1492-1992)*, María Isabel Viforcos, Jesús Paniagua, eds. León: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1993: 16.

7. Vogüé, Adalbert de. "Cesareo de Arlés y los orígenes de la clausura de monjas", *XX Semana de estudios Monásticos: "Mujeres del absoluto. El monacato femenino. Historia, instituciones, actualidad"* (Abadía de Silos), Clemente de la Serna, ed. Burgos: Abadía de Silos, 1986: 183.

8. Rucquoi, Adeline. "Los franciscanos en el Reino de Castilla", *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera (31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Ángel García de Cortázar, coords. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 66.

9. Prada, María Fernanda. *Ocho siglos de Historia de las clarisas en España*. Murcia: Publicaciones Instituto Teológico de Murcia, 2013: 30.

10. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa de Euskal Herria", *Historia de los Religiosos en el País Vasco y Navarra*, Joseba Intxausti, ed. Oñate: Editorial franciscana Arantzazu, 2002: 843.



monjas sanjuanistas a Salinas de Añana, pero como la primera mención documental corresponde al año 1302, situamos su fundación a comienzos del siglo XIV.¹¹

Finalmente, a finales del siglo XIV, en 1378, se fundó el dominico convento de San Juan Bautista de Quejana, el cual estuvo muy ligado a las vicisitudes de una familia, los Ayala,¹² ya que el matrimonio formado por los señores de Ayala, Fernán Pérez de Ayala y Elvira de Zaballos, quiso fundar un convento, y para ello, junto a su palacio, se comenzó la construcción de una iglesia, además de la compra de varias tierras y casas.

Por su parte, en las otras dos provincias vascas solamente existieron un convento en cada una de ella: el de San Bartolomé en San Sebastián del año 1250¹³ y el de Santo Domingo en la villa vizcaína de Lekeitio del año 1368 y que, precisamente, tiene su origen en un beaterio.¹⁴

Estamos ante una realidad religiosa desoladora: seis conventos fundados a partir del siglo XIII, y cuatro de ellos en la misma provincia. Ésta fue la realidad conventual existente hasta el siglo XVI, cuando, gradualmente, se empezaron a fundar conventos, proceso que culminó en el siglo XVIII. Claramente, se puede observar como las fundaciones, con excepción de Álava, se dieron con cierto retraso respecto a la tónica europea y de la Corona de Castilla.¹⁵ No existe ninguna razón única que explique el por qué de esta situación, aunque la existencia de otro tipo de religiosas femenina, como las beatas o las *seroras* esclarece bastante la cuestión.

Las *seroras*, también conocidas como freiras, constituyen una institución de mujeres que, con aprobación del obispado, se dedicaba a cuidar de las iglesias, de las ermitas y de los objetos de culto;¹⁶ estamos ante una extensión del papel de la “señora de la casa” como ministra del culto religioso doméstico.¹⁷ En aquella época, las ermitas e iglesias eran muy frecuentadas,¹⁸ lo que explica la gran expansión de las *seroras*, fenómeno que se dio especialmente en la provincia guipuzcoana. Por lo tanto, un porcentaje importante de mujeres que tuviera inquietudes religiosas tenía la opción de abrazar la figura de las *seroras*. No obstante, cabe decir, que no existe nexo alguno entre las *seroras* y sus espacios conocidos como los *seroratos* con las monjas y los conventos, ya que los primeros no fueron el antecedente de la vida conventual que en este artículo se trata.

Por su parte, por beaterio se ha de entender la comunidad medieval de mujeres semirreligiosas que vivían espiritualmente bajo una conducta ejemplar, al margen del convento ordinario con identidad propia;¹⁹ por lo tanto, las beatas eran mujeres laicas vinculadas a órdenes y congregaciones católicas, pero que no habían profesado ningún tipo de voto. Cabe decir que no todos los

11. Jimeno, Roldán. “Clero secular y regular en la Historia de Vasconia”. *Iura Vasconiae: revista de derecho histórico y autonómico de Vasconia*, 3 (2006): 133.

12. García Fernández, Ernesto. “Dominicos y Franciscanos en el País Vasco (siglos XIII-XV)”, *VI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Nájera (31 de julio al 4 de agosto de 1995)*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia, Javier García Turza, José Ángel García de Cortázar, coords. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1996: 218.

13. Murugarren, Luis. “Presencia religiosa-agustiniana en Guipúzcoa”. *Revista agustiniana*, 35/196 (1994): 77.

14. Arana, María José. “La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...”: 843.

15. Arizaga, Beatriz; Martínez Martínez, Sergio. *Atlas de las villas medievales de Vasconia*. Bilbao: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2006: 96.

16. Azpiazu, José Antonio. “Las seroras en Gipuzkoa (1550-1630)”. *Cuadernos de Sección, Antropología-Etnografía*, 13 (1995): 45.

17. Frank, Rosilyn M. “En torno al papel de la serora en Euskal Herria: documentos y archivos”. *Academia*. 12 Octubre 2015 <http://www.academia.edu/3664984/La_serora_vasca_documentos_y_archivos>.

18. Arriet, Arantxa. *Las seroras en Euskal Herria*. San Sebastián: Instituto Superior Ciencias Religiosas Pio XII, 2011: 49.

19. Beldad, Juliana. *Monjas y Conventos en Castilla La Nueva: un modelo de vida religiosa rural en los siglos XV-XVII*. Ciudad Real: Almad. Ediciones de Castilla la Mancha, 2010: 24.

beaterios se dedicaron en exclusiva a la vida contemplativa, sino que también se centraron en la asistencia a los enfermos, en la atención de hospitales u orfanatos, en la educación, en la catequesis, o en convertirse en un refugio de jóvenes sin dote.²⁰ No obstante, una característica que compartieron los beaterios fue la vida libre sin ningún tipo de clausura ni confinamiento.

No sólo se ha mencionado que desde el siglo IV la religiosidad femenina ya estaba configurada y que en el siglo VI San Cesáreo de Arlés fundó la primera regla para las mujeres, sino también se sabe que los cistercienses habían tenido mujeres en sus filas desde el principio de su andadura religiosa,²¹ al igual que la presencia femenina en otras Órdenes, como en las de los premonstratenses o agustinos.²² Además, en el siglo XIII las clarisas comenzaron su andadura dando lugar al nacimiento de más comunidades femeninas. Es decir, que ya existía una respuesta a la religiosidad femenina. Entonces, ¿por qué surgió esta nueva realidad religiosa femenina a mediados de la Edad Media?

Para comienzos del siglo XIII, existía un desequilibrio en la población europea debido a diferentes motivos. En primer lugar, estamos ante una época histórica donde la tasa de nacimiento era muy elevada y el poder adquisitivo de muchísimas familias no podía hacer frente a todos los gastos que ello conllevaba, especialmente en relación a las dotes, por lo que los beaterios eran vistos como lugares idóneos para las mujeres.²³ Además, hay que tener en cuenta que las mujeres siempre han tenido una esperanza mayor de vida,²⁴ pero además de este aspecto biológico, en esta época se dieron otros factores que conllevaron una diferenciación acentuada entre ambos sexos como, por ejemplo, que el fervor religioso de la época había llevado a muchos hombres a abrazar el monacato o que las constantes tensiones bélicas repercutían negativamente en el género masculino.

Como consecuencia directa de esas circunstancias, existió un porcentaje de mujeres solteras.²⁵ Exceptuando las recientes décadas, la Historia muestra que la soltería femenina no ha estado bien vista,²⁶ por lo que la sociedad no aceptaba que las mujeres no estuviesen recogidas como esposas dentro de la institución matrimonial, teniendo en cuenta que fuera de ella no tenían lugar. Finalmente, si bien es cierto que existían Órdenes donde las mujeres tenían cabida, como consecuencia de la importancia que se le otorgaba al hecho de ser religiosa, la figura de la monja estuvo reservada a un pequeño porcentaje de las familias más pudientes,²⁷ imposibilitando que el resto de las mujeres pudieran ordenarse. Asimismo, cuando una mujer profesaba en un convento era obligatorio que llevase consigo la dote. El hecho de que la dote matrimonial era más elevada que la conventual influyó en que las familias nobles mandaran a miembros femeninos de sus familias

20. Atienza, Ángela. "De beaterios a conventos: nuevas perspectivas sobre el mundo de las beatas en la España moderna". *Historia social*, 57 (2007): 168.

21. Berman, Constance H. "Were there Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?". *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 68/4 (1999): 825.

22. Simons, Walter. *Cities of Ladies. Beguine communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*. Filadelfia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002: 109.

23. Engen, John van. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*. Filadelfia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008: 133.

24. Leonard, Amy. *Nails in the wall. Catholic nuns in Reformation Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005: 15.

25. Lewis, Gertrud Jaron. *By women, for women, about women*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996: 3.

26. Poutrin, Isabelle. "Les religieuses espagnoles au siècle d'or. Entre dépendance sociale et autonomie spirituelle". *Cahiers du Centre de recherches historiques*, 40 (2007): 4.

27. Makowski, Elizabeth. *Canon Law and Cloistered women. Periculoso and its Commentators. 1298-1545*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997: 11.



a los conventos porque estos lo vieron como una medio para que su riqueza no se mermara.²⁸ No obstante, las dotes exigidas para poder entrar en la vida religiosa eran, para un porcentaje considerable de la población, un gran desembolso que no todas las familias podían permitirse,²⁹ por lo que este factor económico, junto con la ya mencionada negatividad social que suponía tener una mujer soltera en la familia y a que las existentes comunidades femeninas se vieron desbordadas e incapaces de aceptar a más postulantes, contribuyó al fenómeno de las beatas.³⁰ Este fenómeno de las beatas se extendió por toda la Europa occidental, recibiendo distintas denominaciones como el de *pinzochere* en Italia o el de *beguines* en los Países Bajos y Francia.³¹

Gracias a la documentación que ha llegado a nosotros, se puede afirmar que no ha habido villa o importante municipio vasco que no haya tenido algún beaterio.³² En la mayoría de los casos, se desconoce la fecha fundacional de estos beaterios, siendo una excepción a esta regla general la creación de un beaterio de dominicas en Bilbao en el año 1499.³³ Por ello, como el origen de bastantes conventos femeninos se encuentra en beaterios preexistentes, el desconocer la fecha de fundación de los propios beaterios constituye una circunstancia que ha tenido influencia en la fijación de la fecha de fundación conventual,³⁴ ya que los beaterios solían nacer como un proceso natural lo que dificulta datar la fecha exacta de su fundación. Por lo tanto, muchos conventos que se fundaron durante la Edad Moderna tienen unas raíces medievales.

No obstante, se tiene constancia que en el siglo XIII ya había beaterios en suelo vasco gracias a una bula papal que Bonifacio VIII otorgó el 10 noviembre 1296 al Provincial de Castilla y al Guardián y Lector de Vitoria para las beatas del beaterio de San Julián de Orduña.³⁵

Aunque la escasez documental dificulta la labor de enumeración de los beaterios que existieron antes del siglo XVI, se puede afirmar que se trató de un número alto. María José Arana, experta en la materia de los beaterios vascos, recoge que pudieron llegar a existir hasta ochenta beaterios.³⁶

Como se puede observar, tanto en la tabla 1 como en el mapa 1, los beaterios tuvieron una presencia muy importante en el País Vasco, especialmente en las provincias costeras donde fueron casi omnipresentes.

No todos los beaterios sobrevivieron al tiempo, sino que la tendencia a desembocar en los claustros conventuales se desarrolló en mayor medida en aquellos colectivos de beatas que estaban vinculados a alguna orden religiosa.³⁷ De esta manera, si bien durante la Edad Media los beaterios se caracterizaron por no haber abrazado ninguna Orden religiosa, en el siglo XVI esa tendencia

28. Evangelisti, Silvia. *Nuns. A history of convent life, 1450-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: 5.

29. Rapley, Elizabeth. *A social history of the Cloister. Daily life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009: 35.

30. Lewis, Gertrud Jaron. *By women...: 3*.

31. Green, Dennis H. *Women readers in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge (UK): University of Cambridge, 2010: 156.

32. Lizarralde, José Adriano de. "Orígenes de la vida claustral en el País Vasco", *I Congreso de Eusko Ikaskuntza*. Oñate: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1918: 592.

33. Rodríguez Condado, Eugenio. *Monasterio de la Encarnación y el convento de Santo Domingo de la villa de Bilbao*. Bilbao: Gráficas Alustiza, 2000: 15.

34. Atienza, Ángela. *Tiempo de conventos: una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2008: 39.

35. Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, 619/24.

36. En muchos casos, las propias fuentes documentales no saben distinguir entre beaterios y *seroratos*, por lo que es probable que el número de beaterios fuera menor que los que se recoge en el listado.

37. Atienza, Ángela. "De beaterios a conventos...": 148.

cambió: los beaterios existentes tendieron a desaparecer o bien a alinearse bajo una Orden religiosa que los tomó bajo su protección y de la cual se hicieron dependientes jurídica y espiritualmente, especialmente de la familia franciscana.³⁸ Asimismo, en esta época siguieron naciendo beaterios.

La mayoría de los beaterios abrazaron la orden de Santa Isabel de Hungría, la cual estaba dentro de la familia franciscana en la llamada Tercera Orden, teniendo a la mencionada santa como patrona. Por ello, las beatas empezaron a ser conocidas como isabelinas o terciarias franciscanas. El hecho de que existiera un número elevado de beatas isabelinas explica porque durante la Edad Moderna la Orden de Santa Clara fue la más presente en los conventos femeninos vascos. Asimismo, la Orden de los agustinos, mercedarios y dominicos también fueron abrazadas por los restantes beaterios.

Se ha indicado que en la provincia vizcaína la presencia de los beaterios era muy elevada, pero, es que, además, hay que decir que de todos los conventos que existieron durante la Edad Moderna sólo dos fueron fundaciones de nueva planta porque todos los demás conventos tuvieron un origen beaterial. De esta manera, el convento de las dominicas de Santa Margarita de Ermua³⁹ fue fundado por Mariana Ruiz de Lobiano en el siglo XVI y el de las clarisas de Balmaseda en el siglo XVII por Juan de la Piedra Verástegui; mientras, los restantes diecinueve⁴⁰ conventos femeninos vizcaínos tienen raíces beateriales. En total, durante el Antiguo Régimen hubo veintiún conventos femeninos en toda la provincia vizcaína, lo que demuestra que hubo beaterios desaparecieron con el paso del tiempo. En la familia de las franciscanas, los conventos de Santa Clara de Abando,⁴¹ la Concepción de Abando, Santa Cruz de Bilbao, San Antonio de Durango, Santa Isabel de Gordejuela, Santa Clara de Guernica, Santa Clara de Orduña, Santa Clara de Portugalete y Santa Isabel de Villaro proceden todos ellos de beaterios mientras que los beaterios de Santa Isabel de Bilbao y los de Zalla, Muskiz, Larrabezúa y Urdagaiga-Berriz desaparecieron tras el traspaso de esas comunidades a los conventos de franciscanas ya mencionados.

En la familia mercedaria también hubo beaterios que desaparecieron al unirse a otras comunidades como las beatas de Deusto, las de Múguica, las de Arrancudiaga y las de Larrabezúa. Por su parte, las beatas dominicas y agustinas acabaron convirtiéndose en comunidades conventuales sin que existieran traspaso ni desapariciones de comunidades.

Los beaterios empezaron a abrazar la clausura en el siglo XVI, pero el proceso se alargó hasta el año 1741 cuando las mercedarias de Bériz fueron las últimas beatas vizcaínas en abrazar la clausura. Asimismo, hay que mencionar dos casos realmente llamativos. Nos referimos al beaterio de las agustinas de Marquina y a las beatas mercedarias de Santurce, ya que ambas comunidades sobrevivieron hasta el siglo XIX sin haber abrazado la clausura.⁴²

38. Ozaeta, Emiliano. "Las órdenes Monasteriales y mendicantes en el País Vasco entre 1491 y 1521", *El Pueblo Vasco en el Renacimiento (1491-1521)*, *Actas del Simposio celebrado en la Universidad de Deusto (San Sebastián) con motivo del V Centenario del Nacimiento de Ignacio de Loyola (1-5 Octubre de 1990)*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1994: 526.

39. En el año 1700, la comunidad dominica se trasladó a Elorrio y, a partir de esa fecha, la comunidad es conocida como el Convento de Santa Ana.

40. Las clarisas de Abando, Bilbao, Durango, Guernica, Orduña, Portugalete; las isabelinas de Gordejuela y Villaro; las concepcionistas de Abando; las agustinas de Durango y dos convento en Bilbao; las dominicas de Bilbao y Lequitió; y las mercedarias de Bériz, Bilbao, Guernica, Marquina y Orozco.

41. Las anteiglesias de Abando, Begoña y Deusto se anexionaron a la villa Bilbao en los siglos XIX y XX.

42. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "Beatas y beaterios vizcaínos: desde el nacimiento medieval hasta la extinción en el siglo XIX", *Actas de la XIV Reunión de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna (Zaragoza, 1 a 3 de junio de 2016)*, en prensa.



En Guipúzcoa, que durante la Edad Media sólo tuvo en sus tierras un convento, en la Edad Moderna se vio un auténtico boom de fundaciones conventuales, donde casi todas las fundaciones fueron realizadas por miembros de los linajes locales que ejercían algún cargo en la Corte, como Juan López de Lazárraga, Alonso de Idiáquez, Miguel Antonio de Oquendo o Martín López de Isasi que construyeron conventos en Oñate, San Sebastián, Lasarte y Éibar.⁴³ Todos estos son conventos de nueva planta.

Respecto a los beaterios guipuzcoanos, a partir del siglo XVI también se adscribieron a alguna Orden religiosa, hecho que facilita conocer con exactitud su existencia. Así, en la familia franciscana tenemos a las beatas de la Purísima Concepción de Azpeitia que se adscribieron en 1497, desde 1503 a las beatas de Santa Ana en Oñate, desde el año 1509 a las beatas de la Purísima Concepción de Mondragón, desde 1513 en Vergara a las beatas de la Santa Trinidad, y en Segura a las de la Purísima Concepción desde 1513. Sobre la familia agustina, desde el año 1511 unas beatas que vivían en Mondragón se adscribieron a la Orden, en 1543 las del beaterio de la Santa Trinidad de Rentería, en 1561 las de Mendaro y en 1570 las beatas de Santa Catalina de Motrico. En Hernani existió un beaterio que se adscribió a la Orden agustina y que en 1541 se transformó en un convento.⁴⁴ En Lete-Escoriaza, la comunidad del beaterio de Santa Ana empezó a relacionarse con la familia mercedaria, y el beaterio de Azcoitia, en 1691 acabó convirtiéndose en un convento de brígidas.⁴⁵ Por su parte, sabemos que hubo comunidades que desaparecieron, como las beatas de Cegama.⁴⁶

En la provincia alavesa, la mayoría de los beaterios abrazaron la familia franciscana. De esta manera, en Salvatierra fue en el año 1552 y en Alegría en 1581, mientras que en Nanclares de Oca y en Santa Cruz de Campero las beatas también se convirtieron en franciscanas, aunque se desconoce la fecha exacta. La única excepción fue el convento de las dominicas de Santa Cruz de Vitoria, fundado en 1530, cuyas raíces se remontan al beaterio fundado en 1510.⁴⁷ Por su parte, se tiene constancia de algunos beaterios que desaparecieron, como el de Apodaca.⁴⁸ Durante la Edad Moderna fueron fundados más conventos, como el de las agustinas de Arceniega en el año 1606 y el de las brígidas de Vitoria, aunque se trata de conventos de nueva planta.

Si bien desconocemos los motivos concretos por los que algunos beaterios previos al siglo XVI desaparecieron, los que lo hicieron a partir del mencionado siglo fue por presiones que se ejercieron por parte del Papado para que todas las comunidades religiosas femeninas vivieran en clausura. Ya desde la Edad Media, la Iglesia había insistido en la clausura de las religiosas femeninas, como el decreto papal *Periculoso* de Bonifacio VIII legislado en 1298 demuestra. No obstante, cabe decir que este en decreto las beatas no quedaban obligadas a la clausura.

A mediados del siglo XVI, en el Concilio de Trento, se continuó con esta política de imposición de la clausura aunque, una vez más, sólo se legisló para las monjas que habían profesados uno

43. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "Convents: the image of the Basque patronage network power", *Monastic Europe: Landscape & Settlement Conference, Ennis, Irlanda, 2015*, en prensa.

44. Arocena, Fausto. "Notas para un historial del Monasterio de San Agustín de Hernani". *Boletín de Estudios Históricos sobre San Sebastián*, 19 (1985): 11.

45. *Breve noticia de la Religión de Santa Brígida y de este convento de Santa Cruz. Recopilada por una religiosa del mismo convento*. Bilbao: sin editor 1891: 45.

46. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 852.

47. Tabor, Fernando. *Convento de Santa Cruz de Vitoria-Gasteiz. Su patrimonio artístico-mueble (catálogo de la exposición)*. Leioa: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2007: 9.

48. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 852-853.

votos y no se abordó el tema de las beatas.⁴⁹ Las religiosas siguieron rechazando la clausura ya que ésta ponía en peligro su modo de vida y, sobre todo, su subsistencia ya que se trataba de un sometimiento a unas condiciones mucho más estrictas que aquellas que habían prometido cuando ingresaron en el mundo religioso.⁵⁰ De esta manera, las reacciones a la legislación tridentina no se hicieron esperar, y, por ejemplo, en España el desafío de algunos conventos en Zamora, iniciado en tiempos de Felipe II, se prolongaría nada menos que hasta la década de los treinta del siglo XVII, o la resistencia de las isabelinas de la Provincia Franciscana de Cantabria, duró 47 años. También hay noticias de desplantes y oposición en otros conventos de la diócesis de Salamanca, igual que en Cáceres, Coria, Trujillo, Cazalla de la Sierra, Astorga, Plasencia, Valladolid, en monasterios barceloneses, en varios benedictinos de Castilla, León y Galicia.⁵¹

La respuesta papal a los desplantes y problemas surgidos a la hora de imponer la clausura no se hizo esperar, y Pío V, en su afán de zanjar la cuestión, publicó la bula *Circa Pastoralis* el 29 de mayo de 1566 en la cual se establecía la clausura obligatoriamente para todas las religiosas, fuesen monjas o beatas; es decir, esta vez, al contrario de lo que se recogía en el *Periculoso* y en la legislación tridentina, la clausura sí afectaría a todas las religiosas, no sólo a las monjas que habían profesado los votos como hasta entonces. Asimismo, se establecía que aquellas comunidades que no abrazasen la clausura, tendrían prohibido aceptar nuevas novicias; es decir, si un centro no aceptaba imponer la norma, estaba abocado a extinguirse.⁵² Por su parte, el Ordinario, los Superiores, los Obispos y demás autoridades tenían el deber de vigilar y hacer que se cumpliera por todos los medios.

Por otra parte, en enero de 1570 también se publicó la bula papal *Decori et honestati*, en la que se enumeran los motivos por los que las religiosas podrían abandonar, tanto temporal como permanentemente, su comunidad, y en consecuencia, el régimen de la clausura. De igual forma, Gregorio XIII, asesorado también por San Carlos Borromeo, continuó la línea seguida por su predecesor. El escollo fundamental presentado por todas las religiosas residía en las dificultades económicas que encontraban para su estabilidad en la vida reclusa, por lo que la bula papal *Deo sacris virginibus*, publicada en 1572, tenía como objetivo dar respuesta a esa objeción. Así, se presentaron diversas medidas para la solución del problema económico, como la generosidad y la ayuda de las jerarquías de la Iglesia, de los órdenes monacales y mendicantes, de las instituciones eclesiales y seculares, o de la asistencia de sus familiares y consanguíneos, para que entre todos se consiguiera llegar a hacerlo más viable.

Como consecuencia de esta legislación y una persecución casi draconiana, los beaterios vascos, gradualmente, fueron abrazando la clausura. Hay que decir que, si bien, no consta que los beaterios alaveses y guipuzcoanos pidieran ayuda alguna en su lucha contra la imposición de la clausura,⁵³ los beaterios vizcaínos recibieron ayuda tanto de instituciones locales como territoriales. Las isabelinas de Bilbao destacaron en su lucha contra la clausura acudiendo al Real Consejo de Castilla e interponiendo un pleito contra el P. Provincial ante el Nuncio Apostólico en España. Así,

49. Arana, María José. "La mujer vasca en la vida religiosa...": 854.

50. Evangelisti, Silvia. *Nuns. A history of convent life...*: 6.

51. Atienza, Ángela. "Las grietas de la clausura tridentina. Polémicas y limitaciones de las políticas de encerramiento de las monjas... Todavía con Felipe IV". *Hispania*, 248 (2014): 813.

52. Intxaustegi, Nere Jone. "La rebelión de las clarisas vizcaínas frente al Concilio de Trento", *Líneas recientes de investigación en Historia Moderna*, Félix Labrador, ed. Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 2015: 96.

53. Archivo del Convento de Santa Clara de Portugalete, manuscrito *Historia del Convento de Santa Clara de Portugalete*.



el 8 de agosto de 1584, el Metropolitano de Burgos, don Cristóbal de Vela, comisionado para el caso por el señor Nuncio, dictó sentencia a favor de las beatas.⁵⁴

Por su parte, las Juntas Generales⁵⁵ del Señorío de Vizcaya, entre otras ayudas, realizaron una información pública sobre los inconvenientes de la introducción de la clausura en los beaterios franciscanos vizcaínos, dada su pobreza y su dedicación a la enseñanza de la juventud. Este informe tenía como base seis puntos: a) existencia ancestral de tales beaterios en el Señorío, sin el voto de clausura; b) su vida edificante con total observancia de sus práctica religiosas; c) su dedicación a la enseñanza religiosas de niños y doncellas y al adiestramiento en las labores y gobierno de la casa; d) la dificultad de suplirlas en esta tarea por el Señorío ya que su personal estaba atareado en otros menesteres; la precisión del recurso al trabajo manual para el sustento y mantenimiento de los beaterios; e) y por último, la mejor oportunidad que se daba a la juventud para su ingreso en religión sin las austeridades de la clausura.⁵⁶

No obstante, las beatas acabaron claudicando y abrazando la clausura, aunque con excepciones como ya se ha indicado. De esta manera, el proceso comenzó a finales del siglo XVI y culminó en el siglo XVII. Como se ha indicado, la economía de los beaterios dependía del exterior, por lo que vivir confinadas supondría el fin de la comunidad. No obstante, el Papado se mantuvo firme en su decisión y muchas comunidades acabaron desapareciendo al ser incapaces de hacer frente a la vida comunitaria sin contar con las limosnas, con los trabajos en el exterior que realizaban, etc.

3. A modo de epílogo

La presencia de los beaterios en el territorio vasco es indiscutible ya que se puede contabilizar su presencia en las tres provincias. No solamente eso sino que parece que existió una clara conexión entre la existencia de beaterios y la de los conventos; así, ante el mayor número de unos se dio la menor de otros, algo que se puede ver teniendo en cuenta los beaterios y conventos que existieron en las tres provincias. De esta manera, durante la Edad Media, en Álava existieron conventos y beaterios, mientras que en Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya la presencia beaterial fue muy superior y solamente existieron dos conventos femeninos en cada territorio.

Cabría preguntarse por qué existieron esas diferencias entre las provincias en relación a un mayor número de conventos o de beaterios, y ante esta coyuntura no hay una clara respuesta, por lo que cabe barajar distintas razones. En primer lugar, se pueden mencionar las propias características físicas del territorio vasco: las provincias costeras de Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya eran una región montañosa, boscosa, de difícil acceso y aislada frente a Álava que era mucho más llana, con un clima distinto y con una mayor relación con los reinos vecinos. Este espacio físico pudo influir en que se recibieran las ideas religiosas con mayor o menor intensidad y se construyeran, en consecuencia, los conventos. Al respecto, llama la atención que los dos conventos que hubo en Guipúzcoa y en Vizcaya estuvieran situados en villas costeras, en San Sebastián y en Lekeitio respectivamente, zonas donde el contacto con el exterior era mayor.

54. Rodríguez Condado, Eugenio. *El monasterio de la Santa Cruz. Bilbao-Begoña-Lujua. Historia*. Bilbao: sin editor, 1994: 16.

55. Es el órgano legislativo, ejecutivo y judicial del Señorío vizcaíno. Con la abolición foral de 1876, esta institución también desapareció, y se recuperó en el año 1979 aunque en la actualidad tiene distintas competencias a las originarias Juntas Generales.

56. Uribe, Ángel. *La Provincia franciscana de Cantabria*. Oñati: Editorial Franciscana Aránzazu, 1996: II, 351.

En segundo lugar estaría la propia religiosidad del territorio. Existe una creencia muy extendida sobre la profunda religiosidad del pueblo vasco, algo que la confrontación histórica no suele convalidar;⁵⁷ por lo tanto, la propia tardanza de la implantación conventual puede estar en estrecha relación con la escasa creencia cristiana en el territorio vasco. Es cierto que la estructura episcopal vasca quedó fijada de forma definitiva a lo largo de los siglos XI y XII,⁵⁸ pero eso no significa que la religión cristiana hubiera calado hondo en la sociedad vasca. Precisamente, en Vizcaya y en Guipúzcoa, junto con Navarra y el territorio vasco-francés de Labort, se dieron los procesos de brujería, algo que vendría a demostrar que estamos ante un territorio cristianizado muy someramente.⁵⁹ Asimismo, tampoco hay que olvidar el bilingüismo del País Vasco: Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya fueron una zona de expresión monolingüe vasca mientras que en Álava la lengua castellana tuvo una mayor presencia. Esta coyuntura pudo influenciar en la recepción más tardía de la fe cristiana o en la recepción de las Órdenes monásticas femeninas.

Por otra parte, resulta necesario recoger que, hasta bien entrado el siglo XVI, el obispo de Calahorra tuvo prohibido entrar en el territorio vizcaíno, una prohibición que fue establecida en el siglo XIV aunque era ya practicada con anterioridad.⁶⁰ Además, las parroquias pertenecían a los linajes de los Parientes Mayores,⁶¹ quienes ejercían una serie de derechos sobre las iglesias, tales como apoderarse de los diezmos; por ello, estos no aceptaban que ningún obispo ejerciese autoridad alguna sobre unas iglesias que ellos consideraban propias.⁶² Hemos visto como los primitivos beaterios no pertenecían a ninguna Orden religiosa y que el alinearse bajo una Orden es un fenómeno del siglo XVI, precisamente, cuando se llevaron a cabo las negociaciones necesarias para que el obispo pudiera entrar en el Señorío. Asimismo, no hay que olvidar que en el Concilio de Trento se impuso que los obispos vigilasen el proceso de enclaustramiento. Por ello, toda esta polémica alrededor del obispo puede explicar el porqué del peso de los beaterios en el territorio vizcaíno y el retraso en el abrazo de la clausura y, en consecuencia, en la fundación de conventos.

Finalmente, como ya se ha indicado, los beaterios no solamente fueron lugares de naturaleza religiosa, sino que las beatas realizaban labores sociales como el cuidado de enfermos o enseñar las labores domésticas a las jóvenes de la zona. Es decir, que las beatas ejercían unas labores que iban más allá de lo religioso, lo que puede explicar el fuerte arraigo que los beaterios llegaron a tener ya que no eran vistos solamente como algo netamente religioso.

Por otra parte, si bien hubo beaterios que se extinguieron, una parte considerable de ellos fue el germen de los futuros conventos; de ahí la importancia que revisten los beaterios como origen de

57. Bilbao, Luis Mari. "El clero y el régimen patronal de las Iglesias del País Vasco en 1616 ante el juicio de su Obispo. Glosa de un documento inédito". *Scriptorium victoriense*, 29/1, (1982): 107.

58. Bazán, Iñaki. "La caracterización de la civilización vasca medieval (siglos XII-XV)", *Historia del País Vasco. Edad Media (siglos V-XV)*, Pedro Barruso, José Ángel Lema, eds. San Sebastián: Hiria, 2004: 444.

59. Madariaga, Juan. "Sociedad, mentalidades y cultura en Euskal Herria en los tiempos modernos", *Nosotros Los Vascos. Historia de Euskal Herria*, Joseba Agirreazkuenaga ed. Bilbao: Lur Argitaletxea, 2004: III, 186.

60. Val Valdevieso, María Isabel del. "Vizcaya frente al Obispo de Calahorra a fines de la Edad Media", *Simposio Nacional sobre ciudades episcopales*. Zaragoza: Imprenta Provincial, 1987: 82.

61. Los Parientes Mayores constituyeron una oligarquía social cuyo poder emanaba, fundamentalmente, del disfrute de los patronatos eclesiásticos de iglesias, de la obtención de de ciertas mercedes reales, y del ejercicio de ciertos derechos jurisdiccionales, entre otros. Una característica de esta oligarquía vizcaína fue su acercamiento a las actividades comerciales y mercantiles, algo que durante la Edad Moderna quedó asentado, junto a su participación en la vida política de las principales villas vizcaínas. Curiel, Iosu. *La parroquia en el País Vasco cantábrico durante la Baja Edad Media (1350-1530)*. Leioa: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2009: 71.

62. Curiel, Iosu. *La parroquia en el País Vasco...*: 71.



la vida conventual femenina en el País Vasco. Cabe recalcar que las beatas y los beaterios no fueron un fenómeno puramente vasco, sino que fueron una realidad que se vivió en la Europa occidental medieval, pero, ciertamente, tuvieron un protagonismo en el nacimiento de los conventos.

Por lo tanto, independientemente, del número de beaterios que existieron en el País Vascos, se puede afirmar que el origen de la vida conventual femenina vasca está estrechamente unido a las beatas y a los beaterios.

LA REFORMA DE LA ABADÍA DE SAMOS ENTRE 1491 Y 1637: DESVELANDO LA LÓGICA DE LOS CAMBIOS ARQUITECTÓNICOS

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RESUMEN

Basándonos en diversas fuentes documentales y nuevas aproximaciones gráficas, este artículo pretende examinar los primeros cambios significativos que se hicieron en la arquitectura medieval de la Abadía de Samos (Lugo-España) en el periodo que comprende desde el inicio de la reforma de las órdenes religiosas, a finales del siglo XV, hasta la tercera década del XVII. A través del análisis detallado de algunos documentos históricos podemos, por un lado, entender cuáles fueron las razones para los cambios espaciales. Por otro, tenemos la oportunidad de saber si las nuevas reglas, establecidas para reformar la vida espiritual, causaron también alguna transformación en el complejo monástico existente para dar forma a uno nuevo.¹

1. Introducción

La etapa de esplendor vivida por el monacato benedictino gallego durante la Plena Edad Media, empezó a mostrar signos de un cierto deterioro a partir de mediados del siglo XIV. Estos se prolongaron e incrementaron hasta finales de la centuria siguiente, llegando a alcanzar un nivel insostenible que ponía en evidencia la necesidad de una reforma de la vida religiosa.

Los autores que han estudiado esta etapa coinciden en señalar que tres fueron los factores principales que causaron una situación que califican con los términos de confusa, anárquica, crítica y, en su etapa final, decadente.² El primero de ellos fue el ambiente social inestable que, en general, imperó en este periodo histórico, de larga duración en el tiempo y consecuencia directa de los efectos de la peste negra (1348-1349), la guerra y diversas revueltas. Este ambiente social tenso influyó de manera determinante en el desarrollo de la vida de las comunidades religiosas, mermadas en

1. Este trabajo ha sido parcialmente financiado por la Universidade da Coruña, mediante una ayuda de apoyo a la etapa pre-doctoral 2011-2012, y por la Xunta de Galicia a través de una ayuda de apoyo a la etapa pre-doctoral del Plan Gallego de Investigación, Innovación y Crecimiento 2011-2015-Plan IC2, cofinanciado por el Fondo Social Europeo -Fondo Europeo de Desarrollo Regional (FSE-FEDER). Es una parte del primer capítulo de la tesis doctoral desarrollada por la autora con el título *San Julián de Samos - Lugo, estudio e interpretación del diseño monástico y su evolución*. Abreviaturas utilizadas: AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (España).

2. Entre los trabajos fundamentales sobre el tema de las reformas eclesásticas del siglo XV cabe señalar a: Colombás, Garsías de Cisneros María (Benet). *Un reformador benedictino en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. García Jiménez de Cisneros. *Abad de Montserrat*. Montserrat: Abadía de Montserrat, 1955: 3-6, 18-29, 73-76; Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma del episcopado español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1960; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*. Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969: 17-62.



su número de miembros, ya de por sí pequeño, como consecuencia de la peste, y envueltas, inevitablemente, por el clima de violencia y anarquía derivada del desarrollo de diferentes conflictos.³

El segundo factor lo constituyen las intromisiones, cada vez más habituales, de los nobles gallegos en las haciendas de los señoríos monacales.⁴ La hegemonía que los monasterios habían alcanzado en el ámbito del dominio de bienes territoriales, los colocó en el punto de mira de la nobleza laica, que empezó a ser consciente de que sólo podía crecer, apoderándose de las haciendas de las comunidades religiosas.⁵ De tal forma que muchos nobles comenzaron a invadir los bienes que pertenecían a la Iglesia, ocupando sus lugares y aldeas, tomando como propios los vasallos que vivían en ellas y despojándolos de su dinero, sus casas y los productos de sus tierras. Este problema fue algo común a la mayoría de monasterios gallegos desde los años centrales del siglo XIV, que ocasionaba grandes pérdidas, pues no sólo eran usurpados terrenos y construcciones que legalmente les pertenecían, sino que, al mismo tiempo, las casas monásticas afectadas, quedaban desprovistas de todas las ganancias, económicas y materiales, que venían obteniendo de las propiedades robadas. El resultado fue que paulatinamente el caos se apoderó de los monasterios, pues no tenían capacidad para oponerse a los invasores.

En tercer lugar, la propia Iglesia, sus instituciones y sus miembros, a nivel europeo, vivían una etapa de profunda crisis a raíz, entre otras causas, del Cisma de Occidente (1378-1429) y la aparición de individuos revolucionarios.⁶ Esta crisis afectaba a sus diferentes estamentos, desde el más alto, formado por un papado decadente, hasta los niveles más bajos, en donde existían ejemplos de abades de cargos perpetuos que vivían rodeados de lujos y malgastaban los recursos de la Iglesia o algunos casos de monjes que desarrollaban su día a día alejados de la observancia de la Regla e inmersos en la inmoralidad.

Señala García Oro que, aunque “la vida religiosa se mantenía en lo sustancial (...) las transgresiones y los escándalos aparecían con relativa frecuencia” y, a pesar de que “estos ejemplos no fueran los más ordinarios, su carácter excepcional los hizo llamativos”.⁷ Algo similar apunta Colombás quien denomina esta situación como “la última escena de disgregación de la Edad Media”,⁸ pero al mismo tiempo reconoce que en esos años “entre las tinieblas (...) no faltaron oasis de luz”,⁹ porque dentro de ese ambiente inestable surgieron las primeras voces en favor de la renovación.

Con el objetivo de poner fin a este periodo de decadencia espiritual y material, los Reyes Católicos propiciaron una reforma de los órdenes religiosos en los territorios pertenecientes a la Corona de Castilla, a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XV. Tomando como caso de estudio el monasterio gallego de San Julián de Samos y como límites cronológicos los años de 1491 —fecha del inicio de la reforma vallisoletana en Samos— y 1637 —año del fin del abadiato de fray Mauro de Vega—, en este trabajo nos proponemos comprender cuáles fueron los pasos dados para hacer posible la reforma, cuáles fueron los motivos que propiciaron los cambios y, sobre todo, qué consecuencias provocaron sobre las dependencias medievales. Con este enfoque, buscamos determinar en qué

3. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 20-21, 45-49.

4. Azcona, Tarsicio de. *La elección y reforma...*: 45; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 45-47.

5. García Oro, José. *Galicia en los siglos XIV y XV*. A Coruña: Instituto Padre Sarmiento de Estudios Gallegos-Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1987: I, 118-121.

6. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 4.

7. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 21.

8. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 3-4.

9. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 6.



medida las nuevas normas, orientadas principalmente a la reforma de la vida espiritual, influyeron en la transformación y definición de una nueva arquitectura a partir de la existente.

2. Hacia la reforma de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid

Mucho antes del inicio de la dinastía de los Reyes Católicos, en 1479, ya se habían empezado a dar algunos pasos para acometer la reforma de las órdenes religiosas en la Corona de Castilla. En concreto, con ese fin el rey Juan I fundó el monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid en 1390. La comunidad que residía en él se caracterizaba por llevar una vida ejemplar, basada en una estricta observancia de la regla benedictina.¹⁰ Pronto llamó la atención de otras casas monásticas, que se unieron a ella, sintiéndose atraídas por la reforma profunda que los monjes vallisoletanos proponían.¹¹

La decadencia de la vida monástica de las comunidades gallegas, llegó a oídos de los monarcas. En 1486, viajaron hasta este territorio con el objetivo de conocer en primera persona cuál era la situación real de la zona. Tras confirmar el mal estado en el que se encontraban la mayoría de monasterios, decidieron dirigirse a la Santa Sede para pedir autorización para iniciar la reforma.¹² Cuando estas noticias llegaron a Roma, el papado en un principio se mostró reacio a realizar algún cambio. Pero, tras la insistencia reiterada de los Reyes Católicos, se empezaron a producir avances en el camino hacia la reforma.

En este sentido destaca, en primer lugar, la concesión de la bula *Quanta in Dei Ecclesia* en 1487,¹³ siendo prior de San Benito de Valladolid fray Juan de Soria.¹⁴ En ella el papa Inocencio VIII exponía la urgente necesidad de la reforma en tierras gallegas, dando autoridad a cuatro preladados españoles para introducirla en los monasterios benedictinos, cistercienses y de canónigos regulares de San Agustín. Los preladados escogidos tenían potestad para suprimir y unir monasterios, para corregir y castigar a los abades y monjes que tuvieran un comportamiento inadecuado, para redactar nuevas normas, para recuperar el patrimonio perteneciente a las casas y para introducir en ellas la observancia de la Regla.¹⁵

La visita y reforma de los monasterios gallegos fue delegada en Alfonso Carrillo, obispo de Catania.¹⁶ Sabemos que este estuvo en Samos en 1491, a donde llevó monjes reformados, procedentes de Castilla, y nombró como Presidente del monasterio al P. Juan de Estella, formado en la casa monacal de San Juan de Burgos.¹⁷

10. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 19-20.

11. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 19-20; Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito en la Galicia de la Época Moderna: La reforma de la Congregación de Castilla y las visitas generales", *Opus Monasticorum. Patrimonio, arte, historia y orden*, José Manuel López Vázquez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2005: 23-26.

12. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 49.

13. Colombás, Garsias de Cisneros María. *Un reformador benedictino...*: 78; García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 49-51.

14. Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Abadologio del monasterio de San Benito el Real de Valladolid (1390-1835)". *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea*, 23 (2003): 211.

15. Fernández Cortizo, Camilo. "La orden de San Benito...": 26.

16. García Oro, José. *La reforma de los religiosos...*: 50.

17. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real Monasterio de Samos*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta, Librería y Encuadernación Seminario Conciliar, 1950: 171.



Sin embargo, el abad y los pocos monjes que vivían en Samos en aquel momento, mostraron su rechazo a la figura de Juan de Estella, lo que obligó a Alonso Carrillo a pedir ayuda al Gobernador de Galicia. Así lo señala el rótulo de un documento de 1491 transcrito por Arias:

Provisión de D. Alfonso Carrilo de Albornoz, Juez apostólico diputado para la Reforma de S. Benito de Valladolid, en que da comisión al Virrey de Galicia para que obligue a los Monjes de Samos admitan a Fr. Juan de Estella nombrado por el Presidente de este Monasterio, al cual no querían admitir los monjes, por cuyo motivo dio auto de prisión contra ellos obligándolos por la fuerza.¹⁸

Las dificultades para introducir la reforma en el monasterio de Samos también se encuentran plasmadas en otro documento de 1497 redactado por el nuevo Presidente observante de Samos, fray Juan de Estella, en el que señalaba que: “quitaronse unos encensarios que don Carlos tenya enpeñados por XU que le debíamos de su salario, que cuando él por vos me metyó en este monasterio a manu armata con más de XL de a caballo syn los peones”.¹⁹

El abad de Samos en el momento de la llegada de los monjes reformadores era fray Fernando de Castelo. En 1498, el prior de San Benito de Valladolid, fray Rodrigo de Valencia, abrió un proceso contra él por rebelión, inobediencia e inmoralidad, entre otros cargos, que terminó con sentencia condenatoria en 1499, por la cual el abad de Samos quedaba privado del monasterio y, de esta forma, se facilitaba el camino hacia la introducción definitiva de la observancia.²⁰

El sistema de llevar monjes reformados a Samos tenía como finalidad que estos actuaran como maestros de los monjes residentes. La guía de todos ellos correspondía al Presidente, fray Juan de Estella, cuyas funciones incluían la implantación y consolidación de la observancia, el saneamiento de la economía y la creación de un grupo de monjes con una buena formación en el que arraigase el desarrollo de una vida benedictina según el modelo vallisoletano.

Una vez que la vida monástica reformada estaba consolidada se hizo una solicitud a la Santa Sede para anexionar la abadía a la Congregación de Valladolid. Este hecho tuvo lugar por la bula del papa Julio II *Cathedram praeminentiae pastoralis* del 27 de mayo de 1505.²¹ Unos meses después se produjo el nombramiento de fray Juan de Estella como nuevo abad trienal del monasterio, el 29 de noviembre.²²

3. La arquitectura medieval de Samos: aproximación a su materialización

Establecido el punto de inicio de la reforma eclesiástica y las razones que condujeron a ella, la siguiente cuestión a abordar es conocer cómo era el conjunto monacal de Samos, su planimetría o topografía sacra,²³ a finales del siglo XV, es decir, justo antes de dar comienzo el caso particular

18. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 169-170.

19. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)”. *Diversarum Rerum*, 5 (2010): 67.

20. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Proceso de reforma contra el abad de Samos y Monforte (1498-1499)”. *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 16 (2000): 421-465.

21. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio de San Julián de Samos*. Samos: Monasterio de Samos-Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 1992: 191.

22. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192.

23. Topografía sacra o topografía planimétrica son los términos que utiliza Carrero en sus estudios para referirse a la organización exterior e interior de conjuntos de iglesias medievales, así como de las dependencias y diferentes espacios de monasterios y catedrales. Carrero, Eduardo. “Observaciones sobre la topografía sacra y cementerial de Santa María la

de reforma espiritual y material aquí objeto de investigación. Y lo hacemos porque, tal y como planteamos al inicio, nuestro objetivo último y principal es entender las consecuencias que la renovación eclesiástica provocó sobre la configuración de los espacios arquitectónicos existentes en ese momento, pero que habían sido contruidos durante las centurias precedentes. Por tanto, antes de estudiar la transformación experimentada por aquellos, que será el objeto de los siguientes apartados, ahora nos vamos a centrar en recrear, de forma escrita y gráfica, la imagen de unos espacios medievales hoy casi desaparecidos en su totalidad, así como en comprender cuáles fueron las normas, si es que existieron, que pudieron influir en la definición de esa arquitectura.

El resto arquitectónico más antiguo que se conserva del primitivo monasterio de Samos es lo que hoy se conoce como Capilla del Ciprés o del Salvador, construida a finales del siglo IX o a principios del X.²⁴ Ubicada a unos cien metros del conjunto actual, es la pieza que mejor demuestra que en Samos existió un monasterio anterior al de época bajomedieval. Aunque su función original es todavía hoy una incógnita sin resolver, su cercanía al conjunto actual parece darnos la clave para deducir que sus inmediaciones fueron el lugar que ocupaba el conjunto monástico altomedieval. En cierto momento, ya fuera por la necesidad de un espacio más amplio, por el límite que suponía la presencia próxima del río o por la condición dúplice inicial del cenobio, se realizó un cambio de ubicación, ampliando el espacio monacal hacia el sur, área en la que hoy se conservan algunos restos arquitectónicos de época románica.

Además de la Capilla del Ciprés, a nivel documental tenemos constancia de que, entre finales del siglo XII y principios del XIII, en Samos se construyó una iglesia de estilo románico.²⁵ Aunque su demolición tuvo lugar en 1746, para poder finalizar la construcción del templo monacal actual,²⁶ de ella se conservan algunos restos que, a pesar de no ser numerosos, sí son significativos para poder recrear su imagen original.²⁷ Directamente comunicada con ella, a través de una

Real de Las Huelgas, en Burgos, y su materialización arquitectónica", *La clausura femenina en España: actas del simposium*, Francisco Javier Campos, ed. San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2004: 695-716; Carrero, Eduardo. "La arquitectura medieval al servicio de las necesidades litúrgicas. Los conjuntos de iglesias". *Anales de Historia del Arte*, Volumen extra 1 (2009): 61-97.

24. Diversos estudiosos se han ocupado de analizar la Capilla del Ciprés, entre ellos cabe destacar a: Villaamil, José. "La capillita monacal de Samos y la de San Miguel de Celanova y la iglesia de Santa Comba de Bande". *Galicia Histórica*, 11 (1903): 697-719; Gómez Moreno, Manuel. *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919: 93-96; Núñez, Manuel. *Arquitectura prerrománica*. Santiago de Compostela: Colexio Oficial de Arquitectos de Galicia, 1978: 227-236; Portilla, Pedro de la. "La capilla del Salvador o del Ciprés, templo mozárabe de Samos", *Monasticum*. Santiago de Compostela: Editorial Lápiques, 2006: 83-107; Casal, Carolina. "O século X en Samos: a capela do Salvador, un programa ideolóxico singular", *Rudesindus: A cultura europea do século X*: Carla Fernández-Refoxo, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2007: 249-261.

25. En una copia de una escritura de concordia de 1167, que forma parte del Tumbo de Samos, se hace mención a la intención de construir una iglesia por parte de la comunidad. Es la escritura número 51, publicada en: Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII). Estudio introductorio. Edición diplomática. Apéndices e índices*. Santiago de Compostela: Publicaciones de la obra social Caixa Galicia, 1986: 149-152. Algunos años después, en 1228, en otra concordia por el reparto de los bienes entre el abad y los monjes, aparecen más datos sobre el templo, en este caso con mención expresa a sus obras, y de los que se deduce que su finalización era próxima. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/82 (1912): 114-115; Portilla, Pedro de la. *El Monasterio de Samos*. León: Ediciones Leonesas, 1984: 19; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...* 160; Yzquierdo, Ramón. "El arte medieval en el arciprestazgo de Samos", *Miscelánea samonense: homenaje al P. Maximino Arias O.S.B.* Lugo: Diputación Provincial de Lugo-Servicio de Publicaciones, 2001: 59.

26. Castro, Manuel. "Un monasterio gallego". *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Orense*, 4/83 (1912): 137-140.

27. López Salas, Estefanía. "Propuesta metodológica para la restitución de la planimetría de una arquitectura medieval desaparecida: la iglesia románica del monasterio de San Julián de Samos (Lugo)". *Arqueología de la Arquitectura*, 10 (2013): 1-19.



sencilla portada románica hoy todavía existente, suponemos que en esa época también había un claustro, en torno al cual, como en cualquier otro monasterio, se abrían las diferentes estancias que conformaban la pequeña ciudad monacal en la que desarrollaba su vida una comunidad de cuarenta monjes.²⁸ Pero, a diferencia de la iglesia, del claustro bajomedieval de Samos no se conservan restos materiales.

El claustro se desarrollaba muy probablemente desde el muro de la iglesia donde se sitúa la portada románica que hoy se conserva hacia el sur, en dirección al río. Como era habitual, se trataría de un espacio cuadrado formado por cuatro galerías que se abrían con arcadas a un patio interior ajardinado, tal y como podemos ver en otros modelos de la misma tipología y época que hoy se conservan o que han sido estudiados. Además de la portada románica, lo que mejor confirma la existencia de un claustro en Samos en época bajomedieval es el incendio que sus dependencias sufrieron bastantes años después, en la tercera década del siglo XVI.²⁹

Además de la Capilla del Ciprés, la iglesia románica y el claustro asociado a ella, a nivel documental tenemos constancia de que existía, al menos, una edificación medieval más,³⁰ independiente de las anteriores y destinada a hospedería. Se desconoce en qué momento fue construida, pero sí sabemos que ya existía en el siglo XI, pues se hace referencia a ella en una escritura del Tumbo de Samos fechada en esa época.³¹ Asimismo, a través de un manuscrito de 1815, en el que se copió un texto del año 1619, sabemos que esa hospedería medieval se quemó hacia el año 1419, pero fue reconstruida posteriormente a la manera de la ya desaparecida.³² En cuanto a su ubicación podemos decir que se encontraba hacia el este del conjunto y próxima al río, pues fue necesario derribarla cuando se inició la construcción del actual claustro grande o claustro del Padre Feijóo por su ala sureste —la pegada al río—, a finales del siglo XVII.

Hecho este breve recorrido por las diferentes dependencias que formaban el complejo medieval de Samos (Ilustración 1), ahora vamos a tratar de entender a qué respondía esa topografía sacra, pues como bien apunta Carrero “aunque parezca una obviedad, (...) el principal ascendente a la hora de interpretar funcionalmente la arquitectura religiosa no es otro que el de la liturgia para la que fue construida”³³ y, en el caso de un monasterio, cabe añadir, la Regla por la que se regía la vida de la comunidad aquí objeto de estudio.

28. Ese es el número de miembros de la comunidad de Samos según la escritura de 1167 en la que se informa de la intención de construir un templo. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 142.

29. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 118; Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 174.

30. Además de la hospedería es posible que el complejo monacal medieval contase con otras edificaciones independientes, pues en un informe redactado con motivo de una visita de los generales de Valladolid al monasterio de Samos, de diciembre de 1563, se hace referencia no sólo a aquella, sino también a la enfermería, aunque desconocemos en qué momento fue construida y dónde estaba ubicada. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 111.

31. Es la escritura número 15 del Tumbo de Samos en la que se dice: *ut deserviat ipsa villa hic in Samanos in locum predictum ibi in hospitalarium ad hospitibus et peregrinis et servis Dei advenientium pro remedium anime mee*. Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El tumbo de San Julián...*: 90-93.

32. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6490, f. 95 (“Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2”). Disponible en: Portal de Archivos Españoles. “Índice nuevo de forales de Freituxe. Tomo 2º. Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR-REGULAR, L. 6490”. *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 noviembre 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3526106>.

33. Carrero, Eduardo. “La arquitectura medieval...”: 89.

El documento en el que por primera vez se hace mención a que los monjes de Samos siguen la Regla de San Benito es del año 960,³⁴ fecha realmente temprana dentro del proceso de benedictinización de la Península. La difusión y el reconocimiento del código de San Benito por parte de los monasterios del territorio peninsular, abandonando los sistemas que regían con anterioridad la vida de las comunidades religiosas, se produjo lentamente.³⁵ De hecho, en el caso de Samos, hasta el año 1070 no se vuelve a encontrar un documento que cite la observancia benedictina,³⁶ siendo ya la referencia al código nirsiano una constante a partir de la documentación de finales de los años sesenta del siglo XII.

En la Regla de San Benito poco se concreta acerca de cómo debe ser a nivel arquitectónico un monasterio. De hecho, a ese respecto tan sólo se hacen algunas pequeñas referencias, pero tal y como apunta Sicart su análisis es importante, porque al describir con detalle la forma de vida a seguir por los miembros de una comunidad monacal, de algún modo la Regla también establece qué espacios son necesarios y cómo deben estar organizados.³⁷

La primera de estas referencias indirectas a la arquitectura la encontramos en el capítulo XXII, en el que la Regla se ocupa de indicar cómo deben dormir los monjes, precisando que “Todos dormirán (si fuere posible) en una pieza: y si la multitud no lo permitiere; dormirán a diez, o a veinte con sus ancianos, que tengan cuidado de ellos”.³⁸ Por tanto, en los primeros monasterios benedictinos contruidos, los dormitorios eran comunitarios.

Otra referencia a una estancia necesaria para el desarrollo de la vida de una comunidad, según la Regla de San Benito, aparece en el capítulo XXXV, al decir “Sírvanse unos a otros los monjes, de manera, que ninguno se escape de servir en la cocina, sino por enfermedad o por estar ocupado en cosas de importancia”.³⁹ Además de la cocina, el monasterio debía estar dotado de un espacio a modo de refectorio en el que los monjes comían juntos, mientras uno de ellos leía. Así lo señala el capítulo XXXVIII:

Mientras comen los monjes a la mesa, no debe faltar lectura (...) Haya mientras se come, un silencio tan exacto, que no se perciba allí voz, ni susurro, sino de solo el que lee. Ministren los servidores mutuamente a los que están comiendo, y bebiendo, cuanto sea necesario, con tal diligencia, que nadie necesite pedir cosa.⁴⁰

34. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 75.

35. Sobre el proceso de expansión de la Regla de San Benito destacan los trabajos de: Linage, Antonio. *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Patronato José María Quadrado, 1973: I, II, III; Linage, Antonio. “Orix e primeiros pasos do monacato galego”, *Monacato galego. Sexquimilenario de San Bieito. Actas do primeiro coloquio Ourense 1981*. Ourense: Museo Arqueológico Provincial, 1986: 27-51; Andrade, José Miguel. *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia Medieval (siglos X al XIII)*. A Coruña: Seminario de Estudos Galegos-Edicións do Castro, 1997: 28, 29, 37, 46.

36. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 118.

37. Sicart, Ángel. “Los siglos de aprendizaje. Imaginar arte y arquitectura monástica”, *Opus Monasticorum VII. De nombres y otras*, Carme López Calderón, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Andavira Editora, 2014: 193-195.

38. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profesion en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mecolaeta*. Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1751: 45. Disponible en: Mecolaeta, Diego. “Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito: en latín y romance con secciones mayores, y menores que para el uso de los que la profesion en Hespaña ofrece Fray Diego Mecolaeta”. *Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León*. 1 julio 2016 <<http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=6374>>.

39. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 56-57.

40. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 60.



Al describir las faltas que los monjes podían cometer, la Regla de San Benito, en su capítulo XLVI, también hace referencia a otras estancias vinculadas, por su función, a los espacios de cocina y refectorio, de la siguiente manera:

Si alguno trabajando en cualquiera labor, en la cocina, en la despensa, en su ministerio, en la panadería, en la huerta, o en otra obra, si en cualquier lugar, sea donde fuere, delinque, quiebra, o excede en algo, y cuanto antes no se presenta al Abad, y convento a confesar voluntariamente su culpa (...) désele más grave castigo.⁴¹

Asimismo, en el capítulo XXXVI se indica que “Haya para los monjes enfermos un aposento separado, y un enfermero timorato, diligente, y solícito” y “Siempre que convenga, se ofrecerán baños a los enfermos: pero concédanse rara vez a los sanos, y en especial si son mozos”.⁴² En otras palabras, esta norma de vida conlleva la existencia de una edificación independiente destinada a enfermería o bien un espacio dentro del claustro, pero convenientemente separado del resto de estancias.

Al igual que en los casos anteriores, las alusiones indirectas a otras dependencias necesarias para el desarrollo de la vida de una comunidad monacal continúan en los capítulos XLVIII, LIII y LVII. En el capítulo XLVIII se indica la necesidad de que el monasterio disponga de una biblioteca al señalar que “Al principio de Cuaresma se ha de dar a cada uno de los monjes un libro de la librería común, el cual leerá seguida, y enteramente de principio a fin”.⁴³

En el caso del capítulo LIII se señala que “Sean recibidos cuantos huéspedes llegaren al monasterio (...) Haya cocina separada para el Abad, y huéspedes: para que si llegaren a deshora, pues nunca suelen faltar en los conventos, no incomoden a los religiosos”⁴⁴ y se ordena, un poco más adelante, lo siguiente: “Encárguese a un religioso timorato el cuidado de la hospedería, en que estén las camas con decencia, para que la casa de Dios sea sabiamente administrada”.⁴⁵ Similar referencia aparece en el capítulo LVI, al señalar que

La mesa del Abad esté siempre con huéspedes, y peregrinos. Cuando no hubiere huéspedes, tendrá arbitrio de llamar los que quisiere de sus monjes. Pero procure que siempre quede uno, o dos ancianos en la mesa común, atendiendo a la disciplina regular.⁴⁶

Para el cumplimiento de todas estas cuestiones era preciso que el monasterio fuese dotado de una edificación o estancia independiente para servicio de los huéspedes, lo que se conoce como hospedería, así como una segunda cocina y refectorio para el abad y los visitantes del monasterio, diferente del refectorio principal o común para servicio del conjunto de monjes.

Otra influencia indirecta de la Regla en la forma de organizar un monasterio aparece en el capítulo LXVI. En él, al hablar de los porteros del monasterio queda explicado que “Debe tener el

41. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 70.

42. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 59.

43. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 73.

44. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 77-79.

45. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 79.

46. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito*...: 83.

Portero celda cerca de la portería, para que los que llegan de fuera hallen siempre presente quien responda” y añade que

Debe fundarse el monasterio, si fuere posible, de modo, que dentro de él haya todo lo necesario: esto es, agua, molino, huerta, panadería, y otras artes, y manufacturas, para que los monjes no tengan necesidad de salir de sus cercas, por ser totalmente dañoso a sus almas.⁴⁷

Este último punto es, quizás, el más explícito, mostrando de forma evidente que la construcción debía tener todas las dependencias necesarias para el desarrollo de la vida de los monjes, así como que su ubicación debía ser en un lugar con los recursos naturales precisos, agua y tierra para ser trabajada, de modo que la comunidad fuese autosuficiente.

Vemos, por tanto, que aunque la Regla no describe cómo debía ser un monasterio, sí deja perfectamente fijada cuál ha de ser la vida de los monjes y las distintas tareas, tanto espirituales como materiales, que a estos les correspondía realizar. De modo que, indirectamente, la Regla exigía una distribución de los espacios y una disposición adecuada de los elementos arquitectónicos para poder desarrollar en ellos ese conjunto de actividades. En definitiva, el que diseñaba el monasterio no lo hacía de un modo arbitrario, debía cumplir unas normas para crear un espacio funcional, formado por una serie de estancias cuya distribución dependía en buena medida de las características del terreno en el que se asentaba (materiales disponibles para la construcción, peculiaridades topográficas del lugar,...), así como de las necesidades derivadas de una vida en comunidad y de los requerimientos de las actividades litúrgicas.

La suma de todos los datos anteriores nos permite imaginar cómo estaba configurado el espacio monástico de Samos antes de que el proceso de reforma promovido por los Reyes Católicos se iniciase a finales del siglo XV y produjese una profunda modificación de lo hasta ese momento existente (Ilustración 2).

4. Primeras fases de la transformación del conjunto monástico medieval a consecuencia de la reforma vallisoletana

La reforma propiciada por los Reyes Católicos provocó el inicio de una etapa de prosperidad y desarrollo que dio paso a un nuevo proceso de renovación, tanto en el plano espiritual como en el material, que se consolidó durante el reinado de Carlos V. En este último aspecto, el saneamiento de las fuentes de ingresos de la comunidad fue uno de los puntos clave de la reforma, porque si conseguían asegurar las ganancias procedentes del arriendo de sus bienes, alcanzaban la solvencia necesaria para acometer la renovación, reparación, reconstrucción o ampliación de la fábrica monacal existente.⁴⁸

47. Mecolaeta, Diego. *Regla de nuestro Padre San Benito...*: 100.

48. Sobre las reformas efectuadas en Samos tras su incorporación a la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid se puede consultar a: Goy, Ana E. “Los claustros benedictinos tras la reforma de los reyes católicos: noticias sobre su construcción y sus programas decorativos”, *Humanitas: Estudios en homenaje a Prof. Carlos Alonso del Real*, Antón A. Rodríguez, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1996: II, 877-897; Goy, Ana E. “A formulación da arquitectura beneditina logo da incorporación á Congregación. O mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos”, *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*, María del Carmen Folgar, Ana E. Goy, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: 129-148.



Asimismo, las Constituciones de la Congregación de Valladolid reconocían que los edificios monacales eran la parte principal del patrimonio de la comunidad, pero también remarcaban que a su mantenimiento iba destinada la mayor parte de los ingresos. Por esa razón, prohibían el inicio de obra alguna siempre que la casa monástica tuviese deudas y fijaban un límite de gasto cuando esta ya tenía la capacidad económica necesaria para afrontar nuevas obras.

La bula del papa Julio II, a través de la cual Samos se anexionó a la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, informaba de que, a finales del siglo XV, las construcciones del complejo monástico de Samos se encontraban en un estado ruinoso⁴⁹ y su comunidad era muy pequeña, de seis miembros.⁵⁰ Por otra parte, dicha bula señalaba que, desde la llegada de los monjes reformadores, en 1491, y hasta el momento de la anexión, 1505, es decir, en un periodo de catorce años, los cambios introducidos en el monasterio habían ya dado sus primeros resultados, de modo que la comunidad había crecido a los doce o quince miembros y sus edificios monacales habían sido reformados o reedificados.⁵¹

Son pocas las noticias que han llegado a nuestros días acerca de los trabajos realizados durante ese periodo, es decir, del alcance de lo que el documento papal citado llama reforma o reedificación del complejo existente. De hecho, además de la bula de Julio II y de una petición previa de anexión de Samos a la Congregación de Valladolid,⁵² sólo contamos con otro documento que contiene algunas referencias más detalladas a las obras realizadas, aunque tan sólo en los primeros años del periodo citado. Se trata del titulado “Relación de cuentas de los monasterios de Samos y Santa Cristina entre 1491 y 1497 dadas por el presidente observante de estos dos monasterios, fray Juan de Estella, en 1497”.⁵³

En él se especifica que entre 1491 y 1492 parte de los ingresos del monasterio se emplearon en “muchas obras e buenas, las quales fueron un syngular dormitorio hecho de los çimientos e refectorio e capítulo e sachristya e reparar toda la iglesia e la enluzir e cantar”.⁵⁴ Por tanto, los monjes, en relación con los edificios, centraron sus primeras actuaciones en mejorar tres espacios del claustro: el dormitorio —del que se especifica que fue construido de nuevo—, el refectorio y el capítulo; así como el espacio de culto, a través de la construcción de una sacristía y obras de mantenimiento.

Las siguientes actuaciones se llevaron a cabo en 1494. Indica fray Juan de Estella que en ese año “se fizieron dos paños de sobre-claustro e se acabaron los corredores que dejé comenzados del dormitorio e se encalaron e también se fiso e encaleó la cosyna del refytorio, que vale tanto como una enfermya”.⁵⁵ Pero los trabajos no terminaron ahí. En 1495, “se fiso otra parte de sobreclaus-

49. Así lo señala la bula del papa Julio II de 27 de Mayo de 1505 al referirse al estado del monasterio de Samos en el momento de introducirse la reforma vallisoletana en 1491. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. Al estado de destrucción y ruina del monasterio de Samos también hace referencia un documento de 5 junio de 1505 en el cual se hacía petición al papa Julio II para que anexionase definitivamente el monasterio de Samos a la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 70-72.

50. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 192. En una carta de foro de 24 de octubre de 1491 aparecen nombrados seis monjes en total, dos expiden el foro y cuatro más actúan de testigos. La bula de Julio II habla tan sólo de 3 ó 4 monjes, quizás, plantea Maximino Arias los únicos que permanecieron en Samos tras la introducción de la reforma.

51. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 171-172; Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 191-192.

52. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 70-72.

53. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 66-70.

54. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 66.

55. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 67.



tra e se cubrió la sacristía de buena madera çerrada. E se fisieron unos buenos órganos. E se fizo suprymir de la iglesia toda de fojas pintades”.⁵⁶

Alcanzada la reforma de las dependencias claustrales, parece que los monjes reformadores continuaron por la mejora de la iglesia, especialmente de su espacio interior. De tal forma que, en 1496:

...se traxeron panes de oro e colores e tomó pintores e entabladores e se comenzó el retablo mayor e se fysieron çinco cortynas pintadas e historiadas de la vocación de cada capilla de las çinco. E se fysieron çinco frontales para cada altar el suyo, e se trajeron CLXXX carros de cal e arena e varro e se fisieron sin los fundamentos e nibelados en toda la iglesia e claustras e entradas del monasterio.⁵⁷

La última noticia que recoge este documento es la correspondiente a los trabajos efectuados en 1497, año en el que se prosiguió con las labores de ennoblecimiento del espacio interior del templo románico, así como con la elaboración de tres fuentes:

...se han traydo otros muchos panes de oro e colores, e tengo comenzadas las tallas de los retablos muy singulares. E tomé otros pintores muy mejores que los primeros que pintarán el coro de la manera que es dicha a vuestra paternidad. En los retablos han pintado e pintan ni los puedo despedir fasta tanto que los acaben. E ansy mismo de lo de la cosecha deste año de XCVII se asen tres las fuentes, que están ya sentados con los demás florines destas cobranças. E se han de asentar los otros más de en quinientos florines. E tampoco puedo despedir los maestros e costas de las dichas fuentes, lo cual todo o lo más dello se despdyrá e acabará con la cosecha deste año de XCVII...⁵⁸

A través de estas pequeñas referencias a las obras realizadas en esos siete años de reforma vemos que el Presidente nombrado por la Congregación concentró sus primeros esfuerzos en reedificar una serie de estancias claustrales (dormitorio, capítulo, refectorio y cocina) que, tal y como señalaba la bula de Julio II y por las descripciones dadas en este documento, se encontraban en un nivel de deterioro significativo, que condujo a los monjes a hacerlas de nuevo (Ilustración 3). Asimismo, a través de estos extractos tenemos noticia de que el claustro medieval de Samos no se desarrollaba sólo en planta baja, sino que parte de sus dependencias estaban ubicadas en una primera altura o sobre-claustra, que desconocemos si existía con anterioridad, pero sí sabemos que, a finales del siglo XV, de ella fueron construidos posiblemente hasta tres paños.⁵⁹ Sin embargo, en el caso del templo románico no ocurrió lo mismo que en el claustro, pues de él tan sólo se indica

56. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 68.

57. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 68.

58. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentos inéditos sobre algunos monasterios gallegos (1491-1598)...”: 68-69.

59. Otra referencia a la existencia de una sobre-claustra en el monasterio de Samos de los siglos XV y XVI la encontramos en una carta de poder que forma parte de los primeros folios del llamado libro de *Apeos Viejos* de 1537 que hoy se conserva en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. La carta de poder fue redactada el 19 de marzo de 1537 y en ella se dice: “todos monjes profesos de dichos monasterio estando juntos en nuestro capítulo por son de campana tañida en la sobre claustra del dicho monasterio según lo habemos de uso y de costumbre...”. A través de esta referencia sabemos que la sobre-claustra se mantuvo en pie después del incendio de 1534 y que una de las dependencias que estaba ubicada en ella era el capítulo de la comunidad. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6509, f. 1r (“Apeos viejos”). Disponible en: Portal de Archivos Españoles. “Apeos viejos. Archivo Histórico Nacional, CLERO-SECULAR-REGULAR, L. 6509”. *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 noviembre 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/Control_servlet?accion=46&txt_accion_origen=26&txt_id_desc_ud=3525860>.



que fue reparado, interior y exteriormente, y se le dotó de una sacristía, posiblemente de nueva construcción.

Podemos decir, por tanto, que la primera fase de transformación del conjunto monacal existente se llevó a cabo desde la llegada de los monjes reformadores hasta el momento de la anexión y continuó durante las primeras décadas del siglo XVI, aunque ya no se conservan documentos que relacionen los trabajos desarrollados desde 1497 en adelante. Esto fue posible gracias, sobre todo, a la mejora de la situación económica de la comunidad, de la que sabemos que, a la muerte del abad Juan de Estella, en 1525, era desahogada.⁶⁰

El fin de esta primera etapa de transformación tuvo lugar en 1534, a raíz de un suceso inesperado, un incendio calificado de voraz que “redujo a cenizas casi todo el archivo y la mayor parte de la casa”.⁶¹ La primera decisión tomada por el abad, fray Lope de la Barrera, fue reparar los edificios claustrales dañados, para habilitarlos para los doce monjes que vivían en Samos en aquel momento (Ilustración 4).⁶²

Estos trabajos pueden ser considerados como la segunda fase importante de renovación de la fábrica medieval samonense desde la entrada de Samos en la Congregación de Valladolid. Los monjes posiblemente rehabilitaron las dependencias más necesarias poco a poco y según los recursos de los que disponían. Por tanto, esta segunda fase de reforma responde a una intervención de urgencia, una actuación imprescindible para que el cenobio tuviera lo mínimo necesario para continuar con el desarrollo de su vida claustral.⁶³

La tercera fase de la reforma se inició en los años sesenta del siglo XVI, en un momento en el que, como ya hemos señalado, el monasterio había conseguido sanear su economía y disponía de los recursos necesarios para iniciar la construcción de un nuevo claustro, el conocido actualmente con el nombre de claustro “gótico”⁶⁴ o claustro de las Nereidas (Ilustración 5). Señala Durán que el abad fray Lope de la Barrera “a pesar de los cuantiosos gastos que tuvo que hacer para recobrar la hacienda, procuró reparar la casa dando principio a la fábrica de los Claustros Viejos, que dejó bastante adelantada, obra muy costosa para aquellos tiempos”.⁶⁵ Los trabajos comenzaron en 1562, tal y como está inscrito en una de las claves de la bóveda situada ante la puerta del actual refectorio. Sin embargo, la magnitud del proyecto y su elevado coste provocaron que estos se suspendieran y se reemprendieran de nuevo en varias ocasiones.⁶⁶

60. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 201.

61. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 118.

62. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 175.

63. De las obras de esta segunda etapa sólo existe constancia documental de la conclusión de una nueva portería en 1541, sobre la cual fue colocada la llamada lápida *Regium Coenobium* que tenía escrito lo siguiente: “Este Real Monasterio de San Julián y compañeros mártires lo fundó el rey Fruela I, dotándolo espléndidamente, lo cual confirmó después Alfonso el Casto. Encontrándolo destruido, lo erigió de nuevo y amplió el rey Ordoño II el año 922. Por fin, los Reyes Católicos Don Fernando V y Doña Isabel, patronos nuestros, lo reformaron introduciendo en él la observancia regular el día 28 de Septiembre de 1491, siendo el primer abad el Padre Fray Juan de Estella, que descansó en el Señor el 24 de Enero de 1525, y esto lo construyó el abad Fr. Lope de la Barrera en el año 1541”. Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía de San Julián de Samos: estudio histórico-arqueológico*. Madrid: sin editor, 1947: 29.

64. Así llamado por la estructura de bóvedas de crucería que cubren su planta baja, pero no por razones vinculadas a clasificaciones temporales o estilísticas.

65. Durán se remite a las palabras de un cronista del monasterio, posiblemente el de la *Relación sucinta de los sucesos principales...* Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...*: 18.

66. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 118.

El impulso definitivo para la construcción del nuevo claustro se produjo durante una visita de los generales de Valladolid fray Hernando de Medina y fray Juan de Corcuera en diciembre de 1563 (Ilustración 6). Sobre esa inspección redactaron un informe que después enviaron a Madrid. En él se hace referencia expresa a las obras que se estaban realizando en Samos en ese momento, de la siguiente forma:

...vieron el estado de el monasterio y cotejáronle con el que se avía llevado a Madrid y se a visto en el ayuntamiento, el qual se halló cierto, y tras esto hizieron proveer algunas cosas de la manera que las constituciones lo mandan y disponen, así en la iglesia y sacristía como en la enfermería i ospedería. Y lo que hubo lugar de proveerse de presente se proveyó y lo que avía menester más tiempo o no se podía hazer por no aver posibilidad lo dexaron mandado dando el término y tiempo para hazerlo que les pareció ser neçesario conbenible y el que se podía sufrir, conforme a la facultad que la casa tenía por entonçes. Házese la casa de nuevo y aplicaron y señalaron para la obra della lo que se determinó en Madrid, quedando lo demás de la renta de la cassa para la substentación de 19 monges que de presente tenía...⁶⁷

Otro documento derivado de esa misma visita, aunque redactado un poco después que el anterior, el 29 de junio de 1564, con motivo de informar al Inquisidor General sobre los monasterios visitados en Galicia, contiene algún dato más acerca de las obras que a mediados de diciembre de 1563 se estaban realizando en Samos:

En Samos nos recibieron con toda voluntad (...) En Samos ay edificio porque de nuevo se hazen claustros y dormitorio y otras pieçaz y aposentos anexos a esto, y hallamos buen conçierto así en la obra como en lo demás espiritual y temporal. Aplicóse para la obra lo que antes estava, que es conforme a lo que se determinó en Madrid en el estado de Samos (...) Y hecho todo esto, salimos de allí a los 21 de enero...⁶⁸

A través de estos dos textos confirmamos que las obras de construcción del claustro “gótico” ya comenzaran. Asimismo, sabemos que se prolongaron hasta el año 1582, según se refleja una de las claves de la bóveda situada en la posición penúltima de la panda suroeste, en la que está escrito “Acabose el año 1582” (Ilustración 7).

5. Los motivos y las normas de la renovación arquitectónica a través de las Constituciones de la orden

La comunidad de Samos creció desde el año de la introducción de la reforma vallisoletana, cuando apenas contaba con seis monjes, hasta el momento de iniciarse las obras de construcción del claustro “gótico”, época en la que eran diecinueve los monjes que vivían en esta casa. Sin embargo, todavía no era una comunidad muy numerosa y la falta de espacio en las dependencias medievales existentes no puede considerarse una razón de peso en la decisión de crecimiento de la casa monacal. Basta señalar que en 1167, pocos años antes del inicio de la construcción de la iglesia

67. Un fragmento de ese informe similar al aquí presentado fue publicado por: Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 207-208. El memorial completo realizado por los visitantes de Galicia y enviado a Madrid ha sido transcrito por: Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)”. *Studia Monastica*, 43/1 (2001): 154-160.

68. La carta ha sido transcrita de forma íntegra por: Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Documentación inédita sobre la reforma de la Congregación de Valladolid (1560-1567)”: 146-149.



románica, el número de monjes alcanzaba los cuarenta, una cifra muy superior y para la cual se diseñaran las dependencias todavía presentes en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. Por tanto, la falta de espacio por un aumento de los miembros de la comunidad no pudo ser un motivo principal para acometer las nuevas obras.

El estado deficiente del viejo claustro medieval creemos que tampoco pudo ser un fundamento en el que apoyarse, pues sus dependencias ya habían experimentado una profunda reforma o reedificación a finales del siglo XV, así como una reconstrucción o rehabilitación tras el incendio de la tercera década del siglo XVI. Por tanto, los trabajos ya realizados en él aseguraban la continuidad de la vida monacal y también el adecuado mantenimiento y conservación de la casa. Y si las razones anteriores no fueron causa del comienzo de la nueva obra, ¿cuál pudo ser en realidad el motivo para iniciar esa ambiciosa empresa?

La decisión responde a la necesidad de cumplimiento de unas normas preestablecidas. La anexión a la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid provocaba el sometimiento del monasterio a las decisiones tomadas en los capítulos generales,⁶⁹ a las recomendaciones dadas durante las visitas de los generales enviados por la Congregación⁷⁰ y, sobre todo, a las reglas recogidas en las Constituciones de la orden,⁷¹ en materias como la administración económica, la elección de abades, el sistema de visitas, la forma de vida de los monjes...

Al leer los libros de la Constituciones encontramos el que consideramos que fue, sin duda, el motivo principal por el cual Samos inició la construcción de un nuevo claustro. En concreto, en el cuarto reglamento, de 1525, se prescribía, en el capítulo 45, que fuesen edificadas "cellas" para los monjes en cada monasterio de la congregación:

Por el reposo de los monjes: y porque más fácilmente puedan vacar a lección, meditación, oración, mandamos: que en cualquier monasterio de nuestra congregación en que sin gran daño se puidere hacer: se hagan cellas para los monjes: con tal que todos juntos duerman en dormitorio (como manda la Regla) Salvo si por ventura en el monasterio no hubiere lugar de tener dormitorio común. Que ninguno pueda entrar en celda de otro: aunque esté por huésped en aquel monasterio sin licencia del prelado: y así lo mandamos en virtud de santa obediencia.⁷²

69. Las actas de los capítulos generales celebrados por la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid a lo largo del siglo XVI han sido publicadas en los siguientes trabajos: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I. 1503-1538". *Studia Monastica*, 47/1 (2005): 81-156; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II. (1541-1552)". *Studia Monastica*, 47/2 (2005): 291-366; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III. 1553- 1565". *Studia Monastica*, 48/1 (2006): 165-258; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV. 1568-1587". *Studia Monastica*, 48/2 (2006): 325-427; Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V. 1589-1598". *Studia Monastica*, 49/1 (2007): 107-201.

70. A diferencia de lo que ocurre con las actas de los capítulos generales y los libros de las Constituciones de la Congregación, el número de informes o actas conservados de las visitas realizadas por los generales vallisoletanos al monasterio de Samos durante el siglo XVI es muy escaso y se reduce a la ejecutada en diciembre de 1563, a la cual ya hemos hecho referencia con anterioridad.

71. Un breve recorrido por las diferentes Constituciones publicadas por la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, pero no sobre su contenido, se puede realizar a través de: Zaragoza, Ernesto. "Las constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (1500-1835)". *Studium Ovetense*, 33-34 (2005-2006): 339-358.

72. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525 inclusive: por la dicha Congregación celebrados 1525*. Barcelona: Maestre Joan Rosembach, 1528, f. 46r. Disponible en: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales: hasta el Año de 1525...". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 noviembre 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=8&forma=ficha&id=877>.

Tal y como vimos anteriormente, la Regla de San Benito establecía que los dormitorios de los monjes debían de ser comunitarios. Sin embargo, la Congregación de Valladolid fijó como nueva norma la construcción de celdas individuales, con el fin de hacer más cómoda la vida monástica. Pero, en contrapartida, esa orden afectaba directamente a la disposición del espacio en el interior del monasterio. La sustitución de los dormitorios comunitarios, típicos de época medieval, por celdas individuales, hacía necesaria una zona de mayor dimensión para acoger esa función y obligaba a una modificación de la antigua distribución. Este cambio no podía hacerse realidad en las viejas dependencias en las que vivía la comunidad. Por ello, el cumplimiento de la norma se convirtió en el empuje forzoso para construir un nuevo claustro, de acuerdo con la nueva forma de vida establecida.

Las Constituciones que regían la Congregación fueron objeto de multitud de cambios a lo largo del siglo XVI, con el fin de incluir todas aquellas modificaciones que se aprobaban durante la celebración de los capítulos generales de la orden. La primera norma con respecto a la forma de hacer las obras en los monasterios de la Congregación la encontramos en el acta del capítulo general celebrado en 1518 donde “mandaron que las casas que están adeudadas no hagan tantas obras y paguen las deudas, y provean al Convento de las cosas necesarias”.⁷³ Algo más específico en el asunto que nos ocupa fue el capítulo general de 1532 en el que se señalaba:

Que en las obras de ymportancia que en los monasterios de nuestra congregación se hubieren de hacer, no se hagan sin dar parte dellas a nuestro muy Rdo. Padre, porque su Reverenda Paternidad vaya o embie las personas que le pareciere para que las vean, tracen e ygualen, y se hagan al modo de nuestra Congregación y cómo convenga.⁷⁴

Todas estas cuestiones que sobre la forma de hacer las obras fueron apareciendo en los capítulos generales, se convierten en una auténtica normativa al elaborarse las Constituciones de los años posteriores. De tal forma que, cuando el monasterio de Samos inició la obra del claustro “gótico”, en 1562, existían unas quintas y sextas Constituciones publicadas en 1546 y 1563, respectivamente, que recogían una reglamentación más amplia y estricta que las anteriores, y que fueron las que en verdad estipularon la normativa a cumplir durante la duración de los trabajos de construcción del nuevo claustro.

En el capítulo 47 del reglamento de 1546 se insiste de nuevo en la obligación de los monasterios pertenecientes a la orden de hacer celdas individuales para los monjes, de la misma manera que se establecía en 1525, añadiendo que “las obras que se hicieren en nuestra congregación se hagan más conformes a nuestra manera de vivir: y más a provecho de los monasterios”,⁷⁵ solicitando siempre previamente permiso al abad general, “para que antes que se comience: vaya o envíe personas: que sepan dar orden en cómo se acierte la obra que se quiere hacer: y no se gasten dineros en balde”.⁷⁶

73. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...”: 104.

74. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito (S. XVI). I...”: 146.

75. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546*. Salamanca: Juan de Junta, 1546, f. 58v. Disponible en: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. “Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546”. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 noviembre 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=6&forma=ficha&id=877>.

76. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. 1546...*: f. 58v.



Asimismo, las Constituciones de 1546 fijaban unos criterios de actuación para cualquier nueva obra que un monasterio quisiera acometer. Señalaban que, después de años de experiencia, observaron que las casas de la orden gastaban mucho dinero en hacer obras. En algunos casos, estas no reportaban beneficio alguno a la comunidad. En otras ocasiones, el resultado no era el adecuado, por la forma de ejecutarlas por trozos realizados según el parecer de abades sucesivos, con la consiguiente falta de trabazón entre las partes. Cada prelado trataba de construir la traza que más le agradaba, incluso a costa de derribar lo edificado con anterioridad.

Por todas las razones anteriores, establecieron como norma que todos los abades de los monasterios de la orden que tuviesen necesidad de hacer una obra importante en sus casas, antes de empezarla:

...hagan traza o modelo de todo lo que se ha de labrar en aquella casa: y sin la dicha traza o modelo hecho por buenos oficiales y visto por el Padre Abad de la congregación (como dicho es) no comiencen la dicha obra so pena de excomunión. Y so lo misma pena mandamos: que ningún prelado que sucediere en cualquiera de las dichas casas: pueda salir de la dicha traza sin expresa licencia del padre Abad de la congregación. Y mandamos: que la dicha traza esté siempre en el depósito: o en otra parte a buen recaudo: donde se vea siempre lo que se hace: y lo que falta por hacer en la obra.⁷⁷

Preocupaciones muy similares se pusieron de manifiesto en el capítulo general celebrado por la Congregación en 1550.⁷⁸ En este, tras reconocer la necesidad que existía de edificar nuevos edificios en sus diferentes casas religiosas, se indicaban una serie de normas a tener en cuenta en la realización de los trabajos. Entre ellas, la más destacada en cuanto a la forma de proceder, es la siguiente:

Se definió que para que mexor se hagan las obras, se haga modelo para cada casa que se huviere de edificar consultando primero maestros y por traza dellos y con parecer de monges que tengan bien entendido lo que se requiere en un monasterio cumplido para nuestra manera de vivir. Y los sepan dar a entender a los maestros de arquitectura. Y los modelos sean todos de una forma, diferenciándolos según más o menos en la cantidad de la magnitud que unos monasterios han menester más que otros.⁷⁹

En otras palabras, aquí no sólo se recuerda la obligación de encargar la realización de las trazas de las nuevas obras a arquitectos de forma previa a su inicio, tal y como ya recogían las Constituciones de 1546, sino que también se enfatiza la necesidad de que la arquitectura responda a la forma de vida de los monjes de la Congregación, así como que se siga un mismo patrón para resolver el diseño de los diferentes monasterios, cuestiones ambas que tendrán una gran trascendencia en las obras futuras de la orden.

En los años iniciales de la construcción del claustro “gótico” de Samos se redactaron y publicaron unas nuevas constituciones, las de 1563, que sustituían a las anteriores. Del folio 49 al 50 se profundizaba en los aspectos normativos relativos a obras, nuevos edificios y maestros de obras. Mantenían la obligación de solicitar permiso al abad general antes de iniciar cualquier trabajo.

77. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid*. 1546...: I. 59r.

78. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...”: 321-357.

79. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...”: 349.

Añadían la imposición de que cuando un abad sustituyese a otro, continuase con las obras iniciadas por su antecesor, según el trazado prediseñado:

El abad que sucediere habiendo en el monasterio, posibilidad para lo proseguir sea obligado a continuar la tal obra so la dicha pena y que el Abad no pueda comenzar obra de diez a veinte o treinta ducados según la cualidad de la casa sin parecer de los padres del consejo y de allí arriba sin consentimiento de la mayor parte del convento, y que si lo comenzare incurra en pena de suspensión de su cargo por un mes, y el mayordomo ninguna obra pueda comenzar sin licencia de su prelado y el Abad en las dichas obras guarde el orden y traza que le está dada, o se le diere por el general guardando en esto de las obras lo que en materia de estados está tratado y ordenado.⁸⁰

Por último, se exigía que en todo monasterio que estuviese realizando obra principal hubiera un religioso maestro encargado de la dirección de los trabajos, del control de los gastos y de la vigilancia de los jornaleros.⁸¹

Las últimas Constituciones que regularon la construcción del nuevo claustro de Samos fueron publicadas en 1575, seis años antes de la finalización de las obras. Vuelven a insistir en cuestiones ya recogidas en los reglamentos anteriores, aunque ahora explicadas de forma más extensa.

El recorrido por la normativa de la congregación vallisoletana permite obtener una visión clara del por qué y el cómo el monasterio de Samos, y las otras abadías de la orden, iniciaron y desarrollaron la ampliación de sus antiguas dependencias, en el periodo que transcurre entre 1550 y 1600. Además, en los textos de las Constituciones de 1563 y 1575 incluso encontramos noticias específicas acerca de las obras que nos ocupan.

En la normativa de 1563 se dice sobre Samos lo siguiente:

Que se reduzcan los monjes de los prioratos al monasterio, en el cual haya diecinueve monjes, y gaste, trescientos mil maravedíes cada año en obras como hasta aquí, las cuales acabadas sustente treinta y cinco monjes, y tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios, y que den cada año cien fanegas de pan en limosna más de las que dan, que son por todas trescientas distribuidas con el parecer de los ancianos del consejo, y en las partes y lugares donde la casa más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya, y entiendese que lo del estudio que aquí dice que ha de haber conventual, y en todas las otras casas donde habla de estudio fuera de los colegios ha de ser de artes y Theología sin que por esto dejen de seguir todos los actos conventuales, y oras del coro de noche, y de día.⁸²

Lo especificado anteriormente se completa en la Constitución de 1575, tal y como sigue:

Que en la casa de San Julián de Samos, haya y sustente treinta y cinco monjes, acabadas las obras, y por ahora entretanto que duran, sustente, 19, y gaste en las obras 300.000 maravedíes cada año.

80. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas*. 1563. Alcalá de Henares: Casa de Pedro de Robles y Francisco de Cormellas, 1563, f. 49v. Disponible en: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. "Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563". Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 noviembre 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=46&forma=ficha&id=877>.

81. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas*. 1563...: ff. 49v-50r.

82. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas*. 1563...: f. 73r-v.



Que en esta casa haya colegio formado como los de Irache San Esteban de Ribas de Sil excepto que eligen su prelado así por abad como por procurador para capítulo general.
Que en cada un año allende de la limosna que da de cien fanegas distribuidas con el parecer de los del consejo y en las partes y lugares donde más obligación tenga y más necesidad haya.
Que en esta casa haya siempre en el depósito y archivo de ella censuras graves para que los prelados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían con gran daño de ella.⁸³

Los dos fragmentos anteriores vienen a confirmarnos el segundo motivo principal de construcción del claustro, una previsión de crecimiento del número de miembros de la comunidad, de forma que si bien eran 19 los monjes que vivían en Samos durante la realización de las obras, el nuevo claustro fue construido para dar cabida a 35 (Ilustración 8).

6. Una forma de vida, un lugar, una arquitectura

Acabamos de ver cómo el requerimiento de celdas individuales, en lugar de los tradicionales dormitorios comunitarios, fue la causa principal que dio inicio a la construcción de un nuevo claustro. Estas se situaron en una primera y segunda plantas del claustro “gótico”, construidas varios años después de la terminación de la obra del piso bajo. Pero además de fijar la necesidad de celdas, la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid estableció en sus sucesivas Constituciones unas normas, cada vez más precisas, acerca de cuáles y cómo debían ser las otras dependencias de los monasterios de la orden.

La existencia de una librería o biblioteca en el monasterio era una cuestión normativa. De hecho, en el capítulo general de 1550 se estableció que:

...en todas las cassas de la Congregación se dé orden que de aquí adelante aya librería, assí de libros disputativos como de doctores graves puestos en sus vancos con sus cadenas, y donde no huviere tanta posibilidad aya a lo menos una celda con libros que vasten para un predicador.⁸⁴

Sobre esta cuestión incidía de nuevo la Constitución de 1563 en la que se establecía que:

...en las casas de nuestra congregación donde no hubiere copia de libros se compren cada año 40 o 50 ducados de ellos hasta que haya cumplida librería y se dispute una pieza para ella, y si no se cumpliere así el general y visitadores castiguen a los prelados como culpa grave.⁸⁵

En el caso de Samos, esta estancia se situó en el ala sureste del nuevo claustro, la que mira al río, donde todavía se mantiene en la actualidad.

Otra estancia necesaria en la vida de la comunidad era el refectorio, en el cual los monjes realizaban la comida, con prohibición absoluta de hablar. La obligación de estar en silencio al tiempo que se prestaba atención al monje que desde un púlpito leía, convertía este espacio en un lugar

83. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575*. Barcelona: Casa de Pedro Malo, 1575, f. 184r-v. Disponible en: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. “Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid, 1575”. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 noviembre 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=56-forma=ficha&id=877>.

84. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). II...”: 348.

85. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...*: f. 40v.

de oración comunitaria de gran importancia. Todo ello tenía su traducción en la realización de refectorios de extraordinaria amplitud, que reflejaban la categoría de ese espacio. En el caso de Samos, el nuevo refectorio fue construido en el ala suroeste del claustro, donde todavía hoy se sitúa, aunque su configuración sufrió modificaciones en épocas posteriores, tanto en su aspecto exterior como interior.

Otras dependencias que tenía el monasterio eran una cocina, posiblemente comunicada con el refectorio, así como una bodega, un granero y algunas zonas de almacén de alimentos, que pudieron estar situadas en el ala suroeste, a continuación del refectorio, y a lo largo del ala norte. Al igual que en el claustro medieval, otra estancia necesaria de la que sí tenemos constancia que existió en esos años fue el archivo, destinado a guardar las escrituras y documentos de la comunidad. Al existente en Samos se hace referencia en el capítulo general de 1568, en donde se dice que “se definió que en la casa de San Julián de Samos aya siempre en el depósito y archivo della censuras graves para que los perlados de aquella casa no puedan hacer ciertos foros que se harían en gran daño della...”⁸⁶

El nuevo claustro se adosó al muro sur de la vieja iglesia, buscando una comunicación directa con ella a través de la portada románica (Ilustración 9) y ocupando, al mismo tiempo, una parte importante del terreno en el que estaba construido el antiguo claustro procesional. Por esta causa, las viejas dependencias claustrales, las situadas más al suroeste, tuvieron que ser derribadas. Sin embargo, la otra mitad creemos que se mantuvo en pie y fue la que sirvió de casa de los monjes durante los veinte años que duró la construcción del nuevo claustro “gótico”. Pero las dimensiones y disposición del nuevo claustro no sólo se vieron condicionadas por la presencia del antiguo claustro y la vieja iglesia, por el área norte y este. Quizás el límite de mayor importancia, no sólo ahora, sino también en el crecimiento futuro, fue la presencia del río por el sureste, que era una frontera natural evidente en el crecimiento del monasterio en esa dirección.

Una vez finalizada la obra, el conjunto monacal samonense quedaba formado por la iglesia románica, el claustro nuevo y un resto del claustro viejo reconstruido a finales del siglo XV y reformado, de nuevo, tras el incendio de principios del siglo XVI, así como por algunas otras edificaciones exentas, como la hospedería medieval todavía en pie y posiblemente otra pieza destinada a enfermería. Sabemos que la hospedería se situaba al norte del monasterio y cerca del río, porque fue demolida en el siglo XVII cuando el tercer claustro empezó a ser construido,⁸⁷ el hoy conocido como claustro grande, tal y como ya indicamos con anterioridad (Ilustración 10).

Otra de las dependencias con la que contó el monasterio de finales del siglo XVI fue un colegio conventual. Las Constituciones de la Congregación de Valladolid decretaran que en todos los monasterios de la orden “los monjes aprendan a cantar. E donde sin mucho daño se puede hacer, sean enseñados en las ciencias primitivas o a lo menos en gramática”.⁸⁸

86. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...”: 338-339.

87. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...: 222*; Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...: 18*.

88. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538*. Burgos: Casa de Juan de Junta, 1538, f. 33v. Disponible en: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico. “Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiadas de la primeras constituciones: y de las definiciones: hechas por los capítulos generales. 1538”. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 14 noviembre 2012 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_navegacion.cmd?posicion=7&forma=ficha&id=877>.



La primera referencia a la intención de ubicar un colegio de artes y teología en Samos la encontramos en las constituciones de 1563, cuando se dice sobre este monasterio que “tenga estudio conventual, en que haya dos lecciones cada día, para los mancebos, y para los clérigos que sirven sus beneficios”.⁸⁹ Señala Zaragoza que dicho colegio se instaló en este monasterio lucense a raíz del incendio que sufrió hacia 1562 el existente en el monasterio de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil.⁹⁰ Así lo ordenaba el capítulo general celebrado por la Congregación ese mismo año:

...se definió que pues en el monasterio de San Estevan no puede al presente aver colegio por averse quemado muy gran parte de la casa, que los colegiales que en el dicho monasterio estaban se pasen al monasterio de Samos, vayan los quatro monges que en la dicha casa de San Estevan han de residir sin que embíen otros monges al dicho monasterio de Samos más de los dichos colegiales.⁹¹

Con respecto a qué tipo de colegio era, la normativa de 1575 añade que el de Samos debía ser como los de Nuestra Señora la Real de Irache y el de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil, es decir, un colegio mayor o general con 12 estudiantes, cuestión que no viene más que a concretar el mandato dado en el capítulo general de 1571.⁹² Apunta Zaragoza que, aunque el colegio de Samos fue suprimido en el capítulo general de 1580,⁹³ otra orden estableció lo contrario algunos años después, de modo que volvió a funcionar a partir de 1589.⁹⁴ Posiblemente su reapertura fue consecuencia del mandato dado en el capítulo general celebrado ese mismo año, en cuyas actas se recoge la disposición de fundar un nuevo colegio de artes, dando facultad al prior general de la Congregación para escoger la casa más conveniente dentro de las anexionadas a los monjes vallisoletanos.⁹⁵

Sin embargo, la presencia de profesores y colegiales en Samos supuso ciertos problemas para llevar una vida conventual en tranquilidad. Por esa y por otras razones,⁹⁶ el colegio de Samos fue suprimido definitivamente por orden del capítulo general celebrado en 1613,⁹⁷ aunque siguió funcionando hasta el año de inicio del abadiato de fray Cristóbal de Aresti (1621-1625).⁹⁸ De lo que no tenemos noticia alguna es en qué lugar del monasterio estuvo ubicado.

89. *Constituciones de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid: copiladas de las definiciones antiguas de los capítulos generales y en algunas cosas de nuevo declaradas y añadidas. 1563...* I. 73r-v.

90. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Los estudios y colegios monásticos españoles (siglos XV-XIX)”. *Memoria ecclesiae*, 13 (1998): 389; Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Profesores de los colegios benedictinos de San Julián de Samos y San Esteban de Ribas de Sil (Siglos XVI-XIX)”. *Estudios mindonienses: Anuario de estudios histórico-teológicos de la diócesis de Mondoñedo-Ferrol*, 21 (2005): 772, 774.

91. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). III...”: 231.

92. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...”: 352.

93. En el capítulo general celebrado por la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid en 1580 se establecía que “no aya más de dos colegios de artes y que estos sean Hirache y S. Esteban de Ribas de Sil”. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (S. XVI). IV...”: 381.

94. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...”: 772.

95. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Actas de los capítulos generales de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid (siglo XVI). V...”: 127.

96. Algunas otras razones las señala: Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...* 196-199.

97. Zaragoza, Ernesto. “Profesores de los colegios benedictinos...”: 772.

98. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...* 214.

7. La reforma del espacio litúrgico románico

Una vez terminadas las obras de la planta baja del nuevo claustro, la siguiente actuación de los monjes fue el inicio de un proceso de reforma de la iglesia monacal, lo que puede considerarse como la cuarta fase de la reforma aquí analizada. Dos fueron los motivos principales para acometer esta intervención. El primero, la necesidad de adaptar el viejo templo a las necesidades litúrgicas que imponían las normas de la Congregación de Valladolid. El segundo, el deterioro que presentaba el viejo edificio tras más de cuatro siglos de existencia, principalmente en su parte más antigua, la cabecera, porque, descartando la construcción de una sacristía, las obras hechas en él a finales del siglo XV se redujeron a trabajos de mantenimiento del exterior y ennoblecimiento del espacio interior.

La celebración del oficio divino por la noche es uno de preceptos recogidos en la Regla de San Benito, que se mantiene en las Constituciones de los monjes vallisoletanos. Esa obligación litúrgica implicaba que la comunidad tenía que acudir a la iglesia tanto de día como de noche para rezar, a lo largo de todo el año. Con el fin de facilitar el cumplimiento de los rezos nocturnos y mejorar la forma de vida claustral, los monjes benedictinos de Samos, al igual que otros monasterios de la orden, decidieron construir un coro alto a los pies del templo románico. De este modo, cuando años más adelante se levantaron los pisos altos del claustro “gótico”, se lograba una comunicación directa de las nuevas celdas individuales con el interior de la vieja iglesia.

Desconocemos la fecha exacta en la que se construyó el nuevo coro alto, aunque suponemos que fue a finales del siglo XVI. A nivel documental se sabe que en 1588 el entallador flamenco Aymon Ponchelet, se encontraba trabajando en la sillería del coro alto del monasterio de Samos.⁹⁹ Este hecho implica que la fábrica del coro alto ya existía y que posiblemente acababa de ser construida sobre el último tramo de la iglesia,¹⁰⁰ de ahí la necesidad de su amueblamiento.

Tras la modificación y mejora del espacio interior del templo románico, el siguiente paso fue la reconstrucción de su capilla mayor, seguramente a causa de un mal estado de conservación, acompañado de un deseo de ampliación de sus dimensiones originales.¹⁰¹ Con este fin, el abad fray Claudio Tenorio (1601-1604), firmó un contrato el 25 de septiembre de 1601, con dos maestros de cantería, Juan González y Alonso Rodríguez, por el que estos se comprometían a “azer la capilla mayor de la iglesia desta dicha cassa y conbento”, que había de tener 22 pies de ancho, 31 de largo, 5,5 de grueso y 28 de alto, por una suma de cuatro mil ducados.¹⁰²

Sin embargo, la obra no se inició hasta el primer abadiato de fray Francisco del Castillo (1604-1607). Se desconoce la razón del aplazamiento, aunque posiblemente fue la falta de recursos económicos. El 14 de febrero de 1606, el abad contrata de nuevo a los canteros Juan González y Alonso Rodríguez, para hacer la capilla mayor, que suponemos de planta rectangular como era habitual en esa época, “conforme a las dicha hescrituras y trazas por que el dicho convento les de y pague la cuantía de mil reales”. Aunque las dimensiones de la nueva capilla se habían especificado

99. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 195; Pérez Costanti, Pablo. *Diccionario de artistas que florecieron en Galicia durante los siglos XVI y XVII*. Santiago de Compostela: Imprenta y Librería del Seminario Conciliar Central, 1930: 446-447.

100. Sobre estos trabajos cabe otra interpretación. En lugar de construir un nuevo coro alto sobre el último tramo de la nave, las obras pudieron consistir en hacer un nivel alto en el coro bajo existente.

101. La razón también pudo ser la necesidad de más espacio para establecer un coro de mayores dimensiones para los monjes a nivel de planta baja de la iglesia románica.

102. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 220-221.



en el contrato de 1601, ahora “su voluntad hes que en altura y hueco y anchura de la ducha capilla mayor se ensanche, alargue y alze el arco de la dicha capilla corresponda con el arco del coro”.¹⁰³

La nueva capilla debió tener una anchura igual a la vieja, pues el espacio destinado a ella estaba limitado por la presencia de las dos capillas laterales de la Virgen y San Benito. Lo que sí varió fue su altura y profundidad que se hicieron considerablemente mayores, según el contrato de 1601. Por tanto, la nueva capilla mayor de Samos mantuvo una dimensión de 22 pies carolingios de ancho o 7,08 m.¹⁰⁴ Su altura se elevó a 28 pies carolingios, que equivalen a 9 m, y su profundidad alcanzó los 31 pies o 9,98 m.

La siguiente actuación destacada fue la realización de una nueva sacristía, de nuevo por iniciativa del abad fray Francisco del Castillo, en el periodo correspondiente a su segundo mandato, entre 1610 y 1613.¹⁰⁵ Dice Castro, tomando las palabras de un antiguo cronista del convento, que la sacristía construida en este momento era una “pieza admirable para aquellos tiempos”.¹⁰⁶ Tanto la nueva capilla mayor como la sacristía realizadas en estos años son obras que hoy no se conservan, pues fueron derribadas durante el proceso de finalización de la construcción del actual claustro grande o claustro del Padre Feijóo a mediados el siglo XVIII.

Una vez reformada la fábrica de la iglesia, con la construcción de un coro alto, una nueva capilla mayor y una sacristía, los monjes negros se preocuparon por ennoblecer el espacio interior del lugar de culto. Con este objetivo, el abad fray Cristóbal de Aresti (1613-1617) encargó a Francisco de Moure, un destacado escultor gallego de la época, la elaboración del nuevo altar mayor,¹⁰⁷ adaptado al espacio del ábside recién construido. Al mismo tiempo se procuró completar y ampliar el amueblamiento del espacio de la sacristía, terminando de dorar el retablo construido para ella durante el abadiato anterior, y confeccionando una cajonería de nogal y unas puertas.¹⁰⁸ Estos trabajos continuaron durante el gobierno del abad fray Miguel Sánchez (1617-1621), tiempo en el que según Castro, “se hicieron los retablos colaterales de San Juan y Santa Catalina y los de Nuestra Señora y Nuestro Padre San Benito, diseñados por Francisco de Moure”.¹⁰⁹ De todos ellos hoy sólo se conservan completos y con ciertas modificaciones los de la Virgen y San Benito, trasladados a la iglesia nueva construida en el siglo XVIII. El proceso de decoro del espacio interior de la iglesia románica se completó durante el segundo abadiato de fray Cristóbal de Aresti (1621-1628), periodo en el que se realizaron “las rejas de la iglesia, los púlpitos y el órgano grande”.¹¹⁰

Pero las obras de reforma del templo no terminaron ahí. El siguiente paso fue una intervención sobre su fachada original. Hicieron algunos cambios en una de sus torres en 1621.¹¹¹ El punto

103. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 3452, ff. 16-17 (“Contrato entre el monasterio de Samos y los canteros Juan González y Alonso Rodríguez para que construyan la capilla mayor de la iglesia abacial, por un importe que será determinado por el sistema de tasación ajena”). Este contrato ha sido publicado de forma íntegra en: Folgar, María del Carmen; Goy, Ana E., eds. *San Xulián de Samos: Historia e arte nun mosteiro. Opus Monasticorum III*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2008: Apéndice documental (CD-ROM).

104. Un pie carolingio equivale a 0,3219 m según: Merino, José Miguel. *Metrología y composición en las catedrales españolas*. Ávila: Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa-Instituto de Arquitectura Juan de Herrera, 2000: 53.

105. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 205.

106. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 116-117.

107. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 116-117.

108. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...*: 209-210.

109. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 117.

110. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 117.

111. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...*: 223.

final de esta cuarta fase del proceso de reforma del lugar de culto lo puso el abad fray Mauro de Vega (1633-1637), con la ejecución de “la media naranja de la iglesia, una torre (...) y el órgano pequeño”.¹¹² La nueva cúpula se construyó sobre la parte central del crucero, según Portilla porque esa zona amenazaba ruina.¹¹³ Al mismo tiempo se modificó la torre sobre la que no se actuara en 1621. Con estos trabajos se completaba el proceso de modernización exterior e interior del templo románico (Ilustración 11).

8. Continuación de las obras del nuevo claustro

Más de medio siglo después del término de la planta baja del claustro “gótico”, se prosiguió con la construcción de su primer piso, que debía albergar parte de las celdas individuales de los monjes. Esta fase se llevó a cabo durante el abadiato de fray Mauro de Vega (1633-1637), en un tiempo en el que la comunidad no había crecido. Por tanto, esta intervención no era una urgencia, pero sí una necesidad para poner fin a las obras iniciadas con anterioridad y, sobre todo, para dotar al monasterio de las celdas individuales que las Constituciones de la Congregación venían exigiendo desde sus primeras publicaciones, realizadas más de cien años atrás.

Arias señala que fray Mauro de Vega hizo “dos lienzos del piso superior del claustro viejo”.¹¹⁴ Lo mismo apunta Durán, expresando que ese abad construyó “dos paños del claustro alto viejo”.¹¹⁵ En base a esos datos, que ambos autores tomaron de un manuscrito de un antiguo cronista del monasterio, otros estudiosos de Samos como Portilla¹¹⁶ y Arias,¹¹⁷ consideraron que en este periodo se levantarán los dos cuerpos superiores del claustro “gótico”. Sin embargo, no debió ser así. Tal y como planteó recientemente Folgar de la Calle,¹¹⁸ las expresiones “dos lienzos” y “dos paños” deben ser entendidas como dos alas de la primera planta del claustro, y no como dos pisos altos. A nuestro juicio, los dos paños del primer piso que se levantaron en esos años fueron posiblemente el noroeste y el suroeste, los que tienen una comunicación más directa con la única escalera del claustro, empezada a construir en la primera fase y necesariamente prolongada en altura en estos momentos (Ilustración 12).

La construcción de parte de la primera planta del claustro implicó la prolongación de los contrafuertes del piso bajo, con sus propias irregularidades dimensionales. Entre cada dos contrafuertes queda delimitado un entrepaño, cuya longitud está determinada por la dimensión del tramo abovedado situado en el piso inmediato inferior. En cada entrepaño se abrieron dos ventanas adinteladas, posicionadas sobre un antepecho liso, rematado en un sencillo perfil moldurado, que se prolonga en los contrafuertes, atando horizontalmente los distintos elementos de la fachada. En la parte superior de cada ventana, se abrieron unos óculos elipsoidales, a modo de montantes o tragaluces. Este nivel se remata con una marcada cornisa volada, que al igual que el bocel del an-

112. Castro, Manuel. “Un monasterio...”: 117.

113. Portilla, Pedro de la. “San Julián de Samos”, *Monasterios de España*. Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1988: 53.

114. Arias, Plácido. *Historia del Real...:* 222.

115. Durán, Miguel. *La Real Abadía...:* 18.

116. Portilla, Pedro de la. “San Julián...”: 53.

117. Arias, Maximino. *Historia del monasterio...:* 223.

118. Folgar, María del Carmen. “A construcción do gran mosteiro de San Xulián de Samos. Cen anos de transformacións arquitectónicas”, *Arte beneditina nos camiños de Santiago*, Enrique Fernández Castiñeiras, Juan M. Monterroso, eds. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2006: 212.



tepecho, se prolonga por los contrafuertes, uniendo estos con los entrepaños por su parte superior y rompiendo con la marcada verticalidad que le aportan a esta fachada los masivos elementos de contrarresto (Ilustración 13).

Los huecos realizados en este segundo nivel, por la cara interior que mira al patio, tienen la finalidad de iluminar de forma adecuada los anchos pasillos que conforman el espacio común de entrada a cada una de las celdas privadas de los monjes. Por el contrario, las nuevas habitaciones individuales destinadas a cada uno de los miembros de la comunidad, no miran al patio claustral, sino al terreno exterior que rodea los muros pétreos de la casa. Estas fachadas exteriores todavía fueron resueltas con mayor sencillez y austeridad que los alzados interiores del claustro. Se construyeron con muros de mampostería de pizarra, abriendo en ellos dos ventanas adinteladas, de diferente dimensión, por cada una de las celdas.

En lo que atañe a la escalera de comunicación de estos dos cuerpos, hoy en día no se conserva la construida en este momento, que quedó destruida tras el incendio de 1951. Sin embargo, conocemos cómo era gracias a fotografías históricas (Ilustración 14). Desde la planta baja a la primera, la escalera del claustro “gótico” la conformaban tres tramos, que se resolvieron utilizando largos pasos de granito, con barandilla maciza ejecutada en el mismo material. La escalera desembocaba en la primera planta, bajo un gran arco de medio punto apoyado en sendas columnas laterales. Dos arcos más configuraban el espacio longitudinal ocupado por el desarrollo de la escalera, hasta entroncar con los muros de la iglesia románica, dejando así definida una triple arcada, cuya parte central se convirtió en el punto de arranque de la rampa que, años más adelante, fue necesario construir para comunicar la primera planta con la segunda.

El trazado de este segundo cuerpo del claustro “gótico” debía estar definido desde el inicio de las obras de la planta baja en 1562, aunque a la hora de su construcción sí pudieron realizarse algunas modificaciones sobre el diseño inicial.

9. Conclusiones

De todo lo expuesto podemos concluir que el cumplimiento de las normas establecidas en las Constituciones de la Congregación, que venían a concretar las decisiones previamente tomadas en los capítulos generales de la orden, derivó en la necesidad de emprender una serie de obras de reforma, de renovación o de nueva construcción que modificaron sustancialmente el conjunto medieval con el fin de adaptarlo a unas nuevas exigencias. Este hecho es fácilmente reconocible si comparamos la imagen de las construcciones monacales a finales del siglo XV y el complejo monástico reformado que existía a principios del siglo XVII.

Las constituciones no sólo recogían toda una serie de normas sobre la forma de vida de los monjes, también indicaban qué espacios debía tener la casa, para el correcto desarrollo de su vida diaria, cuáles debían ser las características de estos, cómo había que enfrentarse a la resolución de los procesos de renovación o reforma de las estancias existentes, para alcanzar su correcta adaptación, o qué procesos había que seguir para enfrentarse a las obras de nueva planta, en el caso de que lo existente no pudiese ser reaprovechado.

En las Constituciones de la orden encontramos, por tanto, los motivos que propiciaron los cambios y el análisis escrito y gráfico desarrollado en este trabajo sobre los procesos de renovación efectuados nos permite entender las consecuencias que esos cambios tuvieron en la arquitectura existente. El resultado fue el inicio del proceso de transformación y, en algunos casos, pérdida de

una importante parte del complejo medieval para la formación de un espacio monástico renovado, a modo de un pequeño palimpsesto, consecuencia de la suma de todas las intervenciones que hasta aquí hemos desgarnado.

Sin embargo, el objetivo de que la casa samonense poseyese un espacio adecuado para albergar a 35 monjes, una de las razones principales de la construcción del nuevo claustro “gótico”, todavía no era una realidad en la tercera década del siglo XVII, donde este estudio toca su fin. Desconocemos el por qué no se llegaron a realizar en su totalidad los dos niveles superiores del claustro “gótico”, que permitirían dar respuesta adecuada a la previsión de crecimiento que establecieran las Constituciones de la Congregación. No parece equivocado pensar que en esto influyó el hecho de que el número de monjes que formaban la comunidad benedictina de Samos, se mantuvo sin grandes cambios desde finales del siglo XVI. Si diecinueve eran los monjes durante las obras de construcción de la planta baja del claustro “gótico”, al llegar el año 1660 tan sólo aumentara en dos el número de miembros de la comunidad.¹¹⁹ Pero, por otro lado, también es cierto que era difícil crecer, sino tenían el espacio necesario para hacerlo, es decir, más celdas individuales para acoger a nuevos miembros.

El deseo de ampliar el monasterio de Samos no volvió a cobrar fuerza hasta finales del siglo XVII, momento en el que se inició el proyecto más ambicioso de todos los realizados desde la anexión de Samos a la Congregación de Valladolid, la construcción de un tercer claustro y una nueva iglesia. Esto produciría un nuevo proceso de transformación de lo existente, en base a unas normas más concretas, así como la continuación de la pérdida o cambio de la arquitectura medieval todavía permanente y su análisis podría ser objeto de un trabajo futuro.

119. A través de una carta de poder de 1660 sabemos que el número de monjes que en ese momento formaba la comunidad era de 21. AHN. Instituciones Eclesiásticas. Clero secular-regular. Libro 6513, f. 10v. (“Apeos de la feligresía de Samos”). Disponible en: Portal de Archivos Españoles. “Apeos de la feligresía de Samos”. *Portal de Archivos Españoles*. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de España. 9 noviembre 2010 <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ControlServlet?accion=4&txt_accion_origen=2&txt_id_desc_ud=3525995>.



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 Cursente, Benoît. "Les montagnes des médiévistes", *Montaignes médiévales. XXXIV Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Chambéry, 23-25 mai 2003)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004: 415-433.
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