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IMPERATOR HISPANIAE  
The Genesis of 'Spain'

by

MARGARET M. CULLINAN

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Esp. sag. Flórez, Henrique, et al. [eds.] España sagrada. Theatro geográfico-histórico de la Iglesia de España. 51 vols. in 52. Madrid: A. Marin, 1747-1879.
- MPL Migne, J. P. Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina. 2nd ser. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-1880.
- PMH. Dipl. Portvgaliae monvmenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum vsque ad quintvdecimv. Diplomata et chartae. 6 vols. Iussu Academiae Scientiarvm Olisponensis [ed.]. Lisbon, 1856-1897.
- PMH. Leges Portvgaliae monvmenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum vsque ad quintvdecimv. Leges et consuetudines. 6 vols. Iussu Academiae Scientiarvm Olisponensis [ed.]. Lisbon, 1856-1897.

## INTRODUCTION

Hispania is a name of ancient but obscure origin. In the medieval period some thought that Hercules had given the peninsula this name. According to the Estoria de Espanna, which was written in the thirteenth century, Hercules conquered all of Spain and then entrusted its rule to his nephew, Espan. It was in Espan's honor that Hercules called the conquered land Espanna, or, in its Latin form, Hispania.<sup>1</sup>

In truth the Greeks did not call the peninsula Hispania, but Iberia, after some of its inhabitants, the Iberians.<sup>2</sup> Hispania seems to have been introduced in Roman times, although there is still no certainty about the derivation of this name.<sup>3</sup> During the Roman era, Hispania was a geographical designation for the most part. After the second Punic War, the Iberian peninsula was organized into two provinces, Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior.<sup>4</sup> Hispania remained the name for the peninsula during the Principate, but the provinces were enlarged to three, and they were called Tarraconensis, Baetica, and Lusitania.<sup>5</sup> Spain became a diocese under Diocletian, and finally its administration was merged with that of Gaul and Britain from the reign of

Constantine II until the collapse of Roman rule in the West.<sup>6</sup> Hispania also acquired a somewhat broader meaning in the later Empire, for during this time the name came to include a tiny portion of North Africa directly across the Straits of Gibraltar.<sup>7</sup>

Hispania did not become a political reality until the sixteenth century, after Charles I, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, had inherited the kingdoms of Aragón and León-Castile.<sup>8</sup> Yet the idea of Spain as a political entity was born long before this. The German historian, Ernst Mayer, fixed the emergence of 'Spain' as an autonomous idea in the tenth century. He noted that at that time the kings of León adopted the title imperator, which he translated as 'emperor.' Since he also found this usage applied to the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile, he concluded that the title symbolized independence. He alleged that the Count of Castile had asserted his independence of León at that time; therefore, the Leonese usage, he said, signified independence, and he seemed to suggest that it meant a claim of independence from the Carolingians.<sup>9</sup>

Mayer's basic premise, Castilian independence, is incorrect, however. There can be no doubt that Fernán González, Count of Castile from 930 to 970, relentlessly pursued independence, but he never entirely succeeded.



There is only one document in which the Count of Castile is entitled imperator, and this is dated 974.<sup>10</sup> By this time Fernán González was dead. No succeeding Count of Castile took up the cause of independence as determinedly as he, and Castile lapsed into a pivotal role, pitting León against Navarre in the hope of gaining some measure of de facto autonomy.<sup>11</sup> Castilian independence was not attained until the end of the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> Since Mayer's basic assumption is incorrect, the rest of his thesis must be questioned. There is only one example in which the Navarrese king was called imperator, and this was not an official document but a genealogy written in ca. 980, over 50 years after the death of the king in question.<sup>13</sup> Thus the problem centers on the Leonese usage, which Mayer does not satisfactorily explain.

Nationalism is the underlying idea in Mayer's thesis. This idea was adopted by Hermann Hüffer, whose first statement on the Leonese imperator appeared in 1931.<sup>14</sup> Hüffer fixed the origins of this nationalism earlier than Mayer did, however. He maintained that the concept of Hispania existed in the ninth century, and in his opinion the name designated the peninsula as a whole, and not merely the Christian or the Moslem sector. Hüffer originated the theory of a Gothic nationalism in medieval Spain. He believed that the Leonese kings of the ninth

and tenth centuries claimed to be the heirs of the Visigothic monarchy and that therefore they claimed the right to the legitimate rule of all Spain. This claim was expressed by the title imperator or 'emperor,' which he said was adopted by Alfonso III (866-910/911). Like Mayer, Hüffer also associated this title with the Carolingians, but in his opinion it was the disintegration of the Carolingian dynasty that gave rise to the use of imperator in León.<sup>15</sup>

Hüffer also associated the Leonese use of imperator with the development of the cult of Santiago de Compostela, which began in the ninth century. Compostela claimed to be an apostolic see equal with Rome, he said. This implied independence of Rome, and he argued that this gave rise to a similar assertion of independence by Alfonso III, expressed by the title imperator.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence on which Hüffer's thesis rests is scanty, however. The claim that the early Asturo-Leonese kings represented themselves as the heirs of the Visigothic monarchy rests on a brief passage in the ninth-century Crónica de Alfonso III in which Pelayo, the first of these kings, allegedly declares his intention of restoring the Visigothic kingdom.<sup>17</sup> It is clear to the reader, however, that the author of this chronicle exercised considerable license in recounting this supposed incident,

and one cannot with confidence accept it as fact.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, there is no documentary evidence to support the contention that these kings thought of themselves as kings of 'Spain' and that they envisioned the recovery of the entire peninsula. Even more serious, the documents attributed to Alfonso III in which he was entitled imperator are forgeries, a fact recognized by Hüffer. To accept these as evidence of an earlier period is an obvious violation of the canons of historical methodology.

There is another flaw in Hüffer's thesis. Compostela's claims to equality with Rome were not a consistent feature of the cult of Santiago but were only made in the twelfth century, when the cult was at its peak. These claims seem to have been the creation of one individual, Bishop Diego Gelmírez, who directed a barrage of propaganda at the papacy, the Archbishop of Toledo (who was also Primate of Spain), the King of León, and Western Europe in general.<sup>20</sup> There is no evidence that these claims were made before Gelmírez's time. Thus Hüffer was incorrect in deriving the use of imperator in León from alleged claims of Compostela to ecclesiastical independence.

Hüffer's thesis of a Visigothic restoration was adopted by Edmund Stengel, who published a book in 1939 on the imperial idea in medieval Europe. He expressed doubt about whether Alfonso III had used the title imperator,

although he did accept the existence of a "pan-Spanish idea" at that time.<sup>21</sup> Stengel did not examine the uses of imperator in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, however. Instead, his comments were focused on the use of imperator by Alfonso VI (1065-1109) and Alfonso VII (1126-1157), when the title did in fact mean 'emperor' and when the unification of Spain, both Moslem and Christian, was intended by its bearers.

Roger Bigelow Merriman, whose history of Spain was published between 1918 and 1934, also took note of the Leonese imperator. He believed Alfonso VI was the first to use this title. On this premise, Merriman then interpreted the title as a device for unifying the command of the war of reconquest and thereby advancing it.<sup>22</sup> This interpretation is incorrect, however, since imperator was used in León before the reign of Alfonso VI.

Still another commentator on the Leonese imperator was Robert Folz, who, like Stengel, wrote upon the imperial idea in general during the medieval era. Folz seems to have drawn on the work of Mayer and Hüffer, although he disagreed with Hüffer on the question of whether Alfonso III was the first to use the title imperator. Even though Folz conceded that Alfonso did not introduce this title, he seems to fix its origin in the ninth century, and he attributed its appearance to

the continuation of the rite of anointment, which had been introduced in Visigothic times, and to the war against Islam. Folz also associated the title with Compostela, which, he said, was created into "one ecclesiastical province" in 899 around which other bishops would be grouped, thus preparing the way for political unification. Like Stengel, however, Folz was more interested in the later use of imperator during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At this time, he wrote, the title was intended as a rebuff to Pope Gregory VII, to whom Folz ascribed secular pretensions, as well as ecclesiastical claims. Citing the Donation of Constantine and noting the assumption of the title imperator by Alfonso VI almost simultaneously with the events of the Investiture Conflict, Folz concluded that the two events were related.<sup>23</sup>

As with Hüffer's thesis, the fundamental problem with Folz's conclusions is lack of evidence. There is no evidence that an imperial title appeared in the ninth century in Spain, nor is there any evidence establishing a link between the adoption of the title imperator and such things as the anointment of the Leonese kings or the alleged claims of Gregory VII. Folz also appears to be incorrect with respect to the formation of Compostela into "one ecclesiastical province," presumably a diocese. In the ninth and tenth centuries the episcopal seat for

Galicia was Iria, not Compostela, which was juridically dependent on Iria. With the rising importance of the shrine of St. James, however, the bishops of Iria moved the seat of the diocese to Compostela in the middle of the eleventh century, and this was confirmed by the papacy sometime later in the century. It was not until the early twelfth century that Compostela was raised to metropolitan rank.<sup>24</sup> Thus Folz's interpretation of the title imperator is unsatisfactory.

É. Lévi-Provençal suggested an interpretation of imperator that might be called nationalistic in his Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, published between 1950 and 1967. His was not a Gothic nationalism, however, nor did he accept a ninth-century origin of imperator. Correctly recognizing that the title appeared in the tenth century, Lévi-Provençal suggested that it should be placed in the context of the consolidation of Moslem Spain by 'Abd al-Rahmān III and the severance of political ties between Córdoba and Baghdad. In Lévi-Provençal's opinion, imperator was meant as a "riposte" to the pretensions of the new ruler of Moslem Spain.<sup>25</sup>

Chronology does not support this interpretation, however. Imperator was first used in León in 916. Although 'Abd al-Rahmān III came to power in 912, he did not assert the independence of Moslem Spain until 929,

13 years after the appearance of the title imperator.<sup>26</sup> Thus the appearance of imperator cannot be derived from 'Abd al-Rahmān's assertion of autonomy. The exact equivalent of imperator in Arabic is amir, the title used by 'Abd al-Rahmān and his predecessors before the rupture with Baghdad.<sup>27</sup> The amir was merely a general, not even supreme military commander, much less an emperor.<sup>28</sup> It was therefore inferior to rex, and consequently it is not plausible that the Leonese king would have imitated an inferior title.

Another exponent of the idea of a Gothic restoration is José Antonio Maravall, whose El concepto de España en la edad media appeared in 1954. He believed that the early Asturo-Leonese monarchy was inspired by traditions of a Gothic heritage and that the goal of recovering all of Spain dated back to this time. The concept of 'Spain' as an "historico-geographical reality" existed in the Roman and Gothic eras, he said, and it was transmitted to the Middle Ages through Orosius and Isidore. While 'Spain' was merely a geographical designation for the Arabs, to the Christians of the north it was an "historico-political concept," and for the eight centuries of the Reconquest Hispania symbolized the goal of reconquering the entire peninsula.<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Maravall accepted the opinion that an imperial

tradition existed in León dating back to the reign of Alfonso III. It probably arose, he said, because the sons of Alfonso III were also kings, and therefore Alfonso was 'king over kings,' or emperor.<sup>30</sup> According to Dr. Maravall, the kings of León are entitled 'emperor' in approximately 50 documents between the time of Alfonso III and Ferdinand I (i.e., 866-1037), and he believed that there were still more examples of this usage in documents that have not survived.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, he conceded that imperator had other meanings in ninth- and tenth-century Spain. Disagreeing with Mayer, he interpreted the Navarrese use of imperator in the genealogy of ca. 980 as 'victorious general'; however, when Sancho el Mayor of Navarre referred to the Leonese Vermudo III as imperator some 50 years later, Maravall contended that he meant 'emperor.' Maravall also asserted that Sancho himself had adopted an imperial title when he occupied León in 1034. The title he cited was "Serenissimus princeps magnus," which he claimed was the "Carolingian and European equivalent of emperor."<sup>32</sup>

Ferdinand I of León also was entitled 'emperor,' according to Maravall, and he interpreted the use of imperante and imperator in documents of Alfonso VI at the very start of his reign as further evidence of



the continuing imperial tradition in León.<sup>33</sup> As far as Alfonso VII is concerned, Maravall contended that his jurisdiction was effective throughout Christian Spain. "[It was] not an imprecise domination over various lands or kings, as happened in some previous cases," he said, "but a concrete and certain hegemony, juridically formulated by means of the concept of vassalage, a formal superiority of power over the rest of the Spanish princes. . . ."<sup>34</sup> The imperial title disappeared after Alfonso's death, he suggested, because the idea of "kings of the kingdom of Spain" had become such a clear and strong concept that an imperial office was superfluous.<sup>35</sup>

Like Hüffer, Maravall based his theory of a Visigothic restoration on the Crónica de Alfonso III and the passage in which Pelayo is said to have expressed his intention of recovering Spain. He also claimed that the number of documents in which Hispania is found are "innumerable";<sup>36</sup> however, when one examines his evidence, one finds that the earliest example he cited is dated 996. All other examples are from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by which time the use of Hispania is frequent and indisputable.

Maravall's interpretation of the title imperator rests on even weaker ground. The only evidence he cited for his conclusion that Alfonso III was the first to use the title imperator was a reference to him in the Historia

Compostellana as "Sanctissimi imperatoris."<sup>37</sup> The Historia is a twelfth-century work, however; for this reason it cannot be taken as proof of a ninth-century usage. As for the "50" documents in which the Leonese king is allegedly entitled 'emperor,' Maravall cited none of these, nor did he list them. As will be seen in the following chapters, the documents during the years 866-1037 in which the Leonese king is called imperator actually number less than a dozen. Moreover, it is patently erroneous to suppose the existence of further documentation, as Maravall has done. The remainder of his thesis is refuted in the chapters that follow.

Jaime Vicens Vives also supported the theory of a Visigothic restoration. He maintained that the Asturian monarchy proclaimed its role as the heirs of the Visigothic monarchy and its goal of unifying Spain as early as the mid-ninth century. Nevertheless, he felt the use of imperator by the early Leonese kings was too ambiguous to permit interpretation. Even when this title was used in the eleventh century by Alfonso VI, Vicens Vives felt it was merely "propagandistic." Its adoption by Alfonso VII, he said, was intended "to counteract the aspirations of Frederick Barbarossa."<sup>38</sup>

Once again, the problem with this thesis is lack of evidence. Although Vicens Vives stated that the Asturo-

Leonese monarchy's claims of a Visigothic restoration and the recovery of Spain were expressed in documents from the middle of the ninth century, he did not cite any of these, and in fact there are none to substantiate this statement. His opinion with respect to Alfonso VI's use of the title imperator is also questionable. As will be seen in Chapter V, the adoption of the title imperator by Alfonso VI represented the introduction of a concrete program for the unification of the peninsula. Though this program was never fully realized, nevertheless there was more substance to it than mere propaganda. Finally, when Vicens Vives interpreted Alfonso VII's use of the title imperator as a rejection of the aspirations of Frederick Barbarossa, he seems to have been unaware that Alfonso VII used this title as early as 1125, almost 30 years before Frederick became Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>39</sup> From 1134 until Alfonso's death in 1157, his sole title was imperator. Thus Alfonso used this title exclusively for 18 years before Frederick ever came to the throne. It is clear that there can be no connection between Alfonso's title of imperator and Barbarossa.

The idea of a Gothic restoration was challenged vigorously by Américo Castro. In The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History, Dr. Castro maintained that the Asturians of the ninth century, as well as their kings,

did not identify themselves with the Goths, though they remembered the kingdom of the Goths. In his opinion, their only concept of themselves was as Christians. Christianity "conferred nationality," he said, just as the Moslems found their identity in their own faith.<sup>40</sup>

Dr. Castro noted that regional denominations of León, Castile, and so forth were usually used instead of Hispania; nevertheless, he maintained that a kind of nationalism had developed in the ninth century. He linked this with the emergence of the cult of the Apostle James in Compostela, although he did not derive it from Compostela's claims to equality with Rome, as Hüffer had argued. He also contended that this nationalism was expressed by the title imperator and was directed toward the conquest of the Moors.<sup>41</sup>

Dr. Castro based his theory of "Christian nationalism" on the ninth-century Chronicon Albeldense, in which the antagonists in the war of reconquest are identified as Christians and Saracens.<sup>42</sup> This argument is extremely weak. Until perhaps the late thirteenth century, virtually all the Spanish chronicles were written by clerics. Understandably they viewed the conflict in religious terms. As a further example of this outlook, a common name for the Moslems in other chronicles is 'Ishmaelites,' the Biblical descendants of Abraham by

the slave girl, Hagar.<sup>43</sup>

But while the clerics of the ninth and later centuries viewed the war as essentially religious, there is no evidence that this attitude was shared by the Leonese kings or by the population in general. In documentation of the ninth and tenth centuries, neither the people nor the kings are ever identified as 'Christian'; where there is identification, it is regional -- Asturias, Galicia, León, and so forth. Indeed there is reason to doubt the existence of a conscious dichotomy between Christian and Moslem at this time. No less a warrior than the redoubtable Alfonso III is said to have sent reinforcements to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Marwan of Badajoz against an army from Córdoba.<sup>44</sup> Fruela II, one of Alfonso's sons, may have married a Moslem girl from Aragón.<sup>45</sup> In the tenth century, Ramiro II of León formed an alliance with the Moslem lord of Zaragoza against 'Abd al-Raḥmān III,<sup>46</sup> and there are still other examples of relations between the Christian and Moslem sectors of Spain which refute Castro's theory of an aggressive "Christian nationalism."

Still weaker is Dr. Castro's argument that the cult of Santiago gave rise to this nationalism. He based this argument on a document allegedly issued by Ramiro I in 844.<sup>47</sup> In this diploma there is a reference to 'Hispania,'

and since the diploma mentions that Spain had been placed under the protection of St. James, Castro linked 'Hispania' and Compostela, thus deriving his idea of "Christian nationalism." He failed to recognize that this document is a forgery, however, probably of the twelfth century, the period in which the cult of Santiago was at its peak.<sup>48</sup> There do not seem to be any other examples of the use of Hispania in the ninth century and almost all of the tenth which would give support to Castro's thesis.

A different explanation for the origin of the title imperator in León was proposed by Justo Pérez de Urbel and Ricardo del Arco y Garay, authors of Volume VI of the multi-volume Historia de España. They translated this as 'emperor' and agreed that Alfonso III had been the first to use this title, but they said he adopted it as the result of an alliance with Navarre, in which the King of Navarre became his vassal.<sup>49</sup>

The authors cited the genealogy of ca. 980 as evidence for an alliance between León and Navarre, as well as the fact that Alfonso III married a Navarrese princess. Although part of the reference in the genealogy has not survived and the entry is therefore ambiguous,<sup>50</sup> nevertheless it seems correct that there was some degree of collaboration between the two kingdoms

in the late ninth century, as well as later, if not necessarily a formal alliance. The authors give no evidence to prove vassalage on the part of the Navarrese king, however, nor, in fact, is there any such evidence.

A more serious problem of evidence lies in the fact that the date given in the genealogy for the supposed alliance between León and Navarre is 900.<sup>51</sup> According to Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, this was the occasion for Alfonso's adoption of an imperial title. Yet they present no evidence to show that Alfonso did so at this time, or at any other time for that matter. Their thesis is therefore inadequate.

The thesis that has gained widest support is that of Ramón Menéndez Pidal. This was developed in La España del Cid, and in 1950 he devoted a separate work to this subject -- El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos.<sup>52</sup> Menéndez Pidal based his thesis in part on Hüffer's work. He maintained that the unity of Spain had been achieved in the Visigothic period and that the idea of 'Spain' was born at this time.<sup>53</sup> Like Hüffer, Menéndez Pidal believed that Alfonso III was the first to adopt the title imperator, which he also translated as 'emperor,' and he interpreted this title as a symbol of the unity of Spain and the intent of the Asturo-Leonese monarchy to restore the unity that had existed in Visigothic

times. The immediate occasion for the adoption of the title, he argued, was Alfonso's division of his realms into three kingdoms. The title of 'emperor' was intended to maintain the essential unity of the monarchy.<sup>54</sup>

In Menéndez Pidal's thesis, imperialism and unification became deeply embedded in Leonese traditions. These traditions remained alive in the tenth century, he said, and in the eleventh century León's hegemony was recognized by Aragón, as well as Navarre. In support of this he cited a letter from the Bishop of Vich, near Barcelona, in which Alfonso V of León was referred to as imperator and two diplomas of Sancho el Mayor of Navarre and Ramiro I of Aragón in which the Leonese king, Vermudo III, was also called imperator.<sup>55</sup> On the assumption that this meant 'emperor,' Menéndez Pidal saw Sancho's subsequent subjection of León in ca. 1030-1034 as a quest for the imperial title.<sup>56</sup>

Sancho el Mayor was responsible for the introduction of the Cluniac reforms into Spain. In Menéndez Pidal's opinion, however, these Burgundian contacts brought political customs that ran counter to the unitary concept of monarchy and the "Gothic restoration" contained in the imperial policy supposedly introduced by Alfonso III. Under these French-Cluniac influences, Sancho el Mayor divided his kingdom among his sons, an opinion advanced



not only by Menéndez Pidal but held by all other historians as well. Thus Menéndez Pidal contended that the roots of Spanish separatism lay in French influences, and he therefore labeled Sancho el Mayor the "anti-emperador."<sup>57</sup>

The Asturo-Leonese dynasty came to an end in 1037, after the death of Vermudo III without heirs. The throne was then assumed by Ferdinand I of Navarre, the second legitimate son of Sancho el Mayor, and according to Menéndez Pidal, Ferdinand also assumed the title of emperor.<sup>58</sup> Menéndez Pidal's thesis began to founder, however, when he took up the question of Ferdinand's successors. Convinced that the imperial idea was associated only with León, Menéndez Pidal was at a loss to explain why Ferdinand willed León to his second son, Alfonso VI, while the oldest son, Sancho II, who should have been the obvious one to carry on the supposed imperial tradition, was given Castile. He could not resolve this problem, saying merely that we do not know the meaning of Ferdinand's bequest to Alfonso and that documents of Sancho II, whose reign was brief, are few and that "we do not know how the chancery expressed the unifying idea of 'the empire of Spain.'"<sup>59</sup>

Menéndez Pidal continued his thesis with the reign of Alfonso VI, who reunited the kingdoms of León and

Castile after defeating Sancho II, who was assassinated, and after imprisoning their other brother, García, who remained in prison for the rest of his life. Shortly after these events, said Menéndez Pidal, Alfonso VI resumed the program of unification, and he expressed this by the title "rex Hispanie" [sic]. When Alfonso added "totius Hispaniae" to his title, Menéndez Pidal contended that this was intended to rebuff papal claims that all land in Spain occupied by "pagans" belonged to the Apostolic See, under the Donation of Constantine, and that conquest and possession of such lands had to conform to this document.<sup>60</sup>

Alfonso's adoption of the title imperator posed no problems of interpretation for Menéndez Pidal since he was convinced that the imperial tradition was a continuous one of some 200 years' duration. His main interest in the title at this time was its recognition outside León. He claimed that Aragón recognized the "emperor" of León and that its king, Sancho Ramírez, became Alfonso's vassal. He also claimed that the papacy recognized Alfonso as having superior rank in Spain.<sup>61</sup>

After Alfonso VI, the title of imperator was borne by Alfonso I of Aragón during a short-lived marriage to the daughter and successor of Alfonso VI, Urraca. Alfonso VII, her son by a prior marriage, succeeded to

the throne of León in 1126, and he, too, used this title. He adopted it formally in a coronation which Menéndez Pidal described as comparable to that of the German emperors.<sup>62</sup> According to the Estoria de Espanna, Alfonso's coronation and imperial rank were confirmed by Pope Innocent II.<sup>63</sup> Menéndez Pidal accepted this as fact, even though there is no supporting documentation and even though he himself admitted that in all papal letters Alfonso is addressed only as rex.<sup>64</sup> He also accepted a claim in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris that in addition to Spanish and Moslem vassals, the barons of Poitou and Gascony were vassals of Alfonso VII.<sup>65</sup>

After the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, the title of imperator disappeared from Spain. Menéndez Pidal attributed its disappearance to the revival of the "Romano-Germanic" imperial tradition under Frederick Barbarossa. Supported by the jurists of Bologna, he said, Barbarossa proclaimed himself the continuator of the Roman Empire, "with jurisdiction and power over the entire world." The ancient conflict between the German empire and the papacy had been resolved, he said.

" . . . At the summit of the temporal hierarchy was the German emperor, crowned in Rome, superior to all kings; likewise at the peak of the spiritual hierarchy was the Roman pope, superior to all bishops." Under this

concept of the supreme direction of Christendom by these two powers, two emperors, he said, would have been as anomalous as two popes.<sup>66</sup>

Some of the flaws in Menéndez Pidal's thesis are readily apparent; others require extensive argumentation, which is presented in the chapters that follow. In spite of the evident weaknesses in his thesis, however, Menéndez Pidal's authority was such that his thesis has been accepted by scholars both in Europe and in America. José Antonio Maravall drew his thesis in large measure from the work of Menéndez Pidal, as did Robert Folz. The distinguished German scholar, Percy Schramm, also acknowledged Menéndez Pidal's work and accepted his idea of a Visigothic restoration symbolized by the title of emperor. Schramm also accepted his conclusion that Alfonso III was the first to adopt this title.<sup>67</sup> Marcelin Defourneaux summarized Menéndez Pidal's ideas in his book, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles, although he did not identify them as his.<sup>68</sup> Charles Julian Bishko, of the University of Virginia, also accepts the idea of Leonese imperialism and, following Menéndez Pidal, cites Ferdinand I and Sancho II among the "king-emperors" of León.<sup>69</sup> Rafael Altamira, the eminent Spanish historian, is still another proponent of the "imperialism" of Alfonso III. In addition, he claimed that the title of

emperor was used by Sancho el Mayor, as well as by Ferdinand I.<sup>70</sup> Harold Livermore, the Canadian historian, incorporated mention of Leonese "imperialism" in his short history of Spain. He wrote that Alfonso III was the first to assume the title imperator and that he did so "in about 916" -- apparently overlooking the fact that Alfonso died in 910/911. Professor Livermore also held that Alfonso had divided his kingdom among his sons, thus prompting him to assume the title of emperor, or 'king of kings.' In addition, he accepted Menéndez Pidal's statement that Ferdinand I had assumed the title, "Emperor of León."<sup>71</sup>

Only one thesis has been offered to contradict the prevailing interpretation of the Leonese imperator. This was presented in an article written in 1945 by Alfonso García Gallo, a specialist in Spanish jurisprudence. García Gallo rejected the association of the title imperator with the idea of a Visigothic restoration. He did link it with the reconquest, however, and he argued that it did not mean 'emperor' in its early usage, but only military chief, a meaning derived from Isidore's Etymologiae. He also contended that the title had no political content until its use by Alfonso VI in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>72</sup>

Among all these interpretations of the use of imperator in León, García Gallo's comes closest to the truth; nevertheless, it is still somewhat short of the mark. It is the thesis of the following chapters that imperator had two meanings in Spain in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, neither of them 'emperor.' One was an honorary meaning reflecting the survival of the Roman tradition in León in the early part of the tenth century, and the second was a purely functional designation which, in the hands of the Navarrese and Aragonese who used it early in the eleventh century, was in fact derogatory. During this time imperator had no connection with the Visigothic past or with the idea of a unified Spain.

It was not until the eleventh century that the idea of 'Spain' was born, and it was not born in León, but in Navarre. Moreover, this idea came to life without benefit of an imperial title or any "imperial" concept of the structure of Spain. In its original form, the idea of 'Spain' was purely unitary: a united Spain under a single king.

This unitary concept had a precarious life, however. After the death in 1035 of its first exponent, Sancho el Mayor of Navarre, the unity of Christian Spain that he had tried to forge disintegrated, and the idea itself seemed destined for extinction. It did not die, but was

revived in the later decades of the eleventh century -- in León this time, not Navarre. In addition, the format for unification was altered from Sancho's unitary formula. The concept of an 'emperor of Spain' -- imperator Hispaniae -- was now introduced for the first time, together with a formula for unification that was part "federal," part feudal.

Spanish "imperialism" was therefore a late development in the political evolution of Spain, and it resulted from, rather than evolved with, an already existing idea of 'Spain.' It will also be seen that Spanish "imperialism" was not an indigenous phenomenon, though the concept of a united Spain was. This fact largely explains the failure of this "imperial" formula for unification and the disappearance of the title after the death of its last bearer, Alfonso VII, in 1157.

Nevertheless, the fact that Spanish "imperialism" was alien to the traditions of the peninsula is not the sole explanation for its disappearance. Here again, the assumptions that have been made so far on this question are erroneous. Alfonso VII does not seem to have acquiesced in the abolition of the Spanish imperial title, nor did at least one of his sons. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that Alfonso intended the survival of this title and its accompanying formula for unification

and that he took steps to assure its survival. That this did not happen and that the unification of Spain was frustrated for another 300 years and more are the result of a complicated array of factors and circumstances.

Spanish "imperialism" and the problem of unity in Spain are of more than scholarly interest. Today, as the Franco era nears an end, the concept of 'Spain' and the cohesiveness of her people will again be put to the test. The fissures that are already apparent in Spanish society transform a scholarly re-examination of the problem of Spanish unity into a practical imperative. It is beyond the limits of this study to survey this problem in the whole of Spanish history, and therefore no general explanation of the separatism so recurrent in Spain's history has been attempted.

Nevertheless, if one is to understand the present reality, one's knowledge of its past development must be accurate. Myth not only obscures history, it confounds analysis of the present and may, therefore, misdirect the future. Regrettably the subject of Spanish unity in the early and central Middle Ages has become enshrouded in myth. It is the purpose of this study to re-examine the evidence for the centuries from the start of the Asturo-Leonese monarchy in ca. 717 until the close of the twelfth century, to place it in an objective



perspective, and thereby to reveal the true roots of Spanish political life and the course of its development in these centuries.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. R. Menéndez Pidal [ed.], Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289 [hereafter cited as Primera crónica] (2 vols.; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), I, pp. 10-11. The actual title of this history is Estoria de Espanna que fizo el muy noble rey don Alfonso fizo del rey don Fernando et de la reyna donna Beatriz; however, it was edited and published under the title cited above.
2. "Hispania," Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VIII, 2, cols. 1965-1966.
3. Ibid. The editors mention the theory, which they doubt, that Hispania was derived from a Phoenician word, which they cite as "span" and translate as "Rabbit-land." Professor Howard L. Adelson points out, however, that the transliteration should be 'SPN,' not 'span,' and that this means only 'hare' or 'rabbit,' not 'Rabbit-land.' 'SPN' would sound as 'shaphan,' according to Professor Adelson. In Punic, 'Rabbit-land' would be 'Artza di SPN,' sounding as 'Artza dishaphania.' In Professor Adelson's judgment this is the likely derivation of Hispania.
4. W. E. Heitland, The Roman Republic (3 vols.; New York: Greenwood Press, by permission of the Cambridge University Press, 1969), II, p. 40.
5. J. B. Firth, Augustus Caesar and the Organization of the Empire of Rome (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), p. 263.
6. A. H. M. Jones, The Decline of the Ancient World (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 31, 51.
7. A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602 (2 vols.; Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press; Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd., 1964), I, p. 47. This was Tingitania, which remained nominally a part of Spain in the Visigothic era.

8. Although there was considerable de facto unity under Ferdinand and Isabella, their marriage contract stipulated that the two kingdoms were to remain separate. Their coinage bears the names and portraits of both sovereigns; however, the legend 'Spain' never appears. It is therefore inaccurate to assign the unification of the kingdoms and the emergence of 'Spain' to their reign. Unification was accomplished only after their grandson, Charles, inherited the kingdoms of León-Castile and Aragón. Nevertheless, in view of Charles' imperial commitments, one might plausibly argue that 'Spain' did not really come into her own as a political entity until after Charles had liquidated his empire.
9. Ernesto Mayer, Historia de las instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal durante los siglos V a XIV (2 vols. in 1; Madrid: Publicaciones del "Anuario de historia del derecho español," Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas, Centro de estudios históricos, 1925), I, pp. 26-27; II, pp. 15-19.
10. In A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español (3rd ed. rev.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II, p. 181. I discuss this use further in Chapter II, pp. 88-89.
11. The sources suggest a rather persistent sentiment among the Castilians for independence, but after Fernán González no attempt was actually made. Mayer's basis for his statement that Castile freed herself from León in the tenth century was a chronicle written by Lucas of Tuy in the thirteenth century in which a Count of Castile in the eleventh, not the tenth, century is said to have asked the King of León for a royal title at the time of a proposed marriage between the Count and the King's sister. The story does not appear elsewhere, however, and it is therefore questionable. This is discussed in Chapter IV, pp. 134-135, 146-147.
12. Alfonso VII gave Castile the status of a kingdom in ca. 1148, when he assigned it to his son, Sancho, and conferred the title of king upon him.
13. José M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra [ed.], "Textos navarros del Códice de Roda," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior

- de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), I, pp. 236-237.
14. Hermann Hüffer, "Die leonesischen Hegemoniebestrebungen und Kaisertitel," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens, III (1931), 337-384; also Das spanische Kaisertum der Könige von Leon-Kastilien (Münster, 1931).
  15. Hermann Hüffer, "Die mittelalterliche spanische Kaiseridee," Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal (6 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas patronato Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, 1950-1957), V, 366-367.
  16. Ibid., 370.
  17. A. Ubieta Arteta [ed.], Crónica de Alfonso III, in Textos medievales, 3 (Valencia, 1961), pp. 29-30.
  18. Pelayo's alleged declaration reads as follows:  
 ". . . nec Arabum amicitias in scripturis diuinis quia 'eclesia [sic] Domini ad granum sinapis' (Matt. 13, 13), deuenitur, et inde rursus per Domini misericordia in magis erigitur?' . . . 'Spes nostra Christus est, quod per istum modicum monticulum, quem conspicio, sit Spanie salus et Gotorum gentis exercitus reparatus.'"
  19. Hüffer, "Die mittelalterliche spanische Kaiseridee," 372.
  20. Marcelin Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 71-77.
  21. Edmund E. Stengel, Kaisertitel und Suveränitätsidee: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Staatsbegriffs (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., 1939), pp. 7-10.
  22. Roger Bigelow Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New (4 vols.; New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1962 [orig. p. d. 1918-1934]), I, p. 89.
  23. Robert Folz, L'idée d'empire en occident du

- v<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Éditions Mouton, 1953), pp. 50, 65.
24. Defourneaux, pp. 61-76.
  25. É. Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane (3 vols.; Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose; Leiden: E.-J. Brill, 1950-1967), II, p. 51, n. 2. Lévi-Provençal did not develop his thesis but merely suggested this interpretation in a footnote.
  26. Ibid., II, pp. 5, 110-111.
  27. I am indebted to Professor Howard L. Adelson for this information.
  28. Lévi-Provençal, I, p. 77.
  29. José Antonio Maravall, El concepto de España en la edad media (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1954), pp. 49-51, 207, 263.
  30. Ibid., pp. 440, 449.
  31. Ibid., p. 437.
  32. Ibid., pp. 439-442, 456.
  33. Ibid., pp. 460-463.
  34. Ibid., pp. 479-480.
  35. Ibid., p. 485.
  36. Ibid., p. 81.
  37. Ibid., p. 440.
  38. Jaime Vicens Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, trans. Joan Connolly Ullman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 33-47.
  39. See Chapter VII, p. 245; also p. 265, n. 28.
  40. Américo Castro, The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History, trans. Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 10-14, 49-50.

41. Ibid., pp. 382-384 et seq.
42. Ibid., p. 49.
43. Gen. 21: 8-21. This was both metaphorical and, to the chroniclers, historical. After Abraham's wife, Sarah, gave birth to Isaac, Ishmael and Hagar were banished to the desert. Thus, to the medieval chroniclers the Moslems were the desert tribes descended from Ishmael, and like him they, too, were illegitimate and outcasts.
44. Lévi-Provençal, I, pp. 296-298.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., II, p. 48.
47. Esp. sag., XIX, pp. 329-335.
48. I have determined that this document is false. My argumentation is given in the notes to Chapter I, pp. 62-65, n. 44.
49. Justo Pérez de Urbel and Ricardo del Arco y Garay, España cristiana: Comienzo de la Reconquista 711-1038, Vol. VI: Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (2nd ed.; 26 vols. in 28; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1963-1968), pp. 94-96.
50. Lacarra [ed.], "Textos navarros del Códice de Roda," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, I, p. 255. The entry reads as follows: "Era DCCC[C]XXXVIII fuit coniunctio duorum regum, id est Adefonsus Astu[ ]."
51. Ibid. Spanish dating at this time was 38 years in advance of dating by the calendar commonly used in Western Europe at this time. See Chapter I, pp. 55-56; also p. 71, n. 86.
52. R. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, Vols. VI and VII: Obras completas (4th ed. rev.; 8 vols.; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1944-1953); El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos [hereafter cited as El imperio hispánico] (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950).
53. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 70-71;

- La España del Cid, VI, p. 65.
54. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 28-33, 35-40.
  55. Ibid., pp. 44-65, 83.
  56. Ibid., pp. 67-68.
  57. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, VII, pp. 671-673.
  58. Ibid., p. 669.
  59. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 95-98.
  60. Ibid., p. 102.
  61. Ibid., pp. 105, 120-121.
  62. Ibid., p. 155.
  63. Primera crónica, II, p. 654.
  64. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 157-158, 172.
  65. Ibid., pp. 146-150.
  66. Ibid., pp. 178-179.
  67. Peroy Ernst Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert (3 vols.; Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954-1956), III, p. 727, n. 2; p. 730, n. 3; II, pp. 483-484.
  68. Defourneaux, pp. 8-9.
  69. Charles Julian Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," Studia Monastica, III (1961), 54, 62.
  70. Rafael Altamira, A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day, trans. Muna Lee (Princeton, Toronto, London, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), p. 197.
  71. Harold Livermore, A History of Spain (New York: Grove Press, Inc., by arrangement with Farrar,

Straus and Cudahy, 1960), pp. 83, 91, 101.

72. A. Garcia Gallo, "El imperio medieval español," Arbor, IV (1945), 202, 207-210, 215-216.



## I. REX IMPERATOR: THE SURVIVING ROMAN TRADITION

Hispania did not long survive the Moslem conquest. For a year the new rulers of Spain used this name on their coinage in one or another form,<sup>1</sup> but in 720 Hispania gave way to the Arab al-Andalus, a name whose origin is equally obscure.<sup>2</sup> From that time until the last Arab issues in 1031, Spain remained al-Andalus.<sup>3</sup>

Hispania did not survive in the Christian north either. According to tradition, refugees from the Arab invaders took shelter in the mountains of northern Spain, and in 717 they are said to have elected Pelayo, son of a duke of Cantabria, as king.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is known about Pelayo's reign, except that he is reputed to have defeated a Moslem raid at Covadonga, the first victory of what centuries later became the Reconquest.<sup>5</sup> We are equally uncertain about Pelayo's kingdom. The thirteenth-century Estoria de Espanna reports that Pelayo was king "en las Asturias, et en Vizcaya et en Alaua et en Guipuzcoa . . . , et en los montes Rucones et en Aragon."<sup>6</sup> This statement reflects the aspirations of the thirteenth century rather than the realities of the eighth. There is no sign in the surviving documents that the authority of the Asturian kings of the

eighth century extended to the Basque regions of Vizcaya, Álava, and Guipuzcoa. And as far as Aragón is concerned, in the years immediately following 714 the Moslems secured most of the Ebro valley, forming a fortified arc along the southern frontier of Aragón and cutting it off from the Christians of the north.<sup>7</sup> By the end of the century Aragón and the adjacent region were established as the Spanish March under Charles the Great, although later Carolingians did not retain control of the region, which eventually became autonomous.<sup>8</sup>

A tenth-century chronicle, the Chronicon Albeldense, is more realistic than the later Estoria. The Albeldense states simply that "in Asturias Pelagius regnavit in Canicas annis XIX."<sup>9</sup> This is consistent with documents of the eighth century, which usually read only "regnante . . . in Asturias" in their corroborations. Pelayo's base of operations was in Asturias, and when he was made king, the intent was undoubtedly little more than to secure a caudillo or war leader, the only role he could have assumed under the circumstances. His "kingdom," if we can even use the term, must have been a kingdom of persons rather than territory.

It was the successors of Pelayo who began to edge out of the mountains of Asturias. Documentation, rather than the chronicles, gives us some picture of the resettlement

that took place during the eighth and ninth centuries. A grant by Alfonso I (739-757) to the Bishop of Santiago shows an extension of Asturian authority into Galicia.<sup>10</sup> Documents of the eighth century from Castile recognize the Asturian monarchy in their corroborations, and it becomes apparent from documents of the early decades of the ninth century that by these years the Asturian kings had extended at least nominal jurisdiction eastward, to Santander.<sup>11</sup> Private documents from the reign of Alfonso II (791-842) and the succeeding reigns of Ramiro I (842-850) and Ordoño I (850-866) also indicate expansion south of Santander into Old Castile, while two diplomas of Ordoño I show that the Asturian monarchy was extending west into what is today northern Portugal.<sup>12</sup>

This movement gained momentum during the reign of Alfonso III (866-910/911). Under his leadership the Duero river, some 200 kilometers south of Oviedo, was gradually secured along its east-to-west course by a series of fortified settlements, and from these bases assaults were mounted further south.<sup>13</sup> By 883 Alfonso had extended his jurisdiction to Coimbra, some 100 kilometers south of the Duero, where a donation by him to Sisnandus, Bishop of Coimbra, is recorded in that year.<sup>14</sup> The monastery of Sahagún, about 50 kilometers southeast of León, was founded about this time, and we find Alfonso

extending protection to it in a charter of immunity of 904.<sup>15</sup> Burgos, still further east in Castile, was also repopulated by Alfonso.<sup>16</sup> As his long reign drew to a close and in the ensuing decades, Castile seemed securely within the orbit of the Asturian monarchy, a fact which is apparent from the increasing number of royal diplomas issued in Castile and the number of private documents which reflect the Asturian presence.<sup>17</sup>

During this time the king was entitled rex and/or princeps, with dominus occasionally added to rex. His kingdom seems almost nameless, however. Of the surviving documents, fewer than half identify the kingdom, and the reference in these actually seems to be to the royal seat rather than to the kingdom. In this group, the usual reference is "regnante . . . in Asturias," which was, in fact, the site of the royal capital, Oviedo.<sup>18</sup>

Rex and princeps remained titles of royalty during the tenth century; however, an interesting innovation was made at this time. On occasion we find the Asturian king entitled imperator, and in certain instances he himself used this title. Since there has been a great deal of misstatement or misconstrual of the evidence, it would be well to review the data.

Alfonso III was the first of the imperatores, but he did not personally use this title, as has been alleged.<sup>19</sup>

His diplomas read simply "Adefonsus rex," while the charter of immunity granted by him to Sahagún carries no title at all. Private documents of sale, donation, or exchange written during his reign refer to him in the corroborations only as rex and/or princeps.<sup>20</sup>

Alfonso III was not called imperator until after his death. In two letters issued by his son, Ordoño II, in 916 and 917 Ordoño identified himself as "filius Adefonsi Magni Imperatoris."<sup>21</sup> Still later, in 950, Alfonso was entitled imperator in a document from the monastery of Eslonza.<sup>22</sup>

Alfonso III was succeeded by his eldest son, García, who reigned a brief three or four years. The title he used was princeps.<sup>23</sup> It was his brother, Ordoño II (914-922), who was the first to use the title imperator during his own lifetime. Two privilegia of 922 granted to the basilica of San Martín in Galicia begin as follows: "In nomine Patris, . . . Ego Serenissimus Imperator Ordonius. . . ."<sup>24</sup> Ordoño confirmed both documents as "venerabilis Rex," however. These are the only diplomas in which Ordoño used the title imperator. In that same year two other diplomas of his contain only the titles rex and princeps, and Ordoño used princeps not only when speaking of himself, but also of his father, Alfonso III.<sup>25</sup> These were the titles in 15 other royal charters issued by Ordoño II between

914 and 922.<sup>26</sup> In addition, a document issued by his daughter after his death, in which she confirmed a grant of land made by her parents, refers to Ordoño only as "domni Hordoni Principis."<sup>27</sup>

In 924 Ordoño was succeeded by his brother Fruela, the third son of Alfonso III. His reign lasted a single year, or possibly less, before he, too, died. There is a royal diploma of September 27, 924, in which Fruela authorized the construction of a monastery.<sup>28</sup> Private documents of 924 and 925 carry his name in the corroborations until June 18, 925, with one more document that is dated 925 but shows no month.<sup>29</sup> In all of these private documents Fruela is called princeps, domnus [sic], or princeps domnus. The title he himself used in the diploma of 924 was rex.

The next to wear the crown of León were the sons of Ordoño II: Alfonso IV and Ramiro II, whose reigns are dated 925-931 and 931-950 respectively. Rex and princeps remained the titular formula in the diplomas of both monarchs, although there was an occasional use of the phrase, "nutu divino rex," in Ramiro's documents, showing a heightened sense of sovereignty.<sup>30</sup>

Neither Alfonso IV nor Ramiro II personally used the title imperator. There were some, however, to whom Ramiro was imperator. A private donation within Castile of 939

bears the following corroboration: ". . . VIII kalendas decembris, regnante principe nostro Radimirus rex, imperatori [sic] in sedis ovetensi. . . ."31 A cartulary of 940 from the monastery of Eslonza in León reads, "Regnante domno [sic] et imperatori [sic] nostro Ranimirus rex [sic] sedem regni sui. . . ."32

Menéndez Pidal cited another example in which Ramiro was called imperator. This is a document, dated 949, which is in a massive compilation called the Tumbo legionense, located in the archives of the Cathedral of León. In this document Ramiro is entitled "Ranimirus rex imperator in sedis Oveto."33 The Tumbo contains another document in which Ramiro was entitled imperator. This document is incorrectly dated, but its opening lines indicate that it belongs to the second year of the reign of Ordoño III, which places it in 952. The reference to Ramiro in this document, which is an agnitio or judicial decision, is as follows: "Sub era dccccclxv, regnante principe nostro domno [sic] Hordonio, prolis domni Ranimiri inperatoris [sic], anno secundo regni sui. . . ."34 Neither document is conclusive evidence, however, that imperator was in any way a customary usage within official circles. The Tumbo legionense is written in a twelfth-century script,35 and therefore it must have been compiled at about that time. Although the variety of documents redacted in it are

considered reliable in substance, one cannot be certain that a detail such as the title imperator was not a twelfth-century insertion. Moreover, the agnitio of 952 was not confirmed by the King, and thus it cannot be said to represent official usage.

Ordoño III, Ramiro's son and successor, was also called imperator in this same agnitio, but this, too, may be a twelfth-century mannerism. Moreover, all other references to Ordoño in this agnitio are to the rex or princeps. These are the titles in Ordoño's own diplomas, as well as private documents of his reign.<sup>36</sup> He was also entitled rex and princeps in two royal diplomas from later reigns, one of 968 from the reign of Ramiro III and another dated 1014, from the reign of Alfonso V.<sup>37</sup>

There was no deviation from this titular formula in the diplomas of Sancho I, who succeeded Ordoño, nor in those of Ordoño IV, who usurped the throne for a brief period of about a year. Both are rex or serenissimus princeps, an elaboration that had appeared about 30 years earlier.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, in the 250 years between the elevation of Pelayo in 717 and the death of Sancho I in 967, only one king personally used the title of imperator, and this usage was the exception, not the rule. Three other kings of León, out of a total number of 16 during this period, were entitled imperator in documentary or literary sources



written by others or composed after their lifetime. It is evident that this title was of little, if any, political significance in this period. Yet modern historiography has read considerable importance into this usage, and therefore the issue must be taken up.

The fundamental argument is that imperator symbolized a Visigothic restoration. In a chronicle written by Alfonso III or one of his associates in the ninth century, Alfonso I is said to have been a descendant of the Visigothic kings, Leovigild and Reccared.<sup>39</sup> Pelayo, the first of the dynasty, was also thought to have been a Visigoth, and in the Estoria de Espanna a speech is attributed to him in which he declares his intention of recovering, so it has been said, the kingdom of the Goths.<sup>40</sup> This is the evidence on which it has been argued that the memory of political unity that supposedly existed in Visigothic times was preserved in the Leonese kingdom after the Moslem conquest.

The premises on which this thesis rests are shaky. Although Pelayo and Alfonso I may well have been of Visigothic stock, this possibility does not permit us to form any conclusions about their objectives. The Estoria's account, which is an elaboration of an account in the Crónica de Alfonso III, is purely fictional. According to the tale, an archbishop, who had collaborated with the

Moslem governor Tarif, was sent to Pelayo to persuade him to accept Moslem rule. Pelayo refused, so the story goes, and after a long speech on the justice of God and the punishment to be inflicted on sinners, Pelayo concluded with the words, ". . . we believe that with these few who are here that we will recover the entire people of the Goths that is lost, just as from small grains are produced many harvests."<sup>41</sup> The significance of the phrase, "the entire people of the Goths," has been overlooked. Throughout the Estoria's account of the Visigothic era, the authors were careful to distinguish between the Goths and the Romans, a distinction which accurately reflects the reluctance of the Visigoths to fuse with the Hispano-Roman population during the Gothic era.<sup>42</sup> Pelayo's alleged declaration is a manifestation of Gothic tribal nationalism, not a Hispano-Gothic sense of unity, as has been claimed.<sup>43</sup> In any case, the story is merely legend, and while it is interesting, it cannot be taken seriously as evidence for Pelayo's era.

There is stronger reason for doubting that the Asturo-Leonese kings of these early centuries harbored any illusions about recovering the peninsula. In all the documentation, royal and private, between the eighth century and the last decade of the tenth, there does not seem to be a single example in which the Leonese king is

entitled rex Hispaniae, nor is the kingdom or its population described as Spanish.<sup>44</sup> Hispania almost vanishes from the consciousness of the men of these times, becoming al-Andalus in the south and León in the north after the Asturian capital was moved there.

If the idea of a Visigothic restoration is dubious, much more so is the argument that imperator symbolized Visigothic unity and "the new Visigothic kingdom."<sup>45</sup> Unity within Gothic Spain was "ephemeral," to quote the French historian, Joseph Calmette.<sup>46</sup> The Visigoths did not occupy the whole of the peninsula but only a triangular region between Palencia, Toledo, and Calatayud.<sup>47</sup> The monarchy itself was extremely weak. Between 568, when Leovigild severed political ties with Byzantium, and the monarchy's collapse in 711, 18 kings wore the Visigothic crown. Six of these were deposed or assassinated or both, while the circumstances surrounding the deaths of two others are uncertain.<sup>48</sup> At least ten kings had to deal with major rebellions. The Basques never accepted Visigothic rule and were perennially rebellious, while we read of uprisings among farmers, noblemen, priests, and probably Jews as well.<sup>49</sup> The defeat, accompanied sometimes by expulsion, of all other contenders for power in the peninsula by Leovigild and his successors seems to have given rise to the idea that political unity was a fact under the Visigoths. This is a

gross exaggeration. The monarchy itself lacked internal cohesion. It could hardly impart to Spain as a whole what it itself lacked.

Menéndez Pidal's argument that imperator symbolized the unity of Spain is based on the further premise that three kingdoms emerged in Christian Spain during the ninth century and that a device was therefore necessary to preserve the unity of the peninsula.<sup>50</sup> In support of this premise he cited two diplomas of 898 in which Ordoño II, the second son of Alfonso III, was entitled King of Galicia while Alfonso was still reigning in Asturias, and one of 912 in which Fruela, Alfonso's third son, was called King of Asturias while Ordoño reigned in León.<sup>51</sup>

There is some difficulty with this thesis. First, it fixes the origin of the title of imperator in the reign of Alfonso III, but the evidence Menéndez Pidal gave for this is faulty, as he himself admitted. He cited two documents bearing dates of 867 and 877 which refer to Alfonso III as imperator; however, he conceded that both were forgeries of the twelfth century.<sup>52</sup> In spite of this, he believed the document of 877, though false, contained details copied from an earlier document.<sup>53</sup> On this evidence, plus the fact that Alfonso's son Ordoño twice called him imperator in documents issued after Alfonso's death,<sup>54</sup> Menéndez Pidal concluded that the imperial title originated in Alfonso's

reign. It is apparent, however, that this conclusion goes beyond the evidence.

Secondly, the diplomas in which Ordoño and Fruela are called rex in the lifetime of a reigning king do not necessarily indicate a division of the original Asturian kingdom into three. There are two other possible explanations. Ordoño and Fruela may have been called rex for lack of any other title. In ninth- and tenth-century León there was not as yet a title for a prince, especially in the case where he had been placed in command of territory. Princeps did not mean 'prince,' of course, and it was reserved for the king. Dux was not used in León at this time,<sup>55</sup> and comes was a title of officialdom, not royalty or nobility. There was no title for the son of a king but filius regis, which lacks any suggestion of authority or jurisdiction. Regulus, the closest thing to 'prince,' was used in Navarre, but it appears much later, in documents of 1011 and 1020.<sup>56</sup> This title seems unknown, or at least unaccepted, in León. Therefore, Ordoño and Fruela may have been designated rex simply because the notaries did not know what else to call them.

The more probable explanation, however, is that the use of rex for Ordoño and Fruela represents an attempt to make the succession hereditary by associating the desired heir on the throne and giving him the title of rex. This

had been the practice of some of the later Visigothic kings.<sup>57</sup> When the Visigothic monarchy collapsed, the hereditary principle had not yet been established. The Asturian monarchy, which succeeded it, arose by a process of election, but early in its history it began to work towards hereditary succession, first securing succession rights for the dynasty.<sup>58</sup>

By 898, when Ordoño II was entitled rex while Alfonso III was still on the throne, the Asturian dynasty had acquired sufficient prestige that Alfonso III evidently felt assured of the dynasty's succession rights. Nevertheless, the principle of primogeniture was not yet in force.<sup>59</sup> Alfonso III therefore had to designate a successor among his sons, and this he did by allowing his son, Ordoño II, the royal title during his lifetime.<sup>60</sup> Ordoño then continued this practice in his own reign, giving his brother Fruela the title of king.

All of the documents so far examined, as well as the chronicles, point to a unitary concept of monarchy within León in the ninth and tenth centuries. In 883, which would have been shortly before the supposed division of the kingdom, a diploma of Alfonso III reads, "Anno gloria regni [*italics added*] nostri feliciter. . ."<sup>61</sup> In 899, a year after the documents in which Ordoño was called King

of Galicia, a diploma of Alfonso III identifies Galicia as a province.<sup>62</sup> In 915 when the division had taken place, according to Menéndez Pidal's thesis, a donation of Ordoño II refers to a single kingdom only.<sup>63</sup> The Chronicon Sampiri, written in the early eleventh century, describes Garcia's succession to the throne as follows: "Adefonso defuncto, Garseanus filius ejus successit in Regno [italics added]."<sup>64</sup> With regard to Ordoño's succession, this same chronicle writes that Ordoño, coming from parts, not the kingdom, of Galicia obtained the kingdom.<sup>65</sup> The account of Fruela's succession is similar: "Ordonio defuncto, frater ejus Froilanus successit in Regno. . . ."<sup>66</sup>

After the death of Fruela, the last of the sons of Alfonso III to reign, there is not the slightest sign in any of the sources that the original kingdom had been divided into three. Galicia and Asturias each had a distinct identity, but it was a geographical identity, underscored by racial differences, not a political demarcation. One finds considerable internal disunity in León during the ninth and tenth centuries, but the kingdom's nominal unity, at least, was acknowledged throughout this period. Therefore there seems no basis for believing that an imperial title was introduced to maintain the unity of the Asturo-Leonese kingdom.

During this time there was only one other king over whom the King of León might have been emperor, and this was the King of Navarre. The Navarrese monarchy seems to have come into existence in the ninth century, although this is uncertain, but there is no question about its existence in the early years of the tenth.<sup>67</sup> Thus, when Ordoño II of León used the title of imperator in 922, there was another monarchy in existence over which he might have been expressing imperial sovereignty.

Yet there is no evidence that Ordoño actually claimed any kind of superiority over Navarre. The two diplomas in which he was called imperator make no reference to Navarre. Others of his diplomas are confirmed simply rex or princeps, without inclusion of the lands comprised in his kingdom. Documents from Castile, where there was not as yet any reason for denying León's sovereignty over Navarre, are consistent that Ordoño reigned only "in Legionem" or "in urbe Legionem."<sup>68</sup> The Chronicon Sampiri tells of an incident in which the King of Navarre asked Ordoño to help him against a Saracen army and, later, against the cities of Nájera and Viguera, which were in rebellion.<sup>69</sup> Ordoño came to the rescue, but there is no indication that his price was the subordination of Navarre. He may well have aspired to hegemony, but in the absence of supporting evidence, this can only remain speculation.



Thus there is little in the way of evidence or plausibility to sustain the thesis that the title imperator, when used by or applied to the kings of the Asturo-Leonese dynasty, was intended to convey imperial pretensions. In the Roman era, of course, imperator did not mean 'emperor.' Although this title was reserved to the augusti from the time of Octavian on, imperator never lost its essentially military character; that is, commander-in-chief.<sup>70</sup>

This meaning was preserved in the Etymologiarum of Isidore, as Garcia Gallo has pointed out.<sup>71</sup> According to Isidore, the title represented the highest military command ("summa rei militaris"), and he derived its origin from the verb imperare (" . . . ab imperando exercitui"). Isidore then noted that the Roman senate had voted to restrict the use of this title to Caesar Augustus, "on which account," he wrote, "he is distinguished from the other kings of nations, since subsequent Caesars have thus far used [it]."<sup>72</sup> By this, Isidore did not mean that imperator signified 'king over kings' or 'emperor,' but only that imperator was a usage unique to the Roman Caesars.

That imperator did not mean 'emperor' in Isidore's understanding of the title becomes even clearer when we read his definition of the title augustus. This, he said, was the "title of empire" ("nomen imperii"), and the derivation he postulated for this title shows that to him

augustus was the equivalent of 'emperor':

Augustus ideo apud Romanos nomen imperii est, eo quod olim auferent rempublicam amplificando. Quod nomen primo senatus Octaviano Caesari tradidit, ul quia auxerat terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.<sup>73</sup>

Isidore's Etymologiarum was, of course, fundamental to the libraries of Western Europe in the early and central Middle Ages.<sup>74</sup> Thus it can be assumed that some of the notaries of tenth-century León had access to this work, especially since its author was one of their own countrymen. Hence it can be argued that the intent behind the use of imperator in Leonese documents of this time was to convey military status, not imperial rank.

This argument is strengthened by the fact that not a single example exists in Spanish documentary or literary sources in which these kings are called imperator augustus, the true equivalent of 'emperor.' As a matter of fact, none of the literary sources refer to any of the tenth-century kings as imperator, let alone imperator augustus. Neither do any of the sources, literary or documentary, use augustus, either alone or in conjunction with the titles of rex and princeps.

It is also significant that none of the tenth-century kings of León confirmed their diplomas with the title of imperator. This was used only within the body of a document, and even there its use did not exclude the other

titles of rex and princeps. When it came to the all-important signature authenticating and legalizing a diploma, only rex and princeps were used. This indicates that the title imperator had no official status.

Nevertheless, at this time imperator meant something more than simply military commander. When one examines the reigns of the kings who were called imperator or used the title themselves, an interesting pattern becomes apparent. Most of these kings had won a major battle against the Moslems. In 878, for example, Alfonso III, the first of the imperatores, inflicted a disastrous defeat on a large Moslem army which included contingents from Toledo, Talamanca, and Guadalajara.<sup>75</sup> About a year before his death in 910 or 911, Alfonso mounted a major assault on the Moslems, again winning a victory over them.<sup>76</sup> His son, Ordoño II, the next imperator, was still more audacious. Even before he assumed the throne, he led two victorious expeditions into Andalucia, deep in Moslem territory, attacking Évora and a wealthy and well-fortified city called Regel.<sup>77</sup> After he was crowned, he suffered a serious defeat in 920 in the vicinity of Pamplona, but in the summer of 921 he took his vengeance in a campaign against Atienza, Medinaceli, and Cendejas, about 20 kilometers from Sigüenza. These cities were sacked and burned, and Ordoño returned to Zamora with immense booty.<sup>78</sup> The documents in which he was

called imperator appeared the next year, 922.

Ramiro II, who was called imperator though he himself did not use the title, was equally victorious in battle. In the second year of his reign he attacked and sacked the important Moslem fortress of Magerit (i.e., Madrid). The next year, 933, he came to the aid of the Count of Castile at Osma and San Esteban and was again victorious.<sup>79</sup> In 939, the year in which Ramiro was first called imperator, he won his most striking victory. 'Abd al-Rahmān had assembled an immense army for a campaign that was to end aggressions from the north once and for all. A battle was fought between the two rulers at Simancas in which the caliph was overwhelmingly defeated.<sup>80</sup> Again in 950 Ramiro was victorious, this time at Talavera.<sup>81</sup> Ordoño III, the last of the imperatores in this period, also was a victor, although apparently on only one occasion. According to the Chronicon Sampiri, he conducted a campaign as far as Lisbon which yielded immense booty.<sup>82</sup>

Conversely, those kings who were not called imperator had failed to win any major battles. Garcia I, the immediate successor of Alfonso III, began a campaign in the Rioja, between Navarre and Castile, but he was taken ill suddenly and had to abandon it.<sup>83</sup> Nothing is recorded in the way of victories or even battles for Fruela II, Alfonso's third son, or for Alfonso IV. The same is also

true of Sancho I and the usurper, Ordoño IV.

The connection between a major victory by a king and the appearance of the title imperator is unmistakable. It would seem that in the tenth century there were erudite persons in León who knew that originally imperator signified not only military command, it was also an honor that was conferred upon a general only after he had won an important victory, not at the start of his command.<sup>84</sup> The most likely sources for this information were Tacitus' The Annals, Caesar's Civil Wars, or perhaps Cicero's Philippics.<sup>85</sup> Although it is impossible to trace Leonese usage to a specific source, it is evident that at least one of these authors was known in tenth-century León, and, perhaps more interestingly, there was a desire to re-create a Roman ambience.

This is interesting but not surprising. Europe had already witnessed an attempt at a political revival of the Roman Empire under Charles the Great, and in the tenth century still another "revival" was in progress under the auspices of the German crown. The prevalence of the Romanesque style in architecture gives evidence of the effort to perpetuate the Roman era in a visual way, and where learning survived in these troubled years, it was, of course, Latin learning. Dating in León at this time was by Roman Era, according to a calendar that has been

traced back to the late fourth century.<sup>86</sup> Still another example of Romanism in tenth-century Spain is a fuero issued by the Count of Castile in which he is described as the "consul" of the King of León.<sup>87</sup> Thus it is not surprising to find some of the Leonese applying Roman traditions to the Moslem war and hailing their triumphant kings as imperatores.

Possibly this Romanism was also intensified by the Moslem invasion and conquest. The conquest brought the intrusion of various peoples of Africa, alien in race and in religion. This may have revitalized Roman "nationalism" in Spain, and the title of imperator may be indicative of a renewed sense of identity.

The importance of the title imperator in the early tenth century, therefore, lies in its value as evidence for the strength of the Roman tradition, especially the literary tradition, at this time. It did not symbolize either the unification of the Christian kingdoms or the recovery of Moslem Spain. Survival was still too precarious for the Leonese to have entertained such ephemeral notions. When the King of León was entitled imperator, it was intended to convey a military honor conferred, as in Roman times, after an important military victory.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Arab coinage was first minted in Spain in the year 716-717. This coinage was bilingual, and the usual version of Hispania was "INSPAN," with "I.PAIN" on one other dinar struck in that year. There was a gap of three years before the Arabs issued further currency. When minting was resumed in 720, the coinage was inscribed in Arabic only, and Hispania was displaced by al-Andalus. See George Miles, The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain (2 vols.; New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1950), I, pp. 113-116 et passim.
2. According to the Encyclopedia of Islam, the Vandals named Baetica 'Vandalicia,' and it has been speculated that 'al-Andalus' is the Arabic rendering of 'Vandalicia.' See G. S. Colin, "al-Andalus," Encyclopedia of Islam, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, et al. (new ed. in progress), I (1960), 486. This thesis has been disputed by a Spanish scholar, Isidro de las Cagigas, who has pointed out that there is no evidence for the supposed use of 'Vandalicia.' Sr. De las Cagigas believes the name 'al-Andalus' originated in the East, but he could not propose any alternative explanation for its origin, which he said remains an enigma. See I. de las Cagigas, "Al-Andalus," Al-Andalus, IV (1936-1939), 206-214.
3. Miles, The Coinage of the Umayyads, I, II, passim.
4. Without exception, all the annals and chronicles of medieval Spain concur that Pelayo was the first King of León after the Moslem conquest.
5. A. Ubieta Arteta [ed.], Crónica de Alfonso III, in Textos medievales, 3 (Valencia, 1961), pp. 31-32.
6. R. Menéndez Pidal [ed.], Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289 [hereafter

- cited as Primera crónica] (2 vols.; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), I, p. 319.
7. J. Pérez de Urbel and R. del Arco y Garay, España cristiana: Comienzo de la Reconquista 711-1038, Vol. VI: Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (2nd ed.; 26 vols. in 28; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1963-1968), pp. 360-361.
  8. Ibid., pp. 358-359; J. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra (Madrid: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución "Príncipe de Viana," 1950), pp. 37-39.
  9. Chronicon Albeldense, in Esp. sag., XIII, p. 451.
  10. Esp. sag., XIX, p. 329.
  11. In J. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla (3 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945), III, pp. 1335-1336; J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 1-4.
  12. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1044, 1336-1338, 1369-1370; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 2-3.
  13. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, pp. 77-82, 84, et seq.
  14. PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 7.
  15. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, p. 81. The charter of immunity is in A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español (3rd ed. rev.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II, p. 490.
  16. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, p. 85.
  17. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1065-1075, 1339. Of the Castilian documents available to me, those from the reign of Alfonso III total more than twice the number from all preceding reigns. From this we can see not only an extension of Asturian authority, the larger number of



surviving evidence indicates increasing stability within the kingdom during Alfonso's reign.

18. Some Castilian documents actually read "sedente . . . in Asturias," instead of "regnante." Ibid., III, pp. 1336-1339, 1369-1370. Another Castilian document, from the early ninth century, uses "regnante," but reads, "Regnante . . . in Obetao." In Del Álamo, I, pp. 1-3.

The title of princeps probably was derived from the Leges Visigothorum, in which the Visigothic king is given this title, as well as rex.

19. See Introduction, p. 4; also n. 15, Introduction.
20. For royal and private documents from the reign of Alfonso III, see Esp. sag., XXXIV, pp. 427-430; XIX, pp. 336-344; García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, II, p. 490; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1065, 1068, 1070-1071; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 7-11.
21. The letter of 916 concerned a donation by Ordoño of a site known as Valle Cesarii to an abbot, Servando, for the purpose of building a hermitage. The passage in which Alfonso III is entitled imperator reads as follows: "Ego Hordonius Rex vernulus tuus, filius Adefonsi Magni Imperatoris, & Regina famula tua Gelvira prece nimia, qua deprecimus ista, optamus, rogamus, precamur. . . ." Esp. sag., XXXIV, p. 433.

The letter of 917 is also a donation. Two monks, Transmundo and Recesvindo, received from Ordoño a site called Pardamino on which they were to build a monastery in honor of St. Andrew. The wording, which is almost identical to that of the letter of 916, is as follows: "Ego Vernulus tuus Ordonius, filius Adefonsi Magni Imperatoris, & Regina famula tua Gelvira prece nimia qua deprecimus ista obtamus, rogamus, precamus [sic]. . . ." Esp. sag., XXXIV, p. 443.

22. Quoted in R. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, Vols. VI and VII: Obras completas (4th ed. rev.; 8 vols.; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1944-1953), VII, p. 667. "Et posuerunt terminos cum Gundisalbo

filio imperatori nostro domno Adefonso princeps  
[sic]. . . ."

23. L. Barrau-Dihigo, Notes et documents sur l'histoire du royaume de Léon [Extrait de la Revue Hispanique, X] (Paris, 1903), pp. 351-352.
24. Both privilegia are donations of sites in Galicia to the diocese of Mondoñedo in honor of St. Martin. The wording of the relevant passage in each document is identical: "Ego Serenissimus Imperator Ordonius tibi Domino meo Confessori almo Sancto Martino, cujus Basilica constructa esse videtur territorio Galletiae [Galleciae in the second] loco Minduniensis. . . ." Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 322-325.
25. Ibid., XIV, pp. 379-385; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 16-17.
26. Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 354-366; Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 315-319; XXXIV, pp. 435-442, 448-449; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1083; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 12-13.
27. Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 371-373.
28. Ibid., pp. 367-369.
29. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1344-1347.
30. Documents, royal and private, from the reign of Alfonso IV are in Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 406-409; Esp. sag., XVIII, p. 330; M. Férotin, Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), pp. 5-6; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1101, 1343-1350; L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos [hereafter cited as Fuentes] (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), III, pp. 209-210.

For documents, royal and private, from the reign of Ramiro II, see Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 373-383; Del Alamo, I, pp. 4-7; Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 308-309, 330-331; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1114, 1129-1130, 1133-1134, 1347, 1350-1354, 1371-1373; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 20-23, 29-30, 41, 43-48; Serrano, Fuentes, II, pp. 1-3; III, pp. 22-23, 26, 30-31, 66-67.

31. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1120.
32. Quoted in R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos [hereafter cited as El imperio hispánico] (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), p. 48.
33. Ibid.; also cited in Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, VII, p. 667.
34. The agnition was reprinted in C. Sánchez Albornoz, "El 'juicio del libro' en León durante el siglo X y un feudo castellano del XIII," Anuario de historia del derecho español, I (1924), 384-386.
35. Ibid., 383, n. 4.
36. For documents, royal and private, from the reign of Ordoño III, see Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 384-385; Esp. sag., XXXIV, pp. 457-461; XVI, p. 441; García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, II, pp. 486-487; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1171, 1354-1355, 1373-1374; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 37-38; Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 27-28.
37. Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 390-392; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 138-139.
38. For documents from the reign of Sancho I, see Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 385-389; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1355-1360; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 58; Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 8-9, 11-18, 28-30. For Ordoño, see Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 310-311.
39. Crónica de Alfonso III, p. 37. "Uir magnae uirtutis [i.e., Alfonso I], Filius Petri ducis ex semine Leuigildi et Reccaredi regum progenitus."
40. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, p. 25.
41. Primera crónica, II, p. 323. ". . . 'creemos que con estos pocos que aqui somos que cobraremos toda la yente de los godos que es perdida, assi como de los pocos granos se crian las muchas mieses.'" See n. 18, Introduction, for the original version.
42. The account of the Visigothic era is contained in

Volume I of the Primera crónica, pp. 215 et seq. There are numerous examples throughout this account in which this distinction between Goths and Romans was made. For example, the election of a king is almost always described as an act of the Goths alone. Sisebut's election is a typical account: "Despues de la muerte de Gundemaro, alçaron los godos a Sisebuto por rey . . ." (p. 268). When the Primera crónica tells how Chindasvinth designated his son, Reccesvinth, to succeed him, the authors write that he was chosen "rey de los godos" (p. 280), not king of the Goths and Romans. Sisebut is said to have conquered many towns "de los romanos" (p. 268), and Suinthila is said to have completed the conquest (" . . . gano quantas cibdades et quanta tierra los romanos auien en Espanna . . ."; p. 273).

43. See n. 40 supra.

44. I have found only three uses of 'Spania' in this period. The first is the ninth-century Crónica de Alfonso III (see n. 41 supra). The tenth-century Chronicon Albeldense (pp. 433-434) uses 'Spania' in a geographical sense. The passage in the Albeldense is as follows: "Spania prius ab Ibero omne Iberia, postea ab Ispalo Spania cognominata. Ipsa est Esperia ab Espero stella occidentali dicta. Sita est autem inter Africam, & Galliam, a Septentrione Pyrinaeis montibus clausa. . . ." This is an almost verbatim quote of the section entitled "Hispania" in Isidore's Etymologiarum. See Isidorus Etymologiarum xiv. 4. 28 [MPL, LXXII, col. 509].

The third example, which was cited by Maravall, is a diploma issued by Vermudo II in 996. The reference is as follows: ". . . Ideoque ego seppe dictus Veremudus rex dum possideret regnum Spanie [sic] et rejeret universas urbes et provinolas. . . ." In L. Serrano, Cartulario de Monasterio de Vega (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1927), p. 144. This usage is so rare for this period and it so ill reflects the realities of Vermudo's situation that I am suspicious of the authenticity of this diploma; however, I can raise no argument against it at this time. If authentic, this use of 'Spain' does not come until the very end of the tenth century. Prior to this time, Hispania was not used.

The only other example is a privilegium in España sagrada (XIX, pp. 329-335) purportedly issued by Ramiro I in 844 to the church of St. James in Compostela. This document contains numerous references to Hispania, such as "cum assensu . . . omnium Hispaniæ Christianorum literarum," "de nobillioribus Hispaniæ," "per totam Hispaniam, ac in universis partibus Hispaniarum," as well as several other examples.

There are two passages in this document, however, which lead me to believe that it is not authentic:

. . . communicavimus consilium primo  
 Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, &  
 Religiosis viris, postmodum vero universis  
 nostri Regni Principibus. . . .  
 . . . . .

Deinde universis nostri Regni Principibus  
 edictum commune dedimus. . . .

'Princeps' is used above to mean 'prince,' and it is used in the plural, presumably to mean the nobility. This is an incorrect usage for the ninth century, and, indeed, it is incorrect for the tenth and eleventh centuries as well. The title princeps was the exclusive prerogative of the Leonese king, used only when he had been formally anointed and crowned and was actively functioning as king. At no time between the eighth century and the twelfth was this title ever used by anyone other than the king, nor did it ever mean 'prince' in this period.

The last king of León to use the title princeps was Alfonso VI (d. 1109). It seems to have been discarded after this, for I do not find any use of it by Alfonso I or Alfonso VII. The change in the meaning of princeps to 'prince' therefore must have begun sometime in the twelfth century, and this privilegium must have been written no earlier than the twelfth century.

This date fits in with the ecclesiastical politics of the time. The privilegium concerns the church of Santiago de Compostela and stipulates that an offering of the 'first fruits' was to be made perpetually to Compostela by the Leonese crown and also by Christians of all Spain who acquired lands in war with the

Saracens. Although pilgrimages to Compostela date back to the tenth century, the cult of Santiago did not take hold until the twelfth. As this occurred, the clergy of Compostela began to regard their diocese as an "Apostolic See," along with Rome, Jerusalem, and the other apostolic foundations. Diego Gelmírez, Bishop of Compostela in ca. 1100-1140, was the leader of an intense pressure campaign upon the papacy to elevate Compostela to the status of a metropolitan see and even to make Compostela independent of Toledo, whose Archbishop had been named Primate of Spain in 1088.

Along with this pressure campaign, there was also a propaganda campaign, in which Gelmírez no doubt played a part. Its object was to eclipse Toledo and rival Rome by exalting the cult of St. James. Thus, sometime around 1124 Gelmírez tried to organize a crusade in Spain, calling on kings, barons, and all Christians. Also around this time, a book called the Liber Sancti Jacobi appeared which contained such things as an account of the supposed transfer of St. James's body to Spain, miracles attributed to the Apostle, and a guide for pilgrimages to Compostela. The Liber also contains a chronicle in which St. James is said to have appeared to Charlemagne and shown him a road of stars leading to Compostela, asking the great Charles to deliver his tomb from the Saracens. The Emperor made several expeditions into Spain, according to the chronicle, and on his last he prostrated himself at the tomb of the saint. He then conferred many privileges on Compostela, among them the payment of an annual census to Compostela. Charles was also said to have made Compostela the metropolitan of all Spain and to have designated it an Apostolic See, equal in rank to Rome and Ephesus.

The alleged privilegium of Ramiro I follows the lines of the propaganda of the twelfth century -- St. James appears to Ramiro and promises him victory in battle, "all Spain" is committed to St. James, an annual offering is to be made to his shrine, and so forth. Consequently, I believe this privilegium was written in the twelfth century and is part of the propaganda that issued from Compostela at that time. For further details on Gelmírez and the conflict between Compostela and Toledo, as well as Braga, see M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne

aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 61-102.

The only other documents of this period in which Hispania appears are known to be twelfth-century forgeries. These are two donations purportedly made by Alfonso III to the diocese of Mondoñedo in 867 and 877, and Alfonso is entitled "Hispaniae Imperator" in both of them. Menéndez Pidal acknowledged that they were forgeries of the twelfth century, although in spite of this he still maintained that Alfonso had in fact been called imperator during his lifetime (see pp. 46-47 supra). Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 28-29. The documents themselves have been published in Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 312-315.

45. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, p. 40.
46. J. Calmette, La formation de l'unité espagnole (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), p. 6.
47. E. A. Thompson, "The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and in Spain," Nottingham Medieval Studies, VII (1963), 3.
48. B. S. Bachrach, "A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy 589-711," The American Historical Review, LXXVIII, no. 1 (1973), 12. Professor Bachrach also includes Rodrigo in this tally, making a total of seven kings who were deposed or killed, or both. I do not count Rodrigo in my total since, of course, he was not overthrown by his fellow Visigoths, as were the others, but by the Moslem invaders. On the other hand, I believe Achila II should be included among those deposed. Achila was a son of Witiza and was intended for the throne. Although Rodrigo succeeded in capturing the crown, Achila evidently held out in the north. Numismatic evidence shows that he struck coins at Narbonne and Tarracona. See George Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1952), pp. 40-41, 444-446. The two who died under obscure circumstances were Sisebut and Reccared II (Bachrach lists the latter as deposed and/or killed).
49. Bachrach, passim; Thompson, 26-28.

50. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 35-40.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
53. Menéndez Pidal also cited a letter (Ibid.) allegedly written by Alfonso III to the clergy and people of Tours (see Esp. sag., XIX, pp. 346-349). His letter was a reply to their offer to sell him an imperial crown which they had in their possession. According to the letter, the Norsemen had ravaged Tours and destroyed the church of St. Martin. The offer to sell the crown was an attempt to raise money to rebuild the church.

Menéndez Pidal's point in citing this letter is not entirely clear. His mention of it appears in a section listing the evidence for the supposed imperial aspirations of Alfonso III, which suggests that Menéndez Pidal was trying to imply that Alfonso's alleged aspirations were known and recognized -- in this case, outside Spain. Yet Menéndez Pidal stated that Alfonso refused the crown (which is incorrect -- he asked that it be sent to him for examination before he agreed to buy it).

The authenticity of this letter has been questioned. Although Percy Schramm accepted it as authentic, Barrau-Dihigo did not. See Percy Ernst Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert (3 vols.; Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954-1956), II, p. 484. Barrau-Dihigo is quoted by Menéndez Pidal in El imperio hispánico, pp. 29-33.

I am in agreement with Barrau-Dihigo because the dating in the letter is from the Incarnation. (" . . . Incarnatione Domini DCCCXVI . . ."). As I have already mentioned, dating in Spain was according to Roman Era. I have not found a single exception to this practice, and therefore I do not believe this letter is authentic. Menéndez Pidal recognized the dating problem but said it was "hypercritical" to reject the document on this basis because dating by Roman Era was not used outside Spain -- the inference seems to be that Alfonso would have adjusted to the practice used outside Spain when corresponding with persons beyond



the peninsula. Menéndez Pidal also conceded that an archbishop mentioned in the letter, Sisnando, was only a bishop and that his see, Compostela, did not become an archbishopric until the twelfth century. He tried to explain this by claiming that it was a transcription error: the usual Visigothic form for episcopus was aepiscopus, and the scribes had incorrectly construed this as 'archbishop.' In my opinion, this explanation is convoluted in the extreme. For the reasons given, I cannot accept this letter as authentic. Even if its authenticity were established, it still represents a dubious argument for imperial claims on the part of Alfonso III.

54. See n. 21 supra.
55. After the Visigothic era, dux was apparently not used in León before the twelfth century, and when this title was revived at that time, it first appeared in literary works, such as the Historia Compostellana, not documents. Comes remained the only title of the nobility, at least through the reign of Alfonso VII (d. 1157).
56. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 51, 54.
57. Leovigild associated his son, Reccared, with him in the government of the kingdom, particularly with respect to military affairs; however, it was an informal association, although Reccared did in fact succeed Leovigild. Chindasvinth formalized this arrangement, and between 649 and 653 coinage bears the portraits of both rulers. Egica repeated this practice, associating his son, Witiza, with him by formal decree and issuing joint coinage. See M. Torres López, O. Gil Farres, et al., España visigoda, Vol. III: Historia de España, pp. 100, 120, 133. Also Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, pp. 348-350, 406-430.
58. This is apparent from the succession pattern of the eighth and early ninth centuries. Pelayo seems to have been succeeded by his son, Favila (737-739); however, the next to be crowned was Alfonso I (739-757), Pelayo's son-in-law. Alfonso I was succeeded by his own son, Fruela (757-768), but a nephew of Alfonso followed Fruela -- Aurelio

- (768-774). Silo (774-783), the brother-in-law of Fruela, was the next to wear the crown, and after a gap of eight years during which there were two contenders for the crown, Alfonso II (791-842), a son of Fruela, became king. Alfonso II designated his successor -- Ramiro I (842-850), son of Vermudo "the deacon." After Ramiro, the crown passed to his own son, Ordoño I (850-866), and from him to his son, Alfonso III. See Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, pp. 25-31, 36-42, 60.
59. According to Marc Bloch, the transformation of the military fief into an hereditary estate did not begin in Western Europe until the eleventh century, and primogeniture was not established until the twelfth. See Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 189, 204-205.
  60. Ordoño did not immediately succeed Alfonso III; however, I believe my argument still stands. The Chronicon Sampiri records that Garcia, Alfonso's oldest son, was put in chains by his father. Evidently Garcia had rebelled against him, possibly after Ordoño had been designated heir. Garcia's father-in-law came to his rescue, organizing a rebellion against Alfonso in which all his sons are said to have joined. The resolution of the problem is ambiguous in the chronicle. Alfonso was expelled from the kingdom, but he managed to get back to Astorga, where he won over Garcia. In this rapprochement, Garcia may have retrieved succession rights. Chronicon Sampiri, Asturicensis Episcopi [hereafter cited as Chronicon Sampiri], in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 461.
  61. PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 7.
  62. Esp. sag., XIX, p. 340.
  63. PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 12-13. "Ille uero agere non ualuit quia germanus noster Domnus [sic] Garsea apicem Regni accipiens [italics added]. . . ."
  64. Chronicon Sampiri, p. 461.
  65. Ibid., p. 462. "Garseano mortuo, frater ejus Ordonius ex partibus Galleciae ueniens, adeptus est Regnum."

66. Ibid., p. 464.
67. The history of Navarre in the eighth and ninth centuries is obscure in the extreme. Moslems were in control of Pamplona in ca. 792, but they were expelled by the Franks during the following decade. By 806 Carolingian authority was established over Navarre; however, the Basques, ever resistant to the outsider, rebelled in ca. 816. It was at this time that they seem to have chosen their first king, Íñigo Íñiguez. See Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, pp. 280-281. Altamira was more guarded than his colleagues on the problem of Navarrese origins. In his judgment, all accounts before the ninth century are "untrustworthy," and although he admitted the possibility that the kingdom had originated at an early date, he maintained that there was no certitude about the monarchy until the reign of Sancho Garcés (905-925). See Rafael Altamira, A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day, trans. Muna Lee (Princeton, Toronto, London, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 119-120.
68. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1083, 1341-1344.
69. Chronicon Sampiri, pp. 463-464. "Exhinc in anno tertio innumerabile agmen Sarracenorum venit ad locum qui dicitur Mohis, quo audito, Pampilonensis Garsea Rex Sanctii Regis filius, misit velociter ad Regem Dominum Ordonium, ut adjuvaret eum contra acies Agarenorum. Rex vero perrexit cum magno praesidio, & obliaverunt sibi in valle quae dicitur Juncaria . . . Interea nuntii venerunt ex parte Regis Garseani, ut illuc pergeret Rex noster suprafatus ad debellandas urbes perfidorum; hae sunt Nagera, & Veguera. Rex vero iter egit cum magno exercitu, & pugnavit, & oppressit, atque cepit supradictam Nageram, quae ab antiquo Tricio vocabatur."

In my study of the chronicles and other documents, I have noted frequent marriages between the royal houses of León and Navarre during the tenth century; however, the question of a joint inheritance of the kingdoms never seems to have arisen, and the two monarchies continued to go their separate ways, cooperating only in the face of mutual danger. The idea that León held superiority over Navarre

is an assumption only and is unsupported by any evidence.

70. R. Cagnat, "Imperator," Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, III/1 (1969), 423-425, 429-430.
71. See Introduction, p. 23.
72. Isidorus Etymologiarum ix. 3. 14-18 [MPL, LXXXII, col. 343]. "Imperatorem autem nomen apud Romanos eorum tantum fuit prius apud quos summa rei militaris consisteret, et ideo imperatores dicti ab imperando exercitui; sed dum diu duces titulis imperatoriis fungerentur, senatus censuit ut Augusti Caesaris hoc tantum nomen esset, eo quod is distingueretur a caeteris gentium regibus, quod et sequentes Caesares hactenus usurpaverunt."
73. Ibid.
74. C. H. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 81.
75. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, pp. 85-86.
76. Ibid., p. 99.
77. Ibid., p. 112.
78. Ibid., pp. 114-115.
79. Ibid., pp. 126-129.
80. Ibid., pp. 130-132.
81. Ibid., p. 137.
82. Chronicon Sampiri, pp. 461-462.
83. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, p. 111.
84. Cagnat, III/1, 423.
85. Tacitus The Annals [Loeb ed.] iii. 74. "Sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutareretur. . . ." Caesar Civil Wars [Loeb ed.] iii. 71. "Duobus his unius diei proliis Caesar desideravit milites DCCCCLX et

notos equites Romanos . . . Pompeius eo proelio imperator est appellatus." Cicero Philippics [Loeb ed.] xiv. 12. "An, si quis Hispanorum aut Gallorum aut Thracum mille aut duo milia occidisset, eum hac consuetudine, quae increbuit, imperatorem appellaret senatus. . . ." These are not the only sources of this information but merely the most likely ones. Dio, for example, also mentions this practice in his Roman History (xxxvii. 40); however, it is unlikely that Greek was known in León at this time or that a Latin translation had been made of this work.

86. "Aera," Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. I, col. 639.
87. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1124-1125. The date of the document is incorrect, but it is believed to have been issued before 970. The corroboration reads in part as follows: ". . . regnante rex Ranimiro in Legione, consulque eis Fredinando Gundisalviz in Castella. . . ."

## II. THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN TRADITION

Even as the imperatores of the tenth century were winning their victories over the Moslems, the Leonese monarchy had entered upon an era of decline and crisis comparable to the decline witnessed by the later imperatores of the Roman Republic. Earlier generations had seen internal dynastic quarrels in León; now in the reign of Ramiro II the monarchy itself was attacked, and as the century advanced, the concept of 'León' seemed destined for extinction along with 'Hispania.'

According to the Chronicon Sampiri, Fernán González, Count of Castile, mounted a rebellion against Ramiro with the aid of Didacus Munio, who was probably a lesser count from Castile.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have occurred after Ramiro's great victory over 'Abd al-Rahmān in 939, since the rebellion is mentioned after this battle in Sampiro's chronicle. Ramiro succeeded in putting down the rebellion, and both Fernán González and Didacus Munio were put in chains. After a considerable time ("multo quidem tempore transacto"), they were released upon an oath of fealty to Ramiro. Their fidelity was sealed by the marriage of Ramiro's son and heir, Ordoño III, with a daughter of

Fernán González.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding his oath, Fernán González made another strike for independence during the reign of Ordoño III. This time he was aided by Garfoa, King of Navarre. Ordoño was expelled from León, and his brother Sancho was set up as king by the rebel count. Eventually Ordoño recovered his kingdom, but a war was fought before this was accomplished. Once again, Fernán González made his submission to the King of León.<sup>3</sup>

Although Ordoño was the victor in this rebellion against him, it is noteworthy that only one campaign against the Moslems is recorded for his reign.<sup>4</sup> Evidently the continuing restiveness of Castile was beginning to take its toll on the energies of the Leonese crown. This becomes even more apparent in the following reign.

Ordoño III died without heirs and was succeeded in 956 by his brother Sancho, the erstwhile usurper. Although Sancho had been the candidate of Fernán González in the earlier uprising, Sancho was no luckier than his predecessors in escaping a rebellion by the Count of Castile. Within a year of his accession, Sancho was overthrown by Fernán González, who then installed a cousin of Sancho on the throne of León as Ordoño IV. It was another year or two before Sancho could put together an army and recover his throne.<sup>5</sup>

This third rebellion against León is of further interest beyond illustrating the stubborn drive of Fernán González for autonomy. When the uprising against Sancho first broke out, he took refuge in Pamplona, whose king, García, was his uncle through his mother's side.<sup>6</sup> Though king, García was not the real power in Navarre; the kingdom was virtually ruled by his mother, Queen Toda, who also dominated the politics involving León and Castile.<sup>7</sup> It was under Toda's aegis that Sancho regained the throne of León. While he was in exile in Navarre, Sancho, who is remembered with the dismal epithet of "the Fat," was advised to seek a remedy for his obesity in the court of 'Abd al-Rahmān III. Here, the Chronicon Sampiri reports, Sancho received an herb that did indeed reduce his weight. The Caliph also provided Sancho with an army, and it was these Córdoba allies who recovered Sancho's throne for him.<sup>8</sup> Through this ignominious alliance with the caliphate of Córdoba, Sancho may have won back his crown, but he forfeited for León moral authority, as well as political and military leadership.

Dynastic conflicts also occurred in the tenth century, but with greater intensity than earlier. At the start of the century, succession to the crown seems to have taken place with little friction. Alfonso III had four sons, the youngest of whom was archdeacon of the church of Oviedo and,



therefore, must have relinquished succession rights.<sup>9</sup> The crown first went to Garcia, the oldest of the four sons, and after his death without heirs, Alfonso's second son inherited the crown as Ordoño II. Ordoño left three or four sons when he died in 924; however, the crown did not go to them but to his brother Fruela, the third son of Alfonso III, evidently without opposition. Then on Fruela's death in 925 without heirs, the oldest son of Ordoño was given the Leonese crown as Alfonso IV.<sup>10</sup>

This mixture of dynastic succession and primogeniture was disrupted in the reign of Alfonso IV. According to the Chronicon Sampiri, Alfonso decided to relinquish the crown and enter a monastery. His brother Ramiro, the second of the sons of Ordoño II, then became king.<sup>11</sup> While Sampiro tells us Alfonso took this step voluntarily,<sup>12</sup> one cannot avoid suspicion that Alfonso may in fact have been overthrown, possibly for lack of aggressiveness against the Moslems.<sup>13</sup> Ramiro undertook a campaign shortly after his coronation, and while he was absent from León, Alfonso abandoned his monastery and returned to reclaim his throne, which suggests that his surrender of the crown had been something less than voluntary. Ramiro hastened back to León and recovered the throne, while the unfortunate Alfonso was punished with blinding, along with the four sons of his brother Fruela, who must have taken Alfonso's

side against Ramiro.<sup>14</sup>

Whether this was a case of usurpation, deposition, or abdication, the fact is that it was the root of subsequent hostilities within the Asturo-Leonese dynasty. Alfonso IV was survived by a son; as mentioned, however, the sons of Ramiro II inherited the throne, not Alfonso's heir. This concentration of the succession in the line of Ramiro II did not go unchallenged. In the background, perhaps in Asturias, the son of Alfonso IV had grown to manhood. The rebellion against Sancho I sometime around 957 was not only another episode in Fernán González's relentless quest for independence, it was also an attempt by the son of Alfonso IV to retrieve succession rights for his branch of the dynasty. In collaboration with the Count of Castile, he was installed on the throne of León as Ordoño IV. About a year later Sancho I returned with his army of Moslems. Ordoño IV was ousted and ultimately went into exile in Moslem Spain, where he lived out the rest of his days.<sup>15</sup>

Suffice to say, this internal instability, complicated by the truculence of the Count of Castile, severely impaired the strength of the Leonese monarchy. Although the succession remained in the line of Ramiro II, the next of this line to bear the crown, Ramiro III, also had to deal with a rebellion by the other branch of the dynasty. The exiled Ordoño IV had left a son behind, Vermudo. When Vermudo

came of age, he too organized a rebellion in 982. It is evident that the line of Ramiro II had lost stature by this time, for the Chronicon Sampiri tells us that Vermudo was supported by the counts of Galicia, León, and Castile. These gathered in Santiago de Compostela, and there Vermudo was elected King of León. Ramiro III then hastened to Galicia with an army, but the battle that ensued was indecisive. He returned to León, where he died shortly thereafter, thus resolving the issue.<sup>16</sup> Ramiro left no heirs, and Vermudo II therefore succeeded him unchallenged.<sup>17</sup>

The crises caused by civil war and the recurrent rebellions of Castile were grave indeed, but in the latter part of the tenth century the Leonese monarchy sustained external blows that all but destroyed it. In 969, the second year of the reign of Ramiro III, Galicia was invaded by large numbers of Vikings, according to the Chronicon Sampiri. For three years all of Galicia was ravaged, until finally the Norsemen were expelled and their king killed by Count Gonzalo Sánchez of Galicia.<sup>18</sup>

Galicia survived this crisis, only to be ravaged again some 20 years later. This time the assault came from the Moslem south, which had been under the de facto rule of the formidable al-Manṣūr since about 981.<sup>19</sup> The Chronicon Sampiri tells us that al-Manṣūr invaded Galicia

by way of Portugal. The province was ravaged and depopulated, though the church of Compostela and its shrine to the Apostle James were spared.<sup>20</sup>

Al-Mansūr brought even greater catastrophe to the kingdom of León. During the reign of Vermudo II, the Moslem commander attacked and destroyed the cities of León, Astorga, and Cojancas, as well as the regions surrounding them. The Leonese removed the bodies of their kings to Asturias, where they were reinterred, and the seat of the monarchy also must have been removed to Asturias, for the city of León remained unpopulated for the rest of the tenth century.<sup>21</sup> Thus the Leonese monarchy was reduced to the position it had occupied at its inception some 200 years earlier, under the first kings of the Asturo-Leonese dynasty.

Within the fragment that remained of the kingdom of León, fidelity to Vermudo II was uncertain, at least in some quarters. The Chronicon Regum Legionensium, a continuation of the Chronicon Sampiri written by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo in the early twelfth century, tells of conflicts between Vermudo and the clergy. The Bishop of Oviedo at the time, Gudesteus, was imprisoned by Vermudo "sine causa," according to Pelayo, and enchained for three years in a castle in Galicia.<sup>22</sup> Another bishop, Ataulfus, of the church of Compostela, was brought to trial by

Vermudo on charges, said by Pelayo to have been false, which were brought against him by three servi of his church.<sup>23</sup> One cannot even speculate on the nature of these conflicts; however, they serve to illustrate to some extent the opposition to Vermudo, since Oviedo and Santiago de Compostela were the most important churches in the kingdom, with the exception of León, which may have been evacuated by this time.

Moreover, the Chronicon Regum Legionensium states that "exiled Christian counts" were in the army of al-Manṣūr that razed León, Astorga, and Cojancaas.<sup>24</sup> The author, Bishop Pelayo, gives no further information that might help us to identify these counts, but some of them, at least, must have come from León. Their presence in the siege of León is still further evidence of the decay of the Leonese monarchy.

In spite of the calamities that beset the kingdom of León and the accompanying decline of the monarchy, the title of imperator was used of three more kings in the Asturo-Leonese dynasty. Ramiro III was entitled imperator in an agnitio of 976 cited by Menéndez Pidal. The reference to him is as follows: ". . . in palacio regis domnissimis [sic] imperatoris. . ." <sup>25</sup> A similar reference appears in another agnitio which is dated 977: ". . . et dum stare ipsa hereditate iuri quieto sub

iuessione imperatoris. . . ."<sup>26</sup> Ramiro confirmed the agnitio of 977 with the title of princeps, however, and all other references to him in this agnitio cite him as princeps and rex. Another title was used in Ramiro's reign that had never before been used in León. A document of 974 issued by Ramiro contains the somewhat grandiose title of "Ranimirus Flavius princeps magnus, basileus uotus."<sup>27</sup> "Flavius" was simply a revival of a Visigothic adornment found in the Lex Visigothorum, which was the fundamental law code at this time.<sup>28</sup> Menéndez Pidal considered the use of "basileus" significant, however, because to him it was conclusive evidence of the imperial pretensions of the Leonese crown. In addition, reference is made in another document to "omnes reges jus imperiali tenentes. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

When this diploma was issued, however, the "magnus princeps" and "basileus" was all of 12 years of age.<sup>30</sup> In 976 and 977, when he was proclaimed imperator, he was a mere 14 and 15 years. As a matter of fact, the agnitio of 977 was issued jointly with his mother, who was regent and who confirmed it.<sup>31</sup> In 978 his mother was still a power in the kingdom, as evidenced by the fact that a diploma of that year was again issued jointly by her and Ramiro.<sup>32</sup> His youth is not the sole explanation of why the Queen held so much power. It would also appear that

Ramiro's capabilities were limited, for the Chronicon Sampiri describes him as "in modica scientia positus."<sup>33</sup> This, plus the allegation that he was "falsiloquus," are the explanations given by Sampiro for the subsequent rebellion against Ramiro by the counts of León, Castile, and Galicia.<sup>34</sup>

There are several more diplomas issued by Ramiro III between 977 and his death in 982.<sup>35</sup> In all of them, the titles are only rex or princeps, the titles also found in private documents of these years.<sup>36</sup> Thus the only evidence for Ramiro's imperial pretensions, if such they were, is the diploma of 974 and the two agnitiones of 976 and 977.

Ramiro's youth at the time these were issued makes it impossible to attribute imperial aspirations to him personally. It is those surrounding him who were responsible for whatever pretensions were implied by the ornate titles of "basileus" and "imperator," as well as the reference to the "jus imperiali."

But were these a conscious and concrete imperial claim? Given the circumstances of Ramiro's reign and the erosion of Leonese authority that was well under way by this time, a claim to be emperor of Spain would have been sheer fantasy. Neither could Ramiro claim to be a victorious general in 976 and 977 -- he had not even fought a battle, much less won one. Indeed, the only

battle recorded for his reign is the one against Vermudo in 982 which, as mentioned, was indecisive.

It is a point of importance that the three documents containing the title imperator came from the same source, the monastery of Sahagún, which was within the kingdom of León, close to the border separating León and Castile. This suggests that the pretensions evidenced by these titles must be ascribed to a monastic notary of Sahagún, rather than to Ramiro's chancery, and since two later donations by Ramiro to Sahagún do not contain any references to basileus or imperator, the use of these titles in the documents of 974, 976, and 977 was probably the work of a single scribe, rather than a reflection of an attitude general within the monastery.

To conclude, however, that the scribe intended 'emperor' by these titles is plausible only if the use of imperator in earlier reigns had this meaning. If they did not, as has been argued in the previous chapter, then the appearance of imperial pretensions in Ramiro's reign is sudden and inexplicable. A more likely explanation is that the scribe was probably proud of his learning, which, as the use of basileus shows, included some knowledge of Greek. One might also be tempted to call him a dreamer, in view of the situation during his time, but something else probably accounts for his use of such



ostentatious titles. When the three documents were written, the kingdom of León had not only been shaken by rebellion, it had suffered the humiliation of an obsequious alliance with Córdoba, its age-old antagonist, and the depredations of the Norsemen. Far in the past and, it must have seemed, gone forever were the glorious victories of an Alfonso III over armies from Toledo and Talamanca; or the daring exploits of an Ordoño II into Andalucía; or the defiance of a Ramiro II against the Caliph himself. When Ramiro III is called "basileus" and "imperator," the scribe was revealing, not present realities but nostalgia for León's past and poignant hopes for her future.

These hopes were not realized. Under the assaults of al-Manṣūr the kingdom of León was forced back into Asturias, where the monarchy had first come to life. Thirty years later, when al-Manṣūr was dead and the unity of the caliphate had shattered, the Leonese kings once again edged out of their mountain shelter and back to the royal seat of León. Significantly, the title of imperator was never again used by the remaining kings of this dynasty.

They were called imperator by others, however. This occurs in three documents, which are of extreme interest because they emanated from sources outside the kingdom of

León. In 1023 Alfonso V (999-1027) was entitled imperator in a letter from the Bishop of Vich, near Barcelona, to Sancho el Mayor, King of Navarre.<sup>37</sup> Seven years later, in ca. 1030, Sancho himself referred to Vermudo III, Alfonso's son and successor, as imperator.<sup>38</sup> Then in 1036 Vermudo III was again entitled imperator, this time in a letter over the signature of Ramiro I of Aragón, a son of Sancho el Mayor.<sup>39</sup> These examples convinced Menéndez Pidal that the imperial claims he believed were made by the Leonese monarchy were recognized throughout Christian Spain.

The course of events during the reigns of Alfonso V and Vermudo III casts serious doubt upon the validity of this thesis. To begin, the Bishop of Vich, Oliva, was materially dependent on Sancho of Navarre. The county of Barcelona, in which Vich was located, was in an isolated position as far as defenses were concerned, and formidable taifas were near the county's borders. The Count of Barcelona was young, but even if he had been older and experienced, he still could not have defended Barcelona unaided. Sancho of Navarre was the closest source of help, as well as the most powerful at the time. As a resident of the county, Oliva would have been cognizant of its plight. In addition, Oliva needed Sancho's support in ecclesiastical matters. The reforms of Cluny had been introduced into the diocese of Vich under Oliva's

auspices.<sup>40</sup> Lay support was necessary for this program, and here, too, Sancho was the sole authority with sufficient power to effect these reforms. In view of these circumstances, it is doubtful indeed that Oliva would have risked offending Sancho by using a superior title, namely emperor, when referring to the King of León. One cannot argue that Oliva was merely following customary usage, for when he called Alfonso V imperator, the title had not been used in León for over 40 years.

Moreover, when Oliva wrote this letter in 1023, the kingdom of Alfonso V was actually being dismembered by Sancho of Navarre. Castile was being drawn away from León into the orbit of Navarre, and the easternmost regions had been detached from the county by agreement with the Count of Castile and absorbed into the Navarrese kingdom.<sup>41</sup> Thus it is utterly implausible to suggest that Alfonso V was recognized as an emperor over the kingdom of Navarre.

Oliva could not have been using imperator in the old Leonese sense of a victorious general, either. No battles against the Moslems or any other foe are recorded for the reign of Alfonso V until 1027, four years after Oliva referred to him as imperator, and Alfonso's campaign in that year ended not in victory but in his death. It would seem, then, that Oliva's use of the title imperator

represents some rationale other than the Leonese sense of the term.

This possibility appears even more likely when one examines the last examples in which a member of the Asturo-Leonese dynasty was called imperator; namely, those concerning Vermudo III. If it is implausible that Alfonso V would have been recognized as an emperor, it is wholly inconceivable in the case of Vermudo III. When Sancho el Mayor called him imperator in his diplomas of 1030, Vermudo was only about 13 years old.<sup>42</sup> Sancho, on the other hand, was at the height of his power and was, indeed, the sole power in Christian Spain. By 1030 all of the county of Castile had been attached to the kingdom of Navarre, as were all the regions of northeastern Spain. Not only that, León itself, as far west as Zamora, had fallen into the hands of Sancho el Mayor.<sup>43</sup>

In both diplomas two points are of significance. First, in the corroborations of both documents where Sancho lists the territories and their lords under his sovereignty, Vermudo is mentioned last, after the counts of Barcelona and Gascony.<sup>44</sup> This indicates that in Navarrese conceptions of rank, imperator was inferior to 'count.' Secondly, in both diplomas Vermudo III is called "imperator domnus in Gallicia [*italics added*]." Menéndez Pidal tried to explain this by pointing out that in Roman

times the boundaries of Galicia extended as far as what in medieval times came to be called Le6n.<sup>45</sup> There is no evidence to support the supposition that the memory of the Roman terminus of Galicia had survived into the eleventh century. Between the eighth and the eleventh centuries there is not a single document in which Le6n is depicted as Galicia; the only names given to the kingdom during this time were Asturias and, after the capital had been transferred, Le6n. It was Le6n that became the all-inclusive name, absorbing into it Galicia.

Vermudo III was called "imperator domnus in Gallicia" because in point of fact that is where he was sequestered in 1030, the year Sancho used this title in two of his diplomas. A war had been fought between Sancho and the Leonese in which Sancho was the victor. Vermudo was evacuated to Galicia, where Sancho did not yet have control.<sup>46</sup>

These circumstances clarify the intent behind Sancho's use of the title imperator. In the two diplomas of 1030 Sancho was acknowledging simply that Vermudo had effective command in Galicia. This, of course, was in part the Roman meaning of the title. An imperator was one who had the imperium; that is, jurisdiction along with the necessary power to make that jurisdiction effective. In ancient Rome, the title imperator had

special reference to military matters,<sup>47</sup> and the title retained its essentially military character in Navarrese and Castilian usage.

The Isidorean tradition seems to be even stronger in this usage than in the Leonese use of imperator. Isidore derived the title from the verb 'command' -- imperare<sup>48</sup> -- and for those who might not have been familiar with Tacitus or Cicero or the other Latin authors who were known in some quarters of León, the title would have meant simply 'commander.'

Unlike León, there are many examples from north-eastern Spain where effective command or legitimate authority was expressed by imperator, imperium, or the verb imperare, but only one possible instance in which imperator might have been connected with a victory. This latter example occurs in a fuero of 974 issued by the Count of Castile, García Fernández. The document begins as follows: "Sub sanctam individuum Trinitatem . . . Ego Garssia Fernandi, gratia Dei comes et imperator Castelle [sic], una cum uxore mea Abba oomitissa. . ."<sup>49</sup> The Count's use of the title imperator provides further evidence that this title did not mean 'emperor' in tenth-century Spain. He may have used it in the Leonese sense, for in the same year in which it was issued, he had made a daring assault on a strongly fortified place called

Deza, and he had followed this by raids in the vicinity of Medinaceli and Sigüenza. On his return march, the Count did battle with one of the Moslem caudillos of the frontier, defeating and killing him.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that the Count meant only 'commander' or 'governor' by the title imperator. The fuero was issued in March of 974. Campaigns usually took place in the spring and summer, and so March is early for a campaign to have been conducted and completed. The corroboration of the fuero suggests that the Count meant 'commander' instead of 'victorious general' since, following Isidorean logic, the Count is described as "imperante . . . in Castella," from which his use of imperator probably was derived.

There is another document in which the use of imperator to denote effective authority is clearer. This is a manuscript of Navarrese provenance called the Codex of Roda which was redacted during this same period, ca. 980. Among many other items in its contents, there is a genealogy of the royal house of Navarre. Ordoño II of León is mentioned in it because he was married to a Navarrese princess, and the entry noting this fact refers to him as imperator.<sup>51</sup> This, however, did not mean 'emperor.' Sancho Garcés, a contemporary of Ordoño II and King of Navarre, was also called imperator in this same genealogy, in an entry immediately preceding the one for

Ordoño.<sup>52</sup> The entry for the Navarrese king makes no mention of any victorious battles, although the author revealed some local pride by calling Sancho Garcés "obtime imperator."<sup>53</sup> Thus one must conclude that in this instance the title meant simply 'the one in command,' reflecting in particular the military character of both reigns.

The verb imperare was also used more frequently in northeastern Spain than in León. The usual word to describe rule at any level in Castilian documents was imperare. A document of 944 issued by the count of Montes de Oca, east of Burgos, refers to Ramiro II in its corroboration as "imperante . . . in Leone. . . ." <sup>54</sup> A donation of 1009 refers to Sancho el Mayor as follows: "Imperante . . . in Pampilona et Naiera."<sup>55</sup> Still later, Alfonso V of León is cited in a document of 1018 as "imperante . . . in Legione."<sup>56</sup> Sancho el Mayor, who had effected some sort of bond between Navarre and Gascony, described his role here as "Guasconia imperante."<sup>57</sup>

This usage is never found in Leonese documents of this same period where the king is concerned. Regnare evidently conveyed to the Leonese a plenitude of power, and virtually all Leonese documents, royal and private, use this verb in referring to the king. When imperare was used, it denoted a lesser command. For example,



command of Galicia was delegated by Alfonso IV to Gutiérrez, his uncle, in the following words: ". . . ordinamus vobis ad imperandum. . . ."58 Ramiro II commissioned the son of Gutiérrez in this command in 942, again expressing this by the phrase, "ad imperandum."59 Ordoño III also used this language in giving jurisdiction over several counties to the monastery of Celanova in 955: ". . . damus atque concedimus vobis ad imperandum. . . ."60

Imperium was also rarely used in León. There is one example of its use, a donation of Ramiro II made in 944 in which the Count of Castile is described as "sub eius [i.e., Ramiro's] ymperio [sic]."61 In another use of imperium, a diploma of Vermudo II piously describes him as "Sub Christi imperio,"62 but these examples seem to be the only ones from León. References to the king as subject to the imperium of Christ were much more common in Castilian documents and in the diplomas of Sancho el Mayor, than in León. Sancho also used imperium to express his control over Castile in a document of 1033 in which Cluniac reforms were reaffirmed at the monastery of Oña, in eastern Castile. The document reads, "Sancius, gratia Dei, Hispaniarum rex, cum omnibus episcopis, ducibus, comitibus, et obtimatibus in provinciis suo imperio subditis. . . ."63 Earlier, in 972, imperium was used in a Navarrese document to describe the superior

jurisdiction of Sancho II, King of Navarre, over his brother Ramiro, who governed Viguera, a region within the kingdom.<sup>64</sup>

In Navarre and Castile, therefore, the cognates of imperium, imperare, and imperator were used to denote effective authority. There can be little doubt but that this was the intent of Bishop Oliva in calling Alfonso V imperator and of Sancho el Mayor, when he referred to Vermudo III as "imperator domnus in Galicia." This also explains the reference to Vermudo as imperator which was made by Ramiro I of Aragón, Sancho's son, in 1036.

Arab influences may also be a factor in the Navarrese and Castilian construal of imperator. As mentioned earlier, in Arabic the exact equivalent of imperator is amir.<sup>65</sup> The amir in Moslem Spain was a general in the army, not the supreme military commander but simply the commander of a contingent, usually about 5,000 men.<sup>66</sup> It is likely that this Arab usage affected to some degree the meaning of imperator in northeastern Spain. Here contacts with the Moslem sectors of the peninsula were closer and more frequent. While León and much of Castile were isolated from Moslem territory by a wide 'no-man's land,' only the Ebro river separated Navarre and eastern Castile from the Moslem taifas. Proximity and the scant resources of Navarre until the

rise of Sancho el Mayor had dictated a policy of accommodation on the part of Navarre towards the Moslems.<sup>67</sup> Consequently social and commercial interchanges were much more common between the Navarrese and the Moslems than in the case of León. From these contacts the Navarrese would have been familiar with the precise meaning of amīr, and they would have known that its Latin counterpart was imperator.

Bishop Oliva's use of imperator for Alfonso V was therefore something less than flattering to the King of León. In fact, the Bishop was employing an ingenious bit of diplomacy in the language of his letter. By calling Alfonso V imperator, he recognized the fact, which was undeniable, that Alfonso was the effective authority in León, but it was Sancho el Mayor who is rex in this letter, not Alfonso V. In this way, Bishop Oliva subtly expressed the inferiority of Alfonso V vis-à-vis the great Sancho. Oliva had need of such flattery, for his letter to Sancho was a refusal of his consent to a marriage between Sancho's sister, Urraca, and Alfonso V on grounds of consanguinity. The marriage had been proposed by Alfonso V, but Sancho seems to have been equally anxious for it to take place. Oliva, who needed Sancho's help for his reforms and his construction of a church, was therefore in the delicate position of having to uphold canon law,

which was essential to him as a reformer, and yet retain the good will of his patron. The language of his letter is florid and flattering almost to the point of obsequiousness. His use of imperator instead of rex when referring to Alfonso V was intended to compliment Sancho el Mayor, not Alfonso.

Oliva may have had something more than flattery in mind, though. In his eyes, the ruling house of León may have proven itself incapable of governing and had thus forfeited its right to rule. Only Sancho el Mayor met the criteria for kingship enunciated by medieval churchmen on so many occasions, and therefore only Sancho is given the title rex in Oliva's letter. What may have been merely the personal judgment of Oliva became the conscious policy of Sancho. For the idea of uniting the Christian kingdoms under a single monarch came to life at this time in the mountain regions of northeastern Spain. When Sancho el Mayor, and subsequently his son Ramiro, use the title imperator of the Leonese king, they were in fact signifying the extinction of the royal title of León. Far from representing any hegemony on the part of León, the title imperator now symbolized its demise. In the minds of Sancho and Ramiro imperator had displaced rex.

NOTES  
CHAPTER II

1. Chronicon Sampiri, Asturicensis Episcopi [hereafter cited as Chronicon Sampiri], in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 467.
2. Ibid., pp. 466-467.
3. Ibid., pp. 468-469.
4. Ibid., p. 469. "Ipse quidem Rex Ordonius, magno exercitu aggregato, Gallaeciam edomuit, Ollisbonam deprædavit, & multa spolia simul cum captivis secum adduxit, & ad Sedem Regiam cum pace, & victoria rediit."
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. J. Pérez de Urbel and R. del Arco y Garay, España cristiana: Comienzo de la Reconquista 711-1038, Vol. VI: Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez Fidal (2nd ed.; 26 vols. in 28; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1963-1968), p. 127.
8. Chronicon Sampiri, pp. 469-470.
9. Ibid., p. 453.
10. Ibid., pp. 461-462, 464-465.
11. Ibid., p. 465.
12. Ibid. "Huic consistenti in Regno voluntas venit arripiendi viam confessionis . . . Frater quidem ejus [i.e., Alfonso IV] properans ad Monasterium in loco, qui dicitur Domnos Sanctos [Sahagún] super crepidinam alvei Celae, Monachus fuit."
13. Ibid. This is implied by Sampiro. He records that

an offensive campaign was undertaken by Ramiro. This is mentioned immediately after the account of Alfonso's abdication and Ramiro's assumption of the crown, which indicates that Ramiro began this campaign shortly after his coronation. Ramiro's acceptance as king by the Leonese and his early move to establish his reputation as a war-leader suggest that by contrast Alfonso had been unsatisfactory in this respect. Alfonso's reign lasted six or seven years, but there is no record that he undertook any campaigns against the Moslems, which supports the thesis that the continuation of the Moslem war had become an obligation of the Leonese crown and that in fact Alfonso was deposed for failing to fulfill this obligation.

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., pp. 469-470.
16. Ibid., pp. 471-472.
17. Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi. Chronicon Regum Legionensium [hereafter cited as Chronicon Regum Legionensium], in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 480. "Era MXX. Mortuo Ranimiro Veremundus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, & accepit Regnum pacifice."
18. Chronicon Sampiri, p. 471. "Anno II. Regni sui [i.e., Ramiro III] C. classes Nortmanorum cum Rege suo nomine Gunderedo ingressae sunt urbes Gallaeciae . . . , ac totam Gallaeciam depraedaverunt . . . sicut enim illi plebem christianam in captivitatem miserunt, & multos gladio interfecerunt; ita illi priusquam a finibus Gallaeciae exirent, multa mala perpassi sunt."
19. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, p. 155. Pelayo, the author of the Chronicon Regum Legionensium, was under the impression that al-Mansūr was a king, for he always refers to him as "Rex Agareus." Chronicon Regum Legionensium, pp. 483-485.
20. Chronicon Sampiri, p. 472.
21. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, pp. 483-484. Pelayo did not actually state that the royal seat was moved to Asturias; however, when he came to the next reign, that of Alfonso V (999-1027), he wrote that León had been depopulated by al-Mansūr and that Alfonso V repopulated the city. Presumably León once again

became the seat of the monarchy. Ibid., p. 485.

22. Ibid., pp. 480-481.
23. Ibid., pp. 481-482. The translation of servus is uncertain. 'Serf' does not seem correct because it is unlikely that serfs would have been able to bring criminal charges against a bishop; however, perhaps there were special circumstances that made this possible.

The resolution of the problem is interesting. The Bishop seems to have been subjected to a Spanish version of the ordeal -- he was ordered to do combat with the most ferocious bull the royal soldiers could find. Although one rather doubts that the medieval ordeal ever rendered anything but a guilty verdict, Pelayo tells us that in the case of the good Bishop Ataulfus, God intervened with the necessary miracle. As the bull charged, Ataulfus seized its horns, pulling them out and killing the bull. Thus vindicated, the Bishop returned to his church, where the horns were then placed before the altar.

24. Ibid., p. 483.
25. In R. Escalona, Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún, sacada de la que dexo escrita el padre maestro Fr. Joseph Pérez (Madrid: D. Joachim Ibarra, Impresor de Cámara de S. M., 1782), p. 421.
26. L. Barrau-Dihigo, Notes et documents sur l'histoire du royaume de Léon [Extrait de la Revue Hispanique, X] (Paris, 1903), pp. 409-411.
27. In Escalona, p. 419.
28. Leges Visigothorum, Vol. I: Monumenta germaniae historica. Leges nationum Germanicarum, ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), passim. For example, Book V, section I, is entitled, "Flavius Gloriosus Reccessvindus Rex." Book XII, section I, bears the title, "Flavius Chindasvindus Rex."
29. R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos [hereafter cited as El imperio hispánico] (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), p. 53. The document is in Esp. sag., XXXIV,

- pp. 466-469. " . . . Sive quod defuere omnes Reges jus imperiali tenentes, quos mors omnium vorax abscesit [sic]. . . ."
30. According to the Chronicon Sampiri (p. 471), Ramiro was five years old in 967 when he inherited the throne. This diploma was issued seven years later, which makes him 12 at the time.
  31. Tarasia confirmed this agnitio as follows: "Tarasia, genetrix regis, Christi ancilla, hoc opus que nostra clementia adimpleri iudicavit, confirmo." In the body of the document there is this further evidence of her power: " . . . ordinabit dominus noster et princeps magnus rex dominus Ranemirus, una cum consensu genitoris sue [sic], regina domina Taresa [sic]. . . ."
  32. Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 276-278.
  33. Chronicon Sampiri, p. 471.
  34. Ibid. " . . . Rex vero Ranemirus cum esset elatus, & falsiloquus, & in modica scientia positus, coepit Comites Gallaciae, & Legionis, sive & Castellae factis acriter, ac verbis contristari. Ipsi quidem Comites talia aegre ferentes callide adversus eum cogitaverunt, & Regem alium nomine Veremundum super se erexerunt, qui fuit ordinatus in Sede Sancti Jacobi Apostoli Idibus Octobris Era MXX."
  35. Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 411-423; Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 276-278; XXXIV, pp. 470-471.
  36. Private documents are in J. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla (3 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945), III, pp. 1236-1237, 1360-1362, 1374-1375; PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. I, p. 55; L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), II, pp. 4-25, 33-37; III, pp. 1-11, 25, 32-34.
  37. Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 277-281.
  38. A. Ubieta Arteta [ed.], Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña (2 vols.; Valencia, 1962-1963), I, pp. 154-159. This occurred in the corroborations of two



- donations, both to the monastery of San Juan de la Peña.
39. Ibid., II, pp. 19-20. The occasion was a letter to Ramiro's bride-to-be concerning her dowry. She was the daughter of a local count, Vernardus Rodegerus.
40. M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 19. Bishop Oliva is believed to have also founded the now famous monastery of Montserrat.
41. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1289. The agreement is dated 1016 and was made between Sancho, King of Navarre, and the Count of Castile without reference to the King of León, even though he was the sovereign of Castile.
42. J. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra (Madrid: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución "Príncipe de Viana," 1950), p. 162. Pérez de Urbel has estimated that in 1029 Vermudo was no more than 12 years old.
43. This is explained further in Chapter III.
44. " . . . ego Sancius rex tenens culmen potestatis mee [sic] in Aragone et in Pampilona et in Suprabri et Ripacourcia et in Nagera et in Castella et in Alava, et comes Sancius Guillelmus in Gasconia, et Belengarius comes in Barchilona [sic], et imperator domnus Bermudus in Gallicia." The corroboration in the second diploma is identical except for variations in spelling.
45. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, pp. 61-62.
46. This is discussed more fully in Chapter III.
47. See Chapter I, p. 51.
48. See Chapter I, p. 70, n. 72.
49. In A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español (3rd ed. rev.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II, p. 181. Also in Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1230.

50. Pérez de Urbel and Del Arco y Garay, p. 150. Menéndez Pidal mentions that counts of Galicia also used the title imperator; however, he did not give any source for this statement, and I have been unable to locate these documents. See Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico, p. 18. He conceded that in the tenth century imperator could mean simply 'governor' or 'commander,' but he held to his thesis that in the case of the Leonese kings the title meant 'emperor.'
51. J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra [ed.], "Textos navarros del Códice de Roda," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), I, p. 237. "Domna Sanzia fuit uxor Ordonii imperatoris."
52. Ibid., pp. 236-237.
53. Ibid. "Sanzio Garseanis, obtime imperator, accepit uxorem Tota Asnari et genuit Garsea rex. . . ." Menéndez Pidal cited the reference to Ordoño II in the Códice in his El imperio hispánico (pp. 44-46), arguing that it was proof of Navarre's recognition of Leonese imperialism. He overlooked or ignored the entry immediately preceding, in which the Navarrese Sancho is also entitled imperator.
54. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1131-1132.
55. Ibid., p. 1276.
56. Ibid., p. 1291.
57. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 175-176.
58. Esp. sag., XVIII, p. 330.
59. Ibid., pp. 330-331.
60. In García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, II, pp. 486-487. Also Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 331-332.
61. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, pp. 1129-1130.

62. Esp. sag., XXXIV, pp. 478-480.
63. J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 46-52.
64. In J. de Moret, Investigaciones históricas de las antigüedades del reyno de Navarra (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez Impresor del Reyno de Nauarra [sic], 1669), p. 675. "Regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo in coelo, . . . & Sancione Rex, in Nagera & Pampilona, & sub eius imperio parendo Rex Ranemirus in Vecaria. . . ." This use of two royal titles in Navarre is further discussed in Chapter IV.
65. See Introduction, p. 9.
66. É. Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane (3 vols.; Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose; Leiden: E.-J. Brill, 1950-1967), I, p. 77.
67. The tale in which Sancho I of León went to Córdoba for a cure for his obesity on the advice of the Navarrese King and Dowager Queen (p. 74) illustrates that relations between Navarre and Córdoba were close in the tenth century. Earlier in the century, 'Abd al-Rahmān had conducted several punitive expeditions against Navarre after Sancho Garcés (905-925) had conquered Viguera. In 933-934 the Dowager Queen, Toda, who was a blood relative of 'Abd al-Rahmān, made submission to him. Then, when al-Mangūr had risen to power, Sancho Garcés II Abarca was forced to conclude peace with him, and the pact was sealed by the marriage of one of Sancho's daughters to the Moslem commander. See A. Ubieta Arteta, "Monarcas navarros olvidados: Los reyes de Viguera," Hispania, X, núms. xxxviii-xli (1950), 4-8.

### III. REX HISPANIARUM: THE GENESIS OF UNIFICATION

The thesis that imperator became a substitute for rex is no more audacious than the plan it represents. For in spite of the deep racial cleavage within eleventh-century Spain and in spite of the political individualism that had marked the development of the Christian north up to that time, Sancho el Mayor gradually came to perceive the possibility of uniting the Christian kingdoms under his rule. Immature in its conception and vague in structure, this idea was present nonetheless, and in time it became the conscious objective of Sancho. It is to this source that all subsequent attempts to unify Spain must be traced.<sup>1</sup>

At the start of Sancho's reign in 1004, Navarre was a tiny mountain kingdom barely measuring 100 kilometers from the base of the Pyrenees. Nájera, on the southern bank of the Ebro, had been under the sovereignty of the King of Navarre, but with the vicissitudes of the Moslem war, the city often slipped from the grasp of Navarre, and Sancho does not mention it in his diplomas until 1016.<sup>2</sup> Pamplona was the royal seat.<sup>3</sup> East to west, the kingdom of Pamplona, as it was then called, spanned no

more than perhaps 125 kilometers.

Sancho's first moves undoubtedly were dictated by the need to expand beyond the mountain fastness of Pamplona. To the east, the counties of Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza were ripe for the taking. Once part of the Spanish March of the Carolingians, they had fallen into Moslem hands in the course of the ninth century. Al-Mansūr had tightened Moslem control over most of this region, but with his death in 1002 the Moslem hold had gradually weakened, and the three counties dissolved into anarchy.<sup>4</sup>

By 1014 Sancho el Mayor had brought these three regions under Navarrese sovereignty. The sources do not reveal how this was done, but he probably moved into the counties as part of a defensive maneuver against the strong and wealthy taifas bordering Navarre and the three counties.<sup>5</sup> At the very start of his reign he had begun a series of fortifications along the Ebro river, which had become the boundary in northeastern Spain between the Moslem and Christian sectors of the peninsula.<sup>6</sup> Sancho's advance into Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza was probably an extension of this defensive strategy. In 1014 Sancho's diplomas begin to cite the three counties among his lands, which indicates that his campaigns there had been successfully completed by this time.<sup>7</sup>

Although the driving force behind the absorption of

these counties into the Navarrese kingdom was simply defense as well as ambition, it is possible to perceive in Sancho as early as 1014 a rudimentary political sense that lifts him out of the category of a mere conqueror. In 1014 we see for the first time in his diplomas the name "senior Sancius Guillelmus comes de Uasconia" among the witnesses.<sup>8</sup> His name appears again in 1016 as a witness to another diploma issued by Sancho of Navarre, and over the next 14 years the Gascon Sancho continued to appear with frequency among the members of the Navarrese curia.<sup>9</sup>

At this same time, in 1016, Sancho of Navarre reached an agreement with the Count of Castile whereby the easternmost part of Castile was detached from the county and ceded to Navarre.<sup>10</sup> Although the territory awarded to Sancho was not large, this agreement is of great significance because the population of Sancho's Castilian acquisition was Basque for the most part.<sup>11</sup> When this fact is joined to the appearance of Sancho Guillermo of Gascony in the Navarrese court at this same time, it becomes apparent that Sancho el Mayor had accomplished the unification of the Basque peoples on both sides of the Pyrenees under the Basque crown of Navarre. Thus in his diplomas Sancho proclaimed himself king "in totam Gasconiam."<sup>12</sup>

The precise nature of this tie between Gascony and Navarre is uncertain. Pérez de Urbel believes the Duke of Gascony became a vassal of Sancho,<sup>13</sup> and certainly this is the most plausible explanation of why Sancho claimed to be king of Gascony, among his other lands. Sancho does not seem to have conquered Gascony, although Pérez de Urbel has found that he fought a campaign there against the Count of Toulouse in defense of the rights of Sancho Guillermo.<sup>14</sup> The frequent appearance of Sancho Guillermo in the Navarrese curia suggests fulfillment of his vassal's obligation of consilium; however, there is no certain evidence which might clarify the relationship between the Duke of Gascony and the King of Navarre.

The important point about Sancho's "pan-Basque" policy is that it reveals a sense of political cohesiveness based on the deepest and most natural foundation, nationality. Although the origins of the Basques are as mysterious as the tenacity with which their language and customs have survived, nevertheless given the fact of their unique identity, it is easy to understand how this intense group-consciousness would have given rise to a sense of political cohesiveness at a time when such a sense was at best weak in the rest of Spain, as elsewhere. It was Basque "nationalism" which spawned the movement to rebuild the political integrity of Christian Spain.

After Sancho's conquest of Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza and his unification of the Basques, the course of events is somewhat obscure. There is a gap in documentation until ca. 1027, the estimated date of a donation by Sancho to the monastery of San Juan de la Peña. The absence of documentation does not mean inactivity on Sancho's part, however, for noteworthy among the witnesses to this donation we find "Belengarius comes de Barochinona," as well as Sancho Guillermo of Gascony.<sup>15</sup> And as with the Duke of Gascony, the Count of Barcelona, Berenguer Ramón, continued to serve as a witness in Sancho's curia until the last years of his reign.<sup>16</sup> Pérez de Urbel believes that Berenguer became Sancho's vassal in return for protection against the Moslem taifas of Zaragoza and Tortosa.<sup>17</sup> As with Sancho Guillermo, this is a plausible thesis since the Count was no more than 22 at the time of this donation,<sup>18</sup> and he lacked the resources, as well as the experience, to cope with the Moslem danger. Strangely, however, in Sancho's corroborations he did not make the same claim to rule as he did Gascony. Only once, in 1033, did Sancho assert that his rule extended to Barcelona.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, whatever the exact nature of the ties between Sancho and the Count of Barcelona, it is obvious that they were close, judging from the frequent presence of the Count in the Navarrese curia.



The association of the county of Barcelona with Navarre seems to have prompted a similar alliance between Sancho and the Count of Pallars, which lay between Ribagorza and Barcelona. Though the Count does not appear in person as a witness to Sancho's diplomas, in ca. 1028 Sancho began to include Pallars among the lands under his sovereignty, and he continued to cite Pallars until the end of his reign.<sup>20</sup> Again, the nature of this association is unexplained, and the absence of the Count from any list of witnesses suggests that this alliance was weaker than those with Gascony and Barcelona. Nevertheless, Sancho evidently felt there was sufficient basis for him to claim sovereignty over Pallars and, indeed, over all of the Christian northeast, from the Basque regions of Castile to Barcelona, as well as beyond the Pyrenees, in Gascony.<sup>21</sup>

By the second half of the 1020's, then, Sancho of Navarre had become a significant power. His growing power and his growing awareness of it undoubtedly had the effect of enlarging his aspirations. From mere expansion for the sake of land, Sancho had progressed to the creation of a "pan-Basque" kingdom. His position was then enhanced by the submission of the Count of Barcelona and the recognition, perhaps reluctant, of the Count of Pallars. At this same time Sancho also seems to have turned his

sights toward the rest of Castile.

As early as 1016 Sancho had claimed to be king in Castile;<sup>22</sup> however, this claim undoubtedly referred only to that part of the county that had been ceded to him that year. Sancho had also concluded ties with the Count of Castile by marrying his daughter, Doña Elvira (later called Doña Mayor).<sup>23</sup> Then, in 1017 the Count of Castile died, leaving a young son, García, as heir. Sancho probably assumed the role of protector of his young brother-in-law, who was only about ten years old at the time.<sup>24</sup> We do not have conclusive evidence of this, but when, ten years later, García journeyed to León to marry the sister of Vermudo III, it was Sancho who led his entourage.<sup>25</sup>

It is during these years from 1017 to 1027 that the idea of unifying Christian Spain, as he had united the Basques, must have taken hold on Sancho. During this time he had extended himself over the northeast, and there was at least the prospect that the young Count García would do homage to him when he came of age. In León Alfonso V still held the crown, of course, but even here some progress had been made toward acknowledging Sancho's pre-eminence; namely, the suit put forward by Alfonso V for the hand of Sancho's sister, Urraca.<sup>26</sup> It is unlikely that Sancho had any clear idea of how to bring León under

his control, but he was a man to recognize opportunity, and the proposed marriage between Urraca and Alfonso V held out potential opportunity for insinuating himself into the Leonese kingdom.

Sancho's opportunity was realized within a few years. In 1027 Alfonso V of León was killed on a campaign in Portugal.<sup>27</sup> His heir, Vermudo III, was a mere ten years old.<sup>28</sup> Urraca, Sancho's sister, assumed the reins of power in the kingdom. Assisting her were the familiars of Ximena, Sancho's mother, and members of the Vermúdez family, who may have been relatives of his mother.<sup>29</sup> In the important episcopacy of Oviedo, the Bishop was an old associate of Sancho, and his appointment in 1028 was certainly made with Sancho's approval and possibly after his intervention. The new Bishop's name was Ponce. Some years earlier he had been a monk of Ripoll, near Barcelona; the abbot of Ripoll at the time was Oliva, who later became Bishop of Vich. Ponce served as liaison between Bishop Oliva and Sancho, and eventually he became attached to the court of Pamplona. From there he was sent to Oviedo as its bishop.<sup>30</sup> Ponce was thus in a position to perform valuable service for Sancho, and there can be little doubt but that his sympathies were with the King of Navarre. In addition to Bishop Ponce, the bishops of Lugo and Santiago were also supporters of Sancho, and subse-

quently the Bishop of Palencia also came over to his side.<sup>31</sup>

The aspirations of Sancho must have been apparent to many by this time, for some opposition seems to have surfaced after the death of Alfonso V. An attempt was made to wrest Castile from the orbit of Navarre by forming marriage alliances with León. The young Vermudo was married to a sister of Garcia, Count of Castile, and in 1028 a marriage was arranged between Garcia and Vermudo's sister, Sancha.<sup>32</sup> It is impossible to know whether Sancho viewed these arrangements with favor or with concern. Whatever his inner feelings, outwardly he acquiesced, for, as mentioned, it was Sancho himself who accompanied Garcia to León in May 1029, the date of the wedding. As events turned out, this attempt to undermine Sancho's power only proved to be the opening of another opportunity for him.

We lose sight of Sancho in the events that followed. A large army had escorted Sancho and Garcia to León, but according to the chronicle of Rodrigo of Toledo, it was dismissed when they reached the city.<sup>33</sup> Garcia entered León, and as he made his way through the crowds, someone stabbed him, killing him instantly.<sup>34</sup> The sources accuse various persons of the murder -- the Vela, an anti-Castilian faction in León; Fernand Llaynes, the anti-

Castilian Count of Le6n; and a group of Castilian magnates who were either opponents of the alliance with Le6n or were motivated by personal ambition.<sup>35</sup> None of the sources implicate Sancho, however, although one cannot avoid wondering if he was not aware of the hornets' nest of factions that lay in Garcia's path.<sup>36</sup>

Sancho's role in the assassination, if any, must remain an open question. What is clear is that he was the first to profit from Garcia's death. Garcia left only sisters as his survivors -- one of them Sancho's wife. Sancho immediately claimed Castile in her name.<sup>37</sup> His claim seems to have been effected without delay. Garcia died on May 13, 1029; on July 7 a document of his aunt, Oneca, affirms that Sancho is King and his son, Ferdinand, Count of Castile. The document itself was a transferral of all Oneca's domains, palaces and properties in Castile to Sancho.<sup>38</sup>

With the county of Castile now legally attached to Navarre, only the kingdom of Le6n lay outside the sovereignty of Sancho el Mayor. In the years from ca. 1030 to 1032 Le6n, too, bowed before the seemingly inexorable flow of events that had suddenly placed before Sancho the possibility of ruling the whole of Christian Spain. Literary and documentary evidence for these critical years is unclear and often conflicting, but it is possible to

piece together an explanation of how Sancho made himself King of León, notwithstanding the presence of a legitimate heir to the Leonese crown, Vermudo III.

The chronicle of Silos, written ca. 1115, tells us that the route to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela was so infested with "barbarians" (presumably Moslems) that pilgrims had to detour north through Álava. The author of the chronicle then goes on to say that Sancho cleared the route of these bandits.<sup>39</sup> He does not tell us when Sancho did this, but the chronicles of Rodrigo of Toledo and Lucas of Tuy, which repeat the incident, mention it after describing the assassination of Garfoa and Sancho's acquisition of Castile through his wife's inheritance (May-July 1029).<sup>40</sup> It seems unlikely that Sancho would have conducted his campaign against the bandits while Alfonso V was still alive because the campaign would have entailed crossing the borders of León, which would have been tantamount to an invasion of that kingdom. We also know that there was a breakdown of authority in León immediately after the death of Alfonso V.<sup>41</sup> The Leonese nobility rebelled in serious numbers, and it is likely that anarchy in León was directly connected with the increase in banditry along the Compostela road. For these reasons it had been necessary for Sancho to take a large army with him when he accompanied Garfoa of Castile on

his ill-fated journey to León. Thus Rodrigo's and Lucas's chronology seems reliable, and Sancho's campaign along the Compostela route therefore must have taken place sometime in the latter part of 1029, after the death of García and after Sancho had acquired Castile.

This campaign would have provided an unassailable pretext for entering León by force of arms. Compostela, where the Apostle James was believed buried, was the most sacred shrine in the West, outside of Rome. Its church was said to have been founded by the Apostle himself, and in time Santiago claimed to be an apostolic see along with Antioch, Jerusalem, and Rome itself.<sup>42</sup> Sancho could earn only the gratitude of Christendom by making it possible for the pilgrim to wend his way to Compostela once again in safety. No doubt piety played a part in his decision to undertake this campaign, but the possibility of piety does not rule out the dual possibility that Sancho was aware of the opportunity this gave him for intruding himself into León.

His military operations in León may also have included the suppression of one of the rebellions that wracked the kingdom after Alfonso's death. Although there is no evidence of this, it is logical to suppose that Sancho's sister, Urraca, or one of his clerical allies might have appealed to him to restore order in León.

Thus Sancho would have appeared in León as the defender of western Christendom's most sacred shrine and the restorer of order. In woeful contrast was the child-king, Vermudo, years away from the time when he might be able to wield power himself, with the Moslems to the south and a fractious nobility within his borders. Under these circumstances it would have been quite reasonable for some in León to have chosen to do homage to Sancho.

In addition to this more or less voluntary submission to Sancho, others among the Leonese may have acknowledged him as the result of a defeat on the battlefield. Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo of Toledo recorded that Sancho moved a large army against Vermudo, but they do not tell us when or why.<sup>43</sup> A line in the chronicle of Silos may give us the answer. Speaking of a later battle between Ferdinand of Castile and Vermudo III in 1037, the author of the chronicle wrote that after the death of Alfonso V, Sancho "had emancipated part of his [Alfonso's] kingdom from his dominion, namely from the Pisuerga river to Gea."<sup>44</sup> Control of this fertile prairie, which had been contested for so many decades by León and Castile, very probably was the issue that brought war between Sancho and the forces representing Vermudo. There is no doubt but that the Leonese were the losers in this war, and



the counts of the Pisuerga region must have submitted to Sancho at this time.<sup>45</sup> Others also must have submitted to Sancho. Rodrigo of Toledo wrote that Sancho acquired most of Vermudo's kingdom as a result of this war.<sup>46</sup> It is certain that Sancho extended his jurisdiction as far as Palencia. Rodrigo tells us that he re-established the episcopacy there, and this is confirmed in a later document from the reign of Ferdinand I, Sancho's son.<sup>47</sup> In addition, diplomas of Sancho assert in their corroborations that he ruled León, as well as the rest of Christian Spain, from Zamora to Barcelona.<sup>48</sup>

When did Sancho acquire León? The diplomas in which he presents himself as King of León are dated 1032 and 1033, but there is reason to believe that he acquired León earlier than this. After the assassination of the Count of Castile, Sancho's second legitimate son, Ferdinand, was married to Vermudo's sister, Sancha, who had originally been betrothed to the murdered Count. Both Rodrigo of Toledo and Lucas of Tuy link their marriage to the war between Sancho and the Leonese, Lucas saying quite specifically that the Leonese petitioned Vermudo to agree to this because they perceived the imminent destruction of León.<sup>49</sup> A document of the Bishop of Burgos, which was not related to this situation but concerned only local matters, mentioned both Ferdinand and Sancha in its

corroboration, as well as Sancho, the King.<sup>50</sup> The date of this Burgos document is June 1030. Thus Ferdinand and Sancha were married sometime between Garcia's death in May 1029 and June 1030.

Ferdinand's marriage, the campaign along the Compostela route, and the war over the Pisuerga region all point to the year between the spring of 1029 and the spring of 1030 as the critical period in which Sancho imposed himself over León. This may have been accomplished as early as January 1, 1030; a private donation of that date to the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena notes in its corroboration, "regnante rex Sancio in Legione. . . ."<sup>51</sup>

Sancho's assumption of the title, King of León, should not be construed as a deposition of Vermudo III. Neither was it a mere usurpation of the Leonese crown by reason of conquest, although Sancho does indeed seem to have conquered part of the kingdom. Under both the Leonese and the Navarrese traditions of kingship, he had legitimate grounds for his claim. From the standpoint of those in León who supported Sancho, three arguments, at the least, were possible to justify their position. First, strictly speaking Vermudo was not yet king: he had not been crowned, nor had he been anointed, which was customary in León.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, although dynastic succession seems to have been the rule from the start of the Asturo-Leonese

monarchy and primogeniture was well on the way to acceptance by the eleventh century, nevertheless hereditary succession was never unqualified. The principle of consent had been enunciated as early as 653, at the eighth council of Toledo.<sup>53</sup> Succession was further conditioned upon moral criteria, the best known of which is, "Rex ejus eris si recta facis, si autem non facis non eris."<sup>54</sup> Sancho's supporters in León could argue that they chose to give their consent to him, rather than Vermudo, further arguing that consent had not yet been given to Vermudo. Lastly, in these anarchic centuries of the Middle Ages the efforts of churchmen all over Europe were directed towards inducing stability into their warring society. Dissension within León had been endemic from the start of the monarchy, and civil war had again broken out when Alfonso V died. In view of Vermudo's young age, it is not unlikely that some among the clergy and people of León decided to place the principle of competence before that of succession.

On the Navarrese side, the principle of consent was equally strong in their traditions of kingship. Indeed, consent may have been a stronger principle in Navarre than in León, for there was no suggestion of divine election or sacerdotal confirmation in their coronation rite. The essential element was the ancient Germanic custom of raising the king on his shield; he was not anointed, as

in León.<sup>55</sup> Thus, although the pattern of succession in Navarre indicates that hereditary succession was the rule, nevertheless the elective principle had survived, and the consent of the people was explicitly conveyed by their role in the coronation. Having won the consent of some portion of the Leonese population, Sancho therefore would have felt that he had valid grounds for assuming the title of King of León, even though the heir of Alfonso V was still alive.

Sancho himself made it quite clear that he did not consider Vermudo king. This he did in the diplomas in which Vermudo is entitled "imperator domnus in Galicia."<sup>56</sup> It is obvious that the situation in León was such that Sancho could not possibly have meant 'emperor' in these documents. Following the Navarrese understanding of imperator, the title simply meant that Vermudo and his supporters had effective control of Galicia. At some point in the duel between Sancho and Vermudo's supporters, Vermudo was removed to Galicia, undoubtedly for safety.<sup>57</sup> This must have happened sometime after May 1029 because up until that date he was in León for the projected wedding between Count Garcia of Castile and Vermudo's sister.<sup>58</sup> The chronicle of Rodrigo of Toledo, however, states that Vermudo came "from Galicia to León" for the subsequent wedding of Ferdinand and Vermudo's sister,

which we know had taken place by June 1030.<sup>59</sup> Hence, sometime between 1029 and 1030 hostilities between Vermudo's faction and Sancho of Navarre became serious enough for Vermudo to be evacuated to Galicia.

If Vermudo was not to be king, but merely imperator in Sancho's new order, any further indication of the relationship of the young imperator to the King of Christian Spain is left unexplained in the sources. Pérez de Urbel believes Sancho became Vermudo's "protector,"<sup>60</sup> but whether this entailed vassalage is unknown. The only evidence for vassalage is the diplomas of ca. 1029/1030 in which Vermudo is cited in the corroborations along with Sancho Guillermo and Berenguer Ramón, who may have been Sancho's vassals.<sup>61</sup> It is certainly possible that in the crisis of the war with Sancho, some of Vermudo's supporters may have concluded a pact of vassalage in his name. If true, however, the pact did not last, for it was not long after that Vermudo himself took actions violating it.<sup>62</sup> This may explain why Vermudo's name appears only in the diplomas of ca. 1029/1030.

The question of vassalage is unanswerable. Indeed, it is doubtful that Sancho himself had any clear notion as to how he would consolidate his control over the lands that had come under his sovereignty. Expansion in the early years of his reign had occurred at almost a leisurely

pace (although the pace of these years was due to the meagerness of Sancho's resources rather than any lack of drive). Ten years were spent mastering the counties of Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza. The association of Gascony, Pallars, and Barcelona with Navarre, and the acquisition of the Basque regions of Castile were achieved through diplomacy, and Sancho had a period of some 13 years (1016-1029) in which to accomplish this and cement these ties. Then within the brief space of two or three years, ca. 1029-1032, Sancho suddenly acquired the large, populous -- and turbulent -- areas of Castile and León. When one bears in mind the fact that these became his in so short a time, one can readily understand the absence of a more specific formula for unification. He was too preoccupied with the formidable job of bringing these new lands more securely under his control.

If Sancho's constitutional structure remains obscure, the idea of a regnum Hispanum gradually crystallized during the later years of his reign. In 1032 his diplomas still conform to the traditional formula in which his realms are enumerated individually: "Ego supra escriptus rex Sanctius in Pampilonia et in Aragone et in Suprarbi et in Ripacorza vel in omnem Guasconiam atque in cunctam Castellam et de supradicta amplius in Legione siue in Astorica imperante."<sup>63</sup> In March 1033 he enumerates only

Aragón, Castile, and León, consolidating his realms in the phrase, "de Zamora usque in Barcinona."<sup>64</sup> And finally, in June 1033 he becomes "rex Dei gratia Hyspaniarum."<sup>65</sup>

Sancho is "King of the Spains." At no time did he ever use the title imperator, which he considered inferior. He might write, as he did in 1032, that he was "at the imperial summit" -- "imperiali culmine" -- but he did not assume an imperial title then or ever.<sup>66</sup> Sancho's objective was not the federalization of the Christian kingdoms under an imperial authority, but their unification into a single monarchy. Rudimentary at first, this idea clarified as his horizons expanded with each acquisition of land. Until finally, in 1033, with all but a fragment of León within his sovereignty, Sancho could rightly call himself "King of the Spains." Hispania was born at this time.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER III

1. This thesis was suggested to me by a brief historiographical essay in which Antonio Ubieta Arteta was quoted to the effect that the "Pyrenaic Christian nuclei" -- i.e., Navarre and its territories -- were politically, economically, and culturally superior to the northwest and that the program of Sancho el Mayor was a "labor of unification." This was Ubieta Arteta's only departure from traditional historiography, however. He shared Menéndez Pidal's point of view that an imperial tradition existed in León and that Sancho el Mayor's objective with respect to León was the imperial title. Nevertheless, Ubieta Arteta's remarks were the germ for the ideas which I have developed in this chapter. See Angel J. Martín Duque, "En torno a la supuesta división del reino por Sancho el Mayor," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), VII, p. 759.
  2. A. Ubieta Arteta [ed.], Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña (2 vols.; Valencia, 1962-1963), I, pp. 103-106. "Facta carta donacionis . . . ego Sancius rex tenens culmen potestatis mee [sic] in Pampilona et in Aragona et in Suprarbi, in Ripagorca, in Nagara [i.e., Nájera], in Castela et in Alava. . . ."
- According to the Chronicon Sampiri (p. 464), Nájera rebelled against García Sánchez, who was King of Navarre in ca. 933-970. This account thus implies Navarrese sovereignty over the city, however tenuous. Navarrese diplomas from the remainder of the tenth century do not mention Nájera, and as late as 1014 it is still omitted from diplomas of Sancho el Mayor.
3. Pérez de Urbel stated that Sancho moved his court of residence from Pamplona to Nájera; however, he did not cite the evidence for this. J. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra (Madrid: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución "Frincoipe de Viana," 1950),



- p. 67. My study of Sancho's diplomas suggests that Pamplona remained the royal seat. Pamplona is usually the first of Sancho's realms to be cited in the corroborations of his diplomas, displaced only occasionally by Aragón. Nájera is mentioned only after Pamplona, Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza are cited, and sometimes Nájera is omitted entirely. When Sancho referred to his kingdom as a whole, in addition to listing its components, the title used is always "rex Aragonensium et Pampilonensium"; Nájera is never used in this way.
4. For most of the ninth century Aragón was held by Moslems who recognized Córdoba. Sobrarbe, Pallars, and Ribagorza were occupied by Frankish counts, possibly toward the end of the eighth century. At times during the ninth century, they fell into Moslem hands, but they were partially recovered in the tenth. Then at the end of the tenth century, al-Mansūr penetrated these regions. When Sancho el Mayor began his campaign here, Sobrarbe was still in Moslem hands, though the county's non-Moslem inhabitants appear to have continued resistance. In Aragón a local count had assumed control, while Ribagorza and Pallars had fallen into anarchy. See J. Pérez de Urbel and R. del Arco y Garay, España cristiana: Comienzo de la Reconquista 711-1038, Vol. VI: Historia de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (3rd ed.; 26 vols. in 28; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1963-1968), pp. 358-365.
  5. The most formidable were Zaragoza and Tortosa.
  6. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 59-60.
  7. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 101-103. ". . . regnante me rege Sancio in Aragona et in Pampilona, in Suprarbi et in Ripacurca. . . ."
  8. Ibid.
  9. Ibid., pp. 103-106, 127-131, 135-144, 150-153. These documents are from the years 1016, ca. 1027, ca. 1028, and 1030.
  10. J. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla (3 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945),

III, p. 1289.

11. The lands transferred to Sancho were a portion of Castile, plus Álava or the Basque Provinces (the region around modern Bilbao and Vitoria). In Sancho's time Álava was solidly Basque, as it had been for centuries and as it still is today. In the same year as the transfer was made, Sancho added "in Castela et in Alava" to the realms listed in the corroborations of his diplomas. See Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 103-106.
12. Ibid., pp. 133-135. ". . . regnante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo et sub eius imperio [sic] rex Sancius in Aragone et in Pampilona, in Suprarbi et in Ripacorza, in Castella aut etiam in totam Gasconiam. . . ."
13. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 94-98.
14. Ibid.
15. Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 127-131. ". . . Sancius Guillelmus comes de Gasconia testis et confirmans, Belengarius comes de Barchinona testis et confirmans. . . ."
16. Ibid., pp. 135-144, 150-153. These represent the years ca. 1028 and 1030.
17. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 84-86.
18. Ibid.
19. Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 175-176. ". . . regnante rex Sanctio Gartianis in Aragone et in Castella et in Legione, de Zamora usque in Barchinona, et cuncta Guasconia imperante. . . ." In two donations of 1030 the Count of Barcelona is cited, along with the Duke of Gascony: ". . . ego Sancius rex tenens culmen potestatis mee [sic] in Aragone et in Pampilona, in Suprarbi et Ripacurcia et in Nagera et in Castella et in Alava, et comes Sancius Guillelmus in Gasconia, et Belengarius comes in Barchilonia. . . ." This may imply Sancho's sovereignty over the county of Barcelona; however, he does not explicitly claim this, as he does in the diploma of 1033.
20. Ibid., pp. 135-140. ". . . regnante ego rex Sancius in Aragone, in Paliarès, in Panpilonia [sic], in Alaba

et in Castella. . . ." Pallars was also mentioned in a donation of 1031 by Sancho (Ibid., pp. 166-169), and it is implied in the diploma of 1033 in which Sancho claimed to rule from Zamora (in León) to Barcelona (n. 19 supra). Pérez de Urbel, however, says that Pallars never permanently recognized the sovereignty of Navarre. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 49.

21. See n. 19 supra.
22. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 103-106. " . . . et ego Sancius rex tenens culmen potestatis mee [sic] in Pampilona et in Aragona et in Suprarbi, in Ripagorça, in Nagara, in Castela et in Alava. . . ."
23. Rodrigo Kiménez de Rada Crónica de España (an edition of MS V. II. 5, Escorial, prepared by Diana Y. Delgado; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc. [Xerocopy], 1969) v. 23 [p. 181]. "Despues que murio el rrey don Garcia el Tenblosso, rreyno su hijo don Sancho, a que dixeron el Mayor, en el rreyno de Navarra, e casso con la hija del conde don Sancho de Castiella, a que dezian doña Mayor. . . ."
24. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 51.
25. Rodrigo Kiménez de Rada Crónica de España v. 24 [p. 184]. "El ynfante don Garcia tomo toda su gente e yra fazer sus bodas, e venia el rrey don Sancho de Navarra con el."
26. See Chapter II, p. 93.
27. Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 485. " . . . Regnavit autem annos XXVII & interfectus est cum sagita apud oppidum Viseum in Portugale. . . ."
28. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 162. Pérez de Urbel has calculated that in 1029, two years after the death of Alfonso V, Vermudo was no more than 12 years old.
29. Ibid., p. 173. According to Pérez de Urbel, the Dowager Queen, Ximena, was the daughter of Fernando Vermúdez, who may have come from Álava but who was associated with the Leonese curia in the latter half

- of the tenth century. He also believes Vermúdez intervened in the civil war that ensued when Sancho I of León was overthrown by Ordoño IV. Vermúdez may then have been forced out of León. Ibid., pp. 16-18.
30. Ibid., pp. 81-84.
31. Ibid., pp. 215-221; Rodrigo Ximénez de Bada Crónica de España vi. 6 [p. 202].
32. Lvae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi ab origine mundi vsque ad Eram MCCLXXIV [hereafter cited as Lvae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi], in Andrea Schött, Hispaniae illustratae (4 vols.; Frankfurt, 1608), IV, Book IV, p. 90. "Era MLXV . . . Habuit [i.e., the Count of Castile or, as he is called in this chronicle, "Burgensium dux"] filium nomine Garseam, et filias duas: quarum unam dedit Regi Veremundo Legionensium in uxorem . . . Obiit comes Sancius et succedit [sic] ei in ducatu Burgensium infans Garsea filius ejus. Tunc Burgenses comites, into consilio, miserunt ad Veremundum Regem Legionensium, ut sororem suam Sanciam comiti Garsiae daret in conjugam. . . ."
33. Rodrigo Ximénez de Bada Crónica de España v. 24 [p. 184]. "Y quando llegaron a San Fagun, el ynfante don Garcia dexo a toda su gente alli y tomo muy pocos consigo, y fuesse para Leon por a veer su esposa."
34. Lvae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 90. "Era MLXV . . . sed filii Velae comitis supradicti, aggregantes exercitus in submontanis, memores malorum, quae sibi fecerat dux Sancius, ambulantes per totam noctem intrauerunt Legionem: et tertia feria, illucescente die, occiderunt ipsum infantem Garseam in porta ecclesiae Sancti Johannis Baptistae."
35. Ibid. Rodrigo Ximénez de Bada also blames the Vela (v. 24 [pp. 184-185]). The Primera crónica cites Fernand Llaynes, whom Pérez de Urbel has identified as the Count of León and another anti-Castilian. In addition, Pérez de Urbel reports that the epitaph on Garfo's tomb in Oña bears the names of several persons who allegedly took part in the assassination. The most prominent were Munio Gustios, who was the shield-bearer of the Count of Castile; Munio Rodríguez, who may have been a judge in Montaña, in Castile; and

- Gonzalo Muñoz, one of the most eminent figures in the Count's entourage and possibly a member of the Lara family. See R. Menéndez Pidal [ed.], Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289 (2 vols.; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), II, p. 471. Also Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 143-145.
36. Pérez de Urbel believes Sancho must be judged ultimately responsible for the assassination. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 146-147.
  37. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de España v. 24 [p. 186]. "E el rrey don Sancho de Navarra quando supo la muerte del ynfante don Garcia, porque este rrey don Sancho hera cassado con su hermana, doña Mayor, entro luego en el condado de Castilla, que le pertenesca por rrazon de la muger. . . ."
  38. In J. de Moret, Investigaciones históricas de las antigüedades del reyno de Navarra (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez Impresor del Reyno de Nauarra [sic], 1669), pp. 636-638.
  39. Monachi Silensis Chronicon, in Esp. sag., XVII, p. 304. "Ab ipsis namque Pyrinaeis jugis ad usque castrum Najara quiddid terrae infra continetur, a potestate Paganorum eripiens, iter S. Jacobi, quod barbarico timore per devia Alavae peregrini declinabant, absque retractionis obstaculo currere fecit."
  40. Lvcae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91; Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de España v. 24 [p. 187].
  41. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 166.
  42. See Chapter I, n. 44, pp. 62-65.
  43. Lvcae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91. "Era MLXV . . . Deinde, movens arma contra Regem Veremundum, Legionense regnum valde minoravit." Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de España vi. 6 [p. 201]. "El rrey don Sancho de Castiella e de Navarra despues que vio ensanchada su tierra, pussio paz e sossiego entre sus hijos, e movio guerra contra el rrey don Bermudo de Leon, e gano muchos lugares del rreyno de Leon."

44. Monachi Silensis Chronicon, p. 306. "Siquidem Santius Cantabrienſium, poſt mortem Aldefonſi Gallecienuſum Principis, Veremundo teneris annis impedito, partem regni ſui, videlicet a flumine Piſorga ad uſque Ceyam, ſuo dominio mancipaverat."
45. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 163. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada does not ſpecify the counts of the Piſuerga but makes only a general reference to "rricos omes de tierra de Leon"; however, he makes it clear that Sancho had conquered the Piſuerga and beyond, and thus one may aſſume the counts of this region were among the "rricos omes" who recognized Sancho. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de Eſpaña vi. 6 [p. 202].
46. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de Eſpaña vi. 6 [p. 201].
47. Ibid. [pp. 201-202]; De Moret, pp. 556-557.
48. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 175-176; Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 387-388. The corroboration in the latter diploma, which is dated 1032, December, reads as follows: "Ego ſupra eſcriptus rex Sanctus in Pamplonia et in Aragona et in Suprarbi et in Ripacorza vel in omnem Guasconiam atque in cunctam Caſtellam et de ſupradicta amplius in Legione ſiue in Aſtorica imperante."
49. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada Crónica de Eſpaña vi. 6 [p. 202]; Lycae Diaconi Tydensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91. "Era MLXV . . . Tamen contra eum inſurgentibus vehementer Legionenſibus et Galleciis, ne hoc deueniret in patriae destructionem, petiuit a Veremundo Rege Legionis, adhuc in teneris annis conſtituto, Sanciā ſororem ſuam nobiliſſimā puellā, dari filio ejus Fernando in conjugam propter pacem Chriſtianorum reformandā."
50. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Caſtilla, III, pp. 1313-1314.
51. Ibid., p. 1312.
52. A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho eſpañol (3rd ed. rev.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), I, pp. 629-630.

53. Concilium Toletanum VIII, in J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (54 vols. in 59; Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960 [orig. p. d. 1901-1927]), X, Section X, col. 1219. "Ab hinc ergo & deinceps, ita erunt in regni gloriam praeferendi rectores, ut aut in urbe regia, aut in loco ubi princeps decesserit, cum pontificum, majorumque palatii omnimodo eligantur assensu; non forinsecus, aut conspiratione paucorum, aut rusticarum plebium seditioso tumultu."
54. Isidorus Etymologiarum ix. 3. 4 [MPL, LXXXII, col. 342].
55. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, I, pp. 629-630. The coronation rite is reprinted in Volume II of García Gallo's history of Spanish law, pp. 579-580. I have not been able to trace the origin of this rite among the Basques, who were not Germanic. Isidore does not mention this custom in his History of the Goths, and therefore one cannot assume that the Basques adopted it from the Visigoths. Perhaps they were influenced by the Franks; however, the survival of this custom in Navarre long after it had disappeared in France is puzzling.
56. See Chapter II, pp. 84, 86-87; also n. 38, pp. 98-99.
57. When Vermudo's sister was married to Ferdinand, Vermudo came from Galicia for the wedding, according to Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada (Crónica de España vi. 6 [p. 202]): ". . . e don Fernando, hijo del rrey don Sancho y el rrey don Bermudo, tovo lo por bien, e vino de Galizia a Leon. . . ."
58. The sources do not actually mention Vermudo in their accounts of the assassination. We know from the Chronicon Mundi of Lucas of Tuy (Book IV, p. 90) that Vermudo was in Oviedo when the proposal was made for the marriage of his sister to the Count of Castile. His sister was in León when the murder took place, and it is safe to assume that Vermudo was also there for the wedding.
59. See n. 57 supra.
60. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 167-168.

61. See p. 86 supra; also Chapter II, n. 44, p. 99.
62. In 1031 Vermudo began to issue diplomas under the title of rex. See Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 286-288. This and several subsequent diplomas, all with the title of King, were grants of land to various counts, which indicates that he may have been trying to gain broader support preparatory to recovering his kingdom. Further details are in Chapter IV.
63. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 387-388.
64. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 175-176.
65. J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 41-44. Also A. Bernard [ed.], Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, rev. and pub. by Alexandre Bruel (6 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876-1903), IV, pp. 89-95. There is a second document in the Oña collection edited by Del Álamo which is also dated 1033 and which reaffirms Cluniac reforms at Oña, as well as appointing an abbot (IV, pp. 46-52). Sancho also used the title "Hispaniarum rex" in this document. I have not cited this in the text because its authenticity has been questioned, and I am not certain about its reliability. See Antonio Durán Gudiol, "La Iglesia en Aragón durante el siglo XI," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, IV, p. 19.
66. There is considerable confusion and controversy over this subject. Sancho is entitled imperator, as well as rex, in only one document attributed to him. This document has been reprinted in Ubieta Arteta's Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña (I, pp. 183-185); however, the document, which is undated, is recognized as a forgery. See R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), pp. 67-68; also Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 395. Nevertheless, Menéndez Pidal considered this document "respectable" because it is written in the style of the eleventh century, and therefore he believed that Sancho had adopted the title of



imperator. I cannot agree with this conclusion, however, in view of the absence of any further evidence to support it. Since there is only one piece of evidence for this thesis and it is falsified evidence, I cannot see how this conclusion can be sustained.

A comparable problem exists with a coin that bears no name but has 'imperator' inscribed on its obverse and 'NAIARA' on the reverse. The nineteenth-century numismatist, Aloïss Heiss, attributed this coin to Sancho el Mayor, and this attribution has been widely accepted by numismatists and historians. This is extremely weak, however. Heiss attributed this coin to Sancho because the epitaph on the tomb of Sancho's wife identifies her as "uxor Sancii imperatoris." See A. Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes (3 vols.; Zaragoza: Luis Marquina [n. d.]), III, pp. 12-13. This might be a plausible basis for the attribution if his Queen, Doña Mayor, had died while Sancho was still living; however, she survived Sancho by at least ten years. Thus this epitaph could not reflect a command or wish of Sancho, who was long dead when it was inscribed, and since there are no diplomas in which Sancho used the title imperator, there is no basis for attributing this imperator coin to Sancho el Mayor. My opinion is shared by the Spanish numismatist, Octavio Gil Farres, who believes it should be attributed to the twelfth-century Alfonso VII. See O. Gil Farres, "Estudio crítico de las primitivas acuñaciones navarras y aragonesas," Numisma, V, núm. 14 (enero-marzo 1955), 33-45, 79-92.

Menéndez Pidal also cited references within León during Sancho's time to a regnum imperium, and he construed this as further evidence for the existence of imperial ideas in León (El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos, pp. 65, 67). Pérez de Urbel also noted the use of regnum imperium, which he said appears "in the majority of the letters written in León between 1030 and 1034" (Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 168).

I have found only two examples of this usage. One, cited by Menéndez Pidal (El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos, p. 67), is in the Tumbo of the Cathedral of León and is not available to me. The document is a letter from an abbess to a bishop, and the passage

as quoted by Menéndez Pidal is, "Regnum Imperium [sic] rex Sancius in Legione, Servandus episcopus in sedis Sancte Marie [sic]." The second document is available in España sagrada, XXXV, p. 43. It is dated 1033 and contains a reference to "Regni Imperii Veremundi puer Principis prolis Adefonsi." This document was not issued by either Vermudo or Sancho but is a settlement of a lawsuit between two property-owners by Bishop Servando of León. Since neither document emanated from the royal chancery, I do not believe they support the thesis that the Leonese crown had acquired imperial status within Spain. Even if they were royal documents, however, "regnum imperium" does not mean 'empire-kingdom' or some such rendering. While regnum may be translated as 'kingdom,' in Spanish usage it also meant 'royal power' or potestas, as well as the exercise of royal power. Similarly, imperium may be translated as 'empire,' but it also meant power in the sense of the right to rule and the capability of exercising that right. See García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, I, p. 632. Thus the uses of "regnum imperium" carry no imperial implications but seem to have been attempts to convey unequivocally the idea that Sancho (or Vermudo, as the case may be) was exercising effective, not merely nominal, authority in León.

#### IV. THE FRAGMENTATION OF CHRISTIAN SPAIN

Sancho's design for the unification of Christian Spain was too bold, however, and the obstacles to its fruition were too formidable. Even as he was proclaiming himself King of León, he was encountering setbacks that ultimately brought about the failure of his Leonese policy. The first signs of difficulty appear as early as 1031. At that time Vermudo began to issue diplomas under the titles of rex and princeps.<sup>1</sup> Significantly, these diplomas were grants of domains by Vermudo to his followers.<sup>2</sup> Evidently he was beginning to gather support for an attempt to recover his kingdom.

In this same year there are also signs that Sancho was beginning to lose his hold on León. Urraca, Sancho's sister and the widow of Alfonso V, had been the major figure at the Leonese court since about 1028. In 1032 she still figured in the curia there, but Pérez de Urbel has noted that after August of 1032 her name disappears from Leonese documents.<sup>3</sup> He has also found that Sancho's other allies withdrew from León at this time, among them the Bishop of Oviedo (presumably Ponce), while at the same time new names appear in the curia, persons whom he

believes were opposed to Sancho.<sup>4</sup>

The Historia Silense and the chronicle of Lucas of Tuy tell us that Vermudo was "constituted" king, which implies that a formal coronation took place.<sup>5</sup> Both sources place this after the marriage of Ferdinand and Sancha, which means that it may have taken place sometime between 1030 and 1031, when Vermudo first began to issue diplomas under the title of king. Until his death, Sancho continued to assert that he was King of León, but the extent of his effective power is uncertain. A diploma issued by Vermudo as king in October 1032 concerned a town in Asturias, which indicates a first tentative attempt to break out of his confinement in Galicia.<sup>6</sup> In 1034 or 1035 a diploma issued by Sancho still locates Vermudo in Galicia; significantly, however, Sancho concedes in this diploma that Vermudo is king.<sup>7</sup>

Opposition from Vermudo and some of the Leonese was not the only obstacle to Sancho's design to unify the Spanish under a single sovereign. There are signs that some among the Castilians felt that they should have a king of their own. Lucas of Tuy records that when the marriage was arranged between Vermudo's sister and Count García of Castile, Vermudo's partisans agreed that the title of king would be conceded to García.<sup>8</sup> Lucas wrote in the thirteenth century, when Castile had achieved the

status of a kingdom. Possibly his account is a projection of the situation of his century back into the eleventh. It is also possible, however, that Lucas's account reflects Castilian aspirations of long standing, although Tuy is not in Castile and we do not know whether Lucas originally came from Castile.

In Lucas's account it is counts from Burgos who proposed the marriage between Vermudo's sister and Count Garcia of Castile.<sup>9</sup> Whether or not this is true is impossible to determine; other accounts of the marriage do not mention these counts. His story holds interest, however, because it corresponds with a private document of 1030 in which Ferdinand and his wife, Sancha, are entitled rex and regina. Interestingly, this document emanated from Burgos. Its corroboration reads, " . . . Sancius Rex regnante in Castella. Filius Fredinandus Rex et Regina Sancia. . . ."<sup>10</sup> In view of Lucas's statement that Count Garcia was to be king of Castile, this document, which was issued by the Bishop of Burgos, may reflect the desire of at least some of the Castilians that their county have the status of a kingdom.<sup>11</sup> In itself this sentiment probably did not constitute a major obstacle to Sancho's program of unification, but when it is linked to the opposition he was beginning to meet in León, we see how the current of opinion ran against his plan.

Sancho's most serious obstacle did not lie in Castile or León, however, but in Navarre. The first signs of this appear in 1028, in a pair of documents issued by the Dowager Queen, Ximena. Both were donations to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, which was in the Rioja district of the Ebro valley. They were confirmed by Sancho and his four sons, in addition to Ximena, and in both documents García, Ramiro, and Ferdinand have the title rex, although Gonzalo is merely "frater."<sup>12</sup> Gonzalo may not have been given a royal title in these donations because he must have been very young at the time, perhaps no more than five or six years of age. García's title can be explained by the fact that he was the heir apparent, and it was not unknown, even in the eleventh century, for one's successor to be given the title rex during the lifetime of the incumbent. The use of royal titles for Ferdinand and Ramiro, however, suggests that within the royal family itself pressure was being exerted upon Sancho to divide his kingdom among his sons, conferring the title of king upon each of them.

There was a precedent for such a move, albeit a recent precedent. During the reign of Sancho Garcés II Abaroa (970-994), the city of Viguera, which had been conquered in 920, and the surrounding territory were created into a subsidiary kingdom and given to the King's

half-brother, Ramiro, with the title of king. Two reasons explain this action, which was unprecedented at the time. First, Viguera was strategically important since it commanded the line of defense against Tudela, Zaragoza, and even Córdoba. It was therefore essential to the defenses of Navarre that this post be in reliable hands. The second reason involves a dynastic quarrel. Sancho Garcés's father, García Sánchez (933?-970), had been married to the daughter of the Count of Aragón, and from this marriage Sancho Garcés had been born. The marriage was dissolved, however, although we do not know why, nor do we know whether it was an ecclesiastical decision or simply a royal repudiation. García Sánchez then married Doña Teresa, who may have been from León or Castile. She bore him a son, Ramiro, as well as a daughter. On the death of the King, however, his son by his first marriage inherited the crown, not Ramiro. It has been suggested that Doña Teresa demanded that her son be recognized, and between her pressures and the military needs, Sancho Garcés II conceded the title of king to Ramiro, along with the sub-kingdom of Viguera.<sup>13</sup>

This was not a true division of the kingdom, as evidence proves. A Navarrese charter of 972 makes it clear that Ramiro, though king, was still considered subject to Sancho Garcés II. The corroboration of this

charter reads as follows: "Regnante . . . Sancione Rex, in Nagera & Pampilona, & sub eius imperio parendo Rex Ranemirus in Vecaria. . . ."14 Moreover, this precedent was not continued. Ramiro had two sons, but at his death in ca. 991 neither of them received the royal title.<sup>15</sup> The Navarrese kingdom reverted to its traditional concept of kingship, which was unitary.

In 1028, when Ximena's donations give a royal title to three of the sons of Sancho el Mayor, a situation existed which paralleled the circumstances of Sancho Garcés's reign. The oldest son of Sancho el Mayor, Ramiro, was illegitimate.<sup>16</sup> In spite of this, Ramiro had been the heir to the Navarrese throne, and as early as 1011 we find mention of him in Sancho's diplomas with the title regulus.<sup>17</sup> Sancho did not marry Doña Mayor until ca. 1016, or perhaps a little earlier.<sup>18</sup> With the birth of their first son, García, sometime between ca. 1016 and 1020, when he is first mentioned in Sancho's diplomas, Ramiro was put aside. One can well imagine the disappointment and even bitterness in Ramiro over this decision. He was older than García by perhaps as much as nine years, and he had borne the title of regulus for almost a decade.<sup>19</sup> It takes no feat of imagination to see Ramiro as the instigator behind the use of the royal titles found in Ximena's donations of 1028, and when Ramiro put forward



his demand for the title of king, Ferdinand probably then followed suit. Only Gonzalo may have been silent, being too young at the time to understand.

The real question is why did Sancho el Mayor acquiesce in this usage? It is important to note that these donations were issued in 1028, before Sancho had acquired Castile and León and, therefore, before his ideas on the unification of Christian Spain were completely formed. The weight of the evidence, moreover, suggests that his acquiescence in these royal titles for his sons was only a temporary one. Against these two diplomas, there are approximately 17 others issued by Sancho personally in which only García, among his sons, is given a royal title, and the title used is regulus, not rex. His brothers are identified simply as frater eius or frater eorum.<sup>20</sup> The donations of 1028 are therefore aberrations in so far as titles are concerned.

Nevertheless, these donations are important, for they are further evidence of the obstacles to Sancho's plan of unification. Sancho has been called the "antiemperador," the architect of political fragmentation in Spain.<sup>21</sup> In fact, it was his sons, Ramiro and Ferdinand, who frustrated the unification of the Christian kingdoms.

It is commonly accepted that Sancho el Mayor divided his kingdom among his four sons. The principal evidence

for this opinion is a document in two parts which Sancho had drawn up in 1034.<sup>22</sup> The first part of this document reads as follows:

A letter of donation [is] made whereby I Sancho, King by the grace of God, give of my land to you, my son Ramiro; that is, from Matidero up to Vadoluengo in all [its] integrity I give you all those lands that you hold to have and possess [them] through all generations, except for Loarre and St. Emitterius, with all their vills, which my son Gonzalo holds, and Arrosta, with all its vills, and with Pytiella, which my son Garcia holds. And in that part of Vadoluengo I give you Eybar and Gallipienzo, with all its vills, and Liglaxicum, Sabaiza, with Estellava and their appurtenances, and Aoloz, with Aztobieta and Arboniense and Burutania, with their vills, and Arazuri, with all their vills, and Aybar and Ollaz and Exarri, with their vills, and Amillano, with its vills, and Arbeyza, with its vills in Berraza, Ligiera, and Taraco, and Bannios and Soto Malo, and in Castella Rigo de Bena. I give all that to you in all [its] integrity, as much populated as still to be populated with the help of God. Amen.

Immediately following this, there is an oath which Ramiro took to Garcia, Sancho's heir and successor:

I Ramiro, son of Sancho the King, swear thus to you, brother [and] lord, Garcia, through God the Almighty Father, and through the Blessed Mary Virgin, and through the angels and archangels, and through the twelve Apostles, and through the martyrs and confessors, and through all the saints of God, that from this hour henceforth I will not demand against your part more land, except that which my father gives me and has been recorded above; that I will not build irrigation systems or ditches [as a threat] against you by which I might destroy your land, neither for the sake of peace or [in time of] civil war, nor with Moors or with Christians. And if anyone shall be seized with boldness [and] in that state of mind

wishes to go against or resist you, in so far as I am able I shall fight against him and shall be [his] enemy.

This document has been so widely misconstrued that it seems necessary to point out certain of its stipulations. First, it should be noted that the first part is an agreement between two parties only: Sancho and Ramiro, not Sancho and all four sons. Secondly, this part does not concern the entire kingdom over which Sancho was sovereign but only a portion of it (Matidero to Vadoluengo, or roughly the county of Aragón), which was conferred upon Ramiro and his descendants by this letter of agreement.<sup>23</sup> In the vicinity of this territory were the towns of Loarre and St. Emiterius which, together with their appurtenances, were defined as the property of Gonzalo, Sancho's youngest son, but the letter itself does not confer them on him.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, two other towns in the neighborhood, Arrosta and Pytiella, with their appurtenances, were defined as the possession of Garcia, though again, this letter does not make the actual conferral.<sup>25</sup> Ramiro's inheritance comprised a tiny fourth of Sancho's realms; there is no mention in this document of the disposition of the remaining three-quarters of the kingdom among Sancho's sons. There is also no mention of royal titles, nor is there any suggestion that Ramiro's portion of land was to be a kingdom.

The second part of this document also concerns two parties only: Ramiro and Garcia, the heir apparent. It is a solemn oath taken by Ramiro that he would honor the disposition of lands made by Sancho; specifically, that he would be content with his portion and would not attempt any aggrandizement against Garcia's land. Ramiro also swore to defend Garcia against any enemy.

It is difficult to understand how this document has been construed as evidence of a division of the Navarrese kingdom into three kingdoms, each with its own king. Such a conclusion is based on too loose an interpretation of the evidence. Rather, the intent of this document can be found in the circumstances of Ramiro's illegitimacy and his status as the original regulus. His bitterness over Garcia's birth and designation as heir must have grown to such proportions by 1034, the year of the document in question, that Sancho evidently feared civil war between the two after his death. It is apparent from the first part of this document that Garcia, Ramiro, and Gonzalo were already occupying the lands Sancho intended them to have. Thus this document was merely intended to ensure that this disposition would remain in force after Sancho's death. The towns and lands given to Garcia and Gonzalo are so located that they constitute an arc encircling the southern boundary of Ramiro's lands;<sup>26</sup>

thus he was surrounded on all sides by the lands of his brothers. Obviously Sancho was trying to contain the aggressiveness of Ramiro through this measure. He also tried to avert any attempt on the part of Garcia to dispossess Ramiro by legalizing Ramiro's possession of his land through this document. Conversely, Sancho attempted to prevent aggression on the part of Ramiro by endowing him generously and by having him swear fidelity to his "lord Garcia."

This interpretation of Sancho's letter of donation makes it possible to understand why Gonzalo, Sancho's youngest son, was not included in this document. Gonzalo was not the primogenitor; therefore, Sancho had little reason to fear any conflict between him and Ramiro. Moreover, Gonzalo himself was still a boy in 1034,<sup>27</sup> and for this reason also, Sancho had no immediate fears about trouble from him.

Ferdinand, who was Sancho's second legitimate son, is absent altogether from the document of 1034. This is further argument that the intent of the document was simply to ensure peace between Ramiro and Garcia, not to set up separate kingdoms. Ferdinand had been established in Castile as its count since 1029.<sup>28</sup> Evidently Sancho had no worries about whether Ferdinand would respect Garcia, or if he did, no record of his concern has survived.

What, then, were Sancho's intentions with respect to his kingdom? It is certain that Ramiro and Gonzalo were to be lords of Aragón and Sobrarbe-Ribagorza respectively. The integrity of this part of the kingdom -- namely, Navarre, Aragón, Sobrarbe, Ribagorza -- was to be maintained by ties of vassalage between Ramiro and Garcia, Sancho's successor on the throne of Navarre, and probably also between Gonzalo, when he came of age, and Garcia. The evidence for Ramiro's vassalage is the document of 1034, which contains the two essential elements of the feudal contract: a donation of land and an oath of fealty. Admittedly the donation of land was a grant in perpetuity, which is a variant from the classic feudal pact. This agreement also omits any other obligations of vassalage besides fealty. The year 1034, however, was early in the systematization of feudalism, and it is not surprising to find variations from later feudal practice.

This pact was renewed in 1054, when Garcia was succeeded by his son, Sancho IV. The second agreement is unmistakably a pact of vassalage. It reads as follows:

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this is an oath, which I Ramiro, son of Sancho the King, have made with the King Lord Sancho, my nephew, upon a donation which he has made to me by his spontaneous will, with all his lords who were present with him: Lord Fortunio Lopiz, Lord Fortunio Azenariz, Lord Lope Enneconis, Lord Enneco Sangiz of Sanguessa. And for the sake of friendship and fealty and

aid and counsel with God, which I, the above named Ramiro, son of Sancho the King, shall have given to you, you give me that castle, which is called Sanguessa, with all its boundaries, and that town, which is called Lerda, and Undaes. You give [these], and you confirm that in your whole life you will not take these towns by force from me, nor will you seek them or the castle. And I Ramiro, son of Sancho the King, thus swear with the barons of my land, who are present with me, that from today henceforth I will not make any demands against your towns or your other lands except with servitio and by your good will, no matter how much God may give me that I shall be able to make [such demands]. And if I shall have wished to do this -- may this not be so -- I say thus: that I give permission to all the lords who are with me, with honores and lands which they have and hold from me, that they shall attend to you, and they shall place themselves in your power, etc.

And I will not abandon you or your service for any [inducement] or for any earthly benefice.<sup>29</sup>

This new agreement did not include a repetition of the grant of Aragón because this, of course, had been granted to Ramiro in perpetuity and was therefore not held in fief of Sancho IV. The only properties held by Ramiro as fiefs were the castle of Sanguessa, with its surrounding territory, and the towns of Lerda and Undaes. The grant of these properties, though small, and Ramiro's pledge of amicitia, fidelitas, adjutorium, and consilium prove conclusively that Ramiro was the vassal of the King of Navarre since it was widely customary by the eleventh century for the contract of vassalage to be sealed by the conferral of some kind of fief, however small, as a visible token of the contract.<sup>30</sup>

We have no record of whether Sancho re-enforced the bonds between Castile and Navarre with a similar contract of vassalage between Ferdinand and Garcia. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that Ferdinand's inheritance was to be Castile.<sup>31</sup> The situation with respect to León seems to have been fluid in 1034, and one can only speculate that the question of whether Ferdinand would have León was left pending.

As far as Ferdinand's rank is concerned, there is little reason to believe Sancho intended him to have a royal title any more than Ramiro or Gonzalo. Evidence for the years 1034 to 1037 is both sparse and conflicting, but it would seem that Ferdinand's rank was to remain that of count. We have evidence for this in a letter of August 1036 over Ramiro's signature in which Ferdinand is called "comite Fredinando in Castella."<sup>32</sup> In January 1037 a private document from Castile also gives Ferdinand the title of count.<sup>33</sup> The chronicle of Silos provides further evidence. Although its author refers to a division of the kingdom by Sancho (" . . . vivens pater benigne regnum dividens . . ."), he stipulates that Ferdinand received Castile "pro gubernatore," not, it should be noted, pro rege.<sup>34</sup> In the thirteenth century, when Castile did in fact have the status of a kingdom, Lucas of Tuy altered the Silense to read that Ferdinand had received Castile



"pro Rege." Curiously, he did not make this same correction for Ramiro.<sup>35</sup> This leads one to suspect that Lucas was pro-Castilian in sentiment, to the point of being somewhat of a propagandist. As noted earlier, it was Lucas of Tuy who reported that Count Garcia of Castile was to have been elevated to king at the time of his ill-fated marriage to the sister of Vermudo III.<sup>36</sup> This story is not found elsewhere. The Silense therefore seems more reliable in stating that Ferdinand was simply governor of Castile.

Even after Ferdinand had succeeded in gaining control of some portion of the kingdom of León, Ramiro still did not entitle him rex. Following the formula used by the Bishop of Vich toward Alfonso V, that which Sancho el Mayor had used toward Vermudo III, and Ramiro's own usage with respect to Vermudo, Ferdinand was entitled merely imperator -- 'commander' -- in a letter issued by Ramiro sometime in 1036.<sup>37</sup>

Thus there is reason for concluding that Ferdinand was not created a king by Sancho el Mayor. This further weakens the thesis that Sancho divided his realms into several kingdoms, for to have elevated Ramiro, Gonzalo, and Garcia to royal rank, but not Ferdinand, would only have led to civil war. Sancho already had reason to fear war between Ramiro and Garcia. It would have made no sense for him to have increased the chances of war by the inequity

of leaving Ferdinand, his second legitimate son, a mere count while Ramiro, a bastard, and Gonzalo, the youngest legitimate son, were made kings.

Was Ferdinand to have a royal title by reconquering León? In 1034, when Sancho drew up his will, his fortunes were sinking rapidly in León, and in one document of that year he conceded to Vermudo the title of king.<sup>38</sup> It would have been as inequitable to have pinned Ferdinand's title to a problematical recovery of León as it would have been to leave him only a count while his brothers were kings. Furthermore, Ferdinand showed such aggressiveness throughout his later life that one doubts that in 1034 he needed any "carrot-stick" device to prod him into an attempt on León.

Evidence and logic point to this conclusion: that Sancho intended only García to be king and that Ferdinand, Ramiro, and Gonzalo were to be subordinate to him as lords of the lands conferred upon them. The unity of the kingdom was to be re-enforced by ties of vassalage between Ramiro and García, and probably also on the parts of Ferdinand and Gonzalo with García.

The flaw in this arrangement was that it required a ruler of Sancho's intelligence, forcefulness, and prudence. García does not seem to have been such a man. Within a year of Sancho's death, the fragile unity of his kingdom had been

broken. Although Ramiro referred to Ferdinand as comes and imperator in 1036, Ferdinand himself was using the title of king, which he did in May of that year.<sup>39</sup> Even as he claimed to be king, Vermudo III was still asserting his regalian rights, using the traditional Leonese titles of princeps and rex in his diplomas.<sup>40</sup> Evidently the two were in open conflict, although the chronicles mention only one battle, and the contest between them must have begun as early as January 1036, since a Castilian donation of that date refers to Ferdinand as king of Castile and Le6n.<sup>41</sup> Several private documents of 1036 acknowledge Vermudo as King of Le6n.<sup>42</sup> This would not have been unusual if they were of Leonese origin, but all of them were written in Castile, where one would expect to find more pro-Ferdinand sentiment than the single document of January 1036. Ferdinand's assumption of the title of king in May 1036 therefore seems to have been premature and to have stemmed from his ambition for a kingdom of his own, and not from any prior act by Sancho making him king. His ambition was realized in the summer of 1037, when Vermudo died in a fall from his horse.<sup>43</sup> Ferdinand then invaded Le6n and was acknowledged as king.<sup>44</sup>

Ferdinand's assumption of a royal title in May 1036, in spite of the evident uncertainty of his position, shows

the determination of this second son of Sancho to achieve royal rank. It was his ambition, as well as Ramiro's, that resulted in the fragmentation of their father's kingdom. Ramiro, too, had assumed the title of king in 1036, even as he designated Ferdinand with the inferior titles of count and imperator, and he continued to use this title until his death in 1063.<sup>45</sup> The situation becomes even more confusing when one discovers that although Gonzalo, the youngest son, was entitled rex in one of Ramiro's documents of 1036, whenever he is again cited by Ramiro, he is merely "frater eius" or "domnus."<sup>46</sup> These documents of Ramiro, plus the disposition of lands made in 1034 by Sancho, constitute the evidence for the traditional view that Sancho el Mayor divided his kingdom among his sons, giving each of them the title of king.

Ferdinand's first use of rex was based on premature claims to have conquered León. After the death of Vermudo III in the summer of 1037, Ferdinand was recognized in León and crowned in the cathedral there. Thus we need not concern ourselves with the basis for his title after 1037. But if Ramiro and Gonzalo were not elevated to royal status by Sancho el Mayor, as is argued here, on what grounds did Ramiro assume this rank for himself and possibly Gonzalo? The answer lies in the precedent of Viguera, which Ramiro applied with a fine sense of legality.

The lands in the proprietorship of Sancho personally were Navarre, the Basque areas of eastern Castile, Aragón, Sobrarbe, and Ribagorza. It was these lands which Sancho divided among García, Ramiro, and Gonzalo, and his right to do so extended only to these lands. As mentioned previously, Ferdinand's inheritance, Castile, was in the proprietorship of his mother, Doña Mayor.<sup>47</sup> In a strict legal sense, Sancho had no right to confer this upon Ferdinand, but more important, at the time Ramiro was using royal titles for himself and two of his brothers, Ferdinand had not yet inherited Castile because its heiress, his mother, was still very much alive and, in fact, she lived for at least another eleven years.<sup>48</sup> Thus Ramiro's adoption of royal titles for himself and Gonzalo, in addition to recognizing García as king, was an attempt to apply the precedent of Viguera in a very strict fashion. But while he tried to broaden this precedent by extending it to Gonzalo, as well as himself, he was careful to restrict its application to those lands where the precedent existed; namely, those lands in the direct proprietorship of the Navarrese king. There was no comparable precedent in Castile; therefore, there was no basis on which Ferdinand might be entitled king.

The obvious question that arises is what was the position of García, King of Navarre, in this situation?

Logically one would expect him to have opposed Ramiro's claims. Unfortunately there are no documents from Garcia's chancery during the critical months after Sancho's death. The chronicles of Silos and Lucas of Tuy mention that Garcia was in Rome on a pilgrimage at the time of Sancho's death, and perhaps this is the explanation for the lack of documentation.<sup>49</sup> The first to appear is dated May 1036, but there is no mention in it of any of Garcia's brothers.<sup>50</sup> The next diploma from Garcia was issued in May 1038; however, here, too, we are left without a clue as to his attitude in the situation. Ferdinand is entitled rex in this document, but by this time he had been formally crowned in León, which explains Garcia's use of the royal title. Ramiro is simply "frater eius" in this diploma, while Gonzalo is only "Gundesalbus in Subrarbi."<sup>51</sup> Finally, in 1039 we find a document from the Navarrese chancery in which Garcia calls Ramiro 'king,' although Gonzalo is omitted entirely from this one.<sup>52</sup> Again, in 1043 Garcia gives Ramiro the title of rex; Gonzalo is unmentioned, but this is because he had died by this time.<sup>53</sup>

We therefore do not know whether Garcia recognized Ramiro from the start of his reign, but certainly from 1039 on, Garcia conceded a royal title to him. If this was contrary to Sancho's testament, why would Garcia, who stood to gain from a united kingdom, acquiesce in its

division? The answer may be found in a war that took place between Ramiro and Garcia. Ramiro not only ignored Sancho's will by assuming the title of king, he also ignored his oath of fealty to his brother Garcia. Lucas of Tuy tells us that after Sancho's death, Ramiro made an alliance with the Moorish kings of Zaragoza, Osca, and Tudela for the purpose of making war on Garcia.<sup>54</sup> The account reads as if an attack was made shortly after Sancho's death, and it is a reasonable supposition that the issue between the two brothers was Ramiro's insistence on a royal title. Ramiro did not fare too well in this war because he was deserted by his allies.<sup>55</sup> He lost both the war and his horse, which Garcia subsequently gave to a knight who had helped him in battle.<sup>56</sup>

Although Garcia was the victor in this war, one suspects that his victory was due to the desertion of Ramiro's allies rather than Garcia's own force and aggressiveness. This suspicion is deepened by the subsequent fact that when Gonzalo died in ca. 1043, Ramiro appropriated his lands without any apparent movement by Garcia to prevent this.<sup>57</sup> Thus one is led to conclude that the war between Garcia and Ramiro was actually indecisive. An accommodation may then have been reached between the two in which Ramiro, as well as Garcia, was to have the royal title, but Ramiro was to have a subordinate status with respect to Garcia,

in accordance with the precedent of Viguera. In view of the fact that Ferdinand had by now obtained a crown for himself, Garcia probably saw no alternative but to succumb to the insistence of Ramiro for royal rank.

Thus Sancho's sons were the true authors of the political fragmentation of Christian Spain. Feudal links were too weak to withstand the strains resulting from the ambitions of Ramiro and Ferdinand. Ramiro's subordination to Garcia seems to have been only nominal, and when Garcia's successor, Sancho IV, was assassinated in 1076, the kingdom of Navarre was dissolved.<sup>58</sup> Ferdinand, as King of León and heir to Castile, once again brought the county under the jurisdiction of León, and a sizable base was created from which the cause of unification might have been advanced. But Ferdinand violated both Navarrese and Leonese tradition by dividing his realms among his three sons when he died in 1065.

Unlike the situation after the death of Sancho el Mayor, there is no inconsistency in documentation from the years 1065-1077 to make us doubt that Ferdinand divided his kingdom. At his death, León, Castile, and Galicia were firmly within his sovereignty. The Chronicon Regum Legionensium and the Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice also record that Ferdinand received tribute from Moslem kingdoms, the latter chronicle identifying them as



Toledo, Zaragoza, and Badajoz.<sup>59</sup> Ferdinand's legacy to his three sons was as follows: Sancho, the first-born, received Castile and the tribute of Zaragoza; Alfonso, the second son, was given León, with tribute from Toledo; and García received Galicia and whatever Ferdinand had conquered of Portugal, plus the tribute of Badajoz.<sup>60</sup> The literary sources are confirmed by the documents. Sancho, of course, assumed the title of rex immediately after Ferdinand's death.<sup>61</sup> In the same year, 1066, we find that García is also given the title of king.<sup>62</sup> There are no documents from Alfonso until 1068, but in this one Alfonso, too, signs himself rex.<sup>63</sup> Most important, the document of 1068 was issued jointly with Sancho of Castile, who also signed it rex. Private documents of this time refer to all three sons as rex.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, there is no doubt that Ferdinand created three kingdoms by his will and testament and that he gave each of his sons a royal title.

Thus in 1065 a second blow was dealt to the ideal conceived by Sancho el Mayor of a single Christian kingdom in Spain. Five kingdoms now confronted each other across the mountainous arc of northern Spain: León and Navarre, the oldest, along with Aragón, Castile, and Galicia. While Aragón was still linked to Navarre by ties of vassalage, there is no evidence for similar ties between Castile, León, and Galicia. Menéndez Pidal argued that unity was

preserved by the title imperator, or 'emperor,' which he said was adopted by Ferdinand.<sup>65</sup> This is incorrect. There is not a single document in which Ferdinand used this title. In all of his diplomas, he used only the traditional Leonese titles of rex and princeps.<sup>66</sup> Neither was imperator used by his son, Sancho of Castile, who, as the first-born, would have been the one to assert the essential integrity of Ferdinand's kingdom if such had been maintained.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Ferdinand did not even use the title "rex Hyspaniarum," which had been introduced by his father, Sancho el Mayor. In Ferdinand's diplomas he is always "rex in Legione vel Castella," with Galicia sometimes mentioned as well. The concept of 'Hispania' was absent from Ferdinand's outlook. And in the disposition of his realms there was no unity any more than there was an 'emperor' in León. In 1065 we have only rex in Castella, or Legione, or Gallecia, or Pampilonia, or Aragona. The fragmentation of the Spain of Sancho el Mayor was complete.

NOTES  
CHAPTER IV

1. Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 286-288. There is one example in which Vermudo used the royal title even earlier than 1031. This was a donation to Santiago in 1028 (Ibid., XIX, pp. 393-394); however, this was issued before the assassination of the Count of Castile and the subsequent events that led to Sancho's entry into León and his assumption of the Leonese throne. This diploma is therefore unrelated to the war of propaganda reflected in the diplomas of Vermudo and Sancho between ca. 1029/1030 and Sancho's death in 1035.
2. L. Barrau-Dihigo, Notes et documents sur l'histoire du royaume de León [Extrait de la Revue Hispanique, X] (Paris, 1903), pp. 445-449.
3. J. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra (Madrid: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución "Príncipe de Viana," 1950), p. 174.
4. Ibid. Some of those whom Pérez de Urbel believes were "enemies or traitors" of Vermudo were the Count of Monzón, Bishop Vistrario of Santiago, Fernán Lafnez, and others.
5. Monachi Silensis Chronicon, in Esp. sag., XVII, p. 305. "Ceterum Veremundus Infans a finibus Galliciensium usque ad fluvium Pisorga, qui Cantabriensium regnum separat obeunte patre, Rex constituitur [sic]." Lvcae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi ab origine mundi vsque ad Eram MCCLXXIV [hereafter cited as Lvcae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi], in Andrea Schott, Hispaniae Illustratae (4 vols.; Frankfurt, 1608), IV, Book IV, p. 91.
6. See n. 2 supra.
7. Quoted in translation by Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 396-397. "Reinado el Rey Don Sancho en Castilla y el Rey Don Vermudo en

Galicia. . . ." This document is dated January 21, but it is uncertain whether the year is 1034 or 1035.

8. Lucae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 90. "Era MLXV . . . Tunc Burgenses comites, inito consilio, miserunt ad Veremundum Regem Legionensium, ut sororem suam Sanciam comiti Garsiae daret in conjugem, et concederat eundem Regem Castellae vocari: Rex attamen Veremundus hoc se facturum promisit."
9. Ibid.
10. In J. Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla (3 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios políticos medievales, 1945), III, pp. 1313-1314.
11. In my opinion, this was the case. There was strong separatist feeling in Castile, and there probably was rather widespread sentiment in favor of a king of Castile. It seems doubtful, however, that the incident reported by Lucas of Tuy actually occurred. In the ideas of kingship prevailing at the time, a royal title was not Vermudo's to give, except to his successor in the kingdom of León. Although it is likely that counts of Burgos or elsewhere in Castile may have been agitating for a king, if they did approach Vermudo, as Lucas reports, their objective probably was no more than to seek a promise that if and when they elevated the Count of Castile as their king, he would be recognized by Vermudo. Instability in León was probably so great that the Castilians would have had reason to hope that Vermudo's straits would force him to accede to this. It should be noted, however, that there is not the slightest suggestion in the account that Vermudo was to be 'emperor' over the Castilian king.
12. In Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 376-378. "Ego Sanctius rex . . . Ego Eximina regina . . . Garsias rex, ipsius regis filius, cfs.; Fredinandus rex, frater eius, cfs.; Ranimirus rex, frater istorum, cfs.; Gundisalbus, frater illorum, cfs. . . ."
13. A. Ubieta Arteta, "Monarcas navarros olvidados: Los reyes de Viguera," Hispania, X, núms. xxxviii-

xli (1950), 11-14.

14. In J. de Moret, Investigaciones históricas de las antigüedades del reyno de Navarra (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez Impressor del Reyno de Nauarra [sic], 1669), p. 675.
15. Ubieto Arteta, "Monarcas navarros olvidados: Los reyes de Viguera," 18-19.
16. According to Pérez de Urbel, Ramiro was born before Sancho's marriage to Doña Mayor. His mother is identified in a document of 1070 as Doña Sancha, whom Pérez de Urbel believes was a noblewoman from Aibar. See Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 31-32, 34.
17. Ibid., p. 54.
18. I have found Doña Mayor first mentioned in 1016, in a donation which Sancho made to San Juan de la Peña: ". . . ego Sancius rex, una cum domina matre mea Eximina regina et uxore mea dompna [sic] Maiora. . . ." See A. Ubieto Arteta [ed.], Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña (2 vols.; Valencia, 1962-1963), I, pp. 103-106. Since she appears consistently in all of Sancho's diplomas from 1016 on, it seems safe to assume that the marriage took place around 1016 or shortly before.
19. If the marriage of Sancho and Doña Mayor occurred in ca. 1016, the earliest date for the birth of García is therefore ca. 1017. We know he had been born by 1020 because he is mentioned in one of Sancho's diplomas of that year (Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 357). Ramiro, on the other hand, appears in 1011 in Sancho's documents (Ibid., p. 54). Thus the age difference between Ramiro and García ranged from six to nine years.
20. Ibid., pp. 357-359, 364-368, 371-372; Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1320; Ubieto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 127-131, 135-144, 150-153, 166-169, 171-175; J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 46-52. For

example, a diploma of 1024 was confirmed as follows: "Garsea regulus conf. Ramirus frater ejus conf. Gundisalvo horum frater conf." Another formula, used in 1022, was: "Garsea regulus et fratres eius confirmantes Ramirus et Gundisalvus et Fredenandus cfs."

21. R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), pp. 70-72. Menéndez Pidal entitled his chapter on Sancho el Mayor, "Sancho de Navarra, Antiemperador 1034-1035."
22. This has been reprinted in D. Iuan Briz Martinez, Historia de la fundacion y antigvedades de San Ivan [sic] de la Peña, y de los Reyes de Sobrarbe, Aragon, y Nauarra (Saragoca: Ivan de Lanaja y Qvartanet, Impressor del Reyno de Aragon, y de la Vniuersidad, 1620), pp. 377-378; also Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, I, pp. 185-187. The Latin text is given in Appendix I. I am indebted to Professors Howard L. Adelson and Richard Lemay for assistance with the translation.
23. See map, Appendix II.
24. ". . . Foras Luar, & Sancti Emiterij, cum totas illorum villas, quod teneat filius meus Gundi-saluus. . . ."
25. ". . . & Arrosta, cum totas suas villas, & cum Pytiella, quod teneat filius meus Garsia."
26. See map, Appendix III.
27. I do not find Gonzalo in Sancho's diplomas before 1022 (see Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, pp. 358-359). Sancho's will was drawn up in ca. 1034, which would make Gonzalo 12 at the time.
28. Ferdinand is identified as the Count of Castile in a document of June 7, 1029, in which his aunt, Oneca, transferred her Castilian domains to Sancho. Ibid., p. 160. Ferdinand's appointment as Count of Castile is further confirmed in a private document from Castile issued six months later, on January 1, 1030. Its corroboration reads, ". . . regnante rex Sancio in Legione, et comite Fernando in Castella. . . ." See L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla

- por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos [hereafter cited as Fuentes] (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), III, pp. 69-70.
29. In De Moret, pp. 594-595. The Latin text is given in Appendix IV.
  30. F. L. Ganshof, Feudalism, trans. by Philip Grierson, with foreword by Sir F. M. Stenton (London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 88.
  31. From 1029, when Ferdinand first occupied Castile as its count, until a year after Sancho's death, all documentation, royal and private, is consistent that Ferdinand's sole position was Count of Castile.
  32. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, II, pp. 19-20. Ubieta Arteta also believes that Ferdinand was to remain a count. Quoted in A. Martín Duque, "En torno a la supuesta división del reino por Sancho el Mayor," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), VII, p. 760.
  33. Serrano, Fuentes, II, pp. 46-47.
  34. Monachi Silensis Chronicon, p. 305. "Quibus vivens pater benigne regnum dividens, Garsiam primogenitum Pampilonensibus praefecit; Ferdinandum vero bellatrix Castella jussione patris pro gubernatore suscepit."
  35. Luceae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91. ". . . quibus uiuens pater benigne regnum diuidens, Garsiam primogenitum Pampilonensibus praefecit, Fernandum vero bellatrix Castella jussione patris pro Rege suscepit. Dedit etiam Ramiro, quem ex concubina habuerat, Aragonem, quandam semotam regni sui particulam, ne fratribus eo quod materno genere impar erat, quasi regni hereditarius videretur." This passage is identical to the one in the Silense except for a few variations in spelling.
  36. See n. 8 supra.
  37. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña,

- II, pp. 21-22. "Facta carta . . . , et Fredelandus imperator in Castella et in Leone et in Astorgas. . . ." There is a second example of this usage by Ramiro in a letter dated 1036; however, the date may be incorrect since the corroboration states that Ramiro was king in Sobrarbe, as well as Aragón, and he was not in possession of Sobrarbe in 1036. In Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra, p. 204.
38. See n. 7 supra.
39. Esp. sag., XXXVIII, pp. 300-304. "Ego Fredinandus Rex, & Sancia Regina. . . ."
40. Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 450-454.
41. In Pérez de Urbel, Historia del condado de Castilla, III, p. 1322. ". . . Fredenando gratia Dei rex obtinente Castella et Legione. . . ."
42. Ibid., III, pp. 1364-1365, 1376-1377.
43. The last diploma we have from Vermudo is dated June 9, 1037. See Barrau-Dihigo, pp. 451-454.
44. Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi. Chronicon Regum Legionensium [hereafter cited as Chronicon Regum Legionensium], in Esp. sag., XIV, pp. 485-486. "His peractis [i.e., the death and burial of Vermudo III] praefatus Rex Fredenandus venit, & obsedit Legionem, & post paucos dies cepit eam, & intravit cum multitudine maxima militum, & accepit ibi coronam, & factus est Rex in Regno Legionis, & Castella."
45. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, II, pp. 19-20, 21-22. The corroboration of a letter of dowry written by Ramiro in August 1036 reads as follows: "Regnante imperator Veremundo in Leone, et comite Fredinando in Castella, et rex Garsea in Pampilonia, et rex Ranimirus in Aragone, et rex Gundesalbus in Ripacorca. Ego Ranimirus rex. . . ." In another document of 1036, a donation by Ramiro, only Ramiro is entitled king: ". . . regnante me rege Ranimiro, gratia Dei in Aragone et in Suprarbi [incorrect; see n. 37 above], fratre meo Garseano in Pampilona, et Fredelandus imperator in Castella et in Leone et in Astorgas. . . ." Ubieta Arteta has tried to reconcile the contradiction



between Sancho's policy of unification and the alleged division of the kingdom by arguing that when Sancho made this disposition of the kingdom, he nevertheless preserved in full "the royal potestas." Ramiro and Ferdinand were to be under the potestas of the first-born, Garcia. This did not happen, as Ubieta Arteta recognizes, but he suggests that Garcia may have been too young to rule in an effective manner and that this is why Ramiro and Ferdinand asserted their independence. Quoted in A. Martín Duque, "En torno a la supuesta división del reino por Sancho el Mayor," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, VII, p. 760. I do not agree with this explanation because I believe the concept of potestas is too sophisticated for eleventh-century Navarre. In my opinion, the simpler explanation that I have advanced -- Sancho never divided the kingdom -- is the more plausible one.

46. Ubieta Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, II, pp. 47-49, 51-52. ". . . regnante rege domno Ranimiro in Aragone, et frater eius Gundesalvus in Suprarbi. . . ." "Regnante rex domno Garcia in Pampilonia, et domno Fernando in Leone, et rex Ranimirus in Aragone et domno Gondesalbo [sic] in Suprarbi et in Ripacorza. . . ." The dates of these diplomas are 1042 and 1043. A diploma of 1038 issued by Garcia merely says, ". . . et Gundesalvus in Suprarbi. . . ." Ibid., II, pp. 26-29. I do not know of any documentation issued by Gonzalo personally. He was only about 13 years old when Sancho died, and he survived his father by only a few years. He was therefore too young for most of his seigneurie to have functioned actively as lord of Sobrarbe and Ribagorza.
47. See p. 111 supra; also n. 37, p. 127, Chapter III.
48. Doña Mayor was still alive in 1046, 11 years after Sancho's death. A donation made by Garcia in that year mentions her in the corroboration: "Facta carta . . . coram presentes hos testib [sic], & matre mea Regina Domna Malore, vel fratre meo Rege domno Ranimiro. . . ." In De Moret, p. 566.
49. Monachi Silensis Chronicon, p. 305. "Porro Sancius Rex in senectute bona plenus dierum, dum filius eius Garsias, ob vota solvenda, Romam comearret, hac vita decessit Aera MLXXIII. . . ." Lvcae Diaconi

- Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91. Lucas's mention of this is identical except for variations in spelling.
50. Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, II, pp. 9-11. "Ego Garcia grātia Dei rex qui hanc carta donationis fieri volui. . . ."
  51. Ibid., II, pp. 26-29.
  52. In De Moret, p. 563.
  53. Ibid., pp. 563-564.
  54. Lvcae Diaconi Tvdensis. Chronicon Mundi, Book IV, p. 91. "Era MLXV . . . Qui nimirum Ramirus ad hoc perficiendum adunauerat sibi quosdam Maurorum Reges, Caesaraugustanum scilicet et Oscensem atque Tutelanum, quorum praesidio fretus positis castris super Taphaiam fratri campale bellum comminabatur."
  55. Ibid. "Cujus superbiam quia animositas Garsiae Regis ferre non sustinebat, collectis Pampilonensium fortissimorum copiis, castra hostium ex templo aggreditur. Deinde, maxima parte hostium trucidata, caeteri qui remanserant, relictis tentoriis stipendiisque, inermes fugam arripiunt. Ramirus autem nisi discalceatus super equum capistro regente tuta peteret loca, dies illa sibi ultima foret."
  56. Garcia's gift of the horse to one of his knights is confirmed in a donation dated 1043. In De Moret, pp. 563-564. The war could have taken place earlier, however, perhaps as early as 1039, when Garcia acknowledged Ramiro as king.
  57. There is no record of any conflict between Garcia and Ramiro over Sobrarbe and Ribagorza. Within a year after Gonzalo's death, Ramiro asserted his sovereignty over these areas: ". . . regnante rex Ranmirus in Aragone et in Superarbi [sic] et in Ripacurga, frater eius rex Garseanus in Pampilona et in Castella uelga, rex Fredinandus in Castella et in Leione. . . ." Ubierto Arteta, Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña, II, pp. 56-57.
  58. Navarre was partitioned by Alfonso VI of León-Castile and Sancho Ramirez of Aragón. A fuero issued by Alfonso to Najera in 1076 reveals that he had

incorporated this town and all of Navarre up to Calahorra into his kingdom: "Ego Aldeffonsus [sic] Dei gratia rex tocius Gallecie [sic], et Legionis, et Castelle [sic] usque in Calagurram dominans. . . ." T. Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas (Madrid: Imprenta de Don José María Alonso, 1847), pp. 287-298. Sancho Ramírez received Pamplona, as we see from a diploma issued by him in 1078: ". . . ego namque Sancius, Dei gratia, in Pampilona et Aragone et in Superarui [sic] seu in Ripacurzia." J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, pp. 514-515.

59. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, p. 486. "Fecit ergo magnas caedes in Sarracenos, & per unumquemque annum accepit constituta tributa a Regibus eorum." Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, in Esp. sag., XXIII, p. 327. "Fredenandus . . . , ipsum Regnum inter tres filios divisit: & Sancio primogenito totam Castellam cum Asturiis Sanctae Julianae, & cum Caesaraugusta Civitate, & cum omnibus suis appendentiis, (quae tunc Saraceni obtinebant, unde tunc temporis ipsi Mauri tributum annuatim illi serviendo reddebant) in proprium reddit. Alfonso vero Legionem cum Asturiis, & Regno Toletano (quod tunc similiter Saraceni obtinebant, sed tributum illi annuatim inde reddebant) tribuit. Garseae autem, natu minori, Gallaeciam cum Portugali, & Hispalensem regionem cum Civitate Badalioth, in propriam hereditatem concessit. . . ."
60. Ibid.
61. We find this in a document of August 26, 1066, in which Sancho designated the monastery of San Salvador de Oña as his burial place. "Ego Santius REX supra-memoratus, qui hoc privilegium facere decreui, . . . Sancius [sic] rex confirmans." Del Álamo, I, pp. 85-87.
62. This was a grant of various properties to García by a nobleman named García Monniniz. Throughout the document, García (i.e., Ferdinand's son) is entitled rex. PMH. Dipl., I, fasc. II, p. 283.
63. This was a privilegium issued jointly by Sancho II and Alfonso VI on March 18, 1068. Serrano, Fuentes, I, pp. 1-17.

64. In 1067, for example, a donation of liturgical books was made to the monastery of Silos by a private individual, and the corroboration of this document reads as follows: "Regnante rex Santio in Castella, et rex Alfonsus in Legione, et rex Garsea in Gallicia." M. Férotin, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 17-18. Further confirmation is found in a private contract of 1070 covering the sale of property. Its corroboration states that Sancho reigns in Castile and Alfonso in León. Serrano, Fuentes, III, p. 161. Still another confirmation of this fact appears in a private donation of 1071. See L. Serrano, El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII [hereafter cited as El obispado de Burgos] (3 vols.; Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1935-1936), III, pp. 34-36.
65. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos, pp. 86-94. In La España del Cid (VII, p. 659) Menéndez Pidal made the following statement: "In the case of Ferdinand, as in all the antecedents, the title of king is used more than that of emperor." ("En el caso de Fernando, como en todos los anteriores, es más usado el título del rey que el de emperador.") This statement is completely erroneous; Ferdinand never used the title imperator.
66. I have located 28 documents issued by Ferdinand personally or issued by others and confirmed by him. Imperator does not appear in any of these, either in the text or in the corroborations.

There are several instances, however, where others called him imperator. The two documents issued by Ramiro have already been mentioned (p. 147 supra; n. 37 this chapter), but I do not believe 'emperor' was intended by Ramiro, as I have argued in Chapters II and III. There are several instances in which Ferdinand's children referred to him as imperator after his death. In 1070 García of Galicia identified himself in a donation as "garcia gratia dei rex filii fredenandi inperatoris [sic] et sanctia regina [sic]." PMH. Dipl., I, fasc. II, p. 304. In 1072 Alfonso VI used a similar identification: ". . . ego Adefonsus regis [sic], prolis Fredinandi ymperatoris [sic]. . . ." Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 98-100. Alfonso followed this usage in most of his diplomas of 1075, expanding the identification of Ferdinand to "Fredinandi imperatoris magni

filii," and in a diploma of 1077 this became still more elaborate: "Ego Adefonsus, serenissimus princeps, . . . prolis magni ac gloriosi imperatoris [sic] Fredenandi. . . ." For the diplomas of 1075 see Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos*, III, pp. 36-48; *Esp. sag.*, XXXVIII, pp. 318-325; Muñoz y Romero, pp. 259-262. The example of 1077 is contained in a praeceptum in which Alfonso continued and doubled the annual census which Ferdinand had given to the monastery of Cluny. See A. Bernard, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, rev. and pub. by Alexandre Bruel (6 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876-1903), IV, pp. 627-629. In 1074 Ferdinand's daughters also followed this practice: "Ego Urraka et Gilvira, Fredenandi imperatoris magni filie [sic]. . . ." Serrano, *El obispado de Burgos*, III, pp. 36-38. I do not believe the intent behind any of these examples was 'emperor,' although I do think that Ferdinand's children meant to honor their father by the use of imperator, in contrast to Ramiro's use of the title, which merely conveyed effective command without any implications of honor. As I point out in Chapter V, Ferdinand resumed the offensive against the Moslems and repeatedly distinguished himself in battle. With his success, the old Leonese honor of imperator, given to a victorious commander, was revived, though not by Ferdinand himself. This is the intent behind the use of this title by his children.

There is one example, however, where Ferdinand was entitled imperator, and the meaning is unmistakably 'emperor.' This was a contract, dated 1056, between the monasteries of Arlanza and Oña covering an exchange of land. The corroboration reads in part: "Facta cartula . . . sub imperio imperatoris Fredinandi regis et Sancie regine imperatrice. . . ." Del Álamo, I, pp. 73-75. This usage is unique in Spain up to this date, and therefore this single example cannot be taken to support the existence of imperial claims in León, particularly since Ferdinand was not a party to this contract. Nevertheless, this document is of great importance because Oña was a Cluniac foundation. The significance of this will be shown in Chapter V.

67. Professor C. J. Bishko is in error when he writes that Sancho II assumed the imperial title after taking León from Alfonso, which he did in 1072. See C. J.

Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," Studia Monastica, III (1961), 62. [N. B.: Professor Bishko's name is spelled incorrectly on the title page as 'Biskho'; it is corrected on the remaining pages of the article.] There is no evidence that Sancho ever used the title imperator any more than Ferdinand did. The only title used by Sancho was rex. This was also the only title used in private documents.

## V. IMPERATOR TOTIUS HISPANIAE: UNIFICATION AND IMPERIALISM

The history of Christian Spain in the century and a quarter following the death of Ferdinand is the history of attempts to re-create the political unity forged by Sancho el Mayor in almost the exact form envisioned by him. The first to attempt this was his grandson, Sancho II, King of Castile.

The fratricidal battles that Sancho el Mayor so wisely tried to circumvent did in fact occur as a result of Ferdinand's partition of the kingdom of León. Both the Chronicon Regum Legionensium and the Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice name Sancho II of Castile as the aggressor.<sup>1</sup> The details of this war are obscure, but in both accounts Sancho was the victor. The Chronicon Regum Legionensium also mentions that Alfonso was imprisoned in Burgos; evidently he escaped, however, for the chronicler goes on to say that Alfonso went into exile in Toledo, a detail mentioned in the Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice as well.<sup>2</sup> Their brother Garcia, defeated in the same war, found exile in Seville.<sup>3</sup>

These events seem to have occurred toward the end of 1071. Up until that time charters of various sorts, royal

and private, indicate that Alfonso and Garcia were presiding over their respective kingdoms, while diplomas of Sancho refer to him as King of Castile only. In September and November of 1071, however, two private documents from Castile omit mention of Garcia in their corroborations.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, although the authors of these documents appear to have been clear that Garcia was no longer in power, they seem confused about just who did control Galicia, for one of them cites Alfonso as King of Galicia, while the other declares both Alfonso and Sancho to be kings in Galicia.<sup>5</sup>

By 1072 the situation had been clarified, and there is no doubt from the documents that Sancho II had made himself master of León and Galicia, in addition to his own inheritance of Castile. A royal diploma dated January 4, 1072, closes with the words, "Regnante rex Sancius in Castella, sive Leone atque Galicia. . . ."<sup>6</sup> This is confirmed by two private documents of May 1072, both of which identify Sancho as king in León and Castile.<sup>7</sup> Further confirmation of Sancho's dominance of the three kingdoms comes from the fact that after 1071 there is a period in which diplomas over the signatures of Alfonso or Garcia ceased to appear. We must conclude, therefore, that by the opening of the year 1072 both Alfonso and Garcia had been dethroned by Sancho, and the



unity of the kingdom of León had been restored.

Unity did not bring tranquillity, however. Ferdinand had also fathered two daughters, one of them Urraca by name. In defense of Alfonso, to whom she must have been devoted, Urraca is said to have gathered an army under the command of Count Pedro Ansdrez and mounted a rebellion against Sancho in the city of Zamora. Sancho began a siege of the city, but while he was detained in one of his fortresses, a soldier from Zamora managed to enter his precincts and assassinated him. This took place in 1072.<sup>8</sup>

On receiving word of Sancho's death, Alfonso immediately came out of exile and took control of most of Sancho's kingdom.<sup>9</sup> Garcia thereupon hastened from his Sevillian exile, but as soon as he entered the borders of the territories now held by Alfonso, he was taken captive by his brother and imprisoned. According to the Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, Alfonso's mentor in this deed was the redoubtable Urraca. The Chronicon also tells us that Garcia was kept in prison for the rest of his life.<sup>10</sup> He died in April 1090 when, the Chronicon notes, he was given a royal burial with honor.<sup>11</sup>

By this act of dubious morality the unity of the kingdom of León was restored. On December 8, 1072, Alfonso proclaimed in one of his diplomas that he was "Adefonsus, gratia Dei rex."<sup>12</sup> In other diplomas of that

year and the following one, Alfonso entitled himself "rex Legionensis."<sup>13</sup> Private documents are even more specific with respect to Alfonso's realms, most of them at this time describing him as king in León, Castile, and Galicia.<sup>14</sup>

In 1072 Alfonso also adopted another designation, which he used from time to time over the next five years. This was as follows: "Ego Adefonsus regis [sic], prolis Fredinandi ymperatoris. . . ."<sup>15</sup> Later variations expanded Ferdinand's title somewhat: "Ego Adefonsus rex, Fredenandi imperatoris magni. . . ."<sup>16</sup> As mentioned earlier, this was not the practice of Ferdinand himself. During his entire reign, he never entitled himself imperator but adhered to the traditional Leonese titles of rex and princeps. Alfonso's use of imperator in referring to his father therefore does not reflect official usage but was only honorary.

In these instances we see a revival of the ancient Leonese title distinguishing its victorious warrior-kings. Ferdinand had indeed been a general in the most glorious Leonese tradition. His feat in subjecting into tribute the three great taifas of Toledo, Badajoz, and Zaragoza alone would have won him entry into the ranks of the illustrious imperatores; but there were other cities of importance which he conquered -- Coimbra, for example -- and a host of lesser places.<sup>17</sup> Hence Alfonso fittingly

recognized him as imperator magnus.

Not too long after Alfonso first called his father imperator, he himself began to use this title. There is some uncertainty about when he first adopted this. It appears in a fuero issued by Alfonso VI under the date 1074; however, it is generally agreed that this date is incorrect.<sup>18</sup> Menéndez Pidal believed the first authenticated use of imperator by Alfonso VI occurred in March 1075.<sup>19</sup> Alfonso confirmed this document with the title of rex, which suggests that this was simply a continuation of the old Leonese tradition. In these early years of his reign Alfonso established himself as a fighter of equal or even greater stature than his father. The Chronicon Regum Legionensium records that since he "had many columns of soldiers, he traversed all the Cities, & Castles of the Saracens, and, while he lived, took their established tribute each and every year, & he depopulated, & devastated, & ravaged many of their Cities; & he besieged Cities of the Saracens, & took them, & Castles."<sup>20</sup> Undoubtedly tribute from the taifas subjected by Ferdinand had lapsed during the years when his sons were battling each other. Alfonso must have revived this tribute. He is also known to have conquered Talavera, Magerit (Madrid), Talamanca, Guadalajara, and Lisbon, to name only the important cities.<sup>21</sup> Thus his military prowess earned him

the title of imperator.

Profound changes were taking place in Spain at this time, however, that eventually altered the old Leonese tradition of imperator. In the first half of the eleventh century the first contingents of knights crossed the Pyrenees from France to do battle against the Moslems. Most of these came from Burgundy.<sup>22</sup> Then in 1063-1064 an influx of knights from all over France entered Spain in such numbers that this has been called a crusade in spirit, if not officially.<sup>23</sup> During the reign of Alfonso VI, massive numbers of French knights continued to pour into Spain. It is doubtful that Toledo could have been conquered without their help, and the French formed an important part of the armies of both León and Aragón in the great battles against the Almoravid invaders and in the sieges of Huesca, Zaragoza, Barbastro, and other sites.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from the military significance of the French, their entrance into Spain in such huge numbers meant the introduction of a new cultural element into the northwest, for many of them settled in Spain.<sup>25</sup> Navarre, of course, had had some contact with France during the reign of Sancho el Mayor, but this contact seems to have been restricted to the Basque region of France for the most part, while León and Castile seem to have been virtually isolated from France during the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>26</sup>

With the entry of the French into northern Spain in such great numbers during the eleventh century, many of the Spanish were enticed by the culture and traditions of their Frankish cohorts, and signs of Francophilism appear in León at this time.<sup>27</sup>

Alfonso VI played a significant role in the development of Francophilism within the Leonese kingdom. In addition to bringing in French knights in far greater numbers than ever before,<sup>28</sup> marriage ties were formed between the French and the royal house of León. Alfonso's first wife was Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine. When she died in ca. 1078, he then married Constance of Burgundy, daughter of its duke. Alfonso's two daughters, Urraca and Tarasfa, who was illegitimate, were married to Burgundian noblemen, Count Raymond and Count Henry.<sup>29</sup>

Alfonso's marriage to Constance cemented other ties besides those with Burgundy and the French. Constance was the niece of the great abbot, Hugh of Cluny.<sup>30</sup> Spain had first received the reforms of Cluny in the tenth century, when the abbot of Lézat in Cataluña initiated reform of the monastery of Saint Michel de Cuxa in the diocese of Elne and the monastery of Saint-Cugat in Barcelona. His work was continued by the counts of Cerdeña: Oliva Cabrera, who entered a monastery in his later life, and his son, Oliva, who also resigned his title, becoming a

monk and later Bishop of Vich and counsellor to Sancho el Mayor.<sup>31</sup>

Sancho himself had been an important instrument in the spread of Cluniac reforms within Spain. In 1025 he sent a monk named Paternus to Cluny to familiarize himself more fully with the work and the spirit of the great religious house. When Paternus returned, he was made abbot of the monastery of San Juan de la Peña in Aragón, which affiliated itself with the Congregation of Cluny and became one of its major houses in Spain.<sup>32</sup> Eventually some 20 monasteries in Spain became attached to the Congregation of Cluny, among them the monasteries of Leyre and Santa María de Nájera in Navarre; San Salvador de Oña and San Zoil de Carrión in Castile; and the monastery of Rates in Portugal.<sup>33</sup> Many of these had dependencies; Oña, for example, had almost 200 monasteries attached to it.<sup>34</sup> Other monasteries in Spain observed the rule of Cluny, though they did not actually affiliate with the Congregation, and often their abbots and many of their monks were Cluniacs from France. Of this type, the monastery of Sahagún in Old Castile was the most prominent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>35</sup>

The sympathies of Sancho el Mayor for Cluny were transmitted to his son, Ferdinand of León and Castile. At some unknown date in his reign, Ferdinand committed

himself to make an annual gift to the monastery of Cluny of 1,000 gold metcales, an Arab denomination.<sup>36</sup> Ferdinand's son, Sancho II, inherited some of his father's affection for the Cluniacs, particularly those of San Salvador de Oña. During his brief reign he conferred monasteries, towns, and exemptions upon Oña, and in 1070 he designated Oña as his burial site.<sup>37</sup>

But it was Alfonso VI who was the most magnanimous towards the monasteries of Cluny and who permitted Cluniac monks a plenitude of religious and political influence within his realms. His monetary donations to Cluny far exceeded those of Ferdinand and were in amounts enormous for the times. In ca. 1074 he doubled the annual gift made by his father; this was renewed in 1077 and confirmed again in Alfonso's testament of 1090.<sup>38</sup> Besides this, Alfonso contributed vast sums of money for the construction of a new basilica at Cluny.<sup>39</sup> He was also generous in transferring monasteries within León and Castile to the jurisdiction of Cluny.<sup>40</sup>

Alfonso advanced the cause of Cluny in other ways as well. A few years after he had regained León and imposed himself over Castile and Galicia, he wrote to Hugh of Cluny requesting that Cluniac monks be assigned to his kingdom. Among those sent to Spain was a monk named Robert, who was chosen abbot of Sahagún in 1079 and

subsequently papal legate. Alfonso had particular affection for Sahagún because he had taken refuge there after his defeat by Sancho II. Its new abbot, Robert, became an important influence upon Alfonso and his Burgundian queen, Constance.<sup>41</sup>

Robert clashed with Pope Gregory VII, however, over substitution of the Roman rite for the old Mozarabic rite in the Leonese kingdom, and he was removed as papal legate and ordered back to Cluny.<sup>42</sup> His replacement as abbot of Sahagún was Bernard of Sédillac. Bernard had been born of a noble family of Sauvetat de Savères in Agen. He entered a Cluniac monastery in the diocese of Auch, and later he went to Cluny itself at the invitation of the abbot Hugh. Bernard was sent to Spain, probably at the time of Alfonso's request for Cluniac monks. It is believed that he was a member of the monastery of Sahagún; later he became its abbot. In 1085 he was named Archbishop of Toledo.<sup>43</sup>

Under the archiepiscopacy of Bernard, both Cluniac and French influences remained strong in the kingdom of León. He is believed to have established a cathedral school at Toledo, and this became the major source of bishops and archbishops for the kingdom. In addition, he brought a great many French clergy to León, especially from Aquitaine.<sup>44</sup>



Bernard and his fellow Cluniacs brought an organizing ability to León that seems to have been largely absent up to that time. This, of course, was the period in which the papacy inaugurated its comprehensive program of reform and centralization. The Cluniacs were in the forefront of this effort in Spain, as they were elsewhere. A major step was taken toward centralization of the Spanish church in 1088, when Pope Urban II revived the office of Primate of Spain. His appointee to this office was Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo.<sup>45</sup>

Ecclesiastical unification paralleled an effort toward the political unification of Spain that was now resumed under Alfonso VI. In 1076 Sancho IV, King of Navarre, had been assassinated. He was survived only by his brother Raymond, whom the Codex of Roda accuses of the crime.<sup>46</sup> In the terse fashion of medieval annals, the Codex merely states that "Alfonso, the king, came from León to Nájera and he subjected Pamplona to his jurisdiction."<sup>47</sup> It is uncertain whether Alfonso invested Pamplona itself; however, it is definite that Nájera and all of Navarre south of the Ebro up to and including Calahorra were incorporated into the kingdom of Alfonso VI.<sup>48</sup> Pamplona and the rest of Navarre were absorbed into the kingdom of Aragón, then ruled by Sancho Ramírez I.<sup>49</sup>

Until 1076 Alfonso usually used the title "rex

Legionis" or often simply "rex." As early as 1072, however, there are signs of a more sophisticated political mentality in Alfonso than in his father, Ferdinand, as well as broader aims. The signs are the revival of the unitary concept introduced by Sancho el Mayor. In a diploma of 1072 Alfonso adopted the title, "rex Hispaniae."<sup>50</sup> This title appears again in two documents of 1075. In one of them, Alfonso transferred the cathedral church of Burgos so that it would adjoin his palace.<sup>51</sup> The second decreed the incorporation of the bishopric of Oca into that of Burgos.<sup>52</sup>

In 1077 Alfonso made an important addition to this title of rex Hispaniae. From this date thereafter, Alfonso proclaimed in his diplomas that he was ruler over "totius Hispaniae."<sup>53</sup> This became the standard formula in his diplomas for the rest of his reign, though there was an occasional elaboration of this in a few documents. Alfonso's claim was close to the truth as far as Moslem Spain was concerned. It is probable that by 1077 Toledo, Badajoz, and Zaragoza had once again been returned to the status of tribute-paying dependents.<sup>54</sup> This, plus the Portuguese territories conquered by Ferdinand, made Alfonso the sovereign of approximately two-thirds of the peninsula. But the adoption of the titular formula "totius Hispaniae" simultaneous with Alfonso's acquisition of Nájera and part

of Navarre indicates that this formula had special reference to that situation rather than to his arrangements with the Moslems.

It will be remembered that the kingdom of Aragón was linked to that of Navarre by a feudal contract in which Ramiro I became the vassal of Garfoa III of Navarre and, subsequently, Garfoa's successor, Sancho IV.<sup>55</sup> Presumably this contract was renewed when Ramiro's son succeeded him in 1063. With the assassination of Sancho IV in 1076, Alfonso VI of León then invested Nájera, as mentioned. Nájera had become the royal seat of the kingdom of Navarre during the reign of Garfoa III, and possibly earlier.<sup>56</sup> When Alfonso took possession of the royal capital, he undoubtedly assumed that he had also taken possession of all the rights and obligations accruing to the Navarrese crown, among them lordship over the King of Aragón.

Alfonso's claim had another, perhaps stronger, basis. His father, Ferdinand, had defeated Garfoa III of Navarre in battle, and according to the Chronicon Regum Legionensium Ferdinand "acceptit Regnum ejus Era MXCII."<sup>57</sup> Ferdinand was never able to invest the kingdom of Navarre, but this chronicle is quite clear that it was rightfully his, because Nájera and Pamplona "cum omnibus regalibus sibi pertinentibus" were among the lands which, according to this chronicle, Ferdinand conferred upon his first-born, Sancho II.<sup>58</sup>

In the eyes of Alfonso VI, therefore, he was simply making good the conquest of his father and the transferral of the royal rights of the Navarrese dynasty to the house of León. Alfonso's claim of sovereignty thus referred to Aragón, as well as Navarre and his own realms. These, plus his dominance of most of Moslem Spain, prompted his declaration that he ruled "all Spain."

In this way Alfonso VI attempted to restore the unity of Christian Spain as it had existed under Sancho el Mayor and in the form, namely vassalage, created by the great Sancho. But although less than 50 years had elapsed between the reign of Sancho and Alfonso's restoration of his empire, the course of events in that time necessitated a revision of Sancho's original plan.

By 1076 the existence of Aragón as a kingdom was a fact, tiny as the kingdom was. Hereditary succession was in force there, and her first two kings had proven capable rulers and generous patrons of the Church.<sup>59</sup> The plan of Sancho el Mayor had been a united Spain under a single king. In 1076 Aragón was too well established as a kingdom to permit unification under Sancho's formula. The substitute worked out by his sons in which the King of Navarre was to have superior status, with the subordination of the King of Aragón in vassalage to him, had proven too fragile. In actuality, the King of Aragón had ignored the King of

Navarre, while the King of León had never acknowledged any supremacy on the part of the Navarrese king. By the end of the eleventh century, moreover, the old Germanic notion that a king could be subordinate to another king had lost validity in the West. Rex connoted supremacy within the lands over which one was king. Two who bore the title of rex were equals in rank and authority, if not necessarily in power. In 1076, therefore, a new formula had to be devised to express the unification of Christian Spain proclaimed by Alfonso VI and to convert that claim into a reality. The solution was to make him an emperor.

In 1079 royal documents began to appear in which Alfonso used imperator exclusively. On September 3, 1079, Alfonso issued a praeceptum under the title, "divina gratia imperator totius Hispanie."<sup>60</sup> The next year, on March 10, we have a similar example: "Ego vero Adefonsus, divina virtute totius Ispanie imperator."<sup>61</sup> In May 1081 Alfonso again used the title, "imperator totius Yspanie [sic]," and in December of that same year it appears again, although he also used rex in this latter document.<sup>62</sup> During 1085 imperator in one form or another was used in all of Alfonso's diplomas.

The three diplomas issued in 1079, 1080, and May 1081 have this feature in common: Cluny or its monks were involved in all of them. The document of 1079 was a

praeceptum in which Alfonso gave the monastery of Santa Maria of Najera to Abbot Hugh and the Congregation of Cluny. The diploma of 1080 was directed to the monastery of Sahagún, which was populated by Cluniac monks and observed the rule of Cluny. The document of 1081 was also a praeceptum conferring the monastery of Santa Columba, near Burgos, upon the Congregation of Cluny. We find no clue among the witnesses to these documents which might enable us to identify specifically the individual responsible for this innovation in Alfonso's titular formula. Certain of the witnesses appear in all three documents; however, they also appear in earlier diplomas where Alfonso's title is merely rex, and therefore it does not seem likely that they should be credited with the idea.

Rather, the probability is that Hugh himself was the source of this title and the political arrangements it represents. Hugh was in close contact with the Leonese kingdom, not only through the monks of his order and through emissaries, but in person. He was papal legate to Spain in 1073, and it is probable that in this capacity he visited the country at about this time.<sup>63</sup> He also journeyed to Spain in 1076 and 1080, according to a French chronicle, leading expeditions of French barons on both occasions.<sup>64</sup> Again in 1090 the abbot of Cluny came to Spain, where he conferred with Alfonso VI at Burgos.<sup>65</sup>

While ecclesiastical matters undoubtedly were on Hugh's agenda during these visits, there is direct evidence that he also had a hand in the internal politics of Spain. This is a letter, without date, to Hugh from the two sons-in-law of Alfonso VI, Counts Raymond and Henry.<sup>66</sup> In this letter Raymond and Henry repeat an oath they took in the presence of Dalmatius Geret, who had been sent by Hugh to the two counts. The letter is nothing less than a disposition of the Leonese kingdom after Alfonso's death.

Alfonso had one son, Sancho; however, he was not born until approximately the last decade of the eleventh century.<sup>67</sup> There is no mention of Sancho in the letter from Raymond and Henry to the abbot of Cluny; therefore, Sancho must not yet have been born when this letter was written. Hope that Alfonso would have a male heir had probably been abandoned, for Alfonso had already seen two or three wives go to the grave, none of whom had given him the longed-for son.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, by this written oath Alfonso's son-in-law, Raymond, was to succeed him, while Henry swore to become his vassal. Anticipating unrest after Alfonso's death, both counts swore to defend the kingdom "against all men and women," as well as against any single adversary. Henry was to be given Toledo and its appurtenances, which he was to hold in fief of his lord, Raymond, who would occupy León and Castile. If they

could not retain Toledo, then Henry was to be granted Galicia, again in fief of Raymond. If Toledo was secured, its treasury was to be divided between the two, with Raymond receiving two-thirds of it, and Henry the remaining third.

Thus the object of this document was to secure a stable succession to Alfonso's kingdom and, most important, to prevent any dismemberment of the kingdom after his death. In a matter of such critical importance, it is astonishing to note that Alfonso VI, the King, was not a party to this document, nor does he even seem to have been present when Raymond and Henry took their oaths. Neither were Raymond or Henry the originators of this plan. The letter is absolutely explicit that this succession was imposed upon Raymond and Henry by none other than the abbot of Cluny. After the salutation, the letter reads as follows:

You know, most beloved Father [i.e., Hugh], that after we saw your legate, we did what you commanded us [italics added], in the hand of the lord Dalmatius Geret, through fear of almighty God and the blessed Apostle Peter and reverence for your dignity.

The disposition of the kingdom summarized above then follows in the form of an oath by the two counts. Thus a policy of unification can be traced to Hugh himself. In the case of this letter, the policy was directed only toward the kingdom of León; however, the association of Hugh and Cluny



with the three documents in which Alfonso first began to entitle himself "imperator totius Hispaniae" strongly suggests that Hugh of Cluny was personally responsible for the introduction of an imperial idea into Spain.

For the Cluniacs, coming from the Carolingian tradition, were steeped in an ambience in which imperator meant 'emperor.' As early as 1056, during the reign of Ferdinand I, we find an example in which Cluniacs were using imperator in this sense. This was a document in which the Cluniac monasteries of Oña and Arlanza exchanged some land. Its corroboration reads, "Facta cartula . . . sub imperio imperatoris Fredinandi regis et Sancie regine imperatrice [*italics added*] regnum regentes in Leone et in Gallecia et in Castella. . ."<sup>69</sup> As far as Alfonso VI is concerned, his wives remained regina only, although he was called imperator; however, we have other reasons for believing that from about 1079 on, 'emperor' was intended when he used the title imperator in his diplomas. Unlike all examples from prior reigns, imperator was used by Alfonso in the corroborations of his diplomas, frequently without the accompaniment of rex. Thus in Alfonso's usage imperator had an official status which it did not have in previous reigns. Another indication of the newly acquired importance of imperator is the frequency with which Alfonso used this title. It appeared in approximately half the

diplomas issued by him between 1086 and 1094. Then from 1095 until Alfonso's death in 1109, imperator, sometimes with rex, was the formula in the overwhelming majority of Alfonso's diplomas, and indeed it displaced rex entirely in two-thirds of these later diplomas.<sup>70</sup>

It was during the reign of Alfonso VI, therefore, that the idea of an 'Emperor of all Spain' was born. Drawing upon the centralizing program of the Church, the powers of the Leonese kingdom, among them Hugh of Cluny and his fellow Cluniac, Archbishop Bernard of Toledo, seem to have attempted to apply this same policy of centralization to the internal politics of Spain. The formula devised for this program was simplicity itself -- the ancient Leonese honor of imperator, already in use in Spain, was simply transformed into an imperial title to be held by the King of León expressing his primacy over the other rulers of Spain.

The timing of Hugh's innovation is particularly interesting, for an 'Emperor of Spain' appeared at the height of the conflict between the German Emperor, Henry IV, and Pope Gregory VII. In 1076 and again in 1080 Henry IV had been deposed by Gregory VII. In 1079, 1080, and 1081 Alfonso VI began to use imperator in the sense of 'emperor.' It is tempting to search for some link between the investiture conflict and Alfonso's adoption of an

imperial title.<sup>71</sup> Were Alfonso and the Cluniacs perhaps advancing the Spanish 'Emperor' as a substitute for the German one? It is an intriguing thought; however, it is one that must be rejected. Hugh had ties to Henry IV, as well as to Alfonso VI, for he was the godfather to the German Emperor.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, there is no indication that Hugh turned against Henry at any point in the controversy. Instead, the abbot of Cluny seems to have tried to tread a middle ground, serving as mediator between the Emperor and Gregory on more than one occasion.<sup>73</sup>

Nevertheless, the assumption of an imperial title by Alfonso VI may not have been entirely unrelated to the great church-state conflict. The problem between Pope and Emperor centered about the principle of supremacy. As interpreted by both antagonists, supremacy meant supreme power in both spheres, the secular and the ecclesiastical, because no definition had yet been made of the two orders that had succeeded in separating them.<sup>74</sup> The propagandists on both sides were able to marshal persuasive arguments and precedents to support their positions, and so in 1076-1080 the theoretical impasse in the investiture conflict was as great as the political dilemma in which Henry, Gregory, and finally Rudolph found themselves.

Within this context, the Spanish imperial title appears to have been a diplomatic stroke of considerable

ingenuity. On the one hand, it was a useful device for bringing about the political unification of Spain. Yet the Spanish 'Emperor' was never imperator augustus, and so the pre-eminence of the German Emperor remained essentially intact. On the other hand, was it not politically convenient for the papal side in the investiture conflict that there be a second emperor in the West? By his very existence alone, did not the Spanish Emperor diminish the claims to supremacy of the German Emperor? And with the German imperial position diminished in this way, the papal position was automatically enhanced. Thus, while Hugh fostered political unity within Spain, he stood for the dilution of this principle when it was applied to Europe, while at the same time supporting the ecclesiastical unity of Europe under the papacy. It was the diplomacy of an adroit intelligence, a realistic mediator who attempted to combine principle with practical politics.

This is not to suggest that the papacy had any part in fostering Spanish imperialism, though certainly the popes of this period were aware of this development. The King of León was never addressed as 'Emperor' in papal bulls, nor is there so much as a hint that the King of León might have had any kind of jurisdiction or superiority over the King of Aragón. Contrary to Menéndez Pidal's assertion, papal policy at this time was to recognize

the two monarchs as equals.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the papacy complicated the process of unification somewhat, though it did not necessarily impede it. In 1095 Urban II issued a bull to Pedro I of Aragón taking the kingdom under the protection of the Holy See in return for the payment of an annual census. The bull is in effect a recognition of the sovereignty of Aragón, for Urban wrote in part: "Wherefore no one hereafter [of those] living and holding the Christian faith may presume to disturb, invade, or diminish that kingdom without cause on any occasion."<sup>76</sup> Since the kingdom of Aragón was of bastard origins and its status of dubious legality, the effect of Urban's bull was to confer legitimacy upon the kingdom and its ruling dynasty. Thus Pedro could confront the ambitions and pretensions emanating from León with some legal and moral authority. Under the imperial formula devised by Hugh of Cluny, Aragón's new status did not constitute an insuperable obstacle to unification, but it certainly weakened the prospects for converting the imperial title into effective authority at some time in the future.

Thus the idea of a Spanish 'Emperor' was French in origin, though the goal of unification represented by this title had first been envisioned among the Spanish, specifically by Sancho el Mayor. The use of imperator

in the late eleventh century therefore signals the appearance in Spain of a third tradition surrounding this title. We have seen that León had its own tradition, a Roman one, in the tenth century with respect to imperator. Then at the end of the tenth and in the early eleventh centuries we found a second tradition of sorts in north-eastern Spain -- Isidorean and perhaps Arab. Now at the end of the eleventh century, the Carolingian tradition entered Spain, and in this cultural milieu imperator became 'emperor.' The French origins of Spanish 'imperialism' must be recognized in order to understand the remaining history of this title, as well as its disappearance and the failure of unification.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

1. Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi. Chronicon Regum Legionensium [hereafter cited as Chronicon Regum Legionensium], in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 487. "Post haec [i.e., the death of Ferdinand] Sanctius Rex coepit dimicare contra fratrem suum Adefonsum Regem, ut caperet Regnum ejus. . . ." Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, in Esp. sag., XXIII, p. 328. ". . . Sanctius primogenitus frater cum duobus fratribus singulis vicibus pugnavit. . . ."
2. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, p. 487. "Iterum stabillierunt litem in Golpeliara, & ibi captus est in pugna Adefonsus, & missus in vinculis, & adductus Burgos; deinde in exilio Toletum cum Rege Alimemone. . . ." Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, p. 328.
3. Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, p. 328. ". . . & bello captos, alterum scil. Adefonsum, Toletum, alterum vero, scil. Garseam, Hispalim cum omnibus suis militibus, in exilium abire permisit."
4. J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 98-99; L. Serrano, El obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII [hereafter cited as El obispado de Burgos] (3 vols.; Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1935-1936), III, pp. 34-36.
5. The corroboration of the September document reads, "Regnante rex Adefonsus in Legione, in Castella uel in Gallecia." Sancho is not mentioned. The document of November contains the following corroboration: ". . . regnante rege Santio in Castella et in Gallecia, et Adefonso fratre eius regnante in Legione et in Gallecia."

6. Del Álamo, I, pp. 101-102.
7. L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos [hereafter cited as Fuentes] (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), III, pp. 267-270.
8. Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, p. 328. ". . . Urraca sua germana magni consilii femina, cum quodam Comite, nomine Petro Ansuriz, & cum aliis suis Proceribus in Zamurensi Civitate ei rebellavit. Hoc audito Sancius Rex totius Regni posse congregato Zamuram inauspicato obsedit. Dum enim ille in Castris suis moraretur, quidam miles Zamurensium civium consilio & machinatione urbe exiit, & eum in Era MCX. die Sabbati, proh dolor! proditorie interfecit." As mentioned in Chapter I, the calendar used in Spain begins in 38 B. C. The date in this chronicle follows the Spanish Era -- Era 1110 or 1072.
9. Ibid. "Eo mortuo Adefonsus ejus frater, qui ab illo in exilium Toletum impulsus erat, inde rediit, & fere totum Regnum Patris sui sua strenuitate acquisivit."
10. Ibid. "Ipse enim Adefonsus suae sororis Urracae consilio eum captum Feria quarta Idibus Februarii Era MCXI. in carcere trusit, & usque ad mortem eum ibi tenuit."
11. Ibid. "Ad cujus sepulturam fere omnes Hispaniae Episcopi, & Abbates, Legionem convenerunt, & eum honorifice regio more sepelierunt."
12. Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 98-100.
13. Esp. sag., XXXVI, p. xxvii; M. Férotin, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 18-20.
14. Del Álamo, I, pp. 103-104; Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 18-20, 161, 179-180, 241-242, 273.
15. Ibid., III, pp. 98-100.
16. Serrano, El obispado de Burgos, III, pp. 38-48; T. Muñoz y Romero, Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas (Madrid: Imprenta de Don José



- María Alonso, 1847), pp. 259-262.
17. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, p. 486. "Iste bellando cepit Iamego, Viseo, Coimbram, Senam, & alias multas Civitates, & Castella Agarenorum."
  18. The fuero is in Muñoz y Romero, pp. 273-278. He doubted the accuracy of the date of 1074, as did Menéndez Pidal. See R. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, Vols. VI and VII: Obras completas (4th ed. rev.; 8 vols.; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1944-1953), VII, p. 725.
  19. Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, VII, p. 726. The document is quoted on pp. 842-847. Alfonso confirmed it with the title of rex, however.
  20. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, p. 488. "Et cum praedictus Rex multa agmina haberet militum, per-lustravit omnes Civitates, & Castella Sarracenorum, & accepit, dum vixit, constituta tributa eorum per unumquemque annum, & depulavit, & devastavit, & depredavit multas Civitates ipsorum; & vi obsedit Civitates Sarracenorum, & cepit eas, & Castelle [sic]."
  21. Ibid. "Similiter cepit Toletum, Talaverum, Sanctam Eulaliam, Maquedam, Alfamin, Arganzam, Magerit, Olmos, Canales, Casatalifam, Talamancam, Uzedam, Guadalfajaram, Fitam, Ribas, Caraquei, Moram, Alarcon, Alvende, Consocram, Ueles, Massatrico, Concham, Almudovar, Alaet, Valeranicam. Ex alia parte Cauriam, Olisbonam, Syntriam, Sancta-Irem [sic]. Populavit etiam totam Extrematuram, Castella, & Civitatem Salmanticam, Abulam, Cocam, Arevalo, Olmedo, Medinam, Secobiam, Iscar, Cuellar."
  22. M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 131.
  23. Ibid., pp. 131-132.
  24. Ibid., pp. 142-143, 147-149.
  25. Their numbers were so significant that Alfonso VI allowed them the special jurisdiction of Frankish law. See R. Altamira, A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day, trans. Muna Lee

(Princeton, Toronto, London, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), p. 145.

26. There may have been contact with France during the reign of Alfonso III (866-910/911). The alleged letter from the people of Tours has already been mentioned (Chapter I, n. 53, pp. 66-67). The Chronicon Sampiri also mentions an ecclesiastical council convened in Oviedo by Alfonso III "cum consilio Caroli Principis Magni" (Esp. sag., XIV, p. 457). After this, I find no sign in documents or chronicles of any further contact with France until the eleventh century.
27. Diego Gelmirez, Bishop of Compostela and probable author of the Historia Compostellana, was one of the most prominent of the Francophiles. It was under his auspices that the Liber Sancti Jacobi was composed and disseminated throughout Spain and France (see Chapter I, n. 44, pp. 63-64). This was not only propaganda promoting Compostela, it also was pro-Carolingian, exalting the role of Charlemagne in Spain and in the Reconquest. See Defourneaux, pp. 69, 79-102. The incident reported in the Chronicon Sampiri (n. 26 *supra*) in which Alfonso III allegedly sought the advice of the Carolingian Charles (it is not possible to tell whether this was Charles the Bald or Charles the Fat) may also be taken as an indication of Francophilism. Whether or not the incident is true, Sampiro, who wrote in the eleventh century, was not offended by the possibility that the great Alfonso III may have deferred to Charles. Indeed, as the incident is reported, it actually sounds as if Alfonso recognized the superior status of the Emperor Charles. If so, this further weakens the thesis of the existence of Visigothic "nationalism" and imperial pretensions in ninth- and tenth-century León.
28. According to Defourneaux (p. 139), French aid in Spain in the last quarter of the eleventh century "assumed a continuity and amplitude" greater than at any time in the past, and this continued for 25 years.
29. Ibid., pp. 22, 28.
30. Ibid., p. 22.

31. Ibid., p. 19. Oliva's association with Sancho el Mayor is mentioned in Chapters II and III, pp. 84-85, 93-94, 109.
32. N. Hunt, Cluny under St. Hugh 1049-1109 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1967), pp. 128-129.
33. Ibid.; Defourneaux, pp. 20-23.
34. Defourneaux, p. 26.
35. Ibid., pp. 25-26.
36. We know this from a praeceptum issued by Alfonso VI in ca. 1070 in which he doubled the census that had been given to Cluny by Ferdinand: "Ad hoc scito, sanctissime pater, censum quem pater meus illo sanctissimo loco Cluniacensi solitus erat dare, ego, annuente Deo, in diebus vite mee [sic] duplicabo. . . ." A. Bernard, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, rev. and pub. by Alexandre Bruel (6 vols.; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876-1903), IV, pp. 551-553. For the prayers and good works offered by the monks of Cluny in behalf of their benefactors, Ferdinand and Alfonso VI, see C. J. Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," Studia Monastica, III (1961), 53-76.
37. Del Álamo, I, pp. 85-87.
38. Bernard, IV, pp. 551-553, 627-629. Alfonso's testament is in MPL, CLIX, cols. 973-974. The date of Alfonso's first letter to Cluny, doubling Ferdinand's census, is given as ca. 1070 in Bernard. I believe this should be ca. 1074. The last sentence of the letter refers to the introduction of the Roman rite into Spain and mentions a Cardinal Giraldo. This prelate is probably the former Bishop of Ostia who was named papal legate to Spain by Gregory VII in April 1073. Gregory's decree ordering the substitution of the Roman rite in Spain was not issued until March 19, 1074. Hence Alfonso's letter to Cluny must have been written after these two events. Papal correspondence is in D. Mansilla [ed.], La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III 965-1216. Monumenta hispaniae vaticana. Sección: Registros, Vol. I (Roma: Instituto español de estudios eclesiásticos, 1955), pp. 10-12, 15-16.
39. In ca. 1080 Alfonso sent 10,000 talents to Cluny

- (Bernard, IV, pp. 697-698). According to Miss Hunt, the monastery of Cluny relied so heavily on regular donations from Alfonso that its economy came to depend on them. She also cites a letter from Peter the Venerable in which he states that construction of the basilica at Cluny would not have been possible without the gifts of the kings of England and Spain. See Hunt, pp. 78-79.
40. Del Álamo, I, pp. 104-109, 128 et *passim*; Bernard, IV, pp. 560-562, 625-626, 665-668, 719-722; V, pp. 83-86. Some of the monasteries given to Cluny by Alfonso VI were St. Columba in Burgos, Santa María de Najera, St. Isidore (between the Carrión and Pisuerga rivers), and others.
  41. Defourneaux, pp. 21, 30-31.
  42. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31. The correspondence between Gregory VII and Alfonso VI and others is in Mansilla, pp. 15-18, 20-21, 32-39. Gregory's first letter ordering the substitution of the Roman rite for the Mozarabic ritual was written in March 1074. Although Alfonso himself seems to have accepted Gregory's decree, there must have been serious opposition to the change in León, and this must have forced Alfonso to make the changes gradually. In this policy he evidently had the guidance of Robert. Gregory would not countenance the gradual substitution of the Roman rite, however, and after repeated letters urging the change, he finally wrote an angry letter in 1080, denouncing Robert as a "pseudomonachum" (p. 34). Roman rite was not instituted in León-Castile until 1081.
  43. Defourneaux, p. 33.
  44. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36. Among the French clerics imported into Spain were Girard of Moissac, later Archbishop of Braga; Pierre of Béziers, later Bishop of Osma; Pierre of Agen, who became Bishop of Segovia; another Pierre, later Bishop of Palencia; Pierre of Andouque, Bishop of Pamplona. Bernard's successor as Primate of Spain was also French -- Raymond, Bishop of Osma, then Archbishop of Toledo in 1124 and Primate.
  45. Mansilla, pp. 39-41.

46. J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra, "Textos navarros del C6dice de Roda," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Arag6n (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), I, p. 260. "In era TCXIIII [sic] occisus est in Penalene a fraude de frater eius Regimundus. . . ."
47. Ibid. " . . . et in ipsa era TCXIIII [sic] venit Alefonsus [sic] rex de Legion [sic] ad Nagera et Pampilona suo iuri subdidit."
48. Alfonso's occupation of Navarre is confirmed by numerous private documents from the Ebro region. One of these specifies that Nájera was under Alfonso's sovereignty, while several others describe his realms as extending from Compostela to Calahorra. See M. Lucas Álvarez [ed.], "Libro Becerro del monasterio de Valbanera," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Arag6n, IV, pp. 509-613.
49. Documents of Sancho Ramirez are precise in restricting his Navarrese realms to Pamplona only. See J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblaci6n del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Arag6n, III, pp. 502-504; V, pp. 514-518.
50. Cited by Menéndez Pidal, La Espa1a del Cid, VII, p. 726.
51. Serrano, El obispado de Burgos, III, pp. 44-48.
52. Mu1oz y Romero, pp. 259-262.
53. L. Serrano, Cartulario de San Mill6n de la Cogolla (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Hist6ricos, 1930), pp. 239-240. "Ego igitur gratia Dei prestante Adefonsus, totius Ispanie rex. . . ."
54. It is unlikely that Alfonso could have made such substantial donations to Cluny without revenues from the Moslem taifas, and these must have begun to flow into Le6n again in ca. 1074, the year in which Alfonso renewed the census. Only five coinage issues were struck in Le6n-Castile during Alfonso's entire reign, which indicates that the treasury was supplied from sources other than royal mints. This is confirmed by the information, contained in

- Alfonso's letter to Cluny of 1090, that the census, or at least some portion of it, consisted of gold metcales (Bernard, IV, p. 809). Moreover, the Leonese kings did not mint gold coinage until the end of the twelfth century, in the reign of Alfonso VIII (1158-1214). See O. Gil Farres, Historia de la moneda española (Madrid, 1959), pp. 190, 198. The American Numismatic Society has specimens of this gold currency in its Hispanic collection. For the coinage of Alfonso VI, see A. Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes (3 vols.; Zaragoza: Luis Marquina [n. d.]), I, pp. 2-4; also plate 1. The coinage of Alfonso VI is also in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.
55. See Chapter IV, pp. 144-145.
56. A diploma issued by García III in 1052 indicates that Nájera had priority: "Facta carta . . . , rex Garsea in Naggara et in regnis suis." Serrano, Fuentes, III, pp. 336-337. Pérez de Urbel, however, believes Sancho el Mayor was the first to establish Nájera as the royal seat. J. Pérez de Urbel, Sancho el Mayor de Navarra (Madrid: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución "Príncipe de Viana," 1950), p. 67. This is disputed by Gil Farres, who maintains that García moved the capital from Pamplona to Nájera. See O. Gil Farres, "Estudio crítico de las primitivas acuñaciones navarres y aragonesas," Numisma, V, núm. 14 (enero-marzo 1955), 43. My own research has not yielded any evidence supporting the view that Sancho's capital was Nájera, and Pérez de Urbel did not cite the evidence for his opinion.
57. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, p. 486. "Iste praeliando in Ataporca interfecit Garseanum fratrem suum Regem, & accepit Regnum ejus Era MXCII." The entire episode is obscure. García did, in fact, die in 1054, as the chronicle states, but he was immediately succeeded by his son, Sancho IV, and there is no record of any attempt by Ferdinand to prevent this.
58. Ibid. "Dedit Domino Sancio per flumen Pisorgam totam Castellam, Naxaram, Pampilonam cum omnibus regalibus sibi pertinentibus."
59. Ramiro I, first King of Aragón, was succeeded peacefully by his son, Sancho Ramírez. Their resources

were far more limited than those of Ferdinand and Alfonso VI, but within these limitations they were generous regarding the welfare of the churches and monasteries in the Aragonese kingdom, particularly the Cluniac monastery of San Juan de la Peña. See A. Ubieta Arteta [ed.], Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña (2 vols.; Valencia, 1962-1963), II, pp. 11-18, 21-22, 31-36, 47-49; Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, III, p. 502.

60. Bernard, IV, pp. 665-668.
61. Quoted in Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, VII, p. 727.
62. Bernard, IV, pp. 719-722; Serrano, El obispado de Burgos, III, pp. 61-62.
63. Hunt, p. 144.
64. Cited by Defourneaux, p. 141.
65. Hunt, pp. 211-213.
66. MPL, CLIX, cols. 944-946. The full text is given in Appendix V.
67. The earliest date in which I have found Sancho mentioned in Alfonso's diplomas is 1103 (Del Álamo, I, pp. 150-152); however, he died in battle in 1108, which means that he must have been 14 or 16 years old, at least. The date of his birth, therefore, must be ca. 1094 or 1092.
68. Alfonso VI had four, and possibly five, wives. The first was Agnes of Aquitaine. After her death, he married Constance of Burgundy in ca. 1078. Constance gave birth to a daughter, Urraca. In 1099 I find a new name in his diplomas -- Berta, whom the Chronicon Regum Legionensium says was of Tuscan origin. A fourth wife was Elizabeth, who appears in his diplomas in 1103. In addition to these, the Chronicon Regum Legionensium records that his wife at his death was Beatrix, whose country of origin is not identified. I have not found Beatrix in any royal diplomas. The Chronicon Regum Legionensium also mentions two concubines: Xemena, who bore two daughters, and Zayda, who

was the mother of Sancho. Zayda, the daughter of the Moslem king of Seville, was said to have been baptized and taken the name of Elizabeth. I wonder if the chronicler, Bishop Pelayo, did not have her confused with the Elizabeth whom he listed as Alfonso's fourth wife; however, he seems quite clear that the latter gave birth to girls -- Sancha and Gelvira. If this is accurate, then Alfonso's heir, Sancho, was illegitimate. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, pp. 489-490.

69. See Chapter IV, n. 66, pp. 166-167.
70. Documentation from Alfonso's reign is too extensive to cite separately. For the period from 1079, when imperator became his standard usage, until his death, I have examined over 50 royal diplomas and almost 200 documents issued by Alfonso's daughters, sons-in-law, the papacy, other ecclesiastical persons, and private individuals. In addition, Menéndez Pidal cited approximately 20 royal diplomas to which I have not had access. For the period before 1079, I have examined some 30 royal documents and 39 others not issued by Alfonso personally. There were many variants of this imperial title. In some diplomas he is imperator "constitutus super omnes Yspanie naciones." Another variation was "Toletanus imperator." Still another, which he used in correspondence with the Moslems, was "emperor of the two religions." See Menéndez Pidal, La España del Cid, VII, pp. 730-731. I have checked Moslem coinage of the period, however, and Alfonso's claim to be emperor of both peoples is not reflected in the coins minted during his reign in Moslem Spain.
71. Folz believes the two events were connected. See Introduction, pp. 6-7; also n. 23, pp. 30-31.
72. Hunt, p. 145.
73. This is Miss Hunt's opinion. Ibid., pp. 2, 145.
74. Theoretically, the principle enunciated by Pope Gelasius in 494 separated the two orders; however, the exigencies of life in the Middle Ages were such that this principle was rarely operative.
75. Menéndez Pidal cited a bull sent by Urban II in 1094 in which Alfonso VI is referred to as rex hispaniarum,



and he argued that the papacy recognized the superior status of the Leonese king over the king of Aragón. R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), p. 105. He seems to have overlooked another bull of Urban, sent the next year, 1095, to Pedro I of Aragón. In this bull Pedro is also addressed as rex hispaniarum (spelled "Yspaniarum"). See Mansilla, pp. 53-54.

76. Mansilla, pp. 53-54. "Quapropter nullus deinceps viventium et fidem christianam tenentium regnum illud temere perturbare, invadere, aut diminuere qualibet occasione presumat. . . ."

## VI. TOWARD A TRUE UNIFICATION: THE MERGER OF THE KINGDOMS

With the birth of a son to Alfonso VI, the disposition of his kingdom worked out by Hugh of Cluny became obsolete. Moreover, Count Raymond, who had been designated to succeed Alfonso, died in 1107, while Count Henry went on crusade to the East in 1103.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a peaceful succession appeared in the offing as Alfonso VI neared the end of his life, and the program of unification which he had adopted seemed assured of continuation under the succession of his only son, Sancho.

Such was not to be, however. In 1108 Sancho was killed in battle against the Almoravids, fanatic Berbers from North Africa whom the Moslem princes of Andaluofa had called upon for help after the fall of Toledo.<sup>2</sup> Alfonso himself became gravely ill in January of this same year. According to the Chronicon Regum Legionensium, his illness lasted a year and seven months, during most of which he apparently was confined to his bed.<sup>3</sup> Whatever his ailment, he never recovered, for he died in July 1109.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, the idea of a unified Spain had taken some root by the time of Alfonso's death, and the cause of unification survived in spite of the frustrations to it from the deaths of Raymond and Sancho and the lack of

any other male heir. Alfonso's survivors were only daughters: Urraca, born of his marriage to Constance of Burgundy, and Tarasfa, who was illegitimate.<sup>5</sup> In 1109 Urraca married Alfonso I, King of Aragón.<sup>6</sup> By this marriage, the cause of unification was not only preserved, it was advanced, for a marriage contract was drawn up which actually erased the separate jurisdictions of each sovereign, giving each of them equal status in the other's kingdom and in this way merging the two kingdoms into one.<sup>7</sup>

The first part of this document is a donation of lands by Alfonso I to Urraca by way of a dowry for her. The fortress of Estella was given to her in lordship, except for that portion which was held by Lope Garcés in vassalage to Alfonso; however, his vassalage was now transferred to her. Similarly whatever parts between Sos and Uncastillo were pleasing to Urraca, as the contract puts it, were also to be hers, as well as Ejea, Huesca, Montearagón, the castle of Bespen, and Jaca. Tracing these on a map, one finds that these sites are located along the circumference of the Aragonese kingdom; therefore, their donation was in effect a donation of the entire kingdom. Any doubt about this is removed by the lines which follow the above donations:

Indeed I also give you as dowry all those my seigneuries which I have in those other castles and in other places throughout my land which

belong to my lordship. And [I also give you] all those men who today hold or henceforth shall hold honor through me, that all may swear fidelity to you and may become your men from the mouth and from the hands.<sup>8</sup>

Urraca, for her part, did not enumerate specific grants as Alfonso had, but simply stated, ". . . and I give you all that my land which was from the king lord Alfonso, whether uninhabited or populated, which I hold today or shall henceforth be able to acquire with the help of God."<sup>9</sup> By this reciprocal grant of land, the unification of Christian Spain under a single monarchy -- the dream of Sancho el Mayor -- was to be realized. The union of the two kingdoms was sealed by a clause stipulating that a son born of their marriage would inherit the lands of both.<sup>10</sup>

One would like to know who initiated this plan for the union of the two sovereigns and their kingdoms, as well as who its supporters were. Unfortunately, however, no witnesses signed the document, nor is there any clue in the text itself that might throw light on this question. The contract was drawn up in December of 1109. According to the Chronicon Regum Legionensium, Alfonso VI died the previous July; therefore, he was not a party to the contract. He may have been alive when the negotiations for the marriage took place, but the evidence suggests that he was not a party to this plan and that the marriage would

have been contrary to his wishes, notwithstanding his goal of a unified Spain. The author of the Historia Compostelana, who was a contemporary of these events, reports that Alfonso VI stipulated that his kingdom was to go to Urraca and then to her son by Count Raymond, Alfonso Raimúndez, although it is not clear whether Urraca was to rule in her own right or merely as regent for her young son.<sup>11</sup>

Regrettably the historian of Compostela failed to be as detailed with respect to the events surrounding Urraca's marriage as he was with other matters. The chapter that introduces her reign begins with a reference to the marriage after it had already taken place, and no further information is given to us by the author.<sup>12</sup>

Logic may supply what the evidence fails to provide. The likelihood is that the marriage of Urraca and Alfonso of Aragón was the decision of the two parties themselves. Alfonso was young, vigorous, and, it almost goes without saying, ambitious. Urraca, for her part, had urgent need of a defender in 1109. As soon as news reached Moslem quarters of the death of Alfonso VI, rebellion erupted in various Moslem sectors, as well as Portugal, and the danger lasted several years.<sup>13</sup> One can well imagine the alarm that must have filled Urraca and others in her court as they faced new dangers from the Moslem south without a king to lead their armies into battle.

From almost every standpoint, Alfonso of Aragón seemed a wise choice. He was young, of royal rank, and a fighter who was to be remembered in history as "el Battallador." This epithet does justice to only one side of his personality, for Alfonso's documents also show him to have been compassionate and mindful of those who had served him. In 1106 one finds him making a donation of lands to the widow and sons of a man who had saved his life.<sup>14</sup> Alfonso could be sentimental, too, as a donation of 1108 shows. This was a grant of various properties to the monastery where he had studied grammar.<sup>15</sup> He was pious as well. In addition to the usual donations to monasteries, he took an interest in a monk named Giraldus and personally confirmed a hermitage for the monk's use.<sup>16</sup> He also seems to have been particularly anxious for the monks of the Hospital of Santa Cristina, granting them privileges and exemptions on more than one occasion.<sup>17</sup>

Besides these qualities, Alfonso's diplomas reveal a ruler with a strong sense of governing. Unlike most of the Leonese royal diplomas, which usually were merely donations of land to religious houses, Alfonso's diplomas show him exercising his authority widely and forcefully. For example, the original edict granting exemptions to the Hospital of Santa Cristina was followed by another document in which Alfonso ordered his barons, justicias,

alcaldes, and other officials to obey his edict with respect to Santa Cristina.<sup>18</sup> As Zaragoza, Tudela, and other places were conquered by Alfonso, their resettlement and organization, as well as the fate of the conquered, were directed by him personally, and documents were drawn up and issued under his signature setting down the details of their government.<sup>19</sup> Lesser matters also fell under his far-reaching eye, such as the assignment of a little port to the town of Araguás or permission to the citizens of Ejea to fish in various waters.<sup>20</sup> A gift of houses in Zaragoza by Count Rotrón to his soldiers required Alfonso's confirmation, while royal authorization was necessary before one Atto Galíndez could build a house.<sup>21</sup> In addition to all of this, there are numerous diplomas conferring vassalage and fiefs, as well as other grants of land or castles to palace officials and persons who probably were already vassals of Alfonso.

With the marriage contract of 1109, therefore, Urraca acquired a husband who showed promise of being a capable ruler and a warrior able to stem the Moslem tide and keep the Leonese kingdom intact. The intent of unifying Spain was also present in their minds, as the marriage contract shows, and in this same document Alfonso began to use the title, "Adefonsus Dei gratia totius Hispanie imperator."<sup>22</sup> His adoption of this title

concurrent with his marriage to Urraca associates it unmistakably with the unification of Spain and indicates that the Carolingian tradition, in which imperator meant 'emperor,' had displaced the earlier traditions surrounding this title.

But although the marriage was concluded, the hoped-for unification never seems to have taken place. The contract notwithstanding, there is no sign in documentation that either sovereign exercised any authority in the kingdom of the other. Neither is there any sign of joint rule of Christian Spain by Urraca and Alfonso. They might style themselves rulers "of all Spain," but except for the marriage contract there are no diplomas issued jointly by them as co-rulers of Spain. Urraca's diplomas were issued in her name only, as were Alfonso's. Coinage of this period is consistent with the documents. Several new issues were minted during the reigns of Urraca and Alfonso because Moslem sources of currency were beginning to dry up and the Christian north had begun coining its own money. None of the dineros issued by Urraca and Alfonso bear the legend 'Spain,' but only León or Aragón, or else merely the city in which the coin was minted. Neither do these issues show the portraits or names of both sovereigns. Leonese dineros bear only a likeness of Urraca, while Alfonso's is the sole portrait on Aragonese coins.<sup>23</sup> Thus,



although Urraca and Alfonso were legally the joint rulers of León and Aragón under the marriage contract, a de facto, working union of the two crowns did not take place.

Nor was unification ever effected by the marriage of Urraca and Alfonso. Within a year or two of their marriage, Urraca evidently began to have misgivings of some sort, for the author of the Historia Compostellana tells us that she "longed for" the elevation of her young son, Alfonso Raimúndez, to the throne.<sup>24</sup> During this same time she also became estranged from her husband, Alfonso I of Aragón, and we are told that she sent word to the nobility of Galicia, where her son was under the care of one of the counts, to come to León for the purpose of placing him on the throne instead of the Aragonese Alfonso. When the Galicians reached León, however, they found that Urraca and her husband had reconciled with each other.<sup>25</sup> Their marriage over the next five or six years continued to follow this pattern of estrangement and reconciliation. The Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice uses the word 'muliebriter' to describe Urraca's rule,<sup>26</sup> and there seems to be some truth in this appraisal, for the fuller account in the Historia Compostellana reveals her as vacillating and uncertain of her objectives or where the best interests either of herself or the kingdom lay.

Lacking direction from the crown, the kingdom of León

rapidly degenerated into anarchy. After the disappointment over Urraca's first reconciliation with her husband, the Galician nobility raised the standard of rebellion in behalf of her son, Alfonso Raimúndez. They were supported by the major clergy of Santiago de Compostela, and in 1110 or 1111 Alfonso Raimúndez was anointed by the Bishop of Santiago in the cathedral of Compostela as a prelude to claiming the throne.<sup>27</sup> We do not know Urraca's feelings over the anointment of her son. She was not present for the ceremony, and though another estrangement from her husband had taken place, there is no evidence connecting this second estrangement with the anointment of her son. In any event, another reconciliation with the Aragonese Alfonso soon followed.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile Alfonso of Aragón had begun to extend his authority over the kingdom of León. To the dismay of the author of the Compostellana, who was decidedly anti-Aragonese, Castile apparently submitted to Alfonso with little opposition, if any. The author attributed this to the apathy of the Castilians, once the most aggressive soldiers of Alfonso VI, he wrote ruefully;<sup>29</sup> however, the Castilians' history of jockeying for a position of power between the kingdoms on either side of them makes one suspect that once again they were trying to take advantage of their pivotal position, hoping ultimately

to break free from León.

If the subjection of Castile was relatively peaceful, Alfonso's efforts deeper into the Leonese kingdom were not. After Castile, he marched through Campos and Extremadura, both of which had to be taken by force. Indeed the situation seems to have been anarchic, for we read in the Historia Compostellana of lootings, burnings, and wholesale destruction of property.<sup>30</sup> Urraca became alarmed, and once again an appeal was sent to Galicia for help against the Aragonese, whom the Historia calls a tyrant.<sup>31</sup>

The Galicians responded under the leadership of Count Pedro, her son's guardian. Marching into Castile as far as Burgos, they seized a fortress of considerable strategic importance.<sup>32</sup> The account of this campaign in the Historia Compostellana is corroborated by Urraca's diplomas, which describe her as queen in Galicia, León, and Burgos in the years between 1116 and 1118.<sup>33</sup> The success of her Galician knights brought an offer of peace from Alfonso I, according to the Historia, and a council was held in Palencia at which both sovereigns were present. There was considerable opposition to Alfonso in the council, however, while Urraca, as always, vacillated from one side to another.<sup>34</sup> The council seems to have solved nothing, but it would appear that the opposition to Alfonso I had consolidated, for we read of no further reconciliations between Urraca and

Alfonso, though Urraca continued her meandering ways, siding with one group and then another among the Leonese, trying to act the sovereign but unable to live with a decision. Little more is said in the Historia of the progress of Alfonso's affairs, but a careful scrutiny of royal diplomas reveals his situation at this time.

In 1117 the diplomas of Alfonso I continue to show Toledo, the prized possession of the Leonese kingdom, among his realms. Castile is also cited in his diplomas, along with his Aragonese lands.<sup>35</sup> This formula was adopted in his corroborations shortly after his marriage to Urraca, and thus one might conclude that they had reconciled after the council of Palencia. There is a notable omission from the later diplomas, however. León, cited in his diplomas of 1110, disappears from Alfonso's documents in 1115 and is never again cited.<sup>36</sup> Urraca's diplomas of this time claim only that she ruled Galicia, León, and Burgos, which was a town and not a region, much less a kingdom.<sup>37</sup> Thus the documents of these years make apparent what the Historia Compostellana fails to explain: Alfonso I had succeeded in conquering Castile and Toledo, and as late as 1117 his control of these two principalities had not been broken. Urraca was still in possession of the seat of her kingdom and the province of Galicia, but this was all, except for the town of Burgos. The Queen had lost half her kingdom.

Thus the unification of Christian Spain lasted no more than six years, and indeed its course was so erratic during those years that in reality the union of the kingdoms had probably lasted only a year. It is not difficult to see why this latest attempt to unify Christian Spain failed. Within the constituent elements of the kingdom of León -- León itself, Castile, Galicia -- there was little support for this idea among the propertied segments of the population, or even awareness of it. There are few private legal documents from the reigns of Alfonso I and Urraca, but of these few, Alfonso is entitled 'emperor' in only six, none of them from León.<sup>38</sup> The situation had been little different in the preceding reign. There are almost 200 private contracts of various sorts from the years between 1075, when Alfonso VI first assumed the title of imperator, and his death in 1109. Of these 200, only 16 use an imperial title when referring to him.<sup>39</sup> Clearly the notion of an 'emperor of Spain' and its accompanying program of unification was too novel and too alien to most of the Spanish. Only among the Portuguese did this idea achieve any degree of acceptance, and even here it can hardly be said to have had a broad base among the populace.<sup>40</sup> To the subjects of the Leonese kingdom, the union of Alfonso I and Urraca did not represent the fulfillment of an ideal, but only the intrusion of an outsider.<sup>41</sup> Hence

he met rejection throughout most of the kingdom.

The Leonese may also have had another reason for their antipathy toward Alfonso I of Aragón. One is struck by the disparity between the character and personality revealed by Alfonso's own diplomas and the bitter and repeated denunciation of him as a tyrant in the Historia Compostellana. The term 'tyrant,' in medieval parlance, generally referred to the character of a man's rule, rather than his method of acquiring power, as in the original Greek usage. Although the author of the Historia may have judged Alfonso a tyrant because he resorted to force in imposing what was his legal authority over parts of the kingdom, it is possible that Alfonso attempted to introduce into León a clearer and stronger conception of sovereignty than was traditional there, thus provoking denunciation as a "tyrant."

In Alfonso's mind, to reign was to govern, as the diplomas already cited reveal. His fueros provide even stronger evidence of this. They are usually precise in detail and are careful in defining and preserving royal rights. For example, the fuero granted to Zaragoza after its conquest in 1118 stipulates that only infanzones who do not have fiefs may settle there and that the decision as to whether merchants might buy or sell there was to be reserved to the king, as was also the assignment

of judicial alcaldes.<sup>42</sup> A second document issued in 1126 set down procedures governing torts; offenders in this category were to be tried in Zaragoza, but the judge was to be a royal appointee.<sup>43</sup> A document permitting the repopulation of Belchite also grants to this town the same fueros given to Zaragoza. Included in these privileges were the inhabitants of an honor, or fief, held by a vassal named Galfn Sánchez. Though the fief was recognized as the property of Sánchez and his descendants in perpetuity, Alfonso explicitly retained feudal jurisdiction for himself and his descendants in this document.<sup>44</sup> After the conquest of Tudela in 1119, Alfonso granted it the fueros held by Sobrarbe but added further clauses, such as an exemption from all servitio except that due him and his descendants, a grant of navigational rights in the Ebro and other waters, and so forth.<sup>45</sup>

By contrast, the fueros issued by Alfonso VI are usually imprecise in language as well as substance. For example, the fuero given to Sepúlveda in 1076 merely confirms the fuero which the city had "in the ancient time of my grandfather, and in the time of Count Ferrando González and Count García Fredinández and Count Lord Sancho."<sup>46</sup> The fuero given to Najera in this same year announces in its opening paragraph that the laws will be revised and renewed, but the "revision" proves to be only

a reinstatement of the laws as they existed in the time of Sancho el Mayor and Garcia I, his son. Furthermore, Alfonso VI relinquished the right for himself as well as his successors to issue any further laws governing the citizens of Nájera.<sup>47</sup> The fuero of Miranda de Ebro, granted in 1099, simply states, " . . . dedimus eis legem et forum . . .," although further on in the document Alfonso stipulates that the Spanish inhabitants of the city may live according to their own fuero, while the Franks may have theirs.<sup>48</sup> As already mentioned, the bulk of Alfonso's legislation, if such it can be called, concerned ecclesiastical properties -- donations to churches or monasteries, exchanges of properties, assignment of churches or monasteries to the jurisdiction of another religious foundation, exemptions, and the like. The impression one receives from a study of his diplomas is that apart from his military function, Alfonso saw his primary role as king to be the protector of the Church. Barely does he seem to have taken a direct hand in the ordering of his kingdom. Indeed the astonishing letter from his two sons-in-law to Hugh of Cluny confirming the succession to the Leonese throne suggests that Alfonso VI had actually abdicated the internal government of his kingdom to the clergy, specifically the Cluniacs, while he concentrated on the war of reconquest. This may have



been the motive for his continuing enlargement of the properties and jurisdictions of the clergy. In addition, the almost constant presence of the Cluniac Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, in Alfonso's curia suggests a pervasive influence by that prelate in the affairs of the kingdom.

Thus Alfonso's notions of kingship appear quite limited, almost primitive, when contrasted with those of Alfonso I of Aragón. There is no direct evidence that the Aragonese Alfonso tried to impose his ideas of sovereignty upon the Leonese, but it seems safe to assume that he would have tried to rule in León as he had in Aragón. The Leonese were not used to such centralization, however, and their own conservatism had been deepened by the fidelity of Alfonso VI and his predecessors to ancient custom. Thus there was a conflict between Leonese traditions of kingship and Aragonese concepts of sovereignty. It seems likely that this was a factor in the rejection of Alfonso I by the Leonese.

The cause of unification suffered a further setback from still another quarter. Although Portugal was the only region where there is any sign of recognition of Leonese imperial pretensions, nevertheless León's ambitions were rejected by the Portuguese at this time. During the reign of Urraca, Portugal began to assert her autonomy,

eventually seceding from the kingdom altogether. As early as 1114 we find Count Henry, brother-in-law of Urraca, issuing a fuero in a document that contains no reference to the Queen of León.<sup>49</sup> This is a departure from earlier documents of his which always alluded to Alfonso VI in their corroborations.<sup>50</sup> Then, in 1123 we find Tarasfa, Urraca's half-sister and the wife of Henry, issuing a fuero with the title of regina.<sup>51</sup> The next year a fuero issued by one Egas Gundesendiz closes with the corroboration, "Regnante in portugal infante Tharasia. . . ."<sup>52</sup> Again in 1125 and in another document of uncertain date Tarasfa entitled herself regina.<sup>53</sup> Possibly the chaos in the Leonese kingdom persuaded Tarasfa and the Portuguese that they would be better off managing their own affairs. Or possibly Tarasfa's illegitimacy gave rise to an ambition that drove her to seek equal status with her legitimate sister, Urraca. Whatever the cause, the rupture was deep and permanent. Except for the Habsburg interval, the Iberian peninsula was never to be unified.

But the most serious obstacle to the unification program of Urraca and Alfonso I -- and an insurmountable one, as it proved -- was the opposition of the Church. For Urraca and Alfonso were within the degree of consanguinity forbidden by canon law.<sup>54</sup> Once again, we would like to know who supported their marriage and who actually

performed the ceremony, but this information is lacking. We know who did not, however, and the list is long.

First among the opponents of the marriage was the pope himself, Paschal II. The Historia Compostellana contains a letter, inserted in its account of the events of 1109, from Paschal to the Bishop of Compostela condemning the marriage as incestuous and insisting that Urraca separate from Alfonso or suffer the punishment of excommunication and deposition.<sup>55</sup> Then, when rebellion had broken out in Galicia and disorder began to spread throughout the kingdom, the Bishop of Compostela, Diego Gelmirez, petitioned the pope to intervene again. Paschal sent an abbot from Turin, who proposed a synod. Evidently Gelmirez construed this as a compromise, for the Historia Compostellana records that he rejected the proposal, insisting on the sinfulness of the marriage and ruling out any compromise.<sup>56</sup> A council was held a year later, but it resulted from the efforts of the Archbishop of Toledo, who persuaded Gelmirez and several other bishops that it might serve the cause of peace if all the bishops, abbots, and magnates of Spain were convened.<sup>57</sup> In this magnum concilium, which met in Palencia, another letter from Paschal was read in which he expressed his sorrow over the "calamities, subversions of churches, killings, plunderings, burnings" that were taking place in Spain,

and warned that excommunication would be laid upon those responsible if they did not cease. He also wrote that he had decided to send a legate to deal with the problem.<sup>58</sup>

Within León, the marriage of Urraca and Alfonso was opposed by Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, and the bishops of León, Burgos, Osma, Palencia, Mondoñedo, Oviedo, and Orense, in addition to Gelmírez of Compostela. Another opponent was the abbot of Sahagún. Their opposition cost them their offices, for Gelmírez alleges in the Historia Compostellana that all of them were expelled from their dioceses, and the abbot from his monastery.<sup>59</sup> This formidable line-up of prelates against the marriage makes it highly unlikely that Alfonso VI had had any part in the negotiations, in view of his intimate relationship with the clergy in general and especially the bond between him and the Cluniacs, with whom he was far closer than any other ruler of Europe, including the German Emperor.<sup>60</sup> The driving force behind this latest attempt to unify Spain seems to have come from Alfonso of Aragón, with Urraca acquiescing probably for reasons of expedience. If we can believe the Historia Compostellana, Alfonso's ambition was so great that he was driven to extreme measures to impose his authority and quell opposition, whether from clergy or laity.

Confronted with this opposition, Urraca's vacillation

is understandable, although it is also true that hers was an indecisive temperament from the beginning. The pressure from the Leonese clergy was unremitting, and hence her marriage to Alfonso was an unhappy series of separations and reconciliations, the latter resulting from pressures from Alfonso. Nevertheless, even after the bishops had prevailed and Urraca had been separated from Alfonso permanently, she then pursued her wayward course with the clergy, clashing with one or another of them, making peace, only to come into conflict with some other group of prelates.<sup>61</sup>

Alfonso, for his part, continued to use the title of emperor, despite the fact that he and Urraca were permanently estranged sometime around 1115 or 1116.<sup>62</sup> Even after her death in 1126, Alfonso still considered himself the 'Emperor of Spain,' for a document granting a fief in February 1127 contains the identification, "Ego Adefonsus, gratia Dei imperator. . . ."<sup>63</sup> Later in that same year, however, in July, another diploma issued by Alfonso reveals in its corroboration that he had come to terms with Urraca's son, Alfonso Raimúndez, now King of León. In this diploma of July 1127, Alfonso Raimúndez is identified as "rex Adefonsus de Castella."<sup>64</sup> The Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, which is a continuation of the Historia Compostellana, gives an account of these years

which supports the documentary evidence. According to the Chronica, Alfonso I mobilized an army and marched into Castile in July 1127, after the Castilian counts of Soria and Saldaña had recognized Alfonso Raimúndez. When the Leonese Alfonso received word of the invasion, he also summoned his men to arms in preparation for war. For some reason, however, Alfonso I decided against doing battle; he had the support of the powerful Count of Lara in Castile, but perhaps he was still outnumbered by the forces of Alfonso Raimúndez. Whatever the reason, Alfonso I sent an offer of peace to the King of León, promising to return Castile to him. Alfonso Raimúndez accepted the offer; hence, the diploma of July 1127 acknowledged him as King of Castile.<sup>65</sup>

Again in 1129 Alfonso of Aragón invaded Castile, notwithstanding the agreement of 1127. His army was pushed back by the forces of Alfonso Raimúndez, and the Aragonese retreated to Jaca.<sup>66</sup> He must have been able to hold the easternmost portion of Castile, however, for a diploma issued by him in November 1129 states that he is king in Álava and Old Castile, which were the regions that had been detached by Sancho el Mayor in 1016 by agreement with the Count of Castile.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, the defeat of Alfonso I in 1129 was decisive. There were no further invasions of Castile, nor did he use the imperial title after the defeat

of 1129. In all his diplomas from November 1129 until his death in 1134, he is simply "rex."

Thus the plan for unifying Christian Spain through the marriage of its two sovereigns ended in failure. It is ironic that this plan, which was intended to bring unity and harmony, brought instead extreme anarchy. Even more ironic is the fact that its chief center of opposition came from the very source that had introduced the idea of unifying Spain under an emperor -- the Cluniacs. For Archbishop Bernard of Toledo was a monk of Cluny, as was Bishop Gelmirez of Compostela.<sup>68</sup> The abbot of Sahagún was Cluniac in observance, though not juridically, and the bishops of Osma and Palencia were at the very least sympathetic to Cluniac reforms and perhaps were themselves Cluniacs.<sup>69</sup> The monks of Cluny had learned the lessons of the past: when a society is not properly ordered, the quality of the Church suffers almost inevitably. The political unification of Spain, together with the recovery of the Moslem lands, were therefore an integral part of the Cluniac program of reform in Spain. But the monks of Cluny were clear that their ultimate objective was spiritual -- the revivification of the Church and its members. Their position in this conflict between their temporal objectives and their spiritual goals makes it clear that political considerations had not yet eroded their spirituality. And so their formula for uniting

the Spanish, ingenious as it was and precious to them as it must have been, had to be put aside. The law of God could not be subordinated to the unification of Spain.



NOTES  
CHAPTER VI

1. M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 146-147.
2. L. Suárez Fernández, Historia de España: Edad media (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S. A., 1970), p. 207.
3. Pelagii Ovetensis Episcopi. Chronicon Regum Legionensium, in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 489.
4. Historia Compostellana, sive de rebus gestis [hereafter cited as Historia Compostellana], in Esp. sag., II, Book I, chap. 46, p. 96.
5. See Chapter V, n. 68, p. 201.
6. Historia Compostellana, Book I, chap. 48, p. 98.
7. The marriage contract has been reprinted in A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español (3rd ed.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II, pp. 550-552. The full text is given in Appendix VI.
8. "Dono etiam vobis adhuc in arras totas illas dominicaturas meas que ego habeo in illos alteros castellos et in alios locos per totam meam terram que ad meam dominicaturam pertinent. Et totos illos homines que honorem tenent hodie per me vel in antea inde tēmerint, quod totos iurent vobis fidelitatem et deveniant vestros homines de boca et de manibus."
9. ". . . et dono vobis tota illa mea terra que fuit de rege domno Adefonso, sive eremum sive populatum, quam hodie habeo vel in antea acquirere potuero cum Dei adiutorio."
10. "Et insuper hoc totum facio vobis convenio, ut si Deus omnipotens filium ex vobis mihi dederit, et

postea de me devenerit et vos mihi supervixeritis, quod vos et filio meo habeatis totas meas terras quas hodie habeo vel in antea acquirere potuero cum Dei adiutorio."

"Et si Deus omnipotens filium ex vobis mihi dederit, et vos postea mihi supervixeritis, quod tota illa mea terra remaneat ad vos et ad illo vestro filio quem de me habueritis."

11. This information is contained in a conversation allegedly held between Urraca and a Count Ferdinand in 1110. "Tibi etenim notum est & omnibus Hispaniae Regnum incolentibus, quoniam pater meus Imperator Adefonsus appropinquante sui transitus hora mihi apud Toletum Regnum totum tradidit, & filio meo Adefonso nepoti suo Gallaetiam, si maritum susciperem, & post obitum meum totius ei dominium Regni jure hereditario testatus est." Historia Compostellana, Book I, chap. 64, p. 115. It should be noted that Galicia was to be separated from the rest of the kingdom only if Urraca remarried, and this separation was only temporary. This was not a division of the Leonese kingdom by Alfonso VI. The conferral of Galicia upon Alfonso Raimúndez was formalized in a ceremony described in an earlier passage of the Historia (Book I, chap. 46, pp. 94-96).
12. Ibid., p. 98. The opening lines are: "Interea sumpto Rege Aragonensi, cui incesta conjugii copula Urraca Regina inhaeserat, eadem Regina pro filio suo in partes Galletiae nuntios suos celeriter destinavit. . . ." The passage then continues with an account of an uprising in Galicia which was not directly related to their marriage.
13. Chronicon Lusitanum, in Esp. sag., XIV, p. 420. [This chronicle is also known as Gothorum Chronica.] "Aera 1147 . . . Audientes enim Sarraceni mortem Regis D. Alfonso coeperunt rebellare."  
 "Aera 1148. Factum est magnum infortunam supra Christianos, qui ibant ad Sanctarem, in loco qui dicitur Vatalandi. Dum enim vellent ibi Christiani figere tentoria, & requiescere, cum subito ex improvise multitudo Sarracenorum, & Moabitaram & Arabum audito numero eorum venerunt super eos repente, & imparatos eos inveniētes, interfecerunt ex iis plurimos, ibique mortuus fuit Suarius

Fromarigis. . . ."

14. J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), V, p. 532; II, p. 498.
15. Ibid., V, p. 523.
16. Ibid., pp. 527-528.
17. Ibid., pp. 521-522, 526-527.
18. Ibid., p. 522.
19. Garofa Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español, II, pp. 188-192.
20. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, p. 532; II, p. 507.
21. Ibid., V, pp. 533-534; II, p. 498.
22. Between 1109 and approximately 1124, this is the title Alfonso used in the preponderance of his diplomas. After 1124 the title was gradually abandoned because of circumstances which are explained in this chapter.
23. The American Numismatic Society possesses specimens of Urraca's and Alfonso's issues in their Hispanic collection. For descriptive information and line drawings of this coinage, see A. Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes (3 vols.; Zaragoza: Luis Marquina [n. d.]), I, pp. 5-7; also plate 1.
24. Historia Compostellana, Book I, chap. 48, p. 98.  
". . . quoniam eundem filium in Regni fastigia sublimari prorsus inardebant. . . ."
25. Ibid. ". . . ad ejus sublimationem omnes Gallaetiae nobiles invitavit, cujus jussa sine ulla dilatione complentes, iter suum cum omni festinatione arripuerunt. Cum autem incolumes Legionem transissent, Regi Aragonensi viro videlicet suo (si cum esset ei proxima

consanguinitatis linea junctus, vir ejus est nominandus) eandem Regnam reconciliatam, & alligatam verissima relatione didicerunt."

26. Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, in Esp. sag., XIII, p. 329. "Regnavit autem tyrannice, & muliebriter decem & septem annos. . . ."
27. Historia Compestellana, Book I, chap. 48, pp. 98 et seq.; chap. 65, pp. 119-121.
28. Ibid., Book I, chap. 80, pp. 142-143.
29. Ibid., Book I, chap. 83, pp. 149-151.
30. Ibid., pp. 151-152. "Porro hostes ante fores urbis crebros assultus quotidie facere conspiciebat, boves, oves, jumenta, & cetera hujus modi rapi, segetes, vineas destrui, domos incendi: homines interfici, nimium & plusquam nimium dolebat. . . ."
31. Ibid., pp. 149, 151. " . . . Aragonensis tyrannus . . . Extremitatem invadebat. . . ."
32. Ibid., chaps. 83-85, pp. 153-158.
33. J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 172-173, 182-184. The corroborations of two donations to the monastery of Oña in Castile read as follows: "Regnante Urracha [sic] regina in Galleçia et in Legione et in Burgis, sub diuina clemencia."
34. Historia Compostellana, Book I, chaps. 88-89, pp. 163-167.
35. "Regnante me Dei gratia in Castilla et Toletto, in Aragone et Pampilona, in Superarbi et Ripacorza. . . ." Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, II, p. 482.
36. For example, a donation by Alfonso to the monastery of Valbanera contains the following corroboration: " . . . regnante rege Aldefonso [sic] una cum regina Urracha [sic] in Aragone et in Castilla et in Legione et in Toletto. . . ." See M. Lucas Álvarez,

"Libro Becerro del monasterio de Valbanara," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, IV, pp. 602-603. In 1115 the corroboration was reduced to "in Toloto et in Castella et in Aragone, in Pampilona, in Superarui et in Ripagurcia." Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, pp. 526-527.

37. See n. 33 supra.
38. All of them originated in Aragón or its outskirts in the Ebro valley, and they span the years 1116-1129. Quoted in C. E. Corona Baratech, "Las tenencias en Aragón desde 1035 a 1134," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, I, p. 412. Also Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, II, p. 487; III, pp. 515-516, 522, 528-529, 533.
39. Fourteen of the 16 emanated from Portugal, which was then part of the kingdom of León. Alfonso VI was entitled imperator in a donation by the Bishop of Pamplona, which was also under Alfonso's sovereignty, and in a donation to the monastery of Cardena in Castile. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, p. 518; L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), III, pp. 339-340.
40. I have found 54 private documents from Portugal. The 14 examples in which Alfonso was entitled imperator thus represent only about a quarter of the total.
41. Alfonso I and his cohorts were actually referred to as aliens by the author of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris: ". . . gladius & flamma Regis Adefonsi Aragonensis debellabant totam Castellam, & magnam partem terrae Legionis, & filii alienigenarum erant in Castro-Sirici . . . & in aliis Castellis multis. . . ." Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, in Esp. sag., XXI, Book II, p. 363.
42. Garfo Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español,

- II, pp. 188-189. "Et habeant fueros infançones de Aragonẽ qui non tenent honore de senyore [sic] . . . nisi quod vetet rex de terra suos mercatos, quod non ibi comparet nec vendat, et suos alcaldes quod non illum iudicent."
43. Ibid., pp. 191-192. "Insuper autem mando vobis, ut si aliquis homo fecerit vobis aliquod tortum in tota mea terra, quod vos ipsi eum pignoretis et destringatis, in Zaragoza, et ubi melius potueritis, usque inde prendatis vestro directo; et non inde speretis nulla alia iustitia."
44. Ibid., p. 189. This was done by stipulating that Galin Sánchez held his fief of Alfonso and that fidelity was owed by Sánchez and his descendants; i.e., in perpetuity. "Et mando atque affirmo, ut sedeant ingenuos et liberos et franchos, ipsi et filli eorum et domos eorum atque hereditates eorum, ut faciant inde tota eorum voluntate, salva mea fidelitate et de omni mea posteritate. . . ."
45. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
46. Ibid., p. 184. "Et confirmamos ad Septempública [sic] suo foro quod habuit in tempore antiquo de avolo meo et in tempore comitum Ferrando Gonzalvez et comite Garcia Fredinandez et comite domno Sancio. . . ."
47. Ibid. " . . . in diebus avi mei regis Sancii Maioris et avunculi mei Garsie regis, reddidi, ut more illarum legum antiquarum vivant et nichil michi [sic] neque sucesoribus [sic] meis amplius faciant illos."
48. Ibid., p. 186. " . . . dedimus eis legem et forum . . . quod omnes populatores qui in presentĩ [sic] populant supradictum locum et de cetero usque ad finem mundi populabunt, ita bene Francigeni sicut Ispani vel de alia gente quacumque populaverint, vivant a suo foro et de Francos. . . ."
49. PMH. Leges, Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 359-360.
50. Count Henry not only recognized Alfonso VI in his diplomas, he gave full acknowledgment of Alfonso's position, entitling him "Princeps totius Spanie" in one and "inperator [sic] Tolletani" in another.

- PMH. Dipl., Vol. I, fasc. IV, pp. 512-515.
51. PMH. Leges, Vol. I, fasc. I, pp. 360-361. "Ego regina tarisia [sic] ildefonsi regis filia. . . ."
  52. Ibid., pp. 362-365.
  53. Ibid., pp. 365-368.
  54. Both were great-grandchildren of Sancho el Mayor.
  55. Historia Compostellana, Book I, chap. 47, p. 98. "Ad hoc omnipotens Deus te populo suo praeesse constituit, ut eorum peccata corrigas, & Domini adnunties voluntatem. Stude igitur secundum datam tibi divinitus facultatem, tantum incesti facinus, quod a Regis filia perpetratum est, debita ultione corrigere, ut vel a tanta praesumptione desistat, vel Ecclesiae consortio, vel saeculari potestate privetur."
  56. Ibid., chap. 79, pp. 138-142.
  57. Ibid., chap. 88, p. 163. The archbishop of Toledo at the time was the Cluniac Bernard, who was still alive in 1113, the year the council was convened.
  58. Ibid., chap. 99, p. 167. "Regionum vestrarum calamitates, Ecclesiarum subversiones, caedes, rapinas, incendia dolemus apud vos plura fieri, quam a nobis valeant enarrari. Quamobrem prudentiam vestram literis praesentibus commonemus, ut tantorum malorum remedia communicatis consiliis sollicitius requiratis: nos quidem, opitulante Deo, quanto maturius potuerimus, Apostolice Sedis Legatum ad vos mittere deliberavimus. Interim provida vobis divinitus facultate paci publicae providere curetis: illos sane Procures, sive milites, qui honores, obedientias, Villas & cetera bona Ecclesiastica invaserunt & occupant, nisi ab eadem invasione desistant, ab Ecclesiae consortio removemus. Diversarum etiam partium incentores, per quos bella apud vos & flagitia cetera perpetrantur, nisi ab hac malignitate desistant, excommunicationi subjicimus."
  59. Ibid., chap. 79, pp. 138-139.
  60. This is apparent from the devotions offered in

Alfonso's behalf by the monks of Cluny. These far exceeded those for Henry IV. See C. J. Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," Studia Monastica, III (1961), 54, 59 et passim.

61. Urraca's conflicts with the clergy, including the Archbishop of Toledo, were perennial. The account of them occupies a good part of some 200 pages in the Historia Compostellana (p. 194 to approximately p. 421).
62. The exact date of their permanent separation is uncertain. As mentioned earlier in the text, there is no further mention in the Historia Compostellana of reconciliations between the two after the council of Palencia, which took place in 1113. For several years thereafter, Alfonso continued to claim in his diplomas that he ruled Toledo, as well as other lands, but this could only have been a stubborn refusal to accept the ruling that the marriage was invalid. In 1115-1116 the forces of Urraca and Alfonso were at war; therefore, the separation had taken place by this time.
63. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, III, p. 534.
64. Ibid., pp. 536-537. "Facta carta . . . , in illa almohalla super Gissar qui est in illo rigo de Fornellos, ubi fuerunt factas illas iuras per illos conuenios quos fecimus ego predictus rex Adefonsus et rex Adefonsus de Castilla. Regnante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo et sub eius imperio ego Adefonsus in Pampilona et in Aragone, in Superarui et in Ripacurcia. . . ."
65. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Book I, pp. 323-324.
66. Ibid., pp. 325-327.
67. Del Álamo, I, pp. 194-195. "Regnante Domino Nostro Ihesu Christo et sub eius imperio, ego Adefonsus in Aragona et in Pampilona, in Superarui et in Ripacurcia, in Alaba et in Castilla Uielga."
68. Defourneaux, pp. 33, 69-70.



69. Ibid., pp. 25-26, 35-36. The Bishop of Osma during Bernard's primacy was a Frenchman, Pierre of Béziers, who had been brought from France by Bernard. Pierre's successor was also French -- Raymond, who became Archbishop of Toledo after Bernard's death. The Bishop of Palencia was French as well, and he, too, had been invited to Spain by Bernard.

## VII. DEI GRATIA IMPERATOR YSPANIE

The kingdom for which Alfonso Raimúndez -- Alfonso VII -- had to fight was in a shambles when he finally acquired title to it on the death of his mother. Not only did he have to deal with the claims of Alfonso I of Aragón, he was also confronted with rebellions within his own kingdom.

The center of the rebellion was in Asturias and parts of Castile adjacent to it. There a collection of military commanders, called "duces" in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, were holding out in the fortresses under their command, counting on the strength of the Laras to sustain their rebellion. Neither pro-Aragonese nor anti-Leonese, they were simply trying to extract some personal gain from the state of war between Alfonso of León and Alfonso of Aragón.<sup>1</sup>

This rebellion quickly dissolved after Alfonso VII made a successful assault on a few of the rebels' fortresses, but the Laras themselves remained a problem for the next four years. At first they looked to Alfonso of Aragón for armed support, but his resources were too deeply committed to his own war against the King of León.<sup>2</sup> They also tried to facilitate a Leonese defeat by withholding the servitio

owed to the King of León.<sup>3</sup> After the defeat of the King of Aragón in 1129, Count Pedro de Lara made peace with Alfonso VII of León. Nevertheless, within the year he was in rebellion again, looking, as before, to the Aragonese king for help. The Aragonese was off in Bayonne, however, which he may have been trying to attach to his Navarrese lands in emulation of the "pan-Basque" kingdom of Sancho el Mayor. Count Pedro temporarily abandoned his rebellion in order to help Alfonso of Aragón in Bayonne and thus free him to provide the needed help for the Count's rebellion. The Count was unhorsed in battle, however, and broke his arm. He died a few days later. His brother, Count Rodrigo, had already been defeated by Alfonso VII and led in chains to León. After surrendering the castles and towns in his lordship, Rodrigo was allowed to return to Castile, but he returned empty-handed and "sine honore." Thus ended the revolt of the Laras.<sup>4</sup>

To the west, Tarasfa had begun to assert her royal pretensions by military means. Faced with the Aragonese war, however, and a rebellious nobility, Alfonso VII could do little against Tarasfa. In 1126, therefore, he and his aunt met face-to-face in Zamora, where they agreed on a truce.<sup>5</sup>

The rebellions continued. In 1130 a count from a town identified as 'Valle' was able to withstand the

King's counts and finally had to be attacked and defeated by Alfonso himself.<sup>6</sup> Not long after, there was another rebellion in Asturias; again, the King personally had to take the situation in hand.<sup>7</sup> Alfonso was forced to take up arms in Asturias still a third time in 1132, and then again in 1133, each time against different groups of rebels.<sup>8</sup>

These operations, as well as Alfonso's war with the Aragonese Alfonso, prevented the King of León from undertaking any campaigns against the Moslems. Finally, in 1133 he summoned his counts and magnates into council and proposed an expedition, which pleased them, says the Chronica.<sup>9</sup> This inaugural campaign was no token undertaking. An army was mustered from the entire kingdom, assembling in Toledo. From there, Alfonso and his army marched due south to "Portum-Regem" (probably Ciudad Real), where a battle was successfully fought, yielding supplies of animals and grain for their provisions. Thus replenished, they continued further south into the territory of Córdoba. After ravaging the countryside, Alfonso's army followed the course of the Guadalquivir river still deeper into Moslem territory. Half of his forces attacked Carmona, while the remainder marched on Seville, ravaging and burning as they went. In addition to destroying fields and vineyards, the Chronica records that the "priests" and

"doctors of their law" in Córdoba, Seville, and Carmona were put to the sword, and their law books were burned.<sup>10</sup> From Seville, Alfonso's forces marched on Xerez, which they also ravaged, until finally they reached a fortress called "Calliz," which is identified as "along the shore of the sea" -- undoubtedly present-day Cádiz.<sup>11</sup>

On his very first campaign, therefore, Alfonso VII actually reached the shores of the Mediterranean, something only the legendary Cid had achieved before him. The campaign, of course, yielded no territorial gains, but the numbers of captives and the quantities of camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats were said to have been enormous.<sup>12</sup> Equally as important, and perhaps more so, when Alfonso reached Seville on his return march to Toledo, the Moslems sent emissaries to him with an offer of tribute which they promised would be larger than anything heretofore paid to the kings of León. As a condition, they asked that Alfonso free them from the Almoravids. His reply, which shows the guardedness of the man, was in essence, 'See to your own defenses; then attack, and I will come to your aid.'<sup>13</sup>

Alfonso I of Aragón was still alive at the time of this campaign in Andaluofa, but while the Leonese Alfonso's star was rising, his own would soon be extinguished. After the campaign of Alfonso I in Bayonne, which had been

unsuccessful, he returned to Aragón. Within a short time he was again calling his men to arms, this time for a campaign against the Moslems. A considerable army was assembled, including the cream of Aragonese knighthood, Navarrese contingents, French auxiliaries, notables such as Gaston of Béarn and Centul of Bigorra, and a collection of bishops from Jaca, Roda, and elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> Their first objective was Zaragoza, which must have slipped from Aragonese control sometime after ca. 1118, when Alfonso had first conquered it. The city seems to have been retaken with little difficulty, and from there Alfonso and his army moved east along the Ebro to Fraga, about 140 kilometers from Zaragoza. Setting up camp in the vicinity of Fraga, they besieged the city, meanwhile sending out forays into the whole territory between Fraga and Andalucía -- Valencia, Murcia, Almería, Granada. Twice the Moslems sent armies against Alfonso, and twice they were repulsed. Fraga then offered to surrender, but according to the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Alfonso rejected their offer and instead ordered the death penalty for all the nobles of Fraga and captivity for their wives and sons.<sup>15</sup>

The Moslems were not to be deterred permanently, however. Abengama, King of Valencia and Murcia, had already enlisted help from his brothers on the other side

of the Mediterranean. An enormous army of cavalry, infantry and archers was assembled of North Africans and all available manpower from the kingdoms of Córdoba, Seville, Granada, and Lérida, as well as Valencia and Murcia. The battle which followed turned into a disaster for Alfonso and his knights. Surprised at dawn, the Aragonese forces were quickly surrounded and outnumbered. Alfonso's army, including a special royal guard of 700 men, was wiped out, and although Alfonso himself escaped death and, apparently, injury, he had to flee the field along with ten of his knights. The enormity of the disaster overwhelmed him, however, and when he reached Aragón, he withdrew into the monastery of San Juan de la Peña. He died shortly after, overcome by depression and sorrow, we are told.<sup>16</sup>

Alfonso's death in February 1134 left a power vacuum in northeastern Spain, for he had not remarried after his separation from Urraca and therefore left no heirs. By his last will and testament, the kingdom of Aragón was left to the military orders.<sup>17</sup> This disposition conceivably might have provided for the defense of the kingdom, but from the standpoint of a succession ensuring the survival of Aragón as a kingdom, it is puzzling indeed. In any case, this arrangement was rejected by the Aragonese, who had been thrown into confusion and panic by the ferocity

of the Moslem counteroffensive at Fraga and their lack of leadership. Consequently, the Aragonese nobility, clergy, and people turned to Alfonso's brother, Ramiro, who was a monk, and they prevailed upon him to leave his monastery and accept the crown of Aragón. He was crowned sometime in 1134 as Ramiro II.<sup>18</sup>

In this same year, the Navarrese elected their own king, though it is not clear whether this took place before or after Ramiro's coronation. Their choice was Garcia Ramirez, one of the ten who had escaped from Fraga with Alfonso I.<sup>19</sup>

Even though the Navarrese and Aragonese quickly took steps to fill the vacuum created by Alfonso's death, their solutions could only be inadequate. Having spent his life in the cloister, Ramiro could hardly be counted upon as a defender, while Navarre alone could not withstand any assault even if Garcia Ramirez were to prove his mettle as king and general. In the meantime, the offensive of their late king had only succeeded in uniting the Moslem kings of Spain and had brought the introduction of reinforcements from Africa.

The possibilities in the situation did not escape Alfonso VII of León, still flushed with victory after his march through Andalucía to the Mediterranean. Although he had returned to León only to confront another rebellion



in Asturias, this had been quickly put in the command of one of his counts, while Alfonso then proceeded into Castile.<sup>20</sup> Here he must have heard about Fraga and the events in Navarre and Aragón, for when the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris completes its account of the battle of Fraga and returns to Alfonso VII, we find that he has left Castile and is in Nájera, once the capital of the Navarrese kingdom, where he received the submission of the people.<sup>21</sup> The new King of Navarre also did homage to Alfonso VII, apparently at this same time. We are told that García Ramírez appeared before Alfonso and promised to do service for the rest of his life. He was then made a "miles" or knightly vassal of the Leonese King, and in return Alfonso gave him gifts and "hombres," which may have been fiefs.<sup>22</sup>

From Nájera Alfonso then proceeded into Aragón on what the Chronica ingenuously describes as a mission of mercy. Hearing that the nobles of Aragón and their king, Ramiro, were "in fear and trembling," Alfonso is said to have proposed to his knights that they go into Aragón and offer Ramiro "counsel and help."<sup>23</sup> One rather doubts that Alfonso's entry into Aragón was quite as disinterested as described, but however he managed it, his expedition into Aragón netted him the valuable city of Zaragoza, which Ramiro transferred to the crown of León in perpetuity

in return for Alfonso's promise that he would protect the Aragonese.<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, however, Ramiro was not so much "in fear and trembling" that he agreed to vassalage, as had Garcia Ramirez. Zaragoza was a high price to pay for protection, but it was not as high as a diminution of his sovereignty would have been.

If Ramiro did not become Alfonso's vassal, there may have been others who did. It is certain that the Count of Barcelona, who was Alfonso's brother-in-law, did homage to him at this time. The Chronica also reports that the Count of Toulouse, who was a cousin of Alfonso and had helped him in his wars against the Aragonese Alfonso, formally entered into vassalage and received a fief and money in return.<sup>25</sup> The Chronica further claims that all the "Optimates" of Gascony and the region up to the Rhone river acknowledged Alfonso, as well as William of Montpellier and "many sons of French counts, and dukes, and potentates, and of Poitiers."<sup>26</sup>

The next year, 1135, Alfonso took steps to bring his rank and title into conformity with his widening authority. Royal summonses were sent out to all archbishops, bishops, and abbots, as well as counts and military commanders, for a council to be held on the eve of Pentecost, 1135. On the appointed day all of them gathered in the church of Santa Maria in the city of León, where they first

considered spiritual matters. On the second day, Pentecost, they again gathered in Santa Marfa, but this time discussion was not on the agenda. A coronation had been planned, and at the appointed moment Alfonso VII, arrayed in an intricately embroidered mantle, was crowned with a crown of gold and precious gems and a scepter placed in his hands. We do not know who actually placed the crown on his head, but it was the Bishop of the city of León and Alfonso's vassal, García Ramírez, who then led him before the altar, while the prelates chanted the "Te Deum." Finally, the acclamation went up, "Vivat Adefonsus Imperator."<sup>27</sup>

This formal coronation was the culmination of an ambition that Alfonso had nurtured for many years. As early as 1125, even before Urraca's death and when Alfonso had not yet inherited the Leonese throne, we find him using the title "Dei gratia imperator Yspanie" in one of his diplomas. "Imperator" was the title used in the corroboration of this diploma, indicating that its intent was more than honorary.<sup>28</sup> Again in 1126 and 1128 Alfonso entitled himself imperator in two of his diplomas. There can be no doubt that he intended 'emperor' since he referred to his wife as "Imperatrix" in the latter of these.<sup>29</sup> From the time of the coronation in 1135, of course, until his death in 1157, Alfonso used the imperial title exclusively, both in documents and on his coinage.

Thus the transformation of the old Leonese title of imperator into 'emperor' was unequivocal by the reign of Alfonso VII. The question remains, however, whether this title also acquired some content during Alfonso's reign. It is clear from the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris that the Leonese title of emperor now conformed to the common medieval understanding of this title. The author of this chronicle specifically explains that Alfonso was entitled 'emperor' because other kings, as well as counts and dukes, were obedient to him -- Alfonso was 'king over other kings.'<sup>30</sup>

Who were these other kings? Garcia Ramirez, King of Navarre, has already been mentioned. Another king who submitted to Alfonso was a Moslem prince named Zafadola, King of the taifa of Roda. Diplomatic relations between Roda and León were first established in 1131, after Zafadola found himself caught between Alfonso I of Aragón, whom he did not trust, and the Almoravids to the south. Subsequently Zafadola was received in León by Alfonso VII with all honor due a king. As a result of this meeting, Zafadola transferred sovereignty over Roda to Alfonso VII, who then assigned it to the lordship of his son, Sancho. Zafadola did not relinquish his royal title, however, even though he had surrendered his principality. Still as king, he became a vassal of Alfonso VII, receiving in return

"castles and cities" in the environs of Toledo and in Extremadura.<sup>31</sup>

If, at this point, Zafadola seems to have been a king without a kingdom, he apparently rectified the situation. During the next decade or so he made himself master of Córdoba, once the capital of the caliphate, and in ca. 1145 he added to this the important Moslem cities of Ubeda, Baeza, and Jaén.<sup>32</sup> These, together with the fiefs which presumably he still held of Alfonso VII, constituted a veritable little kingdom, of which Zafadola might rightfully call himself king. In spite of this not insignificant power and in spite of close ties with certain other Moslem princes, Zafadola evidently remained a faithful vassal of Alfonso VII, as well as a useful one. Frequently he served as liaison or mediator between Alfonso and Moslem groups, either frustrating attack upon the Leonese or else persuading his co-religionists to look to Alfonso for leadership in their own wars against the Almoravid Moslems. Zafadola himself continued to pay tribute to Alfonso until his death in 1146.<sup>33</sup>

Another king who became a vassal of Alfonso was a king of Murcia. We know this from two royal diplomas of 1156, which list him among Alfonso's vassals.<sup>34</sup> There is no further information on this addition to the Leonese "empire," however.

Two more kings were added to the monarchs under the Leonese emperor when Alfonso conferred royal titles upon his sons, Sancho and Ferdinand. Sancho may have been called 'king' as early as 1146, the date of a private donation which was confirmed by Alfonso and Sancho; however, the confirmation may have been made at a later date.<sup>35</sup> Both sons were entitled rex in 1148 and again in 1150.<sup>36</sup> After this date they are usually given the title of king, both in royal diplomas and in private documents.

The situation is less clear with respect to Alfonso's non-royal vassals. After the impressive array of vassals from Toulouse, Gascony, Poitiers, and elsewhere in France who attended Alfonso's coronation, they disappear from sight. There is no further mention of them in the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, nor do they ever appear in Alfonso's diplomas as members of his curia and witnesses to his diplomas. Of those who attended the coronation, only the Count of Barcelona and Garfoa, King of Navarre, reappear in Alfonso's curia during the following decades of his reign, though not frequently, and despite a reference to "alii multi Vassalli ejusdem" in a diploma of 1156, these two are the only vassals ever mentioned explicitly, besides the king of Murcia and Zafadola.<sup>37</sup>

The author of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris seems to have been mistaken when he wrote of French vassals.

Whatever ceremony they performed at the coronation, it could not have been formal homage, whereby they became vassals of the King of León. If feudal contracts were made at this time, we would expect to find some indication of this in Alfonso's diplomas. Yet they are never mentioned in royal documents and, more significantly, Alfonso never made any claim in his diplomas of sovereignty over Gascony, Toulouse, or any of the other places in France which his supposed vassals held as feudal lords. It is more likely that these French lords are just another example of the almost constant flow of knights who had been traversing the Pyrenees for nearly a century in search of fortune or moved by religious convictions. The "fiefs" that they received were probably no more than compensation for services performed, not security for services to be rendered in the future, as a true fief would have been, and whatever acknowledgment they gave at Alfonso's coronation was undoubtedly just the courteous recognition of a benefactor, rather than acceptance of Alfonso as their feudal lord.

Alfonso's "empire," if such it can be called, was purely Spanish. Its nucleus was the kingdom of León, with its component regions of Galicia, Castile, Toledo, and Extremadura. Córdoba and Baeza are also cited as possessions of Alfonso in his diplomas.<sup>38</sup> These were

acquired either through the vassalage of Zafadola, who conquered them, or else they reverted to Alfonso when Zafadola died.<sup>39</sup> Other sites in or near Andalucia over which he claimed sovereignty were Almeria, Anddjar, and Calatrava.<sup>40</sup> In the northeast, Soria, Calatayud, and Calahorra were part of the Leonese "empire."<sup>41</sup>

The status of Zaragoza is more complicated, however. Both León and Aragón had some claim to this taifa, once the ancient Roman city of Caesar Augusta. Ferdinand I of León had subjected it to tribute, but it had slipped from Leonese control, probably in the later years of Alfonso VI, Ferdinand's successor.<sup>42</sup> It was conquered by Alfonso I of Aragón between 1118 and 1122, subsequently lost, and then reconquered in ca. 1134, just before the battle of Fraga.<sup>43</sup> After the death of Alfonso I, Ramiro II of Aragón transferred Zaragoza to Alfonso VII of León, as mentioned.<sup>44</sup> This occurred sometime between September of 1134, when a document issued by Ramiro reveals that he still exercised sovereignty in Zaragoza, and December of that year, when Alfonso first asserted his own sovereignty over the city in his diplomas.<sup>45</sup>

Alfonso then entrusted Zaragoza to Garcia of Navarre, undoubtedly in consideration of his vassalage, although it is clear from documentary sources that Alfonso remained its sovereign and that Garcia was merely his delegate.<sup>46</sup>



In July 1136, however, a donation, made in the name of Alfonso's merino on instructions from the King himself, notes that in that year Zaragoza was "returned" to Ramiro of Aragón.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, in November 1136 Alfonso still asserted sovereignty over Zaragoza in his diplomas, and he continued to do so for the rest of his reign.<sup>48</sup> There is some evidence that the residents of Zaragoza were under the impression that Alfonso was their king and acknowledged his sovereignty. We see this in private documents of 1137 and 1139.<sup>49</sup> Thus Alfonso's claim does not seem to have been an empty assertion.

Alfonso's "return" of Zaragoza to Ramiro was preceded by a falling-out with García. In the corroboration of a private contract of sale, dated October 1136, we find that in that year Alfonso imposed himself over García at Estrella, in the kingdom of Navarre. This document also notes that Alfonso made peace with Ramiro, which, as we have seen, took place by July of 1136.<sup>50</sup> García's version of the conflict was that his kingdom had been seized "by the violence and strength of the most powerful kings of León and Aragón," as he complained in a document of 1137 restoring churches to the diocese of Pamplona.<sup>51</sup>

It is not surprising to find García in rebellion against the Emperor since his vassalage in 1134-1135 was undoubtedly dictated by the need to secure his position.

War between the two lasted for almost eight years, ending in Garcia's defeat and return to vassalage.<sup>52</sup> Zaragoza was taken from him permanently, however. Ramiro held it for about two years. During this time some of the powers of Aragón persuaded Ramiro to marry, and in due course a daughter was born to his queen. But Ramiro does not seem to have obtained a papal dispensation from his vow of celibacy, and so the validity of the marriage and the legitimacy of his daughter were doubtful in the eyes of many. Opposition to the marriage must have been substantial, for in 1138 Ramiro returned to his cloister, no doubt with relief. Before he abdicated, however, his infant daughter was betrothed to Ramón Berenguer, Count of Barcelona.<sup>53</sup> Zaragoza was entrusted to the Count at this time, and on Ramiro's abdication, Ramón Berenguer also assumed governance of the kingdom of Aragón with the title "comes Barchionensis et princeps [sic] Aragonensis."<sup>54</sup>

It would appear from the foregoing, then, that Alfonso VII never relinquished his sovereignty over Zaragoza, once it had been transferred to him in 1134. His "return" of the city to Ramiro in 1136 probably was not a true surrender of his de iure position but only a change in its de facto governor. Alfonso's policy towards Navarre and Aragón seems to have been to prevent a coalescence of the two northeastern kingdoms and, if he

could not absorb Navarre, at least he could maintain a balance of power in this part of the peninsula. Zaragoza was the prize enabling him to do this -- first, by assigning it to Garcia, and then by awarding it to Ramiro and, subsequently, to Ramón Berenguer.

Zaragoza was also integral to Alfonso's imperial design. By using it to secure the vassalage of Ramón Berenguer, Alfonso could then regard the kingdom of Aragón as part of his "empire" after Ramón Berenguer became its ruler, even though the Count did not hold Aragón in fief of Alfonso. The Emperor's ties to Aragón were loose, but they were sufficient to enable him to claim rule of all Spain.

The 'Spain' thus united under Alfonso corresponded almost exactly to the 'Hispania' of the Caesarean and Ciceronian era -- Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior. Only a few coastal areas were missing, and Galicia, of course, was included in Alfonso's 'Hispania,' while it had not been part of the Roman 'Spains.' Evidence suggests that Alfonso was conscious that his 'Spain' was the Spain of Julius Caesar and, indeed, that he saw himself as another Caesar. The evidence for this is his coinage.

As with his diplomas, Alfonso began to reveal his imperial aspirations in his coinage before the coronation of 1135. One of the most interesting of his issues is a

dinero bearing the title "Superrex." This usage is unique in Spanish medieval coinage, and in the entire corpus of medieval coinage from Western Europe there does not seem to be any other example of this unusual title. It was probably minted after Zafadola became Alfonso's vassal, but before the coronation. Then, when Alfonso had been formally crowned, the coin was reissued with the same design but his new title of emperor.<sup>55</sup>

Another way in which Alfonso revealed his imperial ambitions was by portraying himself on some of his coins as Caesar himself. One example of this was minted while he was still using only the title of rex. The obverse of this coin shows a head in left profile wearing a triangular headpiece.<sup>56</sup> This headpiece resembles a helmet, but the helmets shown in illuminations from the next century are not conical, as this is. A search through the coinage of France (both royal and feudal), the Holy Roman Empire, and England from their earliest medieval specimens through the thirteenth century turned up two other specimens showing a similar headpiece. One is a coin from the reign of the Emperor Henry III which was minted in Goslar. A crowned portrait of the Emperor appears on the obverse of this coin, but this crown is different from the headpiece on Alfonso's dinero.<sup>57</sup> On the reverse of the Goslar coin, however, there is another portrait, and the headpiece on

this is virtually identical to the one on the Leonese coin.<sup>58</sup> The legend indicates that it is a portrait of St. Jude, the patron saint along with St. Simon, of the church at Goslar.<sup>59</sup> Therefore this headpiece would seem to have some ecclesiastical connotations, rather than military or regal.

The second specimen in which this headpiece appears is extremely interesting. It is a feudal coin from Sancerre, issued in the later twelfth century by the Count of Champagne. On this coin there is a portrait in right profile surmounted by this same headpiece.<sup>60</sup> It is not the Count's portrait, however, but a profile of Julius Caesar because he was believed to have founded Sancerre when he came to Gaul. The legend on the coin reads, "IVLIVS CESAR," proof that the portrait was intended to be his. It will be remembered that among the titles and offices conferred upon Caesar was that of pontifex maximus. The French numismatist, Poey d'Avant, identified the headpiece on the Sancerre coin as a kind of miter.<sup>61</sup> This seems to be correct in view of its use for St. Jude on the Goslar coin. Upon further examination of Alfonso's headpiece, we find two little pendants hanging from the rear of the headpiece. Thus it does indeed seem to be a miter, and Alfonso evidently was proclaiming himself as a kind of pontifex maximus in the old Caesarean tradition.

The Sancerre coin contains another feature of great interest. To the left, in the field between the portrait and the legend, is a tiny star. This, of course, can only be the famous Caesar's comet which appeared at his death, as mentioned in Suetonius.<sup>62</sup> We find this star on another Sancerre coin which again bears Caesar's name and portrait.<sup>63</sup> Caesar wears a different headpiece in this second coin, however. It is a crown-like affair formed of two, or perhaps three, rows of tiny circles. Whether crown or something else, this headpiece obviously had imperial connotations in the twelfth century.

Alfonso VII issued an imperial coin in which he is shown wearing the same crown-like headpiece used on the Sancerre coin.<sup>64</sup> We have other coins of Alfonso VII in which it is quite clear that it is a crown he is wearing, and these other crowns do not resemble this headpiece.<sup>65</sup> Whatever this actually was, it must have been associated in the twelfth century with imperial rank.

Even more significantly, Alfonso also showed a star on some of his coins. It appears on the above dinero in which he is portrayed wearing an imperial headpiece. It also appeared on a coin minted in Segovia on which his title is only rex.<sup>66</sup> We find it inserted in the border of an imperial coin that bears no portrait but instead shows a cross on an elongated base which ends in something

that resembles the head of a lance.<sup>67</sup>

Alfonso's star appears in one of the literary sources. This is a manuscript called the Anales Toledanas since it was found in the archives of the cathedral of Toledo. The manuscript itself is a copy made in the sixteenth century, but the original may have been written in the thirteenth.<sup>68</sup> The entry for 1106, the year of Alfonso's birth, states that he was born on March 1 and that before his birth a star had appeared that had remained in the heavens for 30 days.<sup>69</sup> There is some truth in this report: a comet was indeed sighted in Europe, as well as China, in February of 1106.<sup>70</sup> Curiously, none of the Spanish chroniclers contemporary with Alfonso mention the comet, nor is there any reference to it in documentary sources. Yet it seems probable that the star on Alfonso's coins represents the comet of February 1106.

It is not hard to imagine how this phenomenon would have made Alfonso seem another Caesar in the minds of himself and others, even though Caesar's comet appeared at his death, while Alfonso's was associated with his birth. These Caesarean pretensions would also have been consonant with the times. The existence of a Latin "renaissance" in the twelfth century is by now generally accepted. In the kingdom of León there was at this time an attempt to recreate and relive the Roman past much as

the Italian humanists tried to do in the later "Renaissance." For example, two miniatures from a twelfth-century manuscript from Santiago de Compostela show Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII seated on the curule chair.<sup>71</sup> The portrait of Alfonso VI also contains the legend in the background, "Pater Patrie," one of the titles conferred upon Octavian by the Roman Senate. In the twelfth-century Historia Compostellana, regional counts are called "consuls,"<sup>72</sup> while both this chronicle and the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris introduce the Latin dux for military commander, a term that was not in use in León up to this time.<sup>73</sup> Another example of Romanism in the Chronica is the use of the title "Optimates" to denote the magnates of a region.<sup>74</sup>

Alfonso's Caesarean aspirations were therefore compatible with the intellectual tastes of his times and, indeed, may have been fostered to some extent by the Romanism of the period. But while his ideal was Caesarean, in no way did his rule resemble that of the ancient Caesars. Although the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris tells us that Alfonso issued laws for "all Spain" after his coronation,<sup>75</sup> upon examination we find that these "laws" were merely moral pronouncements, with some general statements of policy that did not require his active jurisdiction. For example, he ordered that all properties that had been confiscated from churches were to be returned to them. Towns and lands that



had been destroyed during the preceding wars were to be repopulated and cultivated. Evil-doers were to be apprehended and punished, albeit with mercy. The inhabitants of Extremadura were to make war on the Saracens every year.<sup>76</sup> After these pronouncements which were made at his coronation, there is neither evidence nor suggestion that Alfonso exercised direct jurisdiction anywhere but in his own kingdom of León. As far as the rulers of the various constituent parts of the empire were concerned, Alfonso's relationship to them as emperor was simply that of defender. In all other matters they governed autonomously and without reference to the empire. Alfonso may have approved or even dictated the substitution of his vassal, Ramón Berenguer, for Ramiro in Aragón, but the diplomas of the Count were issued independently, without any acknowledgment of the Emperor, as was also the case with diplomas from the Navarrese chancery.

The "empire" of Alfonso VII was therefore not a true unification of Spain nor even a feudal structure. He probably committed himself to protection of his vassals -- the primary obligation of a feudal lord -- but there is little sign of any reciprocal commitments on their part, except for some rare appearances by Garofo and Ramón Berenguer in Alfonso's curia. With such an incomplete kind of vassalage, there was little or no opportunity,

therefore, for the Emperor to use feudal prerogatives as a means of centralizing and expanding his power, as was already happening in France and Norman England. Instead, León, Navarre, and Aragón pursued their separate ways, joining only to make common cause against the Moslems under the aegis of the Emperor, whose primary role remained military, as it had been with his forebears.

In truth, the "empire" of Alfonso VII was no more than a bond between persons. His vassals were vassals in name only, performing no services that would have given substance to the notion that Spain had been united into a single entity. The fiefs and "honors" conferred by Alfonso on his vassals were really the purchase price for their acknowledgment of his imperial title, much as Julius Caesar secured the support of the Roman populace with gifts and banquets. Above all, Alfonso's imperialism was made possible by Fraga and the military exigencies of the time. Without these factors, one may wonder whether he would have been able to realize his "empire."

And yet, it could hardly have been otherwise. The Aragonese were adamant with respect to their autonomy, even in the face of Fraga, and as long as they maintained this position, Navarre could also cling to her sovereignty. In the west, Alfonso was unable to retain Portugal, which became fully independent in 1139.<sup>77</sup> The Leonese monarchy

lacked the resources to prevent this fragmentation, and even if it had been able to halt disintegration, it had not yet developed the bureaucratic machinery necessary to bring about some sort of political cohesion. Even more critical, the Leonese monarchy had not yet matured in its concepts of kingship to the point where it would have been able to effect a more concrete unification of the peninsula. In the twelfth century, Leonese kingship was little removed from the primitive monarchy of Asturias, and though the Leonese crown had been enhanced immeasurably by the exploits of Ferdinand I, Alfonso VI, and Alfonso VII, its concept of kingship had not kept pace with its material and territorial expansion. When the imperial idea was superimposed on the Leonese monarchy, its king was still little more than a war-leader, like the Germanic kings of old, surrounded by his warriors, sharing the vicissitudes of war with them and its spoils. Thus the personal bonds on which Alfonso's "empire" was based were really the only means at his disposal for effecting unity among the kingdoms of the peninsula. His coronation as emperor was therefore not the achievement of an ideal, but rather a compromise with the real.

NOTES

CHAPTER VII

1. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, in Esp. sag., XXI, Book I, pp. 321-322.
2. Ibid., pp. 322-323.
3. Ibid., p. 325.
4. Ibid., pp. 327-329.
5. Ibid., p. 322.
6. Ibid., p. 328.
7. Ibid., p. 329.
8. Ibid., pp. 332, 336-337.
9. Ibid., p. 333. "Rex praefatus, . . . convocavit omnes Comites suos & majores regni sui, & Duces, & habuit cum eis mysterium consilii sui, dixitque omnem intentionem suam in eo esse, ut iret in terram Sarracenorum ad debellandum eos . . . Quod dictum placuit omnibus. . . ."
10. Ibid., p. 334. "Sacerdotes vero, & legis suae Doctores, quoscumque inveniebant, gladio trucidabant. Sed & libri legis suae in Sinagogis igne combusti sunt." The incident is repeated in Book II of the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris (p. 370), which is primarily concerned with Alfonso's Moslem campaigns and which clarifies or elaborates on some of the details in Book I. Synagoga is used in the version in Book II, but the phrase following immediately makes it clear that the author did not have a Latin equivalent for 'mosque': ". . . & Synagogas eorum destruxerunt, & libros legis Mahometi combuserunt [sic] igne. . . ."
11. Ibid., pp. 333-335.
12. Ibid., p. 335. ". . . reversae sunt universae

praedatoriae cohortes cum magnis victoriis, portantes secum multa millia Sarracenorum captivorum, & maximam multitudinem Camellorum, equorum & equarum, bobum & vacarum, arietum & ovium, hircorum & caprarum, . . . & alias opes plurimas."

13. Ibid., p. 336. " . . . capite vobis aliqua fortissima Castilla, & aliquas fortissimas turres civitatum, & movete in omni loco bellum; & ego [i.e., Zafadola, a Moslem ally of Alfonso], & Rex Legionensium succurremus vobis velociter."
14. Ibid., p. 339. " . . . & congregavit exercitum magnum de terra sua, & de Gasconia, & consilio habito cum optimatibus suae regionis, ad augendam vim suam junxit sibi viros fortissimos & potentes, in quibus fuit Episcopus de Lascaz, cui nomen erat Guido, & Episcopus de Jacca Donao, Episcopus de Sancto Vincentio de Rhodas, & Abbas de Sancto Indriano, & Gaston de Bearne, & Centul de Bigorra, & alii fortes viri auxiliarii Francorum, & multi alienigenarum. . . ."
15. Ibid., pp. 339-340. " . . . & omnes nobiles Sarracenorum subire capitalem sententiam, & uxores & filios pariter esse captivos, divitiasque illorum rapi absque misericordia, Regio jure jurando asseruit."
16. Ibid., pp. 340-342. The battle of Fraga is described in the Chronica with a simplicity and restraint that convey the horror of the catastrophe more vividly, to my way of thinking, than a more eloquent account might perhaps have done. I have translated this passage and have included it as Appendix VII.
17. M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 166. The kingdom was divided among the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem.
18. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Book I, p. 343. "Videntes autem Christiani, qui erant trans Caesaraugustam in Castellis munitis & in urbibus, quod mortuus esset Rex, prae timore Sarracenorum fugerunt . . . Congregati sunt autem nobiles & ignobiles milites de tota terra Aragonensi, tam Episcopi, quam Abbates, & omnis plebs, omnesque

pariter sunt congregati in Jacca Civitate regia, & elegerunt super se Regem quemdam Monachum germanum Regis nomine Radimirum. . . ."

19. Ibid. "Sed Pampilonenses, & Nafarri [sic], coadunati sunt in Civitate quae dicitur Pampilonia, & elegerunt super se Regem, nomine Garsiam Radimiri, ille qui fugit cum Rege de Fragano praelio."
20. Ibid., p. 336.
21. Ibid., pp. 343-344. "Sed post haec Rex Legionis cognito de Regibus, sicut erat, abiit in Najaram, & receperunt eum ibi: & non solum ibi, sed in omnibus Civitatibus, & Castellis quae debebant esse sub ditone Regis Legionensis."
22. Ibid., p. 344. "Venitque Garsias Rex ad eum, & promisit servire ei cunctis diebus vitae suae: & factus est miles Regis Legionis, qui dedit ei munera & honores."
23. Ibid. "Ut audivit autem Rex Legionis, quod nobiles Aragonensium, & Rex Radimirus, & omnis populus esset in magno pavore & tremore, ait Principibus suis: Eamus in Aragonia, & faciamus misericordiam cum fratre nostro Rege Radimiro, & praebeamus ei consilium & adjutorium."
24. Ibid. "Sed Radimirus Rex consilio accepto cum Episcopis, & cum omnibus Principibus sui Regni, dederunt Regi Legionis Caesaraugustam, ut semper esset sub dominio ejus, & sub dominio filiorum ejus, & abierunt pariter Reges ad eam, ut Imperatori traderetur."
25. Ibid., p. 345. "Eodem vero anno quo haec gesta sunt [i.e., 1134], Comes Raymundus Barcinonensis cognatus Regis, & Comes Adefonsus Tolosanus consanguineus ejus, venerunt ad Regem Legionis, & promiserunt ei obedire in cunctis: facti sunt ejus milites, tacta Regis dextra ad fidem confirmandam, qui dedit in honorem Caesaraugustam Comiti Barcinonensi (sicut mos est Regis Legionis) Comiti autem Tolosano cum honore quodam vas aureum XXX. marchos aequans pondere, valde optimum, & multos equos, & alia plurima dona." Although the Count of Barcelona became Alfonso's vassal at this time, the chronology of the Chronica is incorrect

- with respect to Zaragoza. Alfonso VII did not transfer Zaragoza to the Count of Barcelona until 1138, after Ramiro II had abdicated. This is explained further in the text, pp. 250-253.
26. Ibid. "Et super haec omnia omnes Optimates, qui erant per totam Gasconiam, & per totam illam terram usque ad flumen Rodani, & Guillelmus de monte Pesulano unanimiter venerunt ad Regem, & acceperunt ab eo argentum & aurum, multaque varia & pretiosa munera, & equos multos, & omnes subditi sunt ei, & obediebant in cunctis. Et multi filii Comitum Franciae, & Ducum, & potestatum, & Pictavi multi venerunt ad eum, & acceperunt ab eo arma, & alia plurima dona. . . ."
27. Ibid., pp. 345-347. The full text is given in Appendix VIII.
28. M. Férotin, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 48-50. " . . . ego Aldefonsus, Dei gratia imperator Yspanie, una cum dompna Urracha [sic] regina genitrice mea, . . . Imperator Aldefonsus confirmat."
29. Ibid., pp. 55-56; Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 345-349.
30. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Book I, p. 346. " . . . ut vocarent Regem Imperatorem, pro eo quod Rex Garsias, & Rex Zafadola Sarracenorum, & Comes Raymundus Barcinonensium, & Comes Adefonsus Tolosanus, & multi Comites & Duces Gasconiae, & Franciae in omnibus essent obedientes ei. . . ."
31. Ibid., pp. 330-332.
32. Ibid., Book II, p. 394.
33. For example, Zafadola was the liaison between the Moslem princes of Andalucia and Alfonso VII at the time of his campaign into the south of Spain. It was Zafadola who transmitted the Moslem offer of tribute, as well as their request for help against their enemies. As a matter of fact, Alfonso's expedition into Andalucia was said to have been originally proposed by Zafadola. Ibid., Book I, pp. 333, 335-336. When Zafadola conquered Jaén, Baeda, and Ubeda, he quickly tried to arrange for

- tribute to be sent to Alfonso, and when these cities at first refused, he called on soldiers of Alfonso to ensure this. Ibid., Book II, pp. 394-395.
34. Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 352-354; J. del Álamo [ed.], Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña 822-1284 (2 vols.; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1950), I, pp. 264-266.
35. L. Serrano, Fuentes para la historia de Castilla por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos [hereafter cited as Fuentes] (3 vols. in 2; Madrid, Valladolid, Paris, 1906-1910), I, pp. 56-58.
36. Ibid., II, pp. 53-57; Del Álamo, I, pp. 248-249.
37. Esp. sag., XVIII, pp. 352-354. In the corroboration of this document Alfonso's vassals are listed as follows: "Vassalli Imperatoris Comes Barchilonensis [sic], Rex Navarrae, Rex Murtiae. Sunt & alii multi Vassalli ejusdem. . . ."
38. J. M.<sup>a</sup> Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), V, pp. 582-583. "Facta carta . . . anno secundo quo prenominatus [sic] imperator acquisivit Cordubam et in primo quo Calatrauam et Baeciam. . . ."
39. According to the Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris (Book II, p. 395), Zafadola died at the hands of the counts whom Alfonso VII had sent to ensure the collection of tribute from Baeza, Ubeda, and Jaén. Their treatment of these cities was so harsh that Zafadola was forced to intervene in the cities' behalf, which the counts construed as abetting rebels. The year of his death was 1146.
40. A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho español (3rd ed. rev.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II, pp. 498-499. "Facta carta . . . imperante [sic] ipso Adefonso imperatore Toletó, Legioni, Gallecie, Nalare, Saragocie, Baecie, Almarie, Andugar, Petroche et Sancte Eufemie. . . ." See n. 38 supra for Alfonso's sovereignty over Calatrava.



41. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, III, p. 587. "Regnante me Del gratia imperator A[defonsus] in Lione [sic] et in Toletto et in Soria et in Calataiub et in Çarçoga [sic]. . . ." M. Arigita y Lasa, Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Navarra (Pamplona, 1900), p. 121. "Regnante rege sancio filio imperatoris in soria. in almacan. in calaforra [sic]. et in toto suo regno. . . ."
42. Chronicon. Ex Historiae Compostellanae Codice, in Esp. sag., XXIII, p. 327.
43. Defourneaux says the city fell to Alfonso I on December 18, 1118 (pp. 156-158). The first mention of Zaragoza that I have found in Alfonso's diplomas is in a document of June 1122. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, p. 532.
44. See n. 24 supra.
45. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, pp. 556-557. The document was a grant of lands by Ramiro to two knights of Zaragoza: "Me Del gratia regnante in Aragone et in Suprarbi et in Ripacurza et in supradieta Cesaraugusta. . . ." The document of December 1134 was a confirmation by Alfonso VII of previous grants made by Alfonso I and Ramiro II to the church of San Salvador: "Imperante Aldefonso rege in Toletto et Cesaraugusta et Legione et Nazara [sic]." Ibid., II, pp. 538-539.
46. Our information on the transfer of Zaragoza to García comes from private documents from the Ebro region. For example, the corroboration of a document of November 13, 1135, reads as follows: ". . . in ipso anno quando Adefonsus rex imperator dedit Sargozza [sic] ad don Garzia rege. . . ." Ibid., III, pp. 580-581. A private will and testament of January 1136 reveals further details: "Facta karta [sic]. . . In illo anno quem tenebat rex Garzia Seragoza [sic] per mandamento de illo imperatore. . . ." Ibid., p. 583.

47. Ibid., p. 586. "Facta carta . . . , in anno quando imperator reddidit Zaracoza ad rege Raimiri [sic] et uxori sue [sic] . . . Regnante me Dei gratia imperator in Lione [sic] et in Toletto et in Soria et in Calataiub et in Alaon . . . Rex Raimirus in Caracoza [sic]. . . ."
48. Ibid., pp. 588-589. "Facta carta in Saragoca [sic], . . . Adefonso imperatore imperante in Toletto, in Legione, in Sarragoca [sic], Naiara, Castella et Galicia. . . ."
49. Ibid., p. 590; Serrano, Fuentes, I, pp. 45-51.
50. Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, III, p. 587. "Facta carta . . . In anno quando imperator A[defonsus] intravit super regem Garciam in Stella et fecit concordiam cum rege Rainimiro [sic] et cum sua uxore regina Agnes."
51. Ibid., V, pp. 562-563. "Ego Garsias Ranimiriz, Dei gratia rex Pampilonensium, notum uolo sit istud omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris qui non nouerunt parentibus meis mihi regnum Pampilone iniuste fuisse ablatum, uiolentia et fortitudine Leonis atque Aragonis potentissimorum [sic] regum, et quorundam suorum proditione infidelium uirorum."
52. Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, Book I, pp. 352-354. The original pact of vassalage actually lasted only a year before Garcofa tried to break it. The renewal of the contract was sealed by the marriage of Garcofa with Urraca, an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VII. Her mother was Gontroda, the daughter of an Asturian nobleman who seems to have taken part in a rebellion against Alfonso in Asturias in 1132. Gontroda was given to Alfonso, evidently as part of the peace agreement.
53. Ibid., p. 343.
54. Ibid. Also Lacarra, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, V, p. 567. Übieto Arteta proposed another explanation of Zaragoza's status. He contended that Ramiro II,

unable to defend Zaragoza, recognized the de facto lordship of Alfonso VII over the city, but not his de iure sovereignty. Alfonso VII subsequently returned Zaragoza to Ramiro, he said, after Innocent II ordered that the will and testament of Alfonso I, whereby the kingdom was left to the military orders, be observed. Ubieta Arteta then believes that an agreement was reached between Ramiro and Alfonso VII whereby Zaragoza was recognized as Ramiro's, but Alfonso VII would hold it and would do homage to Ramiro for it. See A. Ubieta Arteta, "Navarra-Aragón y la idea imperial de Alfonso VII de Castilla," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón, VI, pp. 44, 50. There is no evidence to support Ubieta Arteta's thesis, however. Although there is general agreement that Innocent II did order Alfonso VII to observe the will of Alfonso I, the document containing this order does not seem to have survived. Moreover, even if this papal edict were in fact issued, its intent would have been to prevent Alfonso VII from conquering the entire kingdom of Aragón; it need not have extended to Zaragoza, whose legal status was ambiguous, as I have explained in the text. In addition, Ubieta Arteta's thesis of an agreement between Ramiro and Alfonso VII is only speculation since there is no documentary evidence for this. In my opinion, my explanation is the more plausible one.

55. Appendix IX, coin #1. This coin and coins #2, 7, 8, and 10 are from the Hispanic collection of the American Numismatic Society. I have examined the catalogues of the feudal, royal, and imperial coinage of medieval England, France, and Germany. 'Superrex' does not appear anywhere in Western Europe, nor is there any comparable usage. See George C. Brooke, English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day (3rd ed. rev.; London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1950); Hermann Dannenberg, Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit (4 vols. in 5; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1876); E. Gariel, Les monnaies royales de France sous la race Carolingienne (3 vols.; Strasbourg, 1883); J. Lafourie, Les monnaies des rois de France (2 vols.; Paris, 1951-1956); F. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales de France (3 vols.; Paris: Bureau de la Revue Numismatique, 1858-1862); M. Prou, Catalogue des monnaies françaises de la

Bibliothèque Nationale. Les monnaies Carolingiennes  
(Paris: C. Rollin & Feuardent, 1896).

56. Appendix IX, coin #2.
57. Ibid., coin #3. In Dannenberg, IV, plate 29, no. 666.
58. Appendix IX, coin #4.
59. Dannenberg (I, p. 260) incorrectly identified it as a portrait of St. Simon.
60. Appendix IX, coin #5. In Poey d'Avant, I, plate XXXXIII, no. 3.
61. Ibid., I, p. 284.
62. Suetonius The Lives of the Caesars. The Deified Julius [Loeb ed.] I. 88.
63. Appendix IX, coin #6. In Poey d'Avant, I, plate XXXXIII, no. 4.
64. Appendix IX, coin #7.
65. For example, coin #8, Appendix IX. There are still further examples of what must have been a typical royal, rather than imperial, crown in A. Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes (3 vols.; Zaragoza: Luis Marquina [n. d.]), I, plate 2.
66. Appendix IX, coin #8.
67. Ibid., coin #9. In Heiss, plate 4, #3.
68. This is the opinion of Henrique Flórez, editor of España sagrada (XXIII, p. 381).
69. Anales Toledanos I, in Esp. sag., XXIII, p. 387. \*1106. El Rey D. Alfonso, hijo del Conde D. Raymondo e de Doña Urraca, filla del Rey D. Alfonso, nació primer día de Marcio. E antes de su Natividad apareció en el Cielo una Estrella cuentada, e duró así por XXX. días, que non se tollio, Era MCXLIV."
70. Ph. Carl, Repertorium der Cometen-Astronomie (Muenchen: M. Rieger'sche Universitaets-Buchhandlung; London: Asher & Co.; Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1864), p. 33.

71. Appendix X. Reproduced in J. Vicens Vives, *Mil figuras de la historia* (2 vols.; Barcelona: Instituto Gallach de librerfa y ediciones, 1944), I, plates 225, 236.
72. *Historia Compostellana*, Book I, chap. 48, p. 98. "unde vehementi moerore affecti, Consulem Enricum [i.e., Count Henry of Portugal], praefati pueri avunculum, celeriter acersentes. . . ."
73. The term was used of any commander of an army, whether Christian or Moslem.
74. *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, Book II, p. 366. "Eodem tempore Optimates Salamanticae introierant terram Badalioz. . . ."
75. *Ibid.*, Book I, p. 346. " . . . deditque Imperator mores & leges in universo regno suo. . . ."
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347. " . . . jussitque restituere universis Ecclesiis omnes haereditates & familias, quas perdidderant sine iudicio & justitia: praecipitque villas & terras quae fuerant destructae in tempore bellorum, populari, & plantare vineas, & omnia arbusta. Jussitque omnibus stricte iudicibus vitia eradicare in illis hominibus qui contra justitiam & decreta Regum & Principum & Potestatum & Judicam invenirentur. At illi alios in lignis suspendentes, alios truncatis manibus aut pedibus relinquentes, non divitibus vel generosis plusquam pauperibus parcentes, sed totum secundum modum culpae discernentes, juste judicaverunt. Praeterea jussit nullo modo sufferre maleficos, sicut Dominus dixit Moysi: Ne patiaris maleficos; & in conspectu omnium capti sunt aliqui operarii iniquitatis, & suspensi sunt in patibulis. Jussitque Alcaides Toletanis, & omnibus habitatoribus totius Extremi facere exercitus assidue, & dare Sarracenis infidelibus bellum per singulos annos, & non parcere Civitatibus vel oppidis eorum, sed totum vindicare Deo & legi Christianae."
77. R. Altamira, *A History of Spain from the Beginnings to the Present Day*, trans. Muna Lee (Princeton, Toronto, London, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 169-170.

## EPILOGUE

Alfonso VII was the last of the 'emperors' of Spain. After his death in 1157, no other king of Spain bore the title of emperor until the election of the Habsburg Charles as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Juan de Mariana, the distinguished humanist of sixteenth-century Spain, wrote that the German Emperor had demanded recognition from the Spanish during the reign of Ferdinand I.<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal seems to have drawn on this, although there is no evidence for it, and he suggested that in the revitalization of the German imperial office under Frederick Barbarossa there was a revival of the unitary idea of a single power at the summit of the secular hierarchy. Under this theory of political power, two emperors in the West were no longer possible, and the Spanish title was therefore superseded.<sup>2</sup>

While the Roman and unitary aspirations of the Hohenstaufen are undeniable, by no means were they shared by all of Europe, however. There is no evidence linking the disappearance of the Spanish imperial title with the rise of the Hohenstaufen. This opinion rests only on the coincidence that the two phenomena occurred almost simultaneously. Instead, the evidence suggests that Alfonso VII

intended the survival of the imperial title and its accompanying program of unification, and that he took steps to ensure this after his death.

As mentioned earlier, Alfonso VII conferred the title of king on each of his two sons in ca. 1148, nine years before his death.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, he divided the kingdom of León between the two, creating each segment a kingdom. To Sancho III, the elder, he gave Castile and Toledo as the nucleus of his kingdom, together with Nájera and whatever portion of Extremadura was tied to the Leonese crown. Ferdinand II, the second son of the Emperor, received what had been the original kingdom of León -- Asturias, León, and Galicia, less Castile.<sup>4</sup> Since León had been the royal seat of the kingdom for over 200 years, one would have expected Alfonso to have conferred this upon the older of his sons, Sancho III. He had the precedent of Ferdinand I, however, under which Castile was given to the first-born, and this was the course he followed.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, there seems to have been something more in Alfonso's disposition of his realms. Under Ferdinand's bequest, Toledo remained attached to León.<sup>6</sup> In Alfonso's testament, however, Toledo was detached from León and given to Sancho, along with Castile. The significance of this seems to have gone unnoticed. Castile and Toledo were centrally situated in Spain. It seems likely, therefore,

that the intent of Alfonso VII was to place Sancho, the first-born, in a better position than he himself had been in, a position so strategically located that Sancho would be better able to dominate the other Christian kingdoms, as well as pursue the war of reconquest. Castile and Toledo, comprising central Spain, met this requirement. In this way Alfonso VII may have hoped to strengthen the unity of the peninsula, and since the title of emperor was necessary to Alfonso's unification program, one can infer that he also intended this title to continue after him.

Almost immediately, however, Alfonso's plan received a setback that proved insurmountable. Within a year of the Emperor's death, Sancho III also died. The Castilian crown then passed to his four-year-old son, Alfonso VIII.<sup>7</sup> As one might expect, Ferdinand II of León, his uncle, took advantage of the situation. He invaded Extremadura and seized Toledo, which he held for 12 years.<sup>8</sup> In spite of this, some within Castile remained faithful to the Emperor's program and continued to assert the unity of the two kingdoms under the primacy of Castile.

The evidence is three coins issued during the reign of Alfonso VIII, probably during his minority.<sup>9</sup> On the obverse or front of the coins are two male figures. The larger, which occupies the length of the field, is crowned and bears a sword. This figure seems to be that of a



child. The second figure is in the lower left field of the coin. Although it is only half the size of the crowned figure, it seems to represent an adult male. This second figure is neither crowned nor bears a sword. Surrounding them is the legend, "ALFONS." This suggests that the larger figure was meant to be the young Alfonso VIII, and the smaller figure is therefore his uncle, Ferdinand II. The fact that Alfonso's figure dominates the field indicates that under the disposition of the kingdom made by Alfonso VII, Castile was to be given primacy over León. Moreover, the reverse, which shows a cross instead of a portrait, bears the legend, "FDNANDUS REX." This is further argument that Ferdinand and León were to yield in precedence to Castile. It is evident, therefore, from the appearance of the two figures, plus the names of Alfonso VIII and Ferdinand II, that the unity of León and Castile was to remain intact.

The failure of this plan and the disappearance of the imperial title were due to circumstances -- the death of Sancho III after only a year's reign and the minority of his son, Alfonso VIII. It was 11 years before Alfonso VIII assumed his majority. During this time Castile dissolved into anarchy once again, and so when Alfonso came of age in 1169, his energies had to be directed toward restoring order within his own kingdom.<sup>10</sup> The work of reconstructing the feudal chains binding the "empire" of his grandfather

also had to be abandoned. Instead, Alfonso VIII had to be content only with reforging the unity of León and Castile. This was not accomplished within his own time, but he paved the way for it by forcing the marriage of his daughter with his nephew, Alfonso IX of León, despite the canonical impediment to it.<sup>11</sup>

Another factor in the disappearance of Spanish imperialism was the crusading fervor, which was sweeping Europe by the reign of Alfonso VIII. Perhaps as a result of this, though also in the tradition of his forebears, Alfonso VIII seems to have given priority to the resumption of the reconquest. Early in his reign he won an important victory at Cuenca, and the most famous battle of the Spanish reconquest, Las Navas de Toloso, was declared a crusade by the papacy under the leadership of Alfonso VIII.<sup>12</sup> Indicative of the pre-eminence of the reconquest now over the unification of Spain was a treaty made in 1179 between Alfonso VIII and Jaime I of Aragón in which the spheres of Moslem territory open to conquest were mutually fixed between Castile and Aragón.<sup>13</sup> Absent entirely is any suggestion of Castilian hegemony.

But the most important reason for the extinction of the Spanish imperial title is that the promoters of this idea were no longer present and influential in court circles, namely the French Cluniacs. Bernard of Sédillac,

Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, had died in 1124.<sup>14</sup> Though his successor, Raymond, was also a Frenchman and probably a Cluniac, he does not seem to have involved himself in internal politics as Bernard had. According to Defourneaux, the Cluniacs were eclipsed by the Cistercians during the reign of Alfonso VII, who requested the first Cistercians in 1131 or perhaps 1140.<sup>15</sup> Unlike the Cluniacs, the Cistercians limited themselves strictly to ecclesiastical matters in Spain, above all reform.<sup>16</sup> Thus Spanish imperialism lost its first sponsors and most important supporters, almost its sole support outside royal circles.

For the idea of a Spanish emperor was alien to Spain and never took root there. It was, in fact, a foreign importation injected into a monarchy that was still primitive, in the final analysis disrupting its natural evolution. The 'empire' of Alfonso VII was modeled after the empire of Charles the Great. Though smaller than the Frankish empire and less conglomerate, the Leonese 'empire' was heterogeneous and, therefore, as fragile a structure as the Carolingian empire. Like Charles the Great, Alfonso tried to weld this 'empire' together by ties of vassalage, but it was an imperfectly understood vassalage, and hence the Spanish 'empire' was even more vulnerable to fragmentation than the empire of Charles. But most important, the 'empire' of Alfonso was an anachronism, as Ubieta Arteta

has correctly pointed out.<sup>17</sup> When the Cluniacs of France introduced this formula into Spain at the end of the eleventh century, the imperial idea had failed in the case of the Carolingians and was again in the throes of conflict and failure in Germany. One cannot criticize the contemporaries of these emperors for failing to see the weakness of the imperial idea, but in retrospect one can see the misfortune to the political destinies of Spain that the energies of some of León's most capable rulers should have been diverted to the imposition of a structure that was inherently weak.

Spain has often been thought to have been isolated from the rest of Europe throughout much of her history. This is true only of Moslem Spain, and even here it is not entirely correct. As this study shows, the kingdom of Navarre was deeply touched by French influences. The coronation ritual of the Navarrese probably reached them through the Franks of the early Middle Ages, and France was the probable source for the vassalage introduced into the Christian north by Sancho el Mayor. Feudalism undoubtedly reached Aragón and the county of Barcelona from France, and France was the source for the idea of a kingdom structured on ties of vassalage, as the Cluniacs of France were the source of Spanish imperialism.

In short, as the Roman tradition began to wane in

León of the ninth and tenth centuries, its place was taken by traditions brought in from France. But the traditions that flowed into Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were Carolingian, not Capetian. That is, there was a considerable lapse of time before these traditions reached northern Spain, and when they finally began to filter into Spain starting in the eleventh century, they were in the process of becoming, or in some cases had already become, defunct in France, as elsewhere. Thus the movement toward Spanish unification was not a true advance in the direction of political maturity, but a retrogression to something that no longer existed in France and that had never touched Spain, except for the Spanish March. Spanish imperialism was therefore completely artificial, as well as anachronistic. Hence the abrupt disappearance of the imperial title after Alfonso VII is more easily comprehensible.

And yet, artificial and anachronistic as the imperial title was in Spain, a seed was sown in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that, like the mustard seed of the parable, produced a growth of vast proportions. If the pretensions of the German crown did not directly affect the disappearance of the Spanish imperial dignity, nevertheless one can see a gradual acceptance by the Spanish that the 'Emperor of the Romans' was the only authentic

imperial dignity in the West. This is apparent even while Alfonso VII was still presiding as 'Emperor of Spain.' In ca. 1152 Berenguela, his wife, died. Alfonso's marriage with Berenguela, who had been the daughter of the Count of Barcelona, was dictated by an 'all-Spanish' policy; that is, the unification of the peninsula. His second wife was Rica, a niece of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>18</sup> His choice reveals both a consciousness of his superior rank as 'Emperor of Spain' and yet a need to legitimize the Spanish imperial office by linking it with the older dignity of 'Emperor of the Romans.'

In the thirteenth century, after León and Castile had been reunited by Ferdinand III, the crown's imperial visions of itself again came to the surface. Ferdinand III took as his wife Beatrice of Swabia, whose father, Philip, had been Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>19</sup> This marriage laid the foundation for the subsequent pursuit of the German imperial crown by Alfonso X. And just as Alfonso VII's hispano-imperial policy had brought damage to the political life of Spain, so Alfonso X's quest for imperial status resulted only in his own deposition and civil war.

Yet Spanish imperial dreams remained alive. In the fifteenth century Ferdinand and Isabella constructed a foreign policy that, though it was primarily anti-French, also reveals traces of this lingering imperialism. We see

this in the marriages of their son and daughter, Juan and Juana, into the Habsburg imperial dynasty.<sup>20</sup> And once again, the results of the Spanish crown's imperial dreams were detrimental to Spain, as the wars of the sixteenth century show.

If, then, Spanish imperialism was, in its origin, an ingenious device for unifying Spain, in the end it became a quixotic pursuit of the impossible. Perhaps the Spanish themselves realized this when they rose up against Charles V after he set off for Germany in pursuit of the German imperial crown. But if they did, they soon became diverted by an empire more dazzling in its size, wealth, and opportunity than anything envisioned by their 'emperors' of old -- the New World.

And so Spain's internal development was deflected from its course, and fundamental problems remained unsolved. As national objectives were eclipsed by imperial ones, mundane concerns became overshadowed by grand enterprises. Ironically, the very device that was intended to accomplish unification -- the imperial office -- instead permitted a multiplicity of kingdoms, thus making permanent the political pluralism that has marked Spanish life since that time. In this light, therefore, was not the 'Emperor of Spain' perhaps only the first Knight of La Mancha?

NOTES

EPILOGUE

1. P. Juan de Mariana, Historia general de España, Vols. XXX and XXXI: Biblioteca de autores españoles, desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días (238 vols.; Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1950), XXX, pp. 251-253.
2. R. Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1950), pp. 178-179.
3. See Chapter VII, p. 248.
4. R. Menéndez Pidal [ed.], Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289 [hereafter cited as Primera crónica general] (2 vols.; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), II, p. 655.
5. See Chapter IV, pp. 154-155.
6. Ibid.
7. Primera crónica general, II, p. 668.
8. Ibid., pp. 671-672.
9. Appendix IX, coins #10 and #11. Coin #10 is in the Hispanic collection of the American Numismatic Society; however, since it is in poor condition, I have included a line drawing from Heiss of another coin (#11) whose obverse is the same as the coin in the Society's collection. The third specimen is listed in Heiss. See A. Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes (3 vols.; Zaragoza: Luis Marquina [n. d.]), I, p. 29; also plate 4.
10. Primera crónica general, II, pp. 669-670. In addition to these troubles, the King of Navarre had helped himself to some of Alfonso's lands during



his minority (Ibid., p. 678), and, as mentioned in the text, his uncle, Ferdinand, did likewise.

11. Ibid., pp. 682-683.
12. Ibid., pp. 678-679, 692.
13. Quoted in part in Menéndez Pidal, El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos, p. 194.
14. M. Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 36.
15. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
16. Ibid., p. 54.
17. A. Ubieta Arteta, "Navarra-Aragón y la idea imperial de Alfonso VII de Castilla," Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón (7 vols. in 6; Zaragoza: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Escuela de estudios medievales, 1945-1962), VI, p. 62.
18. Primera crónica general, II, p. 654.
19. Ibid., p. 718.
20. Juan was married to Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, while Juana was married to Margaret's brother, Philip.

PLEASE NOTE:

Appendices contain some notes  
and illustrations which are  
faint and indistinct. Best  
copy available.

XEROX UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

## APPENDIX I

Grant of Lands by Sancho el Mayor to Ramiro

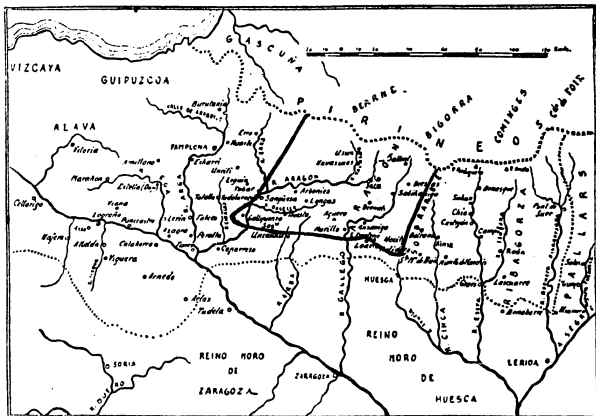
Oath of Fealty by Ramiro to Garcia

Facta carta donationis, quod ego Sanctius, gratia Dei Rex, dono de terra mea, tibi filio meo Ranimiro; idest, de Matidero, usque in vadum longum, ab omni integritate, dono tibi totas illas terras, quas teneas habeas, & possideas illas, per saecula cuncta [sic]. Foras Luar, & Sancti Emiterij, cum totas illorum villas, quod teneat filius meus Gundisaluus; & Arrosta, cum totas suas villas, & cum Pytiella, quod teneat filius meus Garsia. Et in illa parte de Vadumlongum [sic], dono tibi Eybar, & Gallipienzo, cum totas suas villas, & Liglaxicum, Sabaiza, & cum Estellaua, & cum eorum pertinentijs; & Alloz, cum Aztobieta, & Arboniense, & Burutania, cum suas villas, & Arazuri, cum suas villas, & Zarriguren, & Ibero, cum suas villas, & Aybar, & Ollaz, & Exarri, cum suas villas, & Amillano, cum suas villas, & Arbeyza, cum suas villas in Berroza, Ligiera, & Taraco, & Bannios, & Soto Malo, & in Castella Rigo de Bena. Istud totum dono, tibi, ab omni integritate, tam populatum, quam etiam pro populare Deo iuuante, Amen.

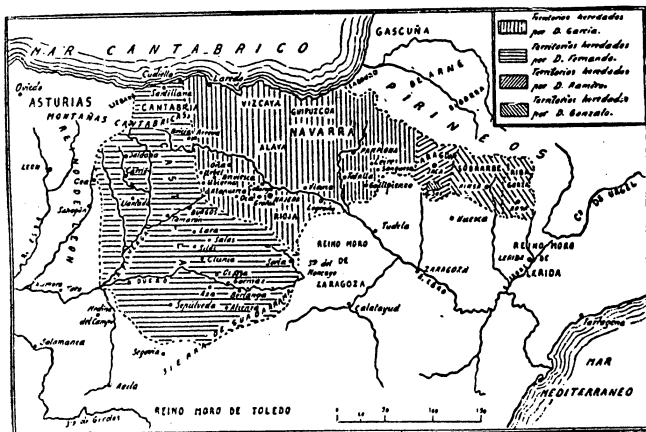
Ita iuro, ego Ranimirus, proles Sanctionis Regis, tibi germano meo domino, Garsia, per Deum patrem omnipotentem, & per Beatam Mariam Virgine, & per Angelos, & Archangelos, & per duodecim Apostolos, & per Martyres, & Confessores, & per omnes Sanctos Dei, ut de ista hora in antea, non requiram contra tuam partem, plus terram, nisi istam, quam pater meus mihi donat, & supra est scriptum: in qua non ponam tibi Azaquia, aut Alhoderia, qua tibi tuam terram tollam, nec pro pacem, nec pro Alfetna, nec cum Mauros, nec cum Christianos. Sed si aliquis audaciter comprehensus, fuerit, in hac elatione, quod tibi contradicere, aut resistere voluerit, in quantum valuero, contra illum expugnabo, atque inimicus ero.

In D. Iuan Briz Martinez, Historia de la fundacion, y antigvedades de San Ivan de la Peña, y de los Reyes de Sobrarve, Aragon, y Nauarra, que dieron principio a su Real casa, y procuraron sus acrecentamientos, hasta que se vnio el Principado de Cataluna, con el Reyno de Aragon (Caragoça: Ivan de Lanaja y Qvartanet, Impressor del Reyno de Aragon, y de la Vniuersidad, 1620), pp. 377-378.

## APPENDIX II



# APPENDIX III



#### APPENDIX IV

##### Oath of Fealty by Ramiro to Sancho IV

In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, hoc est iuramentum, quod ego Ranimirus Sancioni Regis filius feci cum Rege Domno Sancio meo nepote super donationem, quam fecit mihi, sua spontanea voluntate, cum omnibus senioribus suis, qui erant cum eo in presentī, senior fortunio [sic] Lopiz, Sen. Fortunio Azenariz, Sen. Lope Enneconis, Sen. Enneco Sangiz de Sanguessa. Et ego Ranimirus Sancioni Regis filius supra nominatus pro amicitia, & fidelitatem, & adiutorium, & consilium cum Deo, quod tibi donauero, donas mihi illum castellū, quod dicitur Sanguessa, cum omnibus terminis suis, & illa villa, quę dicitur Lerda, & Vndues: donas, & confirmas, vt in omni vita tua non facias mihi arrancura de illas villasneq [sic]; nō eas inquiras, neque castellum. Et ego Ranimirus Sacióni Regis filius sic iuro cum varones de mea terra, qui mecum sunt in praesenti: vt de hodie in antea nō tibi requiram de tuas villas, neque de alias tuas terras nisi cum seruitio, & tua bona voluntate, quamuis mihi det Deus tale tempus, vt possim inquirere,

& si hoc voluero facere, quod absit, sic dico, vt omnes seniores, qui mecū sunt, cum honores, & terras, quas de me habēt, & tenent, licentiam, do vt attendant ad te, & ponāt se in tua potestate, etc.

Et non dimittam te, neque tuum seruitium pro nulla, habere neque pro nulla honore terrena.

In Joseph de Moret [de la compañía de IHS], Investigaciones históricas de las antigüedades del reyno de Navarra (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez Impresor del Reyno de Nauarra [sic], 1669), pp. 594-595.



APPENDIX V

Letter from Count Raymond and Count Henry  
to  
Hugh of Cluny

Domino atque reverentissimo Cluniacensi abbati  
Hugoni, omnique beati Petri congregationi, Raimundus  
comes ejusque filius, et Henricus comes ejus familiaris,  
cum dilectione salutem in Christo.

Sciatis, charissime [sic] Pater, quod postquam  
vestrum vidimus legatum, pro Dei omnipotentis atque  
beati Petri apostoli timore vestraeque dignitatis  
reverentia, quod nobis mandastis in manu domni Dalmatii  
Geret fecimus.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti [sic].  
Fignus integrae dilectionis, quo conjuncti sunt in amore  
Raimundus comes, comesque Henricus, et hoc juramento.

Ego quidem Henricus abseque ulla divertii falsitate  
tibi comiti Raymundo [sic] membrorum tuorum sanitatem,  
tuaque vitae integram dilectionem, tuique carceris  
invitam mihi excursionem juro. Juro etiam quod, post obitum  
regis Ildephonsi, tibi omni modo contra omnem hominem atque

mulierem hanc totam terram regis Ildephonsi defendere fideliter ut domino singulari atque acquirere praeparatus occurram. Juro etiam si thesaurum Toleti prius te habuero, duas partes tibi dabo, et tertiam mihi retinebo. Amen.

Et ego comes Raymundus tibi comiti Henrico tuorum membrorum sanitatem, tuaeque vitae integram dilectionem, tuique carceris invitam mihi occursionem juro. Juro etiam quod, post mortem regis Ildephonsi, me tibi daturum Toletum terramque totam subjacentem ei, totamque terram, quam obtines modo a me concessam, habeas tali pacto ut sis inde meus homo, et dehinc eam habeas domino, et postquam illas tibi dedero, dimittas mihi omnes terras de Leon et de Castella; et si aliquis mihi vel tibi obsistere voluerit, et injuriam nobis fecerit, guerram simul in eum vel unusquisque per se ineamus, usquequo terram illam mihi vel tibi pacifice dimittat, et postea tibi eam praebeam. Juro etiam si thesaurum Toleti prius te habuero, tertiam partem tibi dabo, et duas remaneates [sic] mihi servabo.

Si ego comes Raymundus non possum tibi comiti Henrico dare Toletum ut promisi, dabo tibi Gallaeciam, tali pacto ut tu adjuves mihi acquirere totam terram de Leon et de Castella; et postquam inde dominus pacifice fuero, dabo tibi Gallaeciam, ut postquam eam tibi dedero,

dimittas mihi terras de Leon et de Castella. Igitur,  
Deo iubente, sic quoque sancta Dei Ecclesia piis  
orationibus interveniat. Amen.

In MPL, CLIX, cols. 944-946.

APPENDIX VI

Marriage Contract

between

Alfonso I of Aragón and Urraca of León-Castile

Sub Christi nomine et individue sancte Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritu Sancti, amen. Hec [sic] est carta donationis quam facio ego Adefonsus, Dei gratia totius Hispanie [sic] imperator, ad vos regina domina Urraca mea coniuge.

Placuit mihi libenti animo et spontanea mea voluntate, et dono vobis propter vestras arras illo castello de Stella cum illa mea dominicatura, excepto illo quod ibi tenet Lope Garcez per me: et per ipsum quod ibi tenet iuret vobis inde fidelitatem et deveniat inde vestro homine de boca et de manibus. Similiter vero dono vobis inter Sos et Unocastello, qualem vobis placuerit. Et dono vobis Exeia cum suis terminis et suis directaticis. Adhuc autem vobis dono Osca et Monte Aragon cum illas meas dominicaturas qui ibi ad eos pertinent. Et dono vobis illo castello de Bespen cum tota mea illa dominicatura. Et illo castello de Napale

similiter cum illa mea dominicatura. Et dono vobis Iacca cum totas illas dominicaturas que ad Iacam pertinent. Dono etiam vobis adhuc in arras totas illas dominicaturas meas que ego habeo in illos alteros castellos et in alios locos per totam meam terram que ad meam dominicaturam pertinent. Et totos illos homines que honorem tenent hodie per me vel in antea inde tenuerint quod totos iurent vobis fidelitatem et deveniant vestros homines de boca et de manibus.

Et insuper hoc totum facio vobis convenio, ut si Deus omnipotens filium ex vobis mihi dederit, et postea de me devenerit et vos mihi supervixeritis, quod vos et filio meo habeatis totas meas terras quas hodie habeo vel in antea acquirere potuero cum Dei adiutorio, sive heremum quam populatum. Quod si filium ex vobis non habuero et vos me supervixeritis, quod ad vos remaneat tota illa mea terra et ut eam habeatis ingenuam et liberam ad vestram propriam hereditatem per facere inde totam vestram voluntatem de post meis diebus. Et hoc totum suprascriptum in tali convenio illud vobis dono, ut vos mihi teneatis ad honorem quomodo bonam feminam debet facere ad suum bonum seniorem. Et si vos quesieritis partire de me sine mea voluntate, quod totos illos homines de vestra terra et de illa mea departant de vobis, et ut totos mihi attendant cum totas illas honores que

tenerint, et ut serviant ad me cum fide et veritate sine enganno.

Et ego Urraca regina convenio ad vos regem domnum Adefonsum, domino et viro meo, quod ego faciam totos illos meos homines qui per me et per vos tenent honores, et ut totos deveniant vestros homines et vobis iurent fidelitatem super totos homines de hoc seculo [sic] et ut illos per fidem sine enganno sedeant vestros, et quod vobis donent potestatem, unoquoque ex eis, de illas honores que tenerint qua hora vos illam demandaveritis; et aliquod ex illis hoc facere non quesierit, ego quod vobis adiuvem contra illum cum toto meo potere per bonam fidem sine enganno, et postea quod vos inde faciatis de illo totam vestram voluntatem.

In Dei nomine et eius gratia. Hec [sic] est carta donacionis quam facio ego Urraca, Dei gratia regina, filia Adefonsi imperatoris, vobis regi domno Adefonso domino et viro meo.

Placuit mihi libenti animo et spontanea voluntate, et dono vobis tota illa mea terra que fuit de rege domno Adefonso, sive eremum sive populatum, quam hodie habeo vel in antea adquirere potuero cum Dei adiutorio. Et si Deus omnipotens filium ex vobis mihi dederit, et vos postea mihi supervixeritis, quod tota illa mea terra remaneat ad vos et ad illo vestro filio quem de me

habueritis. Quod si ex vobis filium non habuero similiter remaneat ad vos tota mea terra, et habeatis eam ad propriam hereditatem per facere inde totam vestram voluntatem in vita vestra, et post vestris diebus quod tota remaneat ad filio meo. Et totas meas illas dominicaturas que mihi laxavit pater meus quod ego habeo, et in antea acquirere potuero, et totas illas alteras honores, que per me et per vos tenent alios homines, quod totum sit vestrum per facere inde totam vestram voluntatem. Et hoc totum suprascriptum tali convenio illum vobis facio: quod me teneatis ad honorem sicuti bonus vir debet tenere suam bonam uxorem; et ut me non dimitatis pro parentesco neque pro excomuniione neque pro nulla alia causa. Et si vos ad honorem non me teneritis quomodo bonus homo debet tenere suam bonam uxorem, ego quod non concurram ad vos et quod meos [sic] homines de mea terra et de illa vestra se torment ad me et serviant ad me et non ad vos donec vos illud mihi inderesetis. Quod si ergo vos inde me laxaveritis, quod totos illos homines de vestra terra et de illa mea attendant ad me cum totas illas honores et serviant ad me cum fide et veritate sine ullo enganno, et illo convenio supra-scripto que vobis feci cedat postea solutum. Et si ego Urraca regina me separaverit de vobis ex toto sine vestra voluntate, per laxamento, quod totos illos homines

de mea terra et de illa vestra attendant ad vos cum  
illas honores que tenuerint et se partant totos de me  
in toto et seruiant vos per fidem sine enganno. Facta  
carta pacti huius era M C XI VII [sic] in mense  
decembri [sic].

In A. García Gallo, Manual de historia del derecho  
español (3rd ed.; 2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), II,  
pp. 550-552.



## APPENDIX VII

### The Battle of Fraga

Now on a certain day (that is, the sixteenth of the Kalends of August) when the sun had just risen, the sentries of the King, who guarded the camps day and night, lifting their eyes, saw innumerable and the most huge battalions of Saracens, and running into the camps, they notified the King. And the King commanded the Archbishops and Princes and soldiers and infantry that they be armed and prepared to defend themselves and the camps in the fortresses. But many Aragonese nobles and very many other soldiers had already withdrawn on the order of the King, and they were in Aragón in order that, having equipped themselves with all the necessities, they might return again to the fortifications; and these were not [involved] in the battle.

Behold, through the working of divine punishment, there came armed ranks of Moabites and Agareni in the vicinity of the camps, and they began to fight and to send against them many lances and arrows and spears and rocks, and to kill many people and animals. Seeing this,

the Bishops and Clergy and all the people of the Christians began to beseech the Lord God that He snatch them from the hands of the Saracens and that He not be mindful of the sins of the King or his parents, or [the sins] of those who were with him, and that they be rebuked by Him more leniently.

But [their] sins determined [their fate], [and] their prayers were not heard before God because the Archangel Gabriel, the highest messenger of God, did not bring them before the tribunal of Christ, nor was Michael, the Prince of the heavenly armies, sent by God that he might help them in the battle.

Then, the Princes and all the fighting men, as well as the Bishops, seeing that they could not sustain the battle in the forts, went outside to those in the field, and the battle grew more intense. For while they were fighting, lines of Pagans, who were concealed, came from the opposite [side] and began to besiege the forts, and they were destroyed and the gold aro, which contained the Cross of sacred wood, was captured, and the other pyxes mentioned. And the chapel of the King was taken, and the tent of the King was razed to the ground. And the aforesaid Bishop of Lascar and the Priests and Levites and all the Clergy, and all the people who were in the camps, and the familiares of the King were captured.

Moreover, they killed in battle Bishop Donao of Jaca, the Bishop of San Vicentio of Roda, and the abbot of San Indrianus. These are the first in rank of the army [who were killed]: Garaion of Gavescam, Beltran of Launuces, Fortunel of Fol, Obgel of Miramom, Raymond of Talar, Calvete of Sua, Quius [lacuna in MS] Gaston of Béarn, Centul of Bigorra, Almeri of Narbonne, and many strong auxiliaries of France and many foreign ones. And all the first-ranking commanders and knights of Aragón were killed, and 700 strong infantrymen of the King, who guarded the King when he was on campaign -- all alike fell in one place. At the last, the King indeed fled, and with him ten soldiers, one of whom was Garcia Ramirez. [The King] passed through Zaragoza and came to a certain monastery which is called San Juan and is located in Peña, which is in Aragón. And he entered and ordered [them] to close the doors. In great sorrow he fell on a bed, [and] within a few days, overcome by sorrow of the heart, he died in the aforesaid monastery. He was buried with his forebears in the sepulchres of the Kings.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, in Esp. sag., XXI, Book I, pp. 341-342.

## APPENDIX VIII

### Imperial Coronation of Alfonso VII

Post haec Rex in Era MCLXXIII. constituit diem celebrandi Concilium apud Legionem Civitatem Regiam IIII. Nonas Junii in die Sancti Spiritus cum Archiepiscopis, & Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Principibus & Ducibus qui in illo Regno erant.

Ad statutum diem venit Rex, & cum eo uxor sua Regina Domna Berengaria, & soror sua Infantisa Domna Santia, & cum eis Rex Garsias Pampilonensium, & siout Rex praecepit omnes conjuncti sunt in Legionem. Venit autem & maxima turba Monachorum & Clericorum, necnon & plebs innumerabilis ad videndum, sive ad audiendum, vel ad loquendum verbum divinum. In prima die Concilii omnes majores & minores congregati sunt in Ecclesia S. Mariae cum Rege, & tractaverunt ibi quae suggessit clementia Jesu Christi Domini nostri, & quod ad salutem animarum omnium fidelium sunt convenientia. Secunda die vero, qua adventus Spiritus Sancti ad Apostolos celebratur, Archiepiscopi, & Episcopi, Abbates, & omnes nobiles & ignobiles, & omnis plebs juncti sunt

iterum in Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae, & cum Rege Garsia, & cum sorore Regis, divino consilio accepto, ut vocarent Regem Imperatorem, pro eo quod Rex Garsias, & Rex Zafadola Sarracenorum, & Comes Raymundus Barcinonensium, & Comes Adefonsus Tolosanus, & multi Comites & Duces Gasconiae, & Franciae in omnibus essent obedientes ei: & induto Rege cappa optima miro opere contexta, imposuerunt super caput Regis Coronam ex auro mundo & lapidibus pretiosis, & misso sceptro in manibus ejus, Rege Garsia tenente eum ad brachium dextrum, & Arriano Episcopo Legionensi sinistram, una cum Episcopis & Abbatibus deduxerunt eum ante altare Mariae cantantes: Te Deum laudamus usque ad finem, & dicentes: Vivat Adefonsus Imperator, & data benedictione super eum, celebraverunt Missam more festivo: deinde unusquisque reversus est in tentoriis suis. Jussit autem Imperator fieri magnum convivium in palatiis Regalibus, sed & Comites & Principes & Duces ministrabant mensis regalibus. Jussit autem dari Imperator magna stipendia Episcopis, & Abbatibus, & omnibus, & facere magnas eleemosynas pauperibus, indumentorum & ciborum.

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, in Esp. sag., XXI, Book I, pp. 345-346.

APPENDIX IX



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